J. N. ADAMS

The Regional Diversification of Latin, 200 BC – AD 600

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THE REGIONAL DIVERSIFICATION OF LATIN 200 BC–AD 600

Classical Latin appears to be without regional dialects, yet Latin evolved in little more than a millennium into a variety of different languages (the Romance languages: Italian, French, Spanish, Portuguese etc.). Was regional diversity apparent from the earliest times, obscured perhaps by the standardisation of writing, or did some catastrophic event in late antiquity cause the language to vary? These questions have long intrigued Latinists and Romance philologists, struck by the apparent uniformity of Latin alongside the variety of Romance. This book establishes that Latin was never geographically uniform. The changing patterns of diversity and the determinants of variation are examined from the time of the early inscriptions of Italy, through to late antiquity and the beginnings of the Romance dialects in the western Roman provinces. This is the most comprehensive treatment ever undertaken of the regional diversification of Latin throughout its history in the Roman period.

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J. N. ADAMS

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Preface

No reader of Cicero and Martial, however attentive and learned, could possibly tell from their Latin that the one came from Arpinum in the Volscian territory and the other from Spain. It has sometimes been thought paradoxical that Latin of the Roman period seems to lack regional variations yet was able to generate in little more than a millennium a diversity of Romance tongues that are usually classified as different languages. Was the language at first uniform but subject in late antiquity to some catastrophic event that caused it to split up into numerous varieties? Or was regional diversity there from the beginning, obscured perhaps by standardised forms of writing? These questions have long been of interest, particularly to Romance philologists keen to identify the genesis of the different Romance languages. The study of regional variation by Latinists suffered a setback more than a hundred years ago when the supposed discovery of African features in certain African literary texts was exposed as misguided, but even among Latinists an interest in the subject has never entirely faded away. Several of the great names in Latin philology have addressed the subject, not infrequently lamenting its difficulty, and expressing frustration that the variations that common sense and their experience of other languages told them must be there, could not be found.

In this book it will be shown that Latin had regional variations from the earliest period, first within Italy itself and later across the provinces. The pattern of variation changed as the Romans increased their influence in Italy and came into contact with different vernacular languages in the provinces, though it is by no means only language contact that determined the variations that can be detected. It is African Latin that will emerge as the most distinctive regional variety, and that is a curiosity, given the weight of criticism that has fallen on the concept of *Africitas*.

Two main types of evidence lie behind Chapters III–IX. Chapters III and IV deal with the comments made by Latin speakers themselves about the local variations that they heard around them. The remaining chapters

down to IX seek to find regional usages embedded without comment in literary and some other texts. The book has two complementary aims. I have, first, tried to identify stages in the diversification of the language, from the earliest period through to about AD 600, and the causes of any such diversity. I should stress that a neat history of regional variation in Latin, accompanied by maps showing territorial divisions of the language, cannot be written. Latin writers did not write in dialect, and any regional variation that there might have been is buried under the uniform standard language. Much effort must be expended in groping around trying to unearth mere snippets of information. My second aim has been to address a question that has long bothered scholars. Can literary texts ever be assigned a place of composition on linguistic grounds, and if so what are the criteria that might be used?

Such evidence as I have been able to find for regional variation in Latin has been set out in considerable detail, and for a good reason. Those investigating the diversity of Latin do not have the abundance of material available to students of dialects in modern languages, and signs of diversity have to be extracted from unpromising sources and carefully assessed. One must be wary of reading too much into the sketchy evidence, and I have had to reject many optimistic claims that have been made on behalf of this or that usage as a regionalism. After sifting there remains a core of material, and I have used this as the basis for addressing such general issues as the determinants of variation, provincial archaism, the relationship between variation in Latin itself and that in the Romance languages, attitudes to regional diversity and to provincial speakers, the effects of such language attitudes, the influence of Rome, the role of regional Latin in literary texts, and the interaction between the standard language ('classical Latin') and local forms. These general sections are mainly found at the ends of chapters and in the first and last chapters, but a few are placed within chapters. The most detailed methodological discussion is in Chapter X, where I have considered the question whether misspellings in imperial inscriptions reveal dialect variations across the Empire or merely variations in the literacy levels of stonemasons. Criteria for localising texts are considered mainly in Chapter V, but come up in the following chapters as well.

I have been interested in the subject for many years but had not had time to write anything up. All Souls College provides perfect conditions for anyone fortunate enough to be elected into its fellowship. This book could not have been completed anywhere else, at least in the time that it took at All Souls.

I owe a particular debt to Eleanor Dickey. She read the whole manuscript with great attention to detail and commented bluntly on its shortcomings. I had to make numerous changes in response to her criticisms. James Clackson read a good part of the work, and made many telling observations and provided information about bibliography. Wolfgang de Melo, Peter Kruschwitz and John Penney read the second chapter, and all suggested significant changes.

Many others have given me help in different ways, and I am grateful to them all: Peter Brennan, John Briscoe, Anna Chahoud, Anna Davies, Trevor Evans, Klaus-Dietrich Fischer, Manfred Flieger and Friedrich Spoth of the Thesaurus Linguae Latinae, David Howlett, Tony Hunt, Robert Hastings, John Hines, Geoffrey Horrocks, Nicholas Horsfall, Nigel Kay, Robert Kerr, David Langslow, Michael Lapidge, John Lee, Martin Maiden, Paolo Poccetti, Patrick Sims-Williams, Roger Tomlin, John Peter Wild, Andrew Wilson, Roger Wright.

The copy-editing of this book posed peculiar problems. The task was carried out by Iveta Adams with remarkable sharpness, diligence and learning. Countless errors were eliminated by her. Those that remain are entirely my own fault.

Abbreviations

Barrington Atlas	R. J. A. Talbert (ed.), *Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World* (Princeton and Oxford, 2000).
CAH	*Cambridge Ancient History* (Cambridge, 1923–).
CC	*Corpus Christianorum, series Latina* (Turnholt, 1954–).
CE	F. Bücheler, A. Riese and E. Lommatzsch (eds.), *Carmina Latina Epigraphica*, 3 vols. (Leipzig, 1897–1926).
CEL	P. Cugusi, *Corpus Epistularum Latinarum papyris tabulis ostracis servatarum*, 3 vols. (Florence, 1992–2002).
CGL	G. Goetz et al. (eds.), *Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum*, 7 vols. (Leipzig and Berlin, 1888–1923).
CHG	E. Oder and C. Hoppe (eds.), *Corpus Hippiatricorum Graecorum*, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1924–7).
CIE	*Corpus Inscriptionum Etruscarum* (Leipzig etc., 1893–)
CIG	*Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*, 4 vols. (Berlin, 1828–77).
CIIC	*See* Macalister (1945–9).
CIL	*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (Berlin, 1862–).
CL	Classical Latin
CSEL	*Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* (Vienna, 1866–).
DML	*Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources* (Oxford, 1975–).
FEW	W. von Wartburg, *Französisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Bonn, 1928–).
FIRA	S. Riccobono (ed.), *Fontes Iuris Romani Antejustiniani*, 2nd edn, 3 vols. (Florence, 1940–1).
GGM	C. Müller (ed.), *Geographici Graeci Minores*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1855–61).

GL	H. Keil (ed.), *Grammatici Latini*, 8 vols. (Leipzig, 1855–80).
ILCV	E. Diehl (ed.), *Inscriptiones Latinae Christianae Veteres*, 3 vols. (Berlin, 1925–31).
ILLRP	A. Degrassi (ed.), *Inscriptiones Latinae Liberae Rei Publicae*, 2 vols. (I 2nd edn 1965, II 1963).
ILS	H. Dessau (ed.), *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, 3 vols. (Berlin, 1892–1916).
IRT	J. M. Reynolds and J. B. Ward Perkins (eds.), *The Inscriptions of Roman Tripolitania* (Rome and London, 1952).
KAI	*See* Donner and Röllig (1966–9, 2002).
LEI	*See* Pfister (1979–).
LL	Late Latin
LSJ	H. G. Liddell and R. Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon* (revised and augmented by H. S. Jones, with a revised supplement, 1996) (Oxford, 1996).
MGH	*Monumenta Germaniae Historica.*
OCD	*Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 2nd edn (Oxford, 1970), 3rd edn (Oxford, 1996).
OLD	*Oxford Latin Dictionary* (Oxford, 1968–82).
PG	*Patrologia Graeca* (*Patrologiae cursus completus, series Graeca*, ed. J.-P. Migne) (Paris, 1857–).
PL	*Patrologia Latina (Patrologiae cursus completus, series Latina*, ed. J.-P. Migne) (Paris, 1844–).
PLRE	A. H. M. Jones, J. R. Martindale and J. Morris, *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, 3 vols. (Cambridge, 1971–92).
REW	W. Meyer-Lübke, *Romanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, 3rd edn (Heidelberg, 1935).
RIB	*The Roman Inscriptions of Britain* (Oxford, 1975–).
RLM	K. Halm (ed.), *Rhetores Latini Minores* (Leipzig, 1863).
SB	F. Preisigke (ed.), *Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Ägypten* (Strassburg, 1915–).
TLL	*Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* (Leipzig, 1900–).
VL	Vulgar Latin

Introduction

In this chapter I set out some aims and findings of the work, define some terms, and state some of the questions that will be addressed later. The types of evidence that will be used are described. I will also comment on methodology, but that will be discussed in greater detail in later chapters. Dialectal variation in other languages has been extensively investigated in recent years (and earlier as well), and I consider here the issues that have emerged in dialect studies and relate them to the Roman world. Most of these issues will come up later.

1 AIMS, METHODS AND FINDINGS

The attentive reader of Latin texts written between 200 BC and AD 600, the period to be covered here, will probably have a sense that the language changes in time, but no sense that texts could be assigned a place of composition on linguistic evidence alone. There have even been those who have taken the texts at their face value and argued that the language was a unity which did not begin to develop regional variations until the medieval or proto-Romance period (see also below, XI.1).[1] But if so it is surely paradoxical that Latin should have spawned a diversity of Romance

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[1] For a general discussion of the 'thèse unitaire', see Väänänen (1983: 486–90); also the remarks of Gaeng (1984: 7 n. 11) and Banniard (1992: 24–32). The thesis is associated particularly with Muller (1929), who stressed the sameness of later Latin and argued for a sudden radical change in the eighth century. See e.g. Muller (1929: viii): 'in the fourth quarter of the eighth century, . . . , a rather sudden shifting of the linguistic forces takes place: the new speech is born. And now, whatever heterogeneous, outworn, unsuitable material has been left, is rapidly eliminated. The new being rejects it according to its instinctive standard'; also (1929: 7): 'Starting from the general opinion that there was a Koinê or Vulgar Latin spoken about the same everywhere so that inhabitants of the Roman empire understood each other, it is my purpose to endeavor to demonstrate that the cessation of the existence of that Koinê is not at all coincident with the fall of the Roman empire, or directly connected with it; that this Vulgar Latin common to Western Romania continued its existence up to and in the VIIIth century; that the rise of dialects is due to positive and not to negative causes, viz: the social conditions prevalent in the West after the VIIIth century.' Muller was well aware of some of the evidence for earlier variations by region (see his Introduction), but he played down its significance and insisted

languages and dialects and yet had no regional varieties itself. The paradox has long puzzled scholars. The unitarian argument is at variance with all that is known about the behaviour of geographically widespread languages over time.[2] It seems inconceivable that the language spoken by the Latini for many centuries before the appearance of the earliest literary texts in the third century BC should not have acquired regional varieties. Quite apart from the length of the period during which Latin was transmitted only in spoken form, with no possibility of the standardisation that may come with literacy and schools, and quite apart from the scattered character of Latin-speaking communities, the Latins were in contact with speakers of other languages, such as Greek, Etruscan, Oscan, Umbrian, Marsian and Faliscan, and these contacts had the potential to influence Latin in different regions.

Several main arguments concerning the regional diversity of Latin will be gradually advanced in the book.

First, whatever the impression given by most texts, there was indeed regional variation in Latin, not only in the late Empire but even in the Republic. Already in the last centuries BC in literary texts we find a concept of regional variation well developed (see Chapter III), along with a view that the Latin of Rome had prestige whereas the Latin of non-Romans such as rustics might even be comical. There were literary genres during this period (comedy and Atellan farce: see III.3, 6.1) using linguistic means to portray certain stage characters as outsiders to Rome. Evidence for usages distinctive of particular regions is available throughout recorded Latin.

Second, such variation shows up in different parts of the language system, most notably in the lexicon but also in phonology and to a limited extent

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on a sudden violent change in about the eighth century. A useful discussion of the question is to be found in B. Löfstedt (1961: 207–13), who stresses the failure of scholars to locate texts geographically with linguistic evidence, and suggests that late Latin across the provinces was a sort of koine (210; see also below, 6). For another discussion of the paradox of the unity of (written) Latin alongside the diversity of the Romance languages, see B. Löfstedt ([1973] 2000: 101–5). In this second discussion Löfstedt is not entirely pessimistic about the possibility of finding regional variations in written texts. He writes ([1973] 2000: 105) of the need to refine methods of using written texts as evidence for speech, and of the need for more synchronic study of late Latin texts. On early theories concerning the relationship between Latin and Romance see also Meier (1996: 62). For a recent brief overview of the problem of the regional diversification of Latin see Herman (1996: 49, 56–8).

[2] As Herman ([1985a] 1990: 67) puts it, faced with a lack of evidence in texts for the regional diversification of the language one can draw one of two conclusions. Either Latin was a unity during the Roman period, or the texts give a false impression. Only the second conclusion is tenable, as I hope this book will make clear. There is a wide-ranging review of the state of the question by Poccetti (2004), who brings out the diversity of the language and touches on many of the themes of this chapter (and other parts of the book).

in morphology. Finding localised syntactic variation has proved far more problematic (see below, 2 and XI.5.3).

Third, the best evidence for variation is found not in the inscriptions that have traditionally been investigated for this purpose, but in literary *testimonia*, non-epigraphic documentary corpora and even some literary texts. I will return shortly to the types of evidence that will be used in the book.

Fourth, the diversification of the language cannot be attributed to a single factor but had multiple causes. These will emerge chapter by chapter and will be summarised at the end of several chapters. In the concluding chapter I will offer an overview of the causation of regional variety (XI.4) and will comment on the relationship between Latin and the Romance languages.

Since Latin developed into the Romance languages,[3] these will inevitably often come up. Sometimes it is possible to find a continuity between an early regionalism and the geographical distribution of its reflexes in Romance (see XI.3.5), but more often than not localised usages in the Latin period are simply not relevant to the Romance languages. In the expanses of the Roman Empire regionalisms came and went under diverse influences, or spread in time from their place of origin, such that a usage confined to an area in, say, the early Empire need not have been so a millennium later. I will not restrict myself merely to anticipations in Latin of Romance features. A primary aim of the book will be to present the evidence for variety region by region. The focus will be on regions in which Latin took root and had native speakers, most notably Italy, Spain, Africa, Gaul and Britain. The eastern provinces are of less significance in a study of this type (see below, 13). In much of the eastern Roman Empire Greek was the main language used by the Romans, and the scanty remains of Latin (for the most part inscriptions on stone, and also some papyri and ostraca) were left either by incomers from the west, or by learners of Latin as a second language, as distinct from Latin-speaking populations native to the region. The western provinces by contrast produced an abundance of literary texts as well as non-literary writing.

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[3] The Romance languages have been called a linguistic consequence of the Roman Empire (Elcock 1960: 17). They are the languages that developed directly out of Latin in the former provinces of the Roman Empire. For an overview see e.g. Harris (1988). The main branches are Ibero-Romance (Spanish [i.e. Castilian], Portuguese, Catalan), Gallo-Romance (French, Occitan, Franco-Provençal), Italo-Romance (standard Italian and the Italian dialects), Sardinian, Rheto-Romance (Romance forms spoken in the eastern part of Switzerland and north-eastern Italy) and Balkan Romance (mainly Rumanian, or Daco-Rumanian, since it derives from the Latin of the province of Dacia). The location of the main Romance dialects that will come up in this book can be seen in maps 4–6.

Accounts of the diversification of Latin have often taken the form of models not necessarily based on much evidence from Latin itself.[4] This book probably collects more evidence than has ever been assembled by those discussing the regional variety of the language. The presentation of the Latin evidence has been my primary aim, and only after that have I explicitly addressed general issues, though I would contend that even a single item of evidence may have wider implications that are obvious at once. I have stressed that point constantly as the evidence is set out. It is not enough merely to 'collect' evidence. Evidence is easily misrepresented or misused, and I have tried to assess the reliability and relevance of every single item discussed.

I will be dealing in this book with five categories of evidence. First, there are inscriptions of the early period, Latin, Italic (where appropriate) or of mixed character. The inscriptions of *CIL* I[2] have sometimes been used to suggest dialect differences between the Latin of Rome and that of various areas outside Rome, such as Latium and Campania. I find methodological shortcomings in some of the discussions of this kind. I will review many of the claims that have been made and attempt to determine what substance they may have (Chapter II). Since Oscan has often been asserted to have played a part in the differentiation of the Romance languages (see VI.4), I will consider the question whether there is evidence for an Oscanised form of Latin that might have left its mark at a much later date.

Second, subliterary Latin written on materials other than stone, such as curse tablets, usually on lead, and writing tablets on wood, papyri and ostraca, have been turning up in recent decades in such places as Britain, Egypt, Africa and Gaul. These documents tend to be the work of poorly educated writers, and are full of phonetic spellings and other non-standard features rooted in ordinary speech. They do, it will be suggested, provide some information about regional varieties of Latin. The most important corpora are the ostraca of Bu Njem and the Albertini tablets, both from Africa, curse tablets from Britain, and the graffiti of La Graufesenque in Gaul. I will deal with the first two corpora at VIII.6 and VIII.7, the first three corpora together in Chapter X, and the texts from La Graufesenque at V.2.

Third, *testimonia* abound in literature offering information about regional varieties. Literary authors sometimes comment on this or that usage as current in a particular town or region. There is a long tradition, not least in Romance philology, of noting such evidence, but a comprehensive

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[4] Even the admirable recent discussion by Stefenelli (1996) contains little evidence.

collection of data is lacking. That will be provided in Chapters III (on the republican *testimonia*) and IV (on the imperial). This material brings out changing views of regional diversity (see XI.2). There is often a rhetoric to ancient observations, and such evidence cannot be used uncritically. In a recent book on regional variation in contemporary British English based on the BBC's nationwide *Voices* survey it is remarked (Elmes 2005: 97–8) that people in the regions today like to claim words as their own region-alisms when in reality such terms may be scattered much more widely, even across the whole country.[5] This is an observation that should be kept in mind as one assesses ancient *testimonia*. Communications were poor in the ancient world, and there is no necessary reason why someone asserting the regional character of a usage should have had any knowledge of linguistic practices much beyond his own *patria*. Nevertheless various writers moved about a lot and seem to have been reliable observers of ordinary speech. The accuracy of some ancient comments can be confirmed from other evidence (cf. III.1). Even an inaccurate remark may have a certain interest, as reveal-ing for example a concept that the language varied geographically in certain ways.

Fourth, there are later literary texts. Can such works ever be placed geographically on internal linguistic evidence alone? A secondary aim of the book will be to address this question. After the chapters referred to above about explicit *testimonia* I will turn to implicit evidence (Chapters V–IX), by which I mean evidence embedded without comment in a text that might give a pointer to its provenance. There has been widespread pessimism about the possibility of extracting such evidence from literary texts, which by their very nature are written in versions of a literary standard (for this term see below, 4), and standard varieties of a language by definition obscure local dialects. Some often cited pages of E. Löfstedt's *Late Latin* (1959: 42–50) are an eloquent expression of this pessimism (see below, V.1).[6] I will consider the question what features a usage must have if it is to play a part in locating a text geographically (see V.7.2), and will present some case studies of texts along with discussions of methodology. It will be argued that even as early as the fourth century there are texts (or parts of texts) which can be given a place of composition from an examination of their language.

Finally, there are the vast numbers of inscriptions of the Roman Empire, published mainly in the volumes of *CIL*. A chapter (X) will be devoted to the

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[5] Elmes repeats the point from time to time (2005: 113, 115).
[6] See also B. Löfstedt (1961: 208).

problems of using the spellings and misspellings found in inscriptions from different parts of the Empire as possible indications of the diversification of the language. There is no reason in principle why a study of misspellings should not reveal signs of dialectalisation. A misspelling may be phonetic, and betray a feature of a local dialect. Consider, for example, the following trade card of Peter Lynch, cabinet-maker, of Cork, dated 1890:

PETER LYNCH Bridewell Lane Cabinet Maker & Upholsterer (sine of the Mahogny Bedsted) Humbly takes <u>lave</u> to petition the patronage of the auristocricy and public in particlar (who dont want to waist their mones) in regard of the 1st quality of his work in the abuv line. P. Lynche defies computation for cheapness and <u>dacent tratement</u> over and abuv any other workshop in Cork.[7]

Here the spellings underlined represent a recognisable feature of the southern Irish vowel system. It is not, however, in the nature of Latin inscriptions that they throw up misspellings confined to particular regions. The same banal misspellings turn up in varying degrees right across the Empire. Many such misspellings are indeed phonetically determined, but the problem is that they are widespread and do not serve to differentiate one region from another. Herman (in various papers), Gaeng (1968), Barbarino (1978) and others have sought to refine the unpromising data by establishing that certain errors, though found all over the Empire, are of unequal frequency in various places. Detailed statistical tables have been compiled showing the incidence of particular misspellings in different parts of the Empire. If misspelling X is common in one place but rare in another the assumption is made that the underlying linguistic change was more advanced in the first place than in the second. I am not the first to find this assumption unsatisfactory. Schmitt (1974b: 42), for example, commenting on Herman's (and Gaeng's) approach to the evidence of misspellings in inscriptions, remarks:

Il est évident que la fréquence des phénomènes est due avant tout au niveau économique de chaque région . . . et que ces phénomènes ne reflètent le caractère d'un parler que d'une façon très limitée.

The degree of spelling correctness or, conversely, the degree of error in a corpus of inscriptions may reflect the educational level of those who composed the inscriptions that happen to survive. If an error occurs 30 per cent of the time in a corpus from one region but only 10 per cent of the time in a corpus from another, we cannot safely conclude that thirty speakers out of every hundred in the first place had adopted a new pronunciation,

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[7] For this text see The Knight of Glin, 'Dublin directories and trade labels', *Furniture History* 21 (1985), 260.

but only ten out of every hundred in the second. Even bad spellers do not spell phonetically all the time. The variation in the frequency of the error would be consistent with a conclusion that in both places a phonetic change was widespread, but that those responsible for the second corpus were of higher cultural level than those responsible for the first, and better able to avoid phonetic spellings. There would not necessarily be any difference in the speech of the two regions. In Chapter X I will not review a wide range of spellings but will consider the methodology of extracting regional variations from inscriptions. Some signs of regional variation will emerge from the data. However, it remains true that, of the evidence that might be called on in investigating the regional diversity of Latin, inscriptions, with their uniformity right across the Empire, are the weakest.[8] Indeed, if inscriptions are all that we have to go on for a region (and one thinks, for example, of the Balkans), the search for localised features is futile. There is no point, for example, in attempting to find anticipations of Rumanian in the Latin record. Moreover in this section I have merely touched on the difficulties of inscriptional evidence; more will be said in Chapter X.

It was implied above that regional variations in Latin do not necessarily correspond to those found in the Romance languages. It is probably true to say that in the study of the regional diversification of Latin the running has been made by those looking backwards from the Romance languages, as distinct from those who have scoured the remains of Latin itself for regional variations in the period from, say, the third century BC to the sixth century AD. I will often draw on Romance philology (and not least on the etymological dictionaries of Meyer-Lübke, von Wartburg and Corominas, and on the unfinished *LEI*), but will be focusing mainly on the Latin evidence itself, and writing from the perspective of a Latinist. Not that Latinists have neglected the question whether Latin had regional forms. Some distinguished scholars have written on the subject. E. Löfstedt, for example, devoted a judicious chapter (III) to 'local variation in Latin' in *Late Latin* (1959). Väänänen (1987) included a chapter on 'la controverse des variations régionales' (X) in his book on the *Peregrinatio Aetheriae*, and also surveyed (1983) the main theories that have been put forward to explain the regional diversification of Latin and the Romance languages. Many of the papers in the collected works of Herman (1990) deal with the Latin of the provinces, particularly through inscriptions. There was a keen interest in the subject at the end of the nineteenth century, some of it inspired by an obsession of the time with alleged peculiarities of African Latin (*Africitas*).

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[8] See already Kroll (1897: 573) on the inadequacy of inscriptions.

All three of the scholars just named were concerned with the later period, but it has often been argued (with good reason) that even in the early Republic Latin was not a unity. The linguistic diversity of early Italy, the consequent contact between speakers of Latin and of other languages (not all of them Indo-European), and the fluidity of spelling at a time when grammarians hardly existed to impose a standardised orthography, are all factors that have encouraged the search for regional variation in early Latin, and particularly for variations between the Latin of the city of Rome and that of rural areas.

What is attempted in this book is a systematic account of the whole field, from the earliest period to late antiquity, dealing with the Latin evidence itself rather than the theories that have been advanced from a Romance perspective, and with the methodological problems raised by the interpretation of that evidence. I will not go beyond about AD 600 into the medieval period. The regional diversification of medieval Latin is a subject in its own right, with its own special problems, which I leave to others.

2 some definitions: 'dialect' and 'accent'

Any book with a title like that of the present one is bound to create the expectation that it is about 'Latin dialects', just as a book about the regional diversity of Greek would be expected to be about Greek dialects. I largely avoid the word 'dialect' in the book, except in the collocation discussed in the next section. I must say something at the start about conventional views of the term, and also about my reluctance to use it. This reluctance will be further explained in the final chapter (XI.5.2). Overlapping with 'dialect' is 'accent', and that is a term which I freely use. I first distinguish between 'dialect' and 'accent'.

'Dialect' has been given many senses.[9] Hinskens, Auer and Kerswill (2005: 1) employ the term to refer to 'a language variety which is used in a geographically limited part of a language area in which it is "roofed" by a structurally related standard variety; a dialect typically displays structural peculiarities in several language components'. They go on to refer to 'accent' as embracing 'phonetic features'. This definition of dialect might be applied, for example, to English, but there is no reason why there should always be a 'roofing' standard variety (see further Hinskens, Auer and Kerswill 2005: 30–1). Davies ([1987] 2002: 156) points out that when the ancient Greek

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[9] On this point see Berrato (2005: 82). For some interesting remarks on the problems of definition see Davies ([1987] 2002: 154 with n. 3, 155).

dialects flourished, 'there does not seem to have been a standard language of which those dialects could be dialects. Attic, Boeotian, etc. had equal status.'[10] The koine was a later development. Berrato (2005: 82–3) notes that the Italian dialects, which he calls 'primary', 'all came into being at the same time through the transformation of Latin'. It was only later that one of them, the Florentine dialect, became the national language.

Once there is a standard variety (or 'national language') the way is open for the formation of regional varieties of that standard, largely through contact between the primary dialects and the standard (see further below, 4, 7). Regional forms of the standard language might be called 'secondary' dialects.[11] Such regional variants, according to Hinskens, Auer and Kerswill (2005: 25), 'can result from deliberate, but only partly successful, attempts by dialect speakers at learning the standard variety'. The BBC *Voices* survey referred to above has repeatedly observed dialect speakers modifying their speech in the direction of the standard.[12] But probably more common, at least in present-day Europe, 'is the situation in which the standard picks out (regional) dialect features, often of a phonetic nature' (Hinskens, Auer and Kerswill 2005: 25). A case in point in Britain is the rise of 'Estuary English', 'which contains much London regional phonology combined with standard morphology and syntax' (Hinskens, Auer and Kerswill 2005: 26) (see below, 7).

Chambers and Trudgill (1980: 5) distinguish between 'accent' and 'dialect' as follows:

'Accent' refers to the way in which a speaker pronounces, and therefore refers to a variety which is phonetically and/or phonologically different from other varieties. 'Dialect', on the other hand, refers to varieties which are grammatically (and perhaps lexically) as well as phonologically different from other varieties.

This definition of dialect is a slightly more specific version of that given by Hinskens, Auer and Kerswill (see above). Both accounts agree that accent refers to the phonetic or phonological features of a dialect, and that dialect embraces a variety of features, but Hinskens, Auer and Kerswill have preferred to leave unspecified what those features might include. Wells (1982: 1), dealing exclusively with English, is along much the same lines:

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[10] Davies does however go on to suggest that the matter was not quite so straightforward. She argues convincingly that, 'even though there was no standard language in Greece before the koine, an abstract notion of Greek as a common language which subsumed the dialects was present among Greek speakers at a relatively early stage, i.e. from the fifth century B.C. onwards' (156; see also 168).

[11] Berrato (2005: 82–3) refers to primary, secondary and tertiary dialects, without making himself entirely clear.

[12] See Elmes (2005: 8–9, 37, 41, 66), and below, 7.

By the term 'accent' . . . I mean a pattern of pronunciation used by a speaker for whom English is the native language or, more generally, by the community or social grouping to which he or she belongs. More specifically, I refer to the use of particular vowel or consonant sounds and particular rhythmic, intonational, and other prosodic features; to the syntagmatic (structural) and paradigmatic (systemic) interrelationships between these, and to the more abstract (phonological) representations which can be seen as underlying the actual (phonetic) articulations, together with the rules which relate the one to the other.

Wells (1982: 3) states that he will avoid the term 'dialect' because it causes confusion, and use the term 'variety' instead. I share his reservations about 'dialect' (see the end of this section, and XI.5.2), but it has to be said that the distinction which he makes between 'variety' and 'accent' is very similar to that made in the sources quoted above between 'dialect' and 'accent':

A difference between varieties . . . may involve any or all of syntax, morphology, lexicon, and pronunciation . . . A difference of **accent** . . . is a difference between varieties of General English which involves only pronunciation.

If we are to identify regional variations in Latin, it would not do to insist that 'grammatical' variations (see the definition of Chambers and Trudgill) are a necessary marker of different varieties. There are diachronic variations in Latin syntax, and social variations determined mainly by the educational level of the writer, but localised syntactic variations are hardly to be found in the record (see XI.5.3), and for a good reason. In so far as regional varieties of Latin have shown up in writing, they represent for the most part momentary regionalisations of the standard language, with the same standard syntax, or the same social/educational deviations from that standard, found across all the areas in which Latin was written (see below, 4). In written texts it is lexical variation from place to place that is most obvious, whereas the significance of the lexicon is downgraded in the definition of dialect quoted above from Chambers and Trudgill.[13]

Some of the metalinguistic evidence (by which I mean comments in ancient writers about aspects of language) used in this book has to do with accent, a term which I will take to refer to just one aspect of a dialect, namely its phonetics and phonology. Dialects, we have just seen, are typically said to have other features as well, morphological, syntactic and lexical, and I will aim to go beyond accent as far as the evidence allows. Latin commentators were interested in the lexical peculiarities of regional speech as well as accent, but they do not offer a comprehensive view of all the features of the speech of any one place (on the meaning of 'place' see below, 9).

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[13] On the limitations of lexical evidence see also Trudgill (2004: 10).

Where phonetics and phonology are concerned, it may be argued that structural (phonological) variations from area to area are more profound than differences of articulation (phonetics). Two varieties may, for example, have a phoneme /r/ which has a different articulation in the two places, but turns up in exactly the same phonetic environments; there will be a difference of sound between the two varieties but no structural difference. On the other hand one variety may have, for instance, a five-vowel system (so Sardinian, and possibly African Latin) and another a seven-vowel system (so Italian, and possibly Gallic Latin). The distinction is one of structure, or phonology. Some of the evidence concerning accent which will be presented in this book has to do with phonetics, but sometimes it is possible to move beyond sounds to the underlying structures which they form (III.4.5, IV.4.2, X.5.1.2.4).

Classicists may be familiar with dialects primarily through the study of the Greek dialects, which are named. This fact creates an expectation that if Latin had regional varieties they too would have names, and may induce scepticism about the very existence of regional variation in Latin if names cannot be found. Some ancient commentators do indeed attach geographical names to regional practices in Latin, as we will see ('Praenestine' Latin, for example, comes up several times), but in reality the absence of named varieties is insignificant. It is Greek that is exceptional in its precise designations of the dialects. I quote Janson (1991: 22) on the prevalence of unnamed varieties of speech:

[I]t is a fact that users of speech forms with low prestige and no established written form may well lack an established name for their particular way of speaking. This is true, for example, for many of the creole languages of the world: the names found in the linguistic literature are very often late inventions by linguists.

Language- or dialect-naming is inspired by the prestige of the variety and by its acquisition of a written form. If a variety is stigmatised and not represented in writing it may be nameless. Its speakers if pressed may refer to the speech of their town or locality, but it may take an inspired individual to come up with a name that sticks for a spoken variety of low prestige. 'Estuary English', for example, was coined by David Rosewarne in an article in the *Times Educational Supplement* on 19 October, 1984,[14] and it eventually caught on. It is a remarkable fact that the emergent Romance languages were very slow to acquire names in the medieval period. 'Latin', or 'Roman language' (for which see IV.1.2, 1.2.6, 3.2), long went on being used. As Janson (1991: 26) puts it,

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[14] See Elmes (2005: 48–9), Hinskens, Auer and Kerswill (2005: 26).

We can say that all through the Early Middle Ages, there was only one language name, that of Latin, despite considerable linguistic diversity, for no one needed any other name. Only when there existed significant new entities to talk about, namely the new written standards, did new names appear.

The Greek dialects, by contrast, did have written forms, and there was a time when they were of equal status (see above). They were of sufficient standing to enter high literature. In the final chapter I will return to the naming of Latin varieties in the Roman period, and collect the evidence that will be scattered about in the book (see XI.2).

In the same chapter (XI.5.2) I will also express some reservations about the conventional definition of dialect that are prompted by the Latin data. 'Dialect' in popular usage implies a distinct type of speech tied to a precise locality, whereas the reality may be far more complex, with the boundaries, regional and linguistic, far more blurred. There is something to be said for terms vaguer than 'dialect', such as 'variations, variety, diversity'. In using such terms throughout this book I am acknowledging that we could never from the Latin record determine the full range of local usages of any precisely demarcated region, even if precisely demarcated linguistic regions ever existed. The point will also be made below, 4, p. 14 that there is a difference between 'regionalised standard language', an entity that may be identified in Latin, and a 'primary dialect', something impossible to find in Latin. The lack of evidence for the latter is a good reason for avoiding the term 'dialect'.

I am, however, happy with the expression 'dialect term', to which I give two different meanings (see the next section).

3 'dialect terms/words'

I use this expression later in the book in both a strong and weak sense (see e.g. IV.5.4, V.7.3.1). By 'strong' dialect terms I refer to words restricted geographically in distribution which had synonyms in use either in other areas or in the standard language. 'Weak' dialect terms are those that are restricted geographically but do not have obvious synonyms in other places. They may, however, have a distinct local colour in that they refer to activities or objects associated with a particular locality. For example, there are distinctive Cornish terms relating to tin mining,[15] and terms and expressions in Welsh English to do with coal mining.[16] Speakers tend to see such terms as marking their local variety of speech. Strong dialect terms are the

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[15] See Elmes (2005: 13–14).   [16] See Elmes (2005: 96).

more important, and I will produce statistics (at V.7.3.1) that will bring out their significance in at least one regional variety of Latin. I will not neglect the other type, not least because we cannot be certain that the standard language could not have named the activity or object in some mundane way if there had been a need to do so. Thus, for example, the mining term *gobbings*, used by a miner from Eastwood in the Midlands in the BBC *Voices* survey, was given a dictionary meaning in a treatise on mining in 1867 ('coal-mining refuse').[17]

Trudgill (2004: 1; cf. 3, 4) notes that English in the former British colonies has had to adapt to 'new topographical and biological features unknown in Britain', by borrowing, neologisms and semantic change. This process of adaptation he lists as one of the factors causing colonial varieties of English to differ from the English of Britain (see below, 11). Terms falling into this category would often be 'weak' dialect terms in my sense, but are nevertheless particularly distinctive of certain localities and may be helpful in placing a text geographically (see above, 1, p. 5 on what I refer to as a 'secondary' aim of this book).

4 'STANDARD' VARIETIES AND 'LANGUAGE STANDARDISATION'

It may be deduced from what has been said already that in recent discussions of regional dialects there is frequent mention of the relationship of dialects to the 'standard language', the 'standard variety', the 'national language', the 'standard', and so on. We saw above (2), for example, that Hinskens, Auer and Kerswill (2005) spoke of dialects as roofed by a 'structurally related standard variety'. New varieties, we are told, are constantly being formed which reflect the interaction between a standard variety and regional varieties.[18] Regional varieties, it was noted above (2), may move in the direction of the standard and show a mixture of the two elements (see also below, 7). A Cornish group from Bodmin, for example, when interviewed by the BBC *Voices* survey, admitted to diluting their regional speech and adopting features of the standard when dealing with outsiders (see Elmes 2005: 8–9). The act is even given a name locally ('cutting up'), and it is an obvious form of convergence through accommodation. Alternatively a provincial user of a standard variety may import some local features from time to time, possibly to mark his local identity. Pedersen (2005)

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[17] See Elmes (2005: 115). [18] See in general Hinskens, Auer and Kerswill (2005: 24–5).

is a detailed discussion of the relationship between standard varieties and dialects in Scandinavia.

The distinction referred to earlier (2) between 'primary' dialects and those arising from the 'regionalisation of the standard' is relevant to the history of Latin. Before Rome rose to power and the city variety acquired prestige as the 'best' form of Latin (see further below, this section) there is some evidence for regional variations in the Latin spoken around Latium, and these, if the word 'dialect' is appropriate, would have constituted primary dialects (see the whole of III.6). Much later, educated users of literary Latin were capable of 'regionalising' the standard by introducing local features. That practice was sometimes deliberate, as when Virgil admitted Italian regional usages in the *Georgics* (VII.3), or Ausonius used local fish names in a catalogue of epic style in the *Mosella* (V.3.5), and sometimes a reflection of local developments that had affected the educated classes without their necessarily being aware of them. The African medical writer Mustio, who almost by definition wrote an educated variety of the language, used in his gynaecological treatise certain African botanical terms with Latin (or Greco-Latin) equivalents quite unaffectedly (VIII.4.1), because they had found their way into educated African Latin. The idea that a regional dialect may consist of a partly regionalised variety of the standard is an important one in relation to Latin. The Latin that survives, being by definition written, consists almost exclusively of forms of the educated standard, and one is not likely to find much sign of primary dialects in the literary language.

But what exactly is a 'standard variety',[19] particularly in the context of Rome? If any language may be said to have had an educated standard it is Latin. The Latin that most learners of the language know today is a standardised form, and almost the whole of Latin literature is composed in stylistic variants of the standard. There are conventions of spelling and morphology, and notions of syntactic correctness can be deduced from high literary texts. That said, the concept of a standard language is idealised and difficult to pin down, and even those who set themselves up as arbiters of correctness may be vague and inconsistent in their pronouncements.

'Language standardisation' in any language is an ongoing process that seeks to impose standard (or 'correct') forms, most obviously of spelling but also of morphology, word use, pronunciation and syntax. Those who set out to codify the correct forms may be grammarians, educationalists or other, often self-appointed, purists, such as those who write letters to

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[19] For recent discussion of this question see e.g. Milroy and Milroy (1999: 18–23), Pedersen (2005: 172–5). Lodge (1993: 85–117) describes the move to standardisation in France.

The Times or the BBC castigating departures from their idea of correctness and lamenting the decline of English. There was a strong grammatical tradition at Rome, and it was mainly grammarians and some of their pupils who acted as 'guardians of the language'. This phrase forms the title of a well-known book by Kaster (1988). Augustine, for example, at *De musica* 2.1.1 refers to the grammarian as a 'guardian of tradition' (*custos ille uidelicet historiae*), who will seek to inculcate the old vowel lengths in his pupils against current trends in the language. The activities of grammarians at Rome go back as far as Latin literature itself, since the earliest teachers, according to Suetonius (*Gramm.* 1.2), were the first poets, Livius Andronicus and Ennius, who are said to have taught both in Greek and Latin and to have clarified the meaning of Greek authors and to have engaged in the *praelectio* of their own Latin compositions.[20] Subsequent *grammatici* are by implication presented as using Latin only.[21]

The effects of the grammatical tradition are soon to be seen. In the second century we find Lucilius, for example, stating the difference (1215–18) between the adverbs *intro* (with verbs of motion) and *intus* (with static verbs), a distinction which had been disregarded by Cato, who was happy to use *intro* with static verbs (*Agr.* 157.7, 15), and went on being disregarded by those untouched by the purist movement. Some centuries later Quintilian was moved to restate the rule (1.5.50). There are other linguistic precepts in Lucilius. At 356 and 357 he advocates *feruo* as the correct form of the verb for 'boil', not *ferueo*. At 364–7 he advises that the nominative plural of *puer* should have the ending *-ei* whereas the genitive singular should have *-i*. This recommendation must be an attempt to counter the spread of *-i* to the nominative plural, either as an alternative to the earlier *-ei* or as a replacement of it. Another fragment (1100) seems to have introduced a list of a hundred solecisms.

A typical feature of standardisation movements is that an attempt is made to eliminate optional variation,[22] and some of the recommendations of Lucilius can be interpreted in this way. *Intus* and *intro*, for example, were in free variation in combination with *sum*, and Lucilius and later Quintilian sought to eliminate one of the alternatives from the syntagm. Some of the morphological changes discernible between the time of Plautus and Cicero can be seen as reductions in the amount of optional variation. There were several genitive singular forms of fourth-declension nouns such as *senatus* available in the early period, but most of the alternatives had been all but

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[20] See Kaster (1995: 52–4) on these activities.   [21] See Kaster (1995: 51) on this point.
[22] See Milroy and Milroy (1999: 22).

eliminated by the late Republic in favour of *-us* (see II.18 and VII.2 for two of them; another is *senati*). Sigmatic futures such as *faxit* = *fecerit* and *mulcassitis* = *mulcaueritis* were in decline over a long period and are virtually non-existent in the late Republic except in archaising legal style.[23] The future tense of fourth-conjugation verbs in Plautine Latin offered a choice of forms (*audibo*, *audiam*), but the first had been eliminated by the time of Cicero. On Asinius Pollio as a purist see below, III.5.

Language standardisation movements may be influential, but their impact is bound to be limited. In English full standardisation has only been achieved in the spelling system,[24] but even spelling among those considered to be educated is often described as substandard these days. There are many reasons why standardisation tends to fail. Languages move on inexorably, and those attempting to codify correct forms may be unable to keep up with developments. Purists cannot always agree among themselves about what is acceptable. At Rome those described as 'anomalists' had different ideals from those called 'analogists', with the former accepting irregularities that might be justified by usage and the latter seeking to impose regularities.[25] Those who did not attach such labels to themselves might be moved to follow now the authority (*auctoritas*) of some respected old author whose usage was out of line with current practice, now current practice itself (*consuetudo*). But even *consuetudo* is a complicated model: whose *consuetudo*? The complexities are well set out by Holford-Strevens (2003: 172–92). Again, some writers who had been highly trained by *grammatici* were indifferent to their rules. Varro, for example, often departs from accepted late republican educated usage as that emerges from the practice of Cicero and Caesar.[26] But it was above all the emperor Augustus who disregarded the prescriptions of the *grammatici*.[27] According to Suetonius (*Aug.* 88) he did not consistently observe the spelling rules of grammarians but seemed to follow the opinions of those who thought that one should write as one spoke. He used prepositions with the names of towns for clarity (*Aug.* 86.1), though this was a practice classed as solecism by grammarians over a long period (see Quint. 1.5.38, Pompeius *GL* V.252.21–2). He admitted a form *domos* as the genitive singular of *domus* (*Aug.* 87.2), possibly a regional variant from the place of his birth.[28] Several times he is reported as castigating others for the use of pretentious (i.e. learned)

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[23] See de Melo (2002).   [24] See Milroy and Milroy (1999: 18).
[25] A notable work on analogy was the *De analogia* of Caesar, of which there are some revealing fragments. The fragments are collected by Funaioli (1907: 143–57).
[26] See e.g. Adams (2005b: 78, 81, 90, 95).   [27] See the brief remarks of Adams (2005b: 78).
[28] But see Sommer (1914: 388).

words or word forms (Quint. 1.6.19, Charisius p. 271.16–18 Barwick). Another factor undermining any standardisation movement was the inability of some writers to put rules into practice consistently.[29] Vitruvius, in a remark that looks to be more than an empty topos, pleaded for indulgence if he had not abided by the rules of the grammatical art (1.1.18), pointing out that he was merely an architect and not a grammarian trained to the highest level.

Latinitas, 'correct Latinity', the nearest equivalent the language has to 'standard language', and itself based on the Greek Ἑλληνισμός,[30] is therefore a vague and shifting ideal, not a reality that may be fully defined in objective terms. Some linguists speak of standard language as an ideology.[31] Milroy and Milroy (1999: 22) comment as follows on the label 'Standard English', and the remark could also stand if 'Classical Latin' were inserted in place of 'Standard English':

What Standard English actually is thought to be depends on acceptance (mainly by the most influential people) of a common core of linguistic conventions, and a good deal of fuzziness remains around the edges. The ideology of standardisation . . . tends to blind us to the somewhat ill-defined nature of a standard language.

There is a common core of linguistic conventions in classical Latin (a phrase I use here to denote the standard language in the late Republic and early Empire), but our view of what was acceptable to the educated in written form in the last century of the Republic has probably been shaped to some extent by the chance survival of so much Cicero.[32] If more prose by other writers had survived the fuzziness referred to by Milroy and Milroy above would no doubt appear the greater, and even as it is the works of Varro and the anonymous *Bellum Africum* display departures from the norms we are used to in Cicero (see Adams 2005b). Nevertheless 'correct Latin' remained a recognisable entity over many centuries, with variations determined by such factors as the date of writing, the genre of the work and the skill of the writer. Its persistence on the one hand obscures regional variations, yet paradoxically opens the way, at least in theory, to the identification of a special type of regional Latin, namely regionalised standard language (see further below, 7).

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[29] See Mayer (2005).
[30] Note the definition of *Latinitas* at anon. *Ad Herennium* 4.17: *Latinitas est quae sermonem purum conseruat, ab omni uitio remotum* ('correct Latinity is what keeps language pure and free from every vice').
[31] See e.g. Pedersen (2005: 172), referring to an early paper by Milroy and Milroy.
[32] This is a theme of Adams, Lapidge and Reinhardt (2005).

5 CITIES AND FORMS OF DIALECT DIFFUSION

It is generally agreed that '[u]rban centres play a prominent part in the spatial diffusion of linguistic phenomena' (Taeldeman 2005: 263).[33] This observation is relevant to the situation of Latin, given the power of Rome. Latin spread from Rome all over the peninsula, ousting in time numerous vernacular languages. On a smaller geographical scale, Roman Latin was invested with prestige by its speakers, who tended to stigmatise rural varieties in the environs of Rome (II.6, III.3), and as a result there is reason to think that Roman Latin influenced, or overwhelmed, varieties of the language spoken in Latium (see XI.2, 3.2, 4.5). I dwell here on diffusion from urban centres, drawing particularly on Taeldeman's recent paper (2005), in which he expresses some reservations about the usual account of urban influence that are again applicable to Rome.

Taeldeman (2005: 263) notes that two patterns have emerged as the most common types of diffusion. First, there is <u>contagious diffusion</u>, whereby innovations spread locally via social networks. Features are passed on by personal contact. Those in the rural periphery of Rome might have been subject to the direct influence of Roman Latin, particularly if they felt that city Latin was superior or that they were represented as yokels because of their country speech.[34] This pattern is referred to by Chambers and Trudgill (1980: 192) as the 'neighbourhood effect', defined as the 'gradual spreading of features from one place to the next'. Taeldeman (2005: 277) notes that Antwerp, the largest city in Flanders, exports the most striking features of its dialect to the whole of its hinterland. This type of diffusion is also referred to as 'wave theory' (see below X.8.1; also XI.4.5).[35] Second, there is <u>hierarchical diffusion</u>, whereby features leap (sometimes called 'parachuting': see Taeldeman 2005: 263) from an influential urban centre across rural space to a lesser town or towns. Chambers and Trudgill (1980: 198) state that 'all linguistic innovations occurring in Norwich English are derived from London speech, and not from anywhere else'. Chambers and Trudgill (1980: 187–9) describe a classic case of this 'jumping', as they call it, namely the spread of the European uvular /r/ even across language frontiers from its starting point in Paris, probably in the 1600s. They conclude (189) that 'the diffusion has taken the form of "jumping"

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[33] See also Chambers and Trudgill (1980: 189–92).

[34] Many regional English speakers are sensitive about their dialects and feel that they are branded with a rural slowness: see e.g. Elmes (2005: 7, 24, 89, 102).

[35] See Hinskens, Auer and Kerswill (2005: 8).

from one urban centre to another, especially The Hague, Cologne, Berlin, Copenhagen, Kristiansand and Bergen'. In this case hierarchical diffusion was complemented by contagious diffusion, in that there was also a gradual spread of the feature over large parts of France into neighbouring areas of Belgium, Switzerland and south-western Germany (Chambers and Trudgill 1980: 189, 192). Chambers and Trudgill (1980: 197–202) discuss what they call a 'gravity' model as an explanation of hierarchical diffusion, a model which is 'designed to account for the linguistic influence of one urban centre on another, based on the assumption that the interaction of two centres will be a function of their populations and the distance between them, and that the influence of the one on the other will be proportional to their relative population sizes' (Chambers and Trudgill 1980: 197). We will see that 'Romanness' of Latin was held up as a model in distant centres in the Empire (IV.1.2), and no doubt had an influence on the Latin at least of the educated classes in provincial cities.

But it would be wrong to think that the direction of the traffic was one way, from Rome outwards to neighbouring areas and more distant towns. There is evidence that some innovations started outside Rome and made their way inwards. A case in point is the monophthongisation of *ai/ae* (II.11). On words showing non-urban phonological features that had entered standard Latin see VII.1. Nor is it surprising that outlying places should have influenced the city (see XI.4.4). For one thing, the city attracted outsiders who might have achieved sufficient numbers to have some influence at least among some of the urban classes. There is also the matter of attitude (on which see below, 7, and also n. 34). The Roman upper classes had an attitude to 'rustics', the rustic life and rustic speech that was by no means straightforward. Many families traced their origins to worthy rural types who were accorded a moral uprightness that contrasted with slippery urban ways. The Latin language had two words for 'rustic', *rusticus* and *agrestis*, of which one evaluated the country negatively (*agrestis*), the other positively or at worst neutrally (III.4.4). *Rusticus* was often used as a term of praise. On the one hand country speech was stigmatised (not least by some outsiders to the city such as Cicero himself and Lucilius: III.3, 4), but on the other hand we hear of a prominent urban figure (L. Cotta) who deliberately affected a rustic manner of speech, apparently to give himself an aura of antiquity, since rustic ways were associated with morally upstanding early Romans (III.4.3). Not all incomers to the city disparaged country Latin in the manner of Cicero. Varro, who possibly came from Reate, was proud to hang on to a term which he had heard from his ancestors

(*aeditumus*, *Rust.* 1.2.1), and he reported regional usages from Latium with the detached interest of a linguist (see the whole of III.6). An oddity in his own Latin may be a retention from his provincial childhood (VII.2). It may be conjectured that there were other speakers in the city who were receptive to country ways of speech, at least in the Republic; Cicero implies that Cotta was not unique (III.4.3). Taeldeman (2005: 278) too speaks of the importance of attitudinal factors in determining the relationship between the speech of a city and its rural periphery: 'The social-psychological relation between a town and its rural hinterland can vary enormously, ranging between a very positive and a very negative relation.' For the most part, as Taeldeman (2005: 279) puts it, urban centres will function more strongly as spearheads of regional identity than rural places; but against that it has to be said that city dwellers at Rome sometimes wished to maintain a rural identity, and that may have had some effect on their speech. Taeldeman (2005: 282–3) questions the validity of the 'gravity' model on two grounds. One of these has just been alluded to: 'the spatial diffusion of linguistic phenomena is . . . influenced . . . by . . . the attitudinal relation between the urban centre and its hinterland' (283),[36] and that attitude may be complex and even inconsistent.

There is also more to be said in the Roman context about parachuting or jumping. As this phenomenon has been presented above the taking-off point for the leap is a powerful urban centre which is able to transmit its influence across space because of its prestige. But from the Roman period we know of usages that jumped across space not from Rome or another city but from outlying rural or provincial places to other non-urban areas (see IV.1.3.6 on a name for a wind, XI.4.5 for some medieval and Romance evidence, VIII.3 on the spread of *buda* from Africa). This phenomenon has to be put down to movements of population, either through colonisation or on a smaller scale through the effects of trade. Dialect terms often move about in this way. For example, in non-standard Australian English the second-person pronoun has a plural form *youse*. This is common in Ireland but almost unknown in England, except in Liverpool and Newcastle, where Irish influence has been strong. It is found in Glasgow for the same reason. It was taken to Australia by Irish immigrants.[37]

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[36] On the part played by language attitudes in language variation and change see in general Kristiansen and Jørgensen (2005). They speak (295), for example, of a positive correlation between the spread of a linguistic feature and 'positive evaluation at the subconscious level' of that feature. We may generalise and say that if speakers in, say, a city, have a positive view of the countryside and its ways they may be receptive to features of its speech, a view which seems to hold for some but not all Romans and is at variance with the gravity model.

[37] See e.g. Trudgill (2004: 19).

6 DIALECTS AND COLONISATION

What is the linguistic outcome when substantial numbers of people migrate from an imperial centre with a dominant language to a distant settlement or colony where there are no other speakers of that language? History is full of such movements of population. One thinks of the colonisation of America, Australia and New Zealand from Britain, French colonies in parts of North America, Spanish colonies in South America, and the establishment of German 'language islands' (for the term see below) in parts of Europe. Another case is the occupation of Western Europe (Spain, Sardinia, Gaul, Britain) and Africa by the Romans, mainly during the Republic. Typically such immigrants speak a diversity of dialects of the language that is transported, and these dialects are thrown into close contact for the first time. The linguistic results in the British colonies and the German language islands have been closely studied by linguists, but their researches have passed almost unnoticed by students of the Roman Empire, among whom a now unorthodox view of the linguistic consequences of colonisation (a term I use loosely in the Roman context to refer to the establishment of a presence, of whatever sort, in places outside Italy) has long held sway.

There is a view of the splitting up of Latin into dialects in the provinces that has been influential among Latinists since the late nineteenth century and is still going strong. Yet it is out of line with dialect research as well as with common sense. I refer to the idea that the differences between the Romance languages (and, earlier, between the provincial varieties of Latin) can be traced back to the date of occupation of the different Roman provinces. A region that was occupied early by the Romans, such as Spain, will maintain (we are told) features of the Latin of 200 BC, whereas another, to which the Romans came later, such as Britain, will reflect a later stage of the Latin language. Reference is made to Sicily or Sardinia as preserving the Latin of Plautus, Spain that of Ennius, Africa that of Cato, Gaul that of Caesar and Dacia that of Apuleius (see VI.2). This theory has been particularly influential in Spain but has had its adherents all over Europe. It is the theme of a recent book by Bonfante (1999), and is accepted by Petersmann (1998). It has survived into the twenty-first century, in one of the papers in Cooley (2002). It is a theory with an ideological dimension and is partly connected with notions of national identity. It has suited the Spanish sense of identity to hold that Spanish Latin had an archaic, even 'Oscan', character to it, and the British, though without their own Romance language, have not been immune from feeling that there was a

particular 'correctness' or upper-class quality to the Latin once spoken in Britain.

The idea that Latin could be largely fossilised in a province at the moment of occupation is implausible.[38] The provinces once established were not closed but went on receiving new settlers. Dialects are rarely static but are constantly changing, dying and being replaced. Recent dialect studies have dealt with new dialects as well as old, and I will comment further below on the distinction (7). The study of the regional diversification of Latin will turn out to be not primarily about the preservation of archaic features in remote regions but about younger regional varieties. For example, the distinctively African features of the Albertini tablets, which are dated to the period 493–6, and of late medical texts such as the gynaecological treatise of Mustio, are not hangovers from the second century BC but late innovations (VIII.4.1, 6). In a later chapter (VI.2) I will discuss the question whether there is any concrete evidence that Ibero-Romance has preserved features of archaic Latin, and will also consider alleged Oscan influence on Spanish (and Italian dialects) (VI.4).

The theory referred to above is of the type called by Trudgill (2004: 7–11) 'monogenetic'. Adherents of a monogenetic theory attempt to account for the dialects found in different colonies of imperial powers by seeking out a single source for each dialect. Features of the source dialect may become defunct in the homeland (so the theory often goes) but still live on in the colony. The colonial dialect is thus 'archaic'. For example, a theory was once current among Hispanists that Latin American Spanish was 'in origin basically a form of transported Andalusian Spanish from the Iberian peninsula' (Trudgill 2004: 8). It has also been held in the past that Australian English was brought to the country as a ready formed English dialect.[39] Similar ideas are to be found in discussions of American English. D. H. Fischer, for example, to a considerable extent derives Massachusetts speech from East Anglia (1989: 57–62), that of Virginia from dialects spoken throughout the south and west of England during the seventeenth century (1989: 259), that of Delaware from the dialect of the North Midlands (1989: 470–5) and that of the Appalachian and Ozark mountains, the lower Mississippi Valley, Texas and the Southern Plains from 'Scotch-Irish

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[38] That is not to say that many lexemes could not have arrived in the different provinces early in the Romanisation. Schmitt (1974a, b) argues that the southern regions of Gallo-Romance preserve more terms of relatively early Latin than parts further north, and puts this down to the earlier Romanisation of the south. There may be some truth in this, but I will suggest below (V.1 n. 2, VI.2.13) that some of his lexical evidence may be open to other explanations.

[39] See Trudgill (1986: 130), and the discussion that follows to 137.

speech' (1989: 652–5), otherwise referred to (1989: 654) as the northern or Northumbrian English spoken in the lowlands of Scotland, the north of Ireland and in the border counties of England during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Fischer is not an extremist insisting that British varieties were completely fossilised early on in America, but he does place stress on archaic elements that have survived there after being carried from Britain. Caution is needed in such matters, since local pride may induce observers to be over-enthusiastic in uncovering fossils that establish the ancient pedigree of local varieties of speech. Trudgill (2004: 2) by contrast takes a different view of dialectalisation on the east coast of America. He points out that none of the early anglophone settlements on the east coast was settled from a single location in England. Contacts took place between different British dialects, and new mixed dialects emerged which were not precisely the same as any dialect spoken in the homeland. He concludes:

The fact of modern regional variation along the east coast of the USA is thus explained not only in terms of different linguistic changes having taken place in different areas during the last 400 years, but also more crucially by the fact that the initial [dialect] mixtures – and, therefore, the outcomes of these mixtures – were different in the different places from the very beginning.

It is the idea of dialect mixing that is important here. It is now widely held that migration from an imperial centre to a distant colony usually has a quite different effect from the mere transfer of a variety unchanged to the colony. 'Emigration, and especially the founding and settling of new colonies overseas, is one of the possible routes leading to new-dialect formation' (Hinskens, Auer and Kerswill 2005: 35). When a disparate group of settlers is established in a colony 'koineisation' is the usual result, that is the emergence of a koine that is a composite (reflecting convergence) of the dialects of the settlers, and a new dialect in itself. The Australian settlements were made up of speakers of a variety of dialects. Australian English is a recognisably distinct form of English and is new, not a replica of an earlier English dialect. It has social but not regional varieties.[40] It can be seen as a mixed dialect which came into being in the colony itself.[41] The same is true of New Zealand English,[42] and of the dialect of new towns such as Milton Keynes (see Kerswill and Trudgill 2005). Immigrants to New Zealand

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[40] See e.g. Trudgill (2004: 21) on the remarkable geographical uniformity of Australian English.
[41] For a detailed discussion of the mixed character of Australian English and of the various theories about its origins see Trudgill (1986: 129–42).
[42] New Zealand English is now the subject of a detailed study by Trudgill (2004).

arrived from England, Scotland and Ireland roughly in the proportion 50:27:23.[43] There is remarkable early evidence for New Zealand speech in the form of recordings made for the National Broadcasting Corporation of New Zealand between 1946 and 1948, of pioneering reminiscences by about 325 speakers born between 1850 and 1900 who were mostly the offspring of the first European settlers in New Zealand.[44] These have been exploited by Trudgill (2004). None of the speakers sounds like a modern New Zealander; they retain British accents of one sort or another or speak in individualistic ways.[45] The uniform New Zealand speech emerged in a later generation through dialect mixing.[46]

　　Kerswill and Trudgill (2005: 200) argue that koineisation occurs in three stages. First, among adult immigrants (the first generation) of different linguistic backgrounds no more than rudimentary levelling of speech takes place. Second, the speech of the children of the immigrants shows great variation from individual to individual, and 'there is also much greater intra-individual variation than we would normally find in an established community' (Kerswill and Trudgill 2005: 201). It is in the third stage (representing the speech of subsequent generations) that the new dialect appears. The koineisation is the product of mixing (of dialect features), levelling and simplification (Kerswill and Trudgill 2005: 199). The Origins of New Zealand English (ONZE) Project drawn on by Trudgill (2004) suggests, similarly, that it takes two generations for all the speakers in a colonial community to end up speaking as the others do (Trudgill 2004: 28). Trudgill (2004: 27) concludes, after a wide-ranging survey of different cases of colonisation, that 'colonial dialect mixture situations involving adults speaking many different dialects of the same language will eventually and inevitably lead to the production of a new, unitary dialect'. If the dialects of different colonies differ one from another, that is because the dialect mixtures that went into their formation will differ from case to case. That is the point made by Trudgill (2004: 2), quoted above, about American varieties of English. Another factor that has to be taken into account in America, as Trudgill notes in the same place, is that there have been 400 years for further localised internal changes to take place. Other English-language colonies (Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, The Falkland Islands) are much younger and much more uniform in speech. Trudgill (2004: 22) does, however, cite comments by observers in the 1700s to the effect that American English was very 'uniform'. This probably means, he

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43 See Trudgill (2004: 13).　　44 See Trudgill (2004: x).　　45 See Trudgill (2004: xi).
46 There is another recent discussion of the New Zealand case by Hickey (2003).

suggests, that European visitors of the time were already failing to find the great variability of dialects that they were familiar with at home.

Also relevant to the linguistic effects of Roman colonisation are developments in the German language islands mentioned above. The phrase refers to the colonies of German-speaking settlers in Eastern, Central and South Eastern Europe, founded in the late Middle Ages and in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Rosenberg 2005: 221). For a long time the settlers did not mix with local populations. They spoke different German dialects but lacked the German standard language, which existed only among elites. The outcome of this dialect mixing mirrors that which has been observed in similar circumstances in other parts of the world. Rosenberg (2005: 221) states that the 'dialects of these language islands are . . . more or less mixed or levelled dialects'. This fact was observed, he notes, as long ago as 1930. Only a relatively closed group is likely to preserve an old German dialect intact. Rosenberg (2005: 234) notes that the Mennonites in a village in the Altai region, West Siberia, speak Russian with non-Mennonites but their low German dialect among themselves. The German dialect is protected from interference from other German varieties, and 'dialect convergence is not very likely'.[47] By contrast, Rosenberg (2005: 225) says, the 'higher the degree of [dialect] heterogeneity within the linguistic community [of German speakers], the lower the effect of group norms and the faster the linguistic change'.

Rosenberg's remarks (2005: 222–3) about earlier studies of the language islands strike a chord and illustrate a recurrent theme of this book. Traditionally in German dialectology language islands were investigated as relics of the past. Small communities with restricted external communications were sought out, and treated as offering access to linguistic elements that had died out in the main German language area. The aim was to discover archaisms lost at the centre. There were indeed archaic features to be found in some small detached communities (Rosenberg 2005: 222 with n. 3), but a far more prominent feature of language islands as a whole was dialect levelling in different degrees whenever settlers spoke a mixture of dialects (Rosenberg 2005: 223). The interest of dialect islands to traditional seekers after archaisms, as Rosenberg (2005: 222–3) puts it, 'was built on a

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[47] Trudgill (2004: 7) also notes a few small-scale English-speaking colonies the settlement of which was derived from a single location with a single dialect, which was not exposed in the new location to contact with other dialects. For example, 'rural dialects of Newfoundland English (i.e. not that of the dialect of the capital, St John's) are derived more or less directly either from the English southwest or the Irish southeast', and the English of Cape Breton, Nova Scotia, is a 'variety that is more or less identical with the English of the Scottish Highlands'.

myth of purity and homogeneity'. Such dialectologists 'were archivists of linguistic fossils' (2005: 222). It has proved difficult for scholars, not least classicists, to get away from the idea that when a language is transported to a colony it may be fossilised in the state it had achieved at the time of the first settlement.

I would not suggest that there is any clear evidence that such koineisation took place in, say, Roman Spain, but merely that comparative data such as those provided by Trudgill, Rosenberg, and Kerswill and Trudgill, make it more likely that koineisation occurred over the first few generations than that the Latin of the immigrant soldiers and traders was to any extent fossilised there and then (on possible koineisation in Roman Africa see XI.3.4, 3.8). One might expect to find in the Latin of colonies founded early the odd archaism (though the term 'archaism' is problematic: see below, 8 and VI.2.12–13) that had survived later developments (for discussion of this matter see below, VI.2, 4, XI.4.1). Certainly early settlers in the earliest foundations will have brought features of Latin that were later archaic; a case will be seen in the next chapter (II.5) in a graffito from Tarraco, which is the earliest piece of Latin extant from Spain. Nevertheless, archaic survivals are unlikely to be the primary determinant of the character of the Latin (or Romance) of any region. It is also misleading to talk of the 'Latin of Ennius, Plautus or Cato', as if the language at the time of any of the three was a unity. The early regional (and social) mixtures that contributed to the formation of the Latin of Spain, Africa, Gaul and so on must have differed, though unfortunately we do not have precise information about the origins of the Roman/Italian incomers to provincial regions in the early days of occupation,[48] or about their numbers, which may have been low in some places, particularly if one leaves aside soldiers coming and going. There is also the occasional piece of misinformation to contend with, as for example Brunt's remark (1971: 218) that 'in the Ebro valley there is evidence for the presence of men of Osco-Umbrian speech'. The ultimate source for this claim (see n. 4) is Menéndez Pidal, but his views on the matter have now been discredited, as we will see later (VI.4). I conclude that the date of colonisation of the different regions might in theory only have been an influence on dialectalisation in the provinces in the sense that at different times the dialect mix that lay behind the posited koines would have differed.

I stress a major difference, with linguistic consequences, between Roman colonies abroad and those of the British. Varieties of colonial English are relatively young. The language has been in place for a mere 200 years or so

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[48] Some discussion will be found in Chapters XIV (e.g. 214–20) and XXIII of Brunt (1971).

in the southern hemisphere and for only about twice that in America (see above). But later in this book we will look at specimens of provincial Latin written many centuries after the foundation of the provinces to which they belong. For example, the Albertini tablets from Africa are dated to more than 600 years after the Romans occupied Africa. Even more recent provinces, such as those in Gaul, turn up inscriptions (to be used in a later chapter) that were written a good 500 years after the coming of the Romans. In Britain curse tablets, which will also come up later, are dated to the fourth or fifth century, again 300 or 400 years after the occupation. Latin has a very long history in the provinces of the Roman Empire, a history that is still continuing. In the extensive periods between the establishment of various provinces and the composition there of the texts, inscriptions and tablets considered in this book the language had time to develop independently in response to a variety of local influences. It is a mistake to inflate the significance of a factor such as the date of colonisation as a determinant of regional speech. Even koineisation, if it can be allowed to have occurred in the early generations of the history of some provinces, must have faded into insignificance as the centuries passed and new dialects developed.

I am not the first to refer to koineisation in the context of the Latin of the provinces. B. Löfstedt (1961: 210) argued that the uniformity of late Latin writing was not due simply to a generalised literacy but reflected a genuine uniformity of the language in the provinces. He pointed out that uniformity is a feature of languages that have been transported to different territories, citing the cases of koine Greek, described as the 'world language of Hellenism', English in America, Dutch in South Africa, Portuguese in Brazil and Spanish in South America.[49] The argument is not entirely convincing. It is one thing to suggest that koineisation took place in a certain form in a particular province, but another to say that it had the same form in a diversity of provinces of the same empire established at widely different times. American, South African and Australian English, for example, differ perceptibly from one another. Moreover a koine will itself in time develop dialects (see the previous paragraph). We will see below (7 with n. 56) that koine Greek itself had dialects.

7 OLD AND NEW DIALECTS

Dialect features may be remarkably tenacious over time. The BBC *Voices* survey turned up in the early twenty-first century local pronunciations that had been recorded in the same form and same places centuries before,

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[49] See also Väänänen (1983: 489).

usually in literary parodies. For example, Edgar in Shakespeare's *King Lear* is given a West Country accent marked by the voicing of initial *f* and *s* (*volk*, *vortnight*, *zo*, *zwagger'd*) that may still be heard today.[50] Thomas Hardy in *Under the Greenwood Tree* (1872) incorporates the same feature in a piece of Wessex dialogue (*voot* for *foot*), along with the pronominal form *en* for *him* which is also still alive.[51] The *Voices* survey in 2004–5 was able to parallel features of a Midlands dialect used by a Derbyshire miner, in snatches of Midlands speech put into the mouth of the miner Walter Morel by D. H. Lawrence in *Sons and Lovers* in 1913.[52] Similarly aspects of the dialect of the Potteries as transcribed by Arnold Bennett in *Anna of the Five Towns* can still be heard in the same region.[53] Regional features of Latin were also sometimes long-lived. We will see regionalisms that survived into Romance in the same areas in which they are attested in the Latin period a millennium or so earlier (see e.g. IV.1.3.1 on *pullus*, and in general XI.3.5).

There is, however, a popular view that dialects existed mainly in the past, and that, if some old dialect elements have survived today, they are on the verge of extinction and are likely to be heard only from the mouths of the elderly. That is why traditional dialectologists always looked for old people to interview in their quest for regional speech. Wells (1982: 36) describes their activities as follows:

Before Labov, dialectological research in England typically proceeded as follows. The fieldworker would select a village of suitable size, i.e. about 500 inhabitants. There he would seek out old people who were natives of the village, with local-born parents . . . The fieldworker would work through a questionnaire [with the old persons] . . . In a given locality, perhaps some three or four such informants would be interviewed.[54]

But there is now a greater awareness that, whether old dialects really are surviving strongly in some regions[55] or are under threat of dying out, new dialects are constantly being formed and regional diversity is being maintained in different ways. Nor is this a new insight. As Sapir put it long ago (1921: 162), 'old dialects are being continually wiped out only to make way for new ones'. The example he gave, from the history of Greek, is a good one. First, Attic spread at the expense of the other early Greek dialects until the koine emerged. Sapir observes (162):

During the two millennia that separate the Greek of to-day from its classical prototype the Koine gradually split up into a number of dialects. Now Greece is

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[50] See Elmes (2005: 26).   [51] See Elmes (2005: 27–8).   [52] See Elmes (2005: 118–19).
[53] See Elmes (2005: 111).   [54] See also Elmes (2005: xiii).
[55] Elmes (2005: 116–19) stresses particularly the tenacity of the old Midlands dialects today.

as richly diversified in speech as in the time of Homer, though the present local dialects, aside from those of Attica itself, are not the lineal descendants of the old dialects of pre-Alexandrian days.[56]

This example is an interesting one, because the changes noted concern the interaction of regional dialects and a standard language. First the old dialects converged into a standard, and then the standard was regionalised into new regional dialects.

It has already been pointed out (4) that a source of new forms of speech lies in the interaction between a standard variety and regional forms. It may on the one hand be true that a powerful urban centre with a standard variety (e.g. Rome) will impose its influence on the regions and cause a levelling of local forms of speech. But on the other hand it has to be allowed that levelling is only part of the story. There may occur not a wholesale and uniform swamping of the regional dialects but a mixing of the standard and the dialects in different ways.

The classic case in recent times in Britain has been 'Estuary English', which was briefly defined above (2). Estuary English is a modified standard English, showing on the one hand standard grammar but on the other Cockney features of pronunciation.[57] It is not restricted to the inner-city metropolis but is more generally south-eastern, according to the *Voices* survey.[58] Its spread, it may be argued, has been due not merely to contact between Cockney speakers and speakers of standard English but to certain attitudes that have gained currency. With the collapse of the 'Respect Society',[59] Received Pronunciation (RP), traditionally the speech of the Establishment, tends to be not so much respected as ridiculed. On the other hand the cult of 'celebrities', the admiration inspired by successful London entrepreneurs and City workers, and the influence of characters in television programmes set in the East End, are factors that have caused a rise in the status of London speech in the eyes of young persons who might in the past have been straightforward RP speakers. I stress the influence of attitudes (see also above, 5, and n. 34). Auer and Hinskens (2005) have emphasised that linguistic change in a community takes place not merely because speakers of one dialect mix with speakers of another and engage in accommodation, but because speakers attempt to assimilate their speech to that of a group to which they want to belong (see e.g. Auer and Hinskens 2005: 356).

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[56] On the regional diversification of the koine see Horrocks (1997: 60–4).
[57] See Elmes (2005: 48–9, 57).   [58] See e.g. Elmes (2005: 62).
[59] I refer to an earlier society in which anyone in a position of authority was automatically accorded respect, particularly if he spoke with the accent of the Establishment.

Estuary English is unusual, in that it is a variety of English that was once stigmatised which now serves as a model. 'Broad' rural speech, stigmatised by many, was imitated at Rome by L. Cotta, and there are hints in Cicero that he was not alone in this.

Perhaps more common than institutionalised new mixtures of a standard with a regional variety is the ad hoc diluting of the standard with the odd regional usage, or of a regional variety with features taken from the standard. Cotta presumably fell into the first class. Cases of both types come up in the *Voices* survey. On the one hand there was a group of sixth-formers from Bradford-on-Avon in Wiltshire who spoke the standard without much trace of a regional accent but admitted the occasional West Country word.[60] On the other hand there was the group from Bodmin, Cornwall who spoke broad Cornish dialect but could accommodate their speech up to a point to that of outsiders by 'speaking posh', i.e. drawing on the standard (above, 4). It is to be assumed that both groups knew what they were doing, as no doubt did Cotta. Others may not be aware that their speech has a mixture of elements, such as two sisters from Swindon whose accent had a mixture of West Country rural elements and London features.[61] The mixing of a standard with a regional variety may harden into a widely used dialect, but before that stage is reached there may be dynamic, even self-conscious, mixing which might be represented at different points on a continuum ranging at one extreme from the standard to the broad dialect at the other. In the Roman period interaction between the standard and regional forms of language shows up merely in occasional diluting of the standard with dialect terms; the mixing is at the standard end of the continuum. Some examples have been given earlier (see above, 4); another is the insertion of an Hispanic word *paramus* into an epigraphic poem set up by a soldier in Spain (VI.5.2); again, a late Faliscan Latin inscription has a mixture of urban Latin officialese and a few features from early Faliscan (II.18).

I should point out finally that new dialects are not formed only by the mixing of elements from a standard and a regional variety. Different regional dialects may be in contact in various ways, and mixing may occur. This phenomenon is the subject of the second chapter of Trudgill (1986). For example, in southern East Anglia young urban speakers have adopted London (i.e. Cockney, non-RP) features while retaining a number of non-London, East Anglian features.[62] The mixing cannot in this case simply be put down to face-to-face interaction, and may in part be due to the influence of admired Cockney characters in television programmes.[63]

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[60] See Elmes (2005: 40–2).   [61] See Elmes (2005: 37).   [62] See e.g. Trudgill (1986: 52).
[63] For discussion of the matter see Trudgill (1986: 54–5).

8 'SHRINKAGE', ISOLATION AND ARCHAISM

'Isolation' often comes up as an influence on linguistic diversity, but a recent survey of the way in which the concept has been used in dialect studies (Hinskens, Auer and Kerswill 2005: 21–5) stresses the 'disparate' quality of the insights that have been offered in its name.[64] I start with Jones (1988: 314–15), who comments on the conservatism of Sardinian and its 'preservation of many archaic features of Latin which are not found in other Romance languages'. This conservative or archaic character is put down to the early occupation of Sardinia and to 'its early isolation from the rest of the Romance-speaking community'. By contrast Samuels (1972: 90), quoted by Hinskens, Auer and Kerswill (2005: 21), sees isolation as a source of diversity and innovation: 'separation . . . may result in dialects being no longer mutually intelligible', and may cause new languages to come into being. Hinskens, Auer and Kerswill (2005: 23) refer to an unpublished manuscript (by Bolognesi) which even appears to question the truth of the claim that Sardinia preserves many archaic Latin features. I will myself later (VI.2.13) show how evidence has been misrepresented to support the archaism of Sardinian, and will also give some lexical examples of Sardinian innovation (VI.2.12 with n. 144; see also V.1. n. 2 on *sanguisuga*, and the list of usages shared with Italy at XI.3.7, p. 707, most of them innovations). Here I merely introduce the notion of lexical 'shrinkage', which will come up often in later chapters, and can be used to cast doubt on assertions made about the archaism of the Latin or Romance of this or that place. I will explain briefly what I mean by 'shrinkage', and allude to a single example (to be discussed at VI.2.12) that is relevant to the meaning (or misuse) of 'archaism'.

It often happened that a word or usage that was once current in all or many varieties of Latin suffered shrinkage, such that it fell out of use in most places and remained current in just one or two (cf. the factors discussed at XI.4.3). The shrinkage shows up in the passage of Latin to Romance. *Cras* was once the standard Latin term for 'tomorrow', but it lived on only in Sardinian, having receded everywhere else before *mane*, *demane* or **maneana* (see map 17). *Cras* was the old Latin word with this meaning, but it was never in any meaningful sense an archaism in Sardinia. When it reached Sardinia it was current everywhere, and it never fell out

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[64] Hornsby (2006: 127) stresses that a 'nationally peripheral position need not of itself imply isolation'. On the other hand he observes (2006: 126–7) that some of the old languages (as distinct from dialects) of France and the United Kingdom and Ireland 'occupy outlying or border zones'. It seems possible that isolation has different results in different places, and one ought to treat each case as a special case. See further below, XI.4.7.

of use there. It was simply a word in unbroken currency rather than some relic that was already becoming archaic elsewhere when it was established on Sardinia. Could the failure of the new, rival terms to reach Sardinia be put down to the isolation of the island? The answer is no. That could only be maintained if shrinkage constantly left Sardinia with old terms that had been replaced elsewhere. But shrinkage operated haphazardly across the Empire. Places which alone came to possess terms once widely current can be found virtually everywhere. And that is to say nothing of the fact that Sardinia often adopted innovations.

9 'regions', 'areas' of the roman empire

The existence today of standard varieties of the Romance languages with names based on the names of nation states (Italian, French, Spanish etc.) may create false ideas of what is to be expected from the data of the Roman period. Even in modern times Italy, for instance, has not presented a linguistic unity, and there is no reason to think that in antiquity there would have been an 'Italian' variety of Latin, as distinct from a 'French' or 'Spanish' (see further XI.2, 5.2). In rural, pre-industrial societies variations may be perceptible from village to village and even within villages. Even in the relatively small area of Latium there are bound to have been local variations in the early period, and we will see some evidence for this. In the pre-Roman period Italy was the home of numerous languages, never mind dialects. As Latin became dominant outside the region that was originally Latin-speaking localised forms of the language would have been heard at least in the short term in these non-Latin areas, showing input from the earlier vernacular languages (see XI.3.1). Even in Gaul, a region that was occupied fairly late, it would be wrong to imagine that there was a single local variety which might justifiably be named 'Gallic Latin' or the like. The records from the pottery of La Graufesenque in southern Gaul have thrown up evidence for a small community of bilingual potters whose Latin shows the influence of Celtic (see V.2; also XI.3.6.1). I will be dividing the material dealt with in this book into chapters on Italy, Gaul, Spain etc., but that is merely for convenience, and should not be taken to mean that I subscribe to a view that linguistically the Roman Empire was like a proto-modern Europe, containing regional forms of Latin spoken in the major provinces that might be labelled 'Gallic', 'Spanish' and so on. I prefer to see regional variation as showing up on a small scale from community to community, at least across areas with long-established Latin-speaking populations. These varieties would not have been static, but in the manner of regional forms of

speech investigated in recent times would have been constantly converging and also diverging. We can only hope to catch the odd glimpse of such diversity, not to classify it in strict geographical and chronological terms. Even to speak of variation from community to community is to oversimplify. The existence in many of the provinces of educated classes living in the cities and looking to Rome for their linguistic model complicates the picture. For a description of the different types of linguistic 'areas' in the Roman world see XI.3.6–8.

10 RECAPITULATION: THEMES APPLICABLE TO ROME THAT HAVE COME UP SO FAR

I here highlight some of the most significant themes of this chapter in relation to the Roman world.

Given the dominant position of Rome throughout much of the period covered by this book and the widely expressed admiration for Roman Latin (see IV.1.2, XI.3.2), we should have no expectation that regional forms bearing geographical names will emerge from the sources. Non-standard forms were stigmatised, and stigmatised varieties often do not attract names. I will return to naming in the final chapter (XI.2).

An expected consequence of the power of Rome would be a levelling of speech outwards from Rome in Latium and beyond (XI.2).

While contagious diffusion of linguistic features from Rome into adjacent parts probably took place, parachuting is also likely to be in evidence, caused by admiration for Rome in distant urban centres and by movements of people over long distances, through trade or colonisation (see XI.4.3).

A standardised variety of Latin is all-pervasive in the written sources. Metalinguistic evidence may allow us to get at regional dialects in the strict sense, but we should not expect to find a literary text written in dialect, at least after the time when the standardising influence of grammarians began to be felt. What we might hope to find are signs of the regionalising of the standard. Some subliterary Latin written on materials other than stone takes us closer to speech, including regional speech, but even the scribes responsible for such texts had had some training in literacy, and had acquired at least a rudimentary notion of the standard.

Latin was carried from Rome to numerous distant provinces. Even in those in which it was eventually replaced, such as Africa and Britain, it had a long life, exposed to many influences. We should not expect archaisms preserved from the first colonisation of any place to be the decisive determinant of the Latin of that place (XI.4.1). That said, regionalisms often

had a very long life (XI.3.5), and innovation (XI.4.2) is unlikely to be the only source of regional peculiarities.

The spread of Latin from Rome was the consequence of imperialism. The Romans eventually controlled Italy, taking their language with them throughout the peninsula, and also large parts of Europe, Asia and the Mediterranean. There is a similarity to more recent empires that have imposed their language over a wide area. If the regional diversity of Latin is a reality, that diversity was largely due to the spread of the language over a vast area and its exposure to new influences. The factors contributing to the regional diversification of Latin will occupy a considerable part of this book (see the summary at XI.4). But at the outset it may be worthwhile to mention a recent attempt to explain why varieties of colonial (particularly American) English differ from those of Britain itself. There are such obvious parallels between the empire building of the British and of the Romans that one cannot but learn from the detailed studies of colonial English undertaken in recent times. I would not wish to suggest that the linguistic parallels are exact (on this point see above, 6, pp. 26–7), but it will be useful to keep in mind the influences that have been identified, if only to distinguish them later from the influences acting on Latin.

Trudgill (2004: 1–3) lists six factors causing colonial forms of English to differ from British English. I set out five of these (one is not relevant to the Roman world) in general form, instead of relating them exclusively to the history of English abroad:

(1) A provincial variety has to adapt to new topographical and biological features unknown in the homeland.

(2) After the establishment of colonies linguistic changes may take place in the homeland which do not take place in the colonies.

(3) Linguistic changes may take place in the colonies (or some of them) which do not take place in the homeland.

(4) Provincial varieties may come into contact with vernacular languages. Language contact is an influential factor in dialectalisation. There are, for example, many Welsh words in Welsh English.[65] In the Roman provinces Latin speakers were in contact with (e.g.) Celtic, Punic and forms of Germanic. Regional forms of Latin are often marked as such

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[65] See e.g. Elmes (2005: 86–7, 91, 103–5).

by the intrusion of words from a local language. If a contributing language is of low status (as were the vernacular languages of the Roman Empire), the borrowings taken over from it may never move beyond the area in which they entered the recipient language. Whereas Greek words coming into Latin were often literary terms and therefore mobile, borrowings from vernacular languages were not. A cluster of vernacular borrowings in a Latin text may point to the place of composition.

(5) Finally, there is dialect-, as distinct from language-, contact. Speakers of different dialects of the imperial language may be thrown together in the colonies, as we saw above (6).

12 FINAL QUESTIONS

I list finally some of the questions that will have to be addressed in this book:

(1) Is there satisfactory evidence for the regional diversification of Latin? If so, what patterns, regional or chronological, can be discerned?

(2) What factors might have contributed to regional variation?

(3) Can texts ever be assigned a place of composition on linguistic evidence alone?

(4) Is there any evidence from the Roman period that is relevant to the formation of the Romance languages?

(5) What attitudes to regional varieties can be identified? Did these influence the language in any way?

13 PLAN AND SOME LIMITATIONS

Inscriptional evidence is dealt with in the second and second last chapters. In the second I consider the republican inscriptions and in X the imperial. Problems of methodology are addressed in both. In Chapters III and IV I discuss ancient comments on regional diversity, treating the material as far as possible chronologically. There follow chapters on Gaul, Spain, Italy, Africa and Britain, in which an attempt is made to identify in texts regional elements that are not flagged as such. General issues come up throughout and are usually discussed at the ends of chapters. A concluding chapter summarises findings and the most important themes of the book.

It will become clear that I do not find inscriptions, particularly of the Empire, satisfactory as evidence for the regional diversity of the language (see above, 1). Partly for that reason I have excluded the eastern Empire, for the Latin of which one is largely dependent on inscriptions (see also 1).

Other difficulties have to be faced in the east. The Romans used mainly Greek there. Established Latin-speaking communities in which the language had time to take root and develop over several generations are difficult to find. No Romance languages emerged from which the Latin data might be checked. Inscriptions were often set up not by members of a local population but by soldiers and administrators from other parts of the Empire who were merely visiting. There are regionally restricted usages (Greek loan-words) found in Latin papyri and ostraca from Egypt,[66] but these are 'regionalisms' in a very limited sense. They are words picked up from local Greek by outsiders rather than dialect terms current among an established Latin population.[67] I have concentrated on areas where Latin was a long-standing presence, where Romance languages developed, and from where we have substantial literary corpora as well as inscriptions.

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[66] See Adams (2003a: 443–7).   [67] See Adams (2003a: 447).

The Republic: inscriptions

I INTRODUCTION

It has been said that as many as forty languages or language varieties have been identified in Italy of the period before Rome spread its power over the whole peninsula.[1] Problems of definition and identification are considerable, but the linguistic diversity of republican Italy was on any account marked. Latin, spoken originally in the small area of Latium Vetus, which contained Rome, was just one of numerous languages.[2] The first traces of habitation at the site of Rome date from the end of the Bronze Age (*c.* 1000 BC), and these communities 'were similar to other hilltop settlements that have been identified throughout Latium Vetus, whose cemeteries provide evidence of a distinct form of material culture known as the *cultura laziale*' (T. J. Cornell, *OCD*[3], 1322).[3] The people of Latium Vetus are generally known as the Latini, who from 'very early times . . . formed a unified and self-conscious ethnic group with a common name (the *nomen Latinum*), a common sentiment, and a common language' (Cornell, *OCD*[3], 820). The Latin that they spoke begins to turn up in fragmentary form around 600 BC,[4] but it is not until the end of the third century BC that literary texts appear. Already in the plays of Plautus, however, there are represented numerous registers which show that, even if writing had had little place in Latin culture hitherto, the language had evolved a considerable variety, with different styles appropriate to different circumstances already well established.[5] In Plautus we find, for example, a mock speech of the type that might have been delivered by a general to his troops before battle

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[1] A survey with bibliography of the early languages of Italy along with the archaeological background may be found in Cornell (1995: 41–4, 48–57). See also for greater linguistic detail Coleman (1986).

[2] A map of early Latium may be found in Cornell (1995: 296).

[3] For more detail about these sites see Cornell (1995: 48).

[4] For collections of early material, see Wachter (1987: 55–100), Meiser (1998: 4–7).

[5] For what follows see Adams (2005b: 73–4).

(*Mil.* 219–27);[6] an extended piece of military narrative (*Amph.* 188–96, 203–47, 250–61) that must have had its stylistic origins in such spoken genres as military reports to the senate and generals' prayers of thanksgiving after battle,[7] as well as in battle descriptions in early tragedy and epic;[8] legal discourse,[9] such as edict style (see *Mil.* 159–65, and particularly the utterances of Ergasilus at *Capt.* 791–823, described by another speaker at 823 as *edictiones aedilicias*);[10] a parody of a general's prayer of thanksgiving (*Persa* 753–7); a parody of the language that might have accompanied a religious dedication (*Mil.* 411–14); *flagitationes* with features of popular rhetoric;[11] and sacral language of various types (e.g. *Cas.* 815–23, from the Roman marriage ceremony).[12] All these passages have stylistic characteristics that testify to the sophistication and variety that the language had achieved over a long period without much help from writing.[13] That there was, for example, a well-established concept of 'archaism' as a stylistic device is easy to see from Ennius,[14] Plautus[15] and Livius Andronicus.[16] There is also, as we will show in the next chapter, a concept of regional diversity in the plays of Plautus.

There is a hazard to be faced by those attempting to find regional variation in early Latin. One must be wary of ascribing to a region or regions usages that belong rather to special registers. I illustrate this point below, 3 and 5.

Conditions were ideal for the development of regional forms of the language in the early period. The history of Latial culture, which seems to have existed for some 800 years before the time of Plautus, was long enough in

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[6] For the assignment of roles in this passage see Fraenkel (1968: 231–4).

[7] On the latter see Fraenkel (1960: 228–31, 428–9); also Laughton (1964: 102).

[8] On similarities between the passage and battle descriptions in Ennius see Fraenkel (1960: 334–5), and particularly Oniga (1985).

[9] See e.g. Karakasis (2003).

[10] See also 811 *basilicas edictiones* and Ergasilus' use of *edico* at 803. See further Fraenkel (1960: 126).

[11] See Fraenkel (1961: especially 48–50), discussing *Most.* 532ff. and *Pseud.* 357ff. Note particularly the refrain (*Most.* 603) *redde faenus, faenus reddite*, with reversal of word order, clearly an old popular feature, as it reappears in the *flagitatio* of Catullus (42.11–12 *moecha putida, redde codicillos, / redde, putida moecha, codicillos*). See Fraenkel (1961: 48, 50).

[12] See further Fraenkel (1960: 343, and the discussion from 342–5).

[13] Some of the high-style features to be found in Plautus may be more Italic than specifically Latin, such as the double dicola at *Amph.* 1062 *strepitus crepitus, sonitus tonitrus*. See Fraenkel (1960: 342), citing as a parallel *Tab. Ig.* VI B 60; cf. Fraenkel (1960: 138 n. 2).

[14] See for example Skutsch's discussion (1985: 61) of Ennius' use of the *-ai* genitive-singular form as a stylistically marked variant for the normal *-ae*.

[15] Plautus, for example, uses *duellum* for *bellum* and *perduellis* for *hostis* only in special contexts. On his use of sigmatic futures (other than the banal *faxo*) in passages of heightened style suggestive of its archaic character, see de Melo (2002: 79–80).

[16] The *-as* genitive singular, which abounds in the fragments, was archaic at the time when Andronicus was writing.

itself to have generated linguistic diversity. In its earliest phases communities seem to have been small villages, and small villages in non-urbanised societies are famously the location of local forms of a language.[17] That at Osteria dell'Osa, for example, has been estimated at only about a hundred persons.[18] These Latial communities were scattered about, and Rome itself probably had separate habitations on several hills.[19] The 'evidence suggests a subsistence economy based on the cultivation of primitive cereals and legumes, supplemented by stock-raising' (Cornell 1995: 54). Historically isolation (on which see I.8, XI.4.7) is a feature of agricultural communities. Contacts beyond the borders of villages 'grew with the demise of the economic role of agriculture' (Hinskens, Auer and Kerswill 2005: 23). There are signs that groups of villages in Latium Vetus gradually began to coalesce, but contact as well as isolation is a force in generating localised linguistic diversity. Hypothetical speakers of 'Latin' in the early period will have had contacts with speakers of different linguistic varieties.

There was another factor conducive to regional diversity in the later centuries of the Republic. It was seen in the last chapter (I.5) that a dominant city may impose features of its dialect on surrounding regions. Rome influenced its neighbours in this way. There is specific evidence of this type from Faliscan (see below, 18).

2 INSCRIPTIONS

I consider in this chapter the most problematic type of evidence with a bearing on early regional variation. The republican inscriptions published in the second edition of *CIL* I have been used as the basis for discussions of regional diversification. Some of the inscriptions come from Rome, others from outside, and they seem to offer the chance of morphological and phonological comparisons between Latin at Rome and that in some regions. Spelling had not been standardised in the early period before grammarians became influential, and there is the possibility that linguistically significant spelling variations may be identified. The non-Roman inscriptions tend to come from areas where Oscan or other Italic languages were spoken (perhaps most notably Marsian), and apparent morphological and orthographic correspondences between features of these Latin texts and of the local Italic language have sometimes been exploited to argue for Italic influence in local forms of Latin. This chapter will be about both the use of inscriptions in the

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[17] See for example Hinskens, Auer and Kerswill (2005: 32) on the old type of Faroese communities of some 150 persons, with linguistic differentiation between villages.
[18] See Cornell (1995: 54).   [19] See Cornell (1995: 54).

republican period as evidence for regional variation, and the possibility that some of that variation, if established, may be a consequence of language contact. I believe, however, that there are deficiencies of methodology in the use that has been made of statistics from *CIL* I² (henceforth referred to in this chapter simply as *CIL*, or by number of inscription alone).

I will aim to establish the following points.

First, it will be suggested that some of the distinctions that have been found between the city and outside areas disappear when the distribution of an 'aberrant' form (that is, an apparent abnormality which is taken to be dialectal) is compared with that of its 'regular' correspondent (that is, the classical form which is taken to be urban not regional). There may be more attestations not only of the aberrant but also of the regular form outside Rome than at Rome itself. If only the attestations of the aberrant form are reported, an impression will be created of its provincial character when in reality the data do not establish a distinction between the usage of Rome and that of the regions at all.

Second, some aberrant forms are not so much non-urban regionalisms as religious archaisms.

Third, establishing that an aberrant form reflects substrate influence may be more difficult than has sometimes been assumed.

Fourth, once dubious claims, based on a misleading use of statistics or on a failure to appreciate the character of a usage, are excluded, there remains some evidence for the regional diversity of Latin within Italy. Falerii Novi stands out as the domicile of some distinctive usages.

I am not suggesting that there was little or no regional variation within republican Italy, but only that the inscriptional evidence is less than satisfactory.[20]

I take first a morphological case to illustrate the false impression that the selective use of statistics may give.

3 THE GENITIVE IN *-us*

In some early inscriptions there is a *-us* genitive-singular form in third-declension words (deriving from the inherited *-os* which survived in Greek and Faliscan,[21] but not Oscan or Umbrian), as for example in names such as *Venerus*, *Cererus* and *Salutus*. Coleman (1990: 8), stating that the majority

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[20] Cf. the remarks of Wachter (1987: 477).
[21] See e.g. Joseph and Wallace (1991: 167), Baldi (1999: 172).

of such genitives are in dedications or religious contexts,[22] says that they 'are relatively far more frequent in this register [i.e. the religious] outside Rome than they are inside', and thus implies that the morpheme was a non-city regionalism, if also religious in character. Earlier (same page) he had been more explicit in assigning *-us* to various 'Latin dialects' (Volscian, Hernican and Dalmatian). Others who have seen the ending as dialectal are Campanile (1961: 18, 1993: 17–18) and Petersmann (1973: 88 n. 40). Leumann (see n. 22) takes a different view of the evidence: the form is not dialectal Latin but belongs to priestly language.

Attestations of the ending are set out by Blümel (1972: 63–4).[23] There are twenty-three examples,[24] only one of which is explicitly stated by Blümel to be from Rome (730 *regus*); others are from Capua, Praeneste, Norba, Puteoli, Amiternum, Narona, Anagnia and Casinum. But there are also various other instances to which Blümel does not assign a provenance. Three examples are in the *Lex agraria* of the late second century BC (*CIL* 585 *hominus* twice, *praeuaricationus*), a fourth in the *S. C. de Bacchanalibus* of 186 BC (581 = *ILLRP* 511 *nominus*), a fifth in the *Epistula praetoris ad Tiburtes* of the mid-second century BC (586 = *ILLRP* 512 *Kastorus*)[25] and a sixth in the *Lex Latina tabulae Bantinae* (582 *Castorus*). All these legal texts were found outside Rome (at Urbino, Tiriolo in the territory of the Bruttii, Tibur and Oppido Lucano respectively),[26] but they would originally have been drafted at Rome,[27] where copies of some at least of them would have been kept in the *aerarium*. We cannot know the origins of those who did the copies for display in the provinces,[28] but it would be unsafe to assume that local copyists had imported morphological regionalisms willy nilly into what were authoritative texts.[29] It is also worth remembering that, even if some of these documents were copied in Oscan-speaking areas,[30] Oscan did not have the *-os/-us* ending in nouns of this type (see above),

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[22] Cf. Leumann (1977: 435).   [23] Cf. Joseph and Wallace (1991: 167).

[24] The index to *CIL* I (819) lists twenty examples.

[25] On this text and its date see Courtney (1999: 101).   [26] On the last see Crawford (1996: I, 194).

[27] Similarly Joseph and Wallace (1991: 173), themselves playing down the alleged non-Roman character of the *-us* ending, cite *nominus* from the *S. C. de Bacch.* as 'Roman'. See also Wachter (1987: 452).

[28] On this process note the remark of Lintott (1992: 8): 'other communities might be sent or encouraged to take for themselves copies [of legal texts] to be displayed in their own forum'.

[29] On the activities of the southern Italian copyist of the *S. C. de Bacch.* see Fraenkel ([1932] 1964: II, 469–75).

[30] Fraenkel ([1932] 1964: II, 470) speculates that the copyist of the *S. C. de Bacch.* might have had Oscan or Greek as his mother tongue, without commenting on this form.

and the supposed regionalism could not be from the substrate.[31] It will be seen that seven of the twenty-three examples of *-us* listed by Blümel are either Roman or have Roman connections, and such a statistic cannot justify the conclusion that the ending was a non-urban regionalism, given that a preponderance of early inscriptions comes from outside Rome.[32] The cluster of examples in republican documents is more suggestive of an archaism, legal as well as religious, than of a regional usage.

There is another statistical inadequacy in the discussions of the distribution of *-us*. Neither Coleman nor Blümel provides comparative statistics showing the incidence in different regions of the alternative ending in *-is*. Ten of the twenty-three examples of *-us* are in just four divine names, *Castorus*, *Cererus*, *Salutus* and *Venerus* (the last of which is attested five times), and it is interesting to note the geographical distribution of the *-is* form in these same names. In the index of *CIL* I there are twelve examples of the genitive in *-is* in the names, only two of which are at Rome (973, 974 *Cereris*).[33] It follows that in these names there is no worthwhile contrast to be found between Roman and non-Roman practice. Most of the evidence for the use of the names in the genitive, of whatever form, comes from outside the city. It cannot be determined from evidence of this quality whether

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[31] It is awkward for anyone who would ascribe as many variations as possible in Latin to the influence of local Italic languages that there are inscriptions from regions in which Oscan was spoken that have aberrant forms, by normal Latin standards, which cannot be related to the substrate. The *-e* ending of the dative in the third declension is found at e.g. Capua as well as elsewhere (see 6.3), but it too is not Oscan. See also below, 21, p. 110 on the name *Mesius*. So Wachter from time to time comments on the absence of Oscan features in particular Latin inscriptions from Oscan areas (e.g. 1987: 397, 473).

[32] Wachter (1987: 101–476) goes through the early inscriptions of Italy (those down to the middle of the second century BC) systematically, and some idea of the geographical spread of this material can be obtained by counting the inscriptions he cites by area. For Rome there are nineteen dated inscriptions falling within this period (see 277–80, 301–2) and a further eighteen that probably belong to the period but are not dated (342–7). This corpus of thirty-seven items is far from substantial. For Praeneste Wachter (112–72, 212–47; cf. the contents pages xi, xii for more convenient lists) cites seventy-eight inscriptions, and there are also the numerous *cippi Praenestini* (*CIL* 64–357; cf. Wachter's discussion, 178–211). Finally (see the contents pages xv–xvii) Wachter lists first a small number of particularly early items classified according to whether they are from outside or within Latium, and then later material (third century and first half of the second) from Latium, Latium Adiectum, Campania, Lacus Fucinus and surrounds, the Sabine territory, Samnium and southern Italy, Umbria and the northern part of the east coast, Etruria and places outside Italy. I count about 123 items in this collection. There are thus well over 200 items from outside Rome against the thirty-seven from the city itself. One or two of the Roman inscriptions (such as the *S. C. de Bacch.*) are fairly substantial, but it is clear enough that Rome is less well supplied with evidence than are the regions, if it is permissible to lump all the provincial material together and set it against the Roman.

[33] For *Veneris* see 451 (Tarquinii), 1774, 1775 (both from Sulmo in the territory of the Paeligni), 2495 (Caere), 2540c (Pompeii); for *Castoris*, 1506 (Cora); for *Cereris*, 973, 974 (both Rome), 1774, 1775 (both Sulmo: see above); and for *Salutis*, 450 (Horta), 1626 (Pompeii). See the index to *CIL* I, 809–10.

at a particular period it would have been possible to distinguish city Latin from rural in this respect. I conclude that *-us* can best be described as a religious and legal archaism in the period represented by extant inscriptions.[34] It is a mark of a register, not of a region (for the distinction, see above, 1).

The principle that emerges from this case is as follows. It is not justifiable to list in isolation from *CIL* I aberrant forms (words showing morphemes or spellings that may be taken, rightly or wrongly, as non-standard for Latin: see above, 2)[35] that happen to predominate outside Rome, and to conclude therefrom that the usage of the regions (I use a vague term here; the 'regions' may vary from case to case) differed from that of Rome. It is necessary to know what the usage of Rome was at the same time. If the genitive *-us* were attested only outside Rome, that need only be significant if the alternative form *-is* was preferred at Rome. It is a problem of the early republican inscriptional material that so much of it is found in the Italian regions (see n. 32), and we often cannot determine what Roman practice was at the same period; the assumption tends to be made that, if there is no evidence for Rome, Rome was using the forms that had become standard by the time when the literary language had developed.

There are several other methodological points that may be made. The first is chronological. Many of the 'early' inscriptions are not dated. In attempting to set up dialect differences it is not satisfactory to lump together spellings that might have been perpetrated at very different periods. If for argument's sake in two inscriptions, one of urban, the other of non-urban origin, a particular spelling (say *i*, as in the ending of *plurimi*, < *ploirumei* < *ploirumoi*) in the one contrasts with a different spelling (say *e*, as in *ploirume*) in the other, that divergence need signify nothing about dialect variation if the two forms are in inscriptions separated in time; a non-urban *e*, for instance, may antedate an urban *i*, and it is theoretically possible that if we had a non-urban inscription of exactly the same date as our urban example it too would have shown *i* because a general change had taken place in the language over time.

Second, forms that are innovative reveal more about the state of the language in a place than forms that are traditional. By 'innovative' I mean spellings (usually phonetic) that depart from an expected norm (usually inherited). Thus, for example, while the digraph *ai* (> *ae*) is traditional, *e*, a phonetic spelling once the diphthong had changed into a monophthong, is innovative. Good spellers, and even those without much education who

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[34] See also De Meo (1983: 96–7), accepting its 'dialectal origin' but seeing it as an archaism maintained in juridical texts.

[35] What is non-standard in Rome or elsewhere at one period might once have been standard.

have noticed features of old writing, are capable of using a traditional spelling long after that spelling has ceased to represent a sound of the language. Thus, for example, if the digraph *ai* (or *ae*) is proportionately more common in one place (say, the territory of the Paeligni, Vestini and Marrucini) than another (say, the region of the Fucine lake: see below, 6.5, 11.5), that need not indicate that the diphthongal pronunciation was more persistent in the one place than the other. It may only mean that the traditional spelling was favoured in one place. Even a single example of the monophthongal spelling against numerous of the digraph in a corpus may be enough to hint at what was happening in speech in the region, with spoken developments obscured by the correctness of the local orthography. In the Vindolanda tablets, for example, *e* is hardly ever written for *ae*, but the limited attestations of *e* point to the state of the spoken language.[36] The military scribes are notable for the correctness of their writing, but the odd text from the hand of outsiders to the military establishment gives the game away. Those discussing early inscriptions have a habit of taking traditional spellings at their face value.

Sometimes evidence is presented only selectively, and appears to support a case. I take one example.

4   THE DIGRAPH *oi* AND LONG *u*

Coleman (1990: 7–8), noting that Oscan retained inherited diphthongs, drew attention to spellings such as *loidos* and *moiros* (i.e. showing *oi* for the long *u* which was to develop in standard Latin) in Latin inscriptions from Oscan areas such as Capua (675) and Aeclanum in the territory of the Hirpini Samnites, not far from Beneventum (1722), and concluded that we 'may reasonably infer . . . the conservative influence of the local language'. The second inscription is rather late (towards the middle of the first century BC: see e.g. *ILLRP* 523) and archaising in orthography.[37] It can establish nothing about local pronunciation or the influence of a substrate. The first inscription has the nominative plural *heisce magistreis*, but this is not distinctive of any one region (see further below, VI.4.3, VII.6, p. 445).[38]

Examples of *oi* for long *u* in *CIL* I are listed in the index, 815. There is a separate entry for *coirare* (index, 769),[39] which is common (some forty-eight

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[36] See Adams (1995a: 87–8).
[37] See Wachter (1987: 303 with n. 726).   [38] See Bakkum (1994).
[39] Cf. Paelignian *coisatens* (Vetter 1953, 216). The verb was possibly borrowed from Latin (see Untermann 2000: 407). It is a denominative of a noun **koisa-*. The form *courauerunt*, which is intermediate between OL *coi-* and CL *cu-*, is also attested (1806, 1894).

examples on a quick count), and cannot be pinned down to a particular area; in the republican period it turns up e.g. at Capua, Delos, Rome, Toulouse etc. As for the words cited by Coleman, *moiros* is probably found as well at 1491 (Tibur), and *loid-* is not confined to inscriptions from Oscan regions (see *TLL* VII.2.16ff., citing e.g. a case from the Faliscan cooks' inscription from Falerii Novi, *CIL* 364 = *ILLRP* 192 = *CE* 2).[40] Of the miscellaneous items collected at *CIL* I, 815, it is true that some come from Oscan regions (e.g. 675–7, Capua), but that is far from the whole story. Both *oino* and *ploirume* occur in one of the Scipionic *elogia* (9), from Rome. *Oitile* is in the *Epistula praetoris ad Tiburtes* (586.9). There are various such forms in the *Lex agraria* (585.21, 31), one in the *S. C. de Bacch.* (581.19 *oinuorsei*) and another on a Praenestine *cista* (566). The distribution of the forms is too varied to justify Coleman's conclusion. I refer to the second principle stated in the last section. *oi* is not an innovation, but a traditional spelling. Once it came to be regarded as archaising, it could turn up anywhere, regardless of substrate influence. The various examples cited here from republican legal documents are to be treated as archaising forms suited to the language of law, with no relevance to regional variation.

I add a complication. It is theoretically possible that a spelling or morpheme may be dialectal or determined by a substrate in one inscription, but have a different motivation in another. To take the present material, it may be that in an inscription from Capua the odd spelling in *oi* reflects local Oscan orthographic practices (or a local pronunciation shared with Oscan), whereas in another from, say, Rome, the spelling dates from a time when the digraph had the status of an archaism in Latin writing, its relationship to Oscan orthography coincidental. The evidence available (about, for example, the date of an inscription and the background of its writer) is usually not sufficient to allow one to opt for one determinant against another, and if so sound practice can only be to collect all examples of a form and of its substitutes, and if there is not a distinction between the distribution of the two to reach a negative conclusion about the possibility of regional variation. Sometimes, however, an inscription will have more information than usual to impart about its background, and it may be possible to identify a form that was in use in a region, particularly if that form is innovative. There is nothing special about the inscriptions from Capua and Aeclanum cited by Coleman to give one any confidence in saying that their spelling reflects Oscan influence.

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[40] On the last text see now the discussion of Kruschwitz (2002: 127–38). The inscription is also published with a translation and commentary by Courtney (1995), 2.

I now deal with a case that shows up even more clearly the unsatisfactory methodology that may be found in work on early regional variation in Latin.

5 THE FIRST-DECLENSION DATIVE IN *-a*

The monophthongised dative ending *-a* in the *a*-declension looks at first sight to have a regional character, but the matter turns out not to be straight-forward.[41] I start with the distribution of the form, and, first, with Blümel's account of it.

Attestations of the ending are set out by Blümel (1972: 42–4), who gives a table of geographical distributions at 44.[42] This shows (e.g.) that eighteen examples of the ending (spread over fourteen inscriptions) are found in Latium, but only two in Rome. There are small numbers of examples in a variety of other Italian areas, most notably (numerically) Etruria (four) and Pisaurum, on the Adriatic coast in the ager Gallicus (five). Such figures are meaningless in isolation, but Blümel also provides statistics for the alternative early dative form *-ai*. The table (42) shows that at Rome *-ai* occurs twelve times, in Latium only four.[43] There seems to be a hint that the ending in *-a* was better established in Latium than in the city. This view has been widely accepted. Meiser (1998: 130), for example, remarks (3 c): 'Ausserhalb Roms begegnet häufig *-ā*'. Lazzeroni (1965: 82) speaks of the ending as an innovation irradiating from Latium. He had earlier (81) described it as belonging to the 'Latial tradition, not the urban'. He had in mind a 'wave theory' (for which idea see above, I.5; also IX.4.5). Petersmann (1973: 84) refers to the loss of *i* in the feminine dative singular 'in dialects outside Rome'. Campanile (1961: 15) cites just a few selected examples from outside Rome without much comment but in a paper of which the title (on 'dialectal elements' in Latin) carries its own interpretation. Poccetti (1979: 172, no. 226) edits an inscription containing the form from Lucus Feroniae on the edge of the Faliscan territory under the heading 'Latino dialettale'. Leumann (1977: 419) states that the *-a* ending is frequent outside Rome. Wachter (1987: 258, 471) says that it occurs at Rome, but rarely. Vine (1993: 349) says that the form is 'generally

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[41] On the origin of this dative see the discussion of Wachter (1987: 483–4); also Villar (1986: 52–60, 1987, especially 156). For the conventional view see Leumann (1977: 420).

[42] A table can also be found in Lazzeroni (1965: 80), which may differ slightly, but not in substance, from that of Blümel. I will not attempt a comparison of Lazzeroni's statistics and those of Blümel, as the table of Villar, to which I will shortly come, is more up to date than either of the other two.

[43] See too Lazzeroni (1965: 82), who also provides a table showing the distribution of *-ai*.

thought to be a "rustic" feature', and plays down the significance of the two Roman cases. Although, Vine states, both Roman examples have been cited to suggest that *-a* may have belonged to some Roman sociolects,[44] 'this may well be illegitimate, in the strictest sense of the term "urban Latin"' (349–50 with n. 13). The implication (see n. 13) is that the objects on which the dative appears at Rome may have been brought in from outside.

Blümel's figures for *-a* are not complete. Villar (1986: 45–7) offers a rather longer list, divided into cases of the republican period and those of the imperial. The second category is of no interest here. The ending acquired the status of an archaism (perhaps sooner rather than later: see further below), and its later use certainly was stylistically motivated and had nothing to do with any currency in regional dialects. Villar's republican list has forty-eight items, but a number of these have to be rejected; Villar himself has a long discussion (47–9) of items regarded as uncertain. First, five of the additional examples in Villar's list had been placed in a separate category by Blümel (43) as 'unsicher', and are discussed as such by Villar too. Another three cases (*Coera*, *Nomelia* and *Erucina*) are acknowledged as uncertain by Villar. There remain seven additional cases to go with Blümel's. I list these.

There is a Spanish example (*Menrua*), which turned up after the publication of Blümel's book. It will be discussed below. Two examples from Delos (*CIL* 2233 *Minerua*, 2239 *Maia*) were excluded by Blümel because he restricted himself to Italy. The *negotiatores* on Delos in the last centuries of the Republic were *Italici* and *Romani*,[45] and these cases can be loosely classified as 'Italian'. A cippus found at Tor Tignosa about 8 km inland from Lavinium has the dedication *Lare Aineia d(onom)*, where the first two words should be taken as datives, with the implication that Aeneas was called Lar.[46] *Aeneas* had a nominative form *Aenea* in early Latin (Naevius *Bellum Punicum* 23.1 Strzelecki), and it could be assigned to the *a*-declension. Villar also includes *Menerua* (*ILLRP* 54), from Calabria. Finally, Blümel failed to include two cases of *Tuscolana* from Capua (*CIL* 1581, 1582), both of them epithets of Lucina. None of these additional cases is from Rome.

Villar (1986: 51) lists a further six examples of *-a* datives from Paelignian inscriptions and another from the area of the Marrucini (all from Vetter 1953: 203, 204, 206, 207, 208, 211, 218). The Paeligni, along with the Marsi, Marrucini and Vestini, all located to the east of Rome in the

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[44] See Peruzzi (1990: 182–3, 186).   [45] See e.g. Adams (2003a: Chapter 6).
[46] On this text see Weinstock (1960: 114–18), and especially 116 on its interpretation.

mountainous central region of Italy, are usually classified as speakers of the 'minor' Italic dialects. These dialects 'have generally been classified in terms of their closeness to Oscan or Umbrian' (Penney 1988: 731).[47] For the Paelignian examples of *-a* see also (as well as Vetter above) Zamudio (1986: 151), and the whole discussion of Lazzeroni (1965, with a list at 72). If these cases were accepted according to their usual interpretation they would all be datives of divine names or epithets (*Minerua*, *anaceta*, *anceta*, *ceria*, *cerria*),[48] but there are uncertainties about them. It has been argued that *anaceta* and *cerria* are nominatives, and that the reference is not to the goddess Angitia but to priestesses of the goddess Ceres.[49] To be sure, since the *-a* dative is unknown to Oscan and Umbrian its appearance in Paelignian would be of some interest (as a Latinism?),[50] but these examples should probably be left out of the discussion. Lazzeroni (1965) accepted without question the dative interpretation of the Paelignian forms (see below, n. 50). Since he also believed that the *-a* dative was a rural region- alism originating in Latium, he was able to propose that the Latinisation of the Paeligni proceeded from a non-urban variety of Latin (1965: 83). This would be a manifestation of contagious diffusion or a wave effect (see above, p. 46, with a rural area rather than a city exercising an influence on its neighbours, but both of Lazzeroni's assumptions (that the form is attested in Paelignian, and that it belonged to regional not urban Latin) are questionable (on the second, see the discussion that follows).

Blümel (1972: 42–3) lists thirty-three instances of *-a*,[51] and the total with Villar's examples above (excluding the Paelignian) therefore rises to forty. Of these thirty-eight are from outside Rome, on the face of it a striking proportion. But it is necessary to take into account the types of words in which *-a* and *-ai* are attested. Of Blümel's thirty-three cases of *-a*, thirty-two are in names of (female) deities or in epithets of deities.[52] The one exception, *Flaca = Flaccae* (*CIL* 477), is classified as Roman by Blümel.[53] All seven cases added by Villar are also in names of deities and heroes (the example

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[47] See the discussion, along these lines, of Coleman (1986).

[48] On *anaceta* as supposedly representing the theonym *Angitia*, and *ceria*, supposedly equivalent to *Ceriali*, see Zamudio (1986: 9, 217). For a different interpretation see the text following and the next footnote.

[49] See Poccetti (1981, 1982b, 1985); also Nieto (1988: 341–2) and Zamudio (1986: 9) on the problem of the interpretation of the last four. On *Minerua* see Zamudio (1986: 151). Poccetti (1983) notes a new Paelignian case of a dative in *-ai*.

[50] Lazzeroni's paper (1965) is largely about the Latinisation of Paelignian (see especially 75–8), and he includes among Latinisms the *-a* dative (see e.g. 78–9, 83). See further Meiser (1987: 111, 114).

[51] I reject *matrona* (*CIL* 378), which Blümel includes (see Villar 1986: 49).

[52] On *Mursina* at *CIL* 580 see Wachter (1987: 369) (*Mater* Μυρσίνη) .

[53] On this curious text see Wachter (1987: 348), Vine (1993: 345).

from Tor Tignosa is associated with the cult of the hero Aeneas) or in divine epithets.[54] Of the forty instances of the *-a* dative in the Republic, thirty-nine are in the names of deities or associated terms (and the one exception, *Flaca*, is in fact Roman). If there is one certainty therefore about the *-a* ending it is that it was established in divine names or epithets. It follows that if a convincing 'dialectal' difference were to be established between Rome and other parts of Italy in the Republic, it would have to exist on this evidence in the religious register, with, say, the Italian regions preferring the form *-a* in divine contexts but Rome *-ai*. There is no reason in principle why one should not set up a category of 'religious regionalism', comprising terms or morphemes of the religious register restricted in their geographical distribution to an area and contrasting with equivalent religious terms or morphemes restricted to other areas. But is a distinction observable between the Italian regions and Rome in the use of dative forms in religious language? The answer is no.

There are thirty-two examples of *-ai* listed by Blümel (1972: 41–2). Of the twelve examples at Rome, nine are in personal names or other types of words that are non-religious. The remaining (religious) examples of *-ai* at Rome are *CIL* 34 *Meneruai*, 995 *terrai* and 805 *[Vict]oriai*. Of these the second should be excluded from consideration, as the date of the inscription may be Claudian (see the note in *CIL*; it is not included by Degrassi in his collection [*ILLRP*] of republican inscriptions). The third is in a restoration. There are thus only two republican instances of *-ai* in divine names at Rome (just one of them absolutely certain), compared with one of *-a* (460 *[Me]nerua*). Divine names and epithets of the type that might show up the dative singular are thus overwhelmingly found outside Rome, and the material from Rome itself is so paltry as to justify no conclusions about practice there.

The contrast between Rome and provincial Italy in the use of the feminine dative singular of the first declension thus evaporates. Joseph and Wallace (1991: 165) may be mentioned for their presentation of the Roman situation. They record a Faliscan Latin dative *Menerua* (*CIL* 365: see below, 18) (though playing down later [168–9] its significance), and then state 'cf. Roman Latin *meneruai*'. The implication is that the *-ai* form is the norm for Rome, when we have seen that there is just one instance of *Meneruai* there, along with one of *Menerua*. The infrequency of an aberrational form at Rome is of no significance if the normal form is also rare there. Such a

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[54] It might be added that if the Paelignian forms above were accepted as datives, they too on the usual interpretation would be in divine names and epithets.

pattern would merely show that there is no worthwhile evidence for usage at Rome.

In theory an alternative way of supporting a dialectal distinction between Rome and the rest of Italy would be to find a different distribution of the two dative forms in the two regions in <u>secular</u> terms. We have just seen (in the last paragraph but one) that *-ai* is well attested in such terms at Rome, but a distinction cannot be established between Rome and the regions because Italy throws up no cases of *-a* outside religious contexts. In non-Roman inscriptions, however, there are seven cases of *-ai* listed by Blümel in non-religious words (358, 573, 723, 1888 twice, 1892 twice).

Thus no meaningful comparison can be made between Rome and other parts of Italy in the use of the feminine singular dative. The evidence supports the conclusion that the *-a* ending belonged to the religious register, but that *-ai* was the usual form in non-religious words both at Rome and elsewhere in Italy. *-ai* was in rivalry with *-a* in divine names, with perhaps a chronological distinction between the two forms that I will not attempt to investigate here, but there is no geographical distinction to be elicited from the evidence.

Something must be said about the literary language at Rome. By about 200 BC literary texts composed at Rome start to turn up, such as the comedies of Plautus and the works (in fragmentary state) of Livius Andronicus and Ennius. In these, if manuscripts are to be trusted, the feminine dative form is already *-ae*. Since some of the inscriptions considered above may be dated to about the same time or later, and since these mostly come from outside Rome and sometimes have the dative *-a*, could it not be said that here is evidence establishing a dialectal difference between parts of Italy and the city? This conclusion would not be justified. Literary texts and short religious dedications belong to different genres, and one would not be comparing like with like in contrasting, say, the morphology of Plautus with that of an inscriptional dedication to a deity. The prayers in Cato's *De agricultura* do not inform us about Cato's everyday morphology. Dedications to female deities a few words long are formulaic and fall into a limited number of patterns. They do not display a creative use of everyday language but must often have been copied by the drafter from another specimen that he had seen. It would be unreasonable to argue that those admitting the *-a* dative in dedications in, say, the second century BC would ever have used the morpheme in their ordinary speech. Formulaic language of this type is unsatisfactory as evidence on which to base assertions about dialectal variation. All that we can say with confidence is that the *-a* ending belonged to the religious language. The best we might hope to establish

about regional variation would be that religious language at Rome differed from that, say, in Latium. But such a distinction cannot be sustained, because there is hardly any Roman evidence of the required sort.

There is a little more to be said about the form *-a*. There is now an example in a graffito from Tarraco in Spain, which is the oldest Latin inscription from the Iberian peninsula. The archaeological background and date of the graffito are expounded by Alföldy (1981), who reads the text as *M'. Vibio Menrua*. The first word is taken to be a masculine nominative name without final *-s*, and the divine name to be a dative. The form of the name of Minerva, Alföldy notes (1981: 6), is that which it has in Etruscan. The name *Vibios* was originally current among the Sabelli and Oscans, but can also be found in Etruscan inscriptions. It became widespread in Italy from the third century BC.[55] Alföldy (1981: 4) dates the text to the earliest phase of Roman rule, during the Second Punic War or soon afterwards. The dedicator was obviously not a local but a Roman or Italian (Alföldy 1981: 8). In view of what was said in the previous chapter (I.6) about the possible transportation of archaisms to the provinces that were occupied early, the example has a certain interest. Here is a form that was to fall out of use in Italy. It had been carried to a distant provincial region. If it had taken root in its new home it might have constituted just the sort of evidence which seekers after archaisms in the provinces want to find. But there is no evidence that it did take root; it was a religious usage with the same restricted currency that it had back in Italy. This is, however, a case that highlights, by a contrast, the characteristic that a provincial archaism contributing to a local variety of Latin would have to have. Such a term would reach the province early and then fall out of use back at the centre.

Alföldy's attempts to localise the language of the text are less convincing. He notes (1981: 5) that all twenty-nine epigraphic examples that he has found (a list is given at 11–12) of the dative form are from Italy, particularly central Italy, but does not refer to the distribution of the alternative form. He also stresses (1981: 5) the Italian, particularly central and southern, character of the ending *-io* for *-ios*, and its comparative rarity at Rome. A table (1981: 9–11) lists the eighty-six examples of *-io* in names in the republican inscriptions published in *ILLRP*. Of these only about eleven are from Rome, but enough has been said above to make it obvious that such figures, when no comparison is offered with the figures for the full spelling *-ios*, establish nothing about the incidence of *-io* at Rome in relation to other places. On the omission of final *-s* in the early period, a phenomenon

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[55] See Alföldy (1981: 8).

by no means restricted to non-urban areas, see further below, 18 with n. 319.

I conclude that, as the evidence for -*a* stands at the moment, the form can only be classified as a feature of a register (that of religious dedications), not of a regional dialect; nor is there evidence for regional variation across Italy within this register. It was seen above (1) that already by the time of Plautus Latin was richly supplied with register variations. It is easy to confuse special registers with local dialects.

6   *e* FOR *ei*

The diphthong *ei*, whether original, or deriving either from earlier *oi* in certain environments (in final syllables and after *u* [w] or *l*)[56] or from *ai* in medial and final syllables (as e.g. in the feminine dative/ablative plural),[57] developed to the monophthong long *i* by the time of classical Latin (thus *deico* > *dico*, *ploirumoi* > *ploirumei* > *plurimi*). But there was a variant treatment showing the grapheme *e*, which must have represented a long close *e* [ē] (e.g. *ploirume*, nominative plural, in one of the Scipionic *elogia*, *CIL* 9).[58] This is generally seen as an intermediate stage in the development *ei* > *ī*. It is possible that in some areas this intermediate long close *e* became dialectal, in that some dialects failed to make the final shift to *i*.

Certainly from the late Republic and possibly as early as Plautus there is evidence that long close *e* was considered rustic. Varro refers in one place (*Rust.* 1.2.14) to a rustic pronunciation of *uilla* as *uella*, and in another (*Rust.* 1.48.2) to the pronunciation by *rustici* of *spica* as *speca*. And in Cicero's *De oratore* (3.46) one of the speakers is rebuked for talking in the manner of *messores* by replacing the 'letter' *i* by *e plenissimum* (on these passages see further below, III.4.3, p. 138). The passage of Plautus, however, is more problematic. It is a joke about the regional speech of Truculentus (*Truc.* 262–4):

> AS. comprime sis eiram. TR. eam quidem hercle tu, quae
>   solita's, comprime,
> inpudens, quae per ridiculum rustico suades stuprum.
> AS. eiram dixi: ut excepisti, dempsisti unam litteram.
>
> AS. Just check your anger. TR. You fondle her yourself as
>   you have been accustomed,

[56] See Leumann (1977: 61, 427, 428).   [57] See Leumann (1977: 421) and below, 6.5.
[58] See in general Sturtevant (1940: 114–15), and, for *testimonia*, Müller (2001: 30–5).

you shameless woman, urging a rustic in mockery to
   commit a misdemeanour.
AS. I said *eiram* 'anger' [not 'mistress']. As you took it, you
   removed one letter.

The girl Astaphium orders Truculentus to check his anger, with *eiram*
undoubtedly written in the original text for *iram* (see below). Truculentus
is made to hear the order as a command to fondle his mistress (*eram*). The
girl explains that she said *eiram*, and tells Truculentus that he has 'taken
away' one letter, that is the *i*. This is a remarkable joke because it is based on
the assumption that the audience is literate and will understand the point
of the remark about the omission of the letter.[59] The word *eiram* has to be
visualised in its written form.

   On the face of it (if the joke is to be explained strictly from pronunciation:
see below) Astaphium might seem to have pronounced *ei* as a monoph-
thong, that is as a long close *e*, such that the word could be confused with
eram, which has a short *e*.[60] The difference of vowel length would be imma-
terial, as Latin jokes and puns often require the length of two vowels with
the same graphic form to be disregarded.[61] On this view the Roman pro-
nunciation of *ira* would have shown long close *e* at this period (see below,
6.2).

   But the joke is at Truculentus' expense, who is presented in the play as
rustic in speech, and one might have expected the point to be that only a
character such as he would have been capable of such a misunderstanding.
He is the one who has 'taken away' the letter. The speech of Astaphium is
not at issue. One possibility is that Plautus was suggesting that Truculentus
was the sort of rustic who would have written original *ei* as *e*, and was
capable of hearing the diphthong (or long *i*) as a form of *e* because that
was the way he would have pronounced it himself. Since the one certainty
about the passage is that *iram* must have appeared in the text as *eiram*, the
actor may have pronounced the word with an exaggerated (and perhaps
old-fashioned) diphthong[62] such that both elements were clearly heard by
the audience, but not by Truculentus, who, accustomed to articulating
original *ei* as a long close *e*, was made to pick up only the *e* element. If
the joke is to be interpreted in strictly linguistic terms, it is hard to see
any point to it unless there is an implication that Truculentus would have

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[59] An interesting paper by Slater (2004) on jokes to do with literacy in Plautus misses this passage.
[60] See Wachter (1987: 314 n. 743); also Leumann (1977: 64).
[61] See Adams (1981: 200 n. 3). On Varro's disregard for differences of vowel length when making
   etymological connections between words, see Kent (1958: I, 21 n.).
[62] Cf. Müller (2001: 31 n. 3).

pronounced the word differently from the way it was pronounced by the Roman audience. If he used a variety of *e* it would follow that the audience did not.

But doubts linger over any attempt to explain the joke as based purely on pronunciation. The indecisive speculations of the last paragraph do at least show that any linguistic explanation must be so convoluted that it is difficult to see how an audience might have got the point. The point may be rather more crude, that rustics are so careless with language that they 'take things away' (as in *(ar)rabonem* and *(ci)conea*: see below, 9). On any account the joke throws light on literacy in the early Republic.

The question now arises whether the distribution of the *e*-forms in the inscriptions of *CIL* I has anything to reveal about the regional distribution of the monophthong [ē] in the early period. According to Coleman (1990: 6) the monophthongal spelling *e* for *ei* is 'much more widespread outside Rome'. As evidence for the remark Coleman (1990: 21 n. 20) refers the reader to Blümel (1972) 'for full lists of *-e* forms and their distribution', but Blümel (16) cites only three examples, one from Rome, another from Lacus Fucinus (in the Marsian territory) and a third from the *S. C. de Bacch.* For a fuller collection of cases of *e* for *ei* it is necessary to go to the index of *CIL* I at various places: 749 (s.v. *uicus*), 809–10 (under various gods' names), 814 (the incomplete section on *e* for long *i* or *ei*), 819 (under second-declension nominative, dative and ablative plurals, and the third-declension dative singular). I take various regions in turn.

6.1   *The territory of the Marsi*

There is evidence that such *e*-forms were heard here, particularly around the Lacus Fucinus (located roughly in the centre of Italy: see map 2b), but that is not to say that they would necessarily have been distinctive regionalisms of that area. We need to know as well about the extent of the *e* elsewhere in Italy. In the Marsian territory it seems possible to relate the form of at least one word to the substrate.

I start with one class of spellings from the index to *CIL* I, namely those of the dative forms of the divine name *Iuppiter* (see the index, 819). *Ioue* (*Dioue*) is more common outside Rome, by 5:1 (*CIL* 20; cf. 366, 386, 393, 2101, 2630; for the provenance of the examples listed here, see below), but the significance of this statistic seems to be undermined by the fact that the alternative spelling *Iouei* (*Diouei*) also predominates in a similar proportion outside the city (by 8 or 9:2: 725, 802; cf. 39 Latium, Alban Mount,

364 Falerii Novi,[63] 366 Spoletium, Umbria, 683, 688 both Capua, 1838 Reate, Sabine territory, 2233, 2236 both Delos; 551 may also belong here, but it does not seem to have a provenance). *Ioui* for its part occurs at Rome (990), Ostia (1423), Puteoli (1619), Furfo in the territory of the Vestini (756), and three times in the *Lex Vrsonensis* (594). The figures suggest only that in extant inscriptions Jupiter is more often referred to in the dative ouside Rome than within, and that the various spellings are found in both regions (and I here again use the term 'region' in a loose sense to make a statistical point).

The statistics thus appear not to reveal anything about this variety of *e* as a possible regional variant for *ei*/*i*. But a closer examination of the name is at least suggestive. I will look in greater detail at the distribution of the various forms to see if there might be an underlying regional significance to any of them. My conclusion will be negative, but the facts ought to be stated.

I take first the spellings with the ending -*e*. Two of these are from Umbria (366 Spoletium, 2101 near Ameria). In Umbrian the dative singular in consonant- and *i*-stems was -**e**, -*e*,[64] against Oscan **eí**, as in **Diúveí**.[65] Two further examples are from the region of the Marsi (386 *Iue* Lacus Fucinus, 393 *Ioue* Aschi). There remains only 2630 (*Iue*), from Veii, not far to the north of Rome in the Etruscan territory. Not much is known about Marsian, as the Marsi were Romanised early,[66] but they seem to have spoken a variety of Italic that shared features with both Oscan and Umbrian (see above, 5, p. 48). But as it happens the Marsian dative ending of this name is known. The evidence is in an inscription from Ortucchio in the Marsian territory, originally published as Vetter (1953), 224, but re-read by Letta and D'Amato (1975: 176–83) (cf. Letta 1976: 277–8, Poccetti 1979, 222 and Rix 2002: 66, VM 4). I print the text of Rix:

pe. uip[-?-]-o.po.p-[-?]
ioue.-[-?-i]ouies.pucle̩[s].

Whatever is to be made of the first line (which is irrelevant here), the second line is pure Italic. *Pukl-* is the Italic word for 'son',[67] and the phrase is a rendering of the Greek Διὸς κούροις = 'Dioscuri'.[68] This calque was a standard Italic designation for the Dioscuri. It also occurs in an Italic inscription from the territory of the Paeligni (Vetter 1953, 202 = Rix

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[63] The Faliscan cooks' inscription: see above, n. 40 for bibliography.
[64] See Buck (1904): 124).   [65] See Buck (1904): 124, 44–5).
[66] On the Romanisation of the Marsi see Peruzzi (1961) and the remarks of Marinetti (2000: 72).
[67] See Untermann (2000: 599).   [68] See Vetter (1953: 141), Untermann (2000: 599).

2002: 73, Pg 5 *iouiois.puclois*). The *-es* ending of the dative plural in the second line of the above Marsian inscription also corresponds to that of Umbrian (-**es**), against Oscan -**úís**.[69] But it is *Ioue* that is of importance here: the ending is again of Umbrian type (-**e**).

The interest of *Ioue* lies in the fact that it establishes the Marsian form of the dative of the name,[70] and hints at the significance of the form in the other, purely Latin, inscriptions from the Marsian region cited above.[71] *-e* looks like a morpheme (though its origin probably lies in a phonetic development: see further below, 21, p. 111) that Marsian shared with Umbrian against Oscan, and it would seem justifiable to allow that the local Italic dative of the divine name was sometimes retained in Latin texts of this region. It would not, however, follow from this evidence alone that the Marsi at this date (whatever that might be) regularly used *-e* as the dative of such third-declension nouns in their Latin. *Ioue* might (e.g.) have been an isolated archaism of the religious register.

The regional character of the *-e* ending in this divine name might seem to be further supported by the distribution of the alternative endings (for which see the second paragraph above). With the exception of *-ei* in 366 from Spoletium in Umbria (a text which, as we saw above, also has an instance of the *-e* form), all the examples of *-ei* and *-i* are either from Latin-speaking regions or regions with an Oscan substrate, as distinct from an Umbrian or Marsian. Whatever is to be made of the inconsistency of 366, the *-e* ending in this name seems to have been restricted geographically. However, the extant examples are very few. Nor would it do to consider the spelling of just one name in isolation. There are other divine names that admit of the same dative forms, and these must also be brought into the discussion (see further below, 6.4). Moreover of the various forms, that in *-ei* is an old spelling, which by definition tells us nothing about pronunciation: an archaising speller might have used it to represent a long close *e* of speech or a long *i*. It would be rash on the strength of such inadequate attestations to read too much into the distribution of *Ioue*. I pursue the matter further.

Whether the ending of *Ioue* is taken to be morphologically or phonetically determined (see below, 21, p. 111), this name in the dative is not the only evidence for the monophthong *e* in the territory of the Marsi. An interesting item is the form *uecus* for *uicus* (originally with *oi*, > *ei*).[72] This is found at *CIL* 391 = *ILLRP* 267 from Castelluccio di Lecce near

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[69] See Buck (1904: 116, 118).
[70] Perhaps one should say that it establishes one form of the Marsian dative. It cannot be ruled out that the spelling of the dative of the name in the local Italic was variable.
[71] See Letta (1972: 112 with n. 27), Vine (1993: 115 with n. 84).
[72] For examples see *CIL* index, 789; also Wachter (1987: 313 n. 740), Leumann (1977: 61).

the Lacus Fucinus.[73] Another example (*CIL* 388 = *ILLRP* 286) is from near the town of Trasacco, again in the region of the Lacus Fucinus. Two examples are found on a bronze tablet also from the Lacus Fucinus (*ILLRP* 303).[74] All these instances seem to fit in with the evidence for *Ioue* from the same region. But *CIL* 416 = *ILLRP* 1217 is from Cales in Campania, a Latin colony. Though the area was originally Oscan, the inscriptions on Cales ware do not display Oscan influence,[75] and Marsian influence is also out of the question. This example suggests that the monophthongisation in this word had occurred in at least one other variety of Latin. *CIL* 1806, finally, is from the region of the Vestini, but may be quite late;[76] the Latin of the Vestini has been said to have preserved diphthongs better than that of the Marsi around the Lacus Fucinus (see above, 3, p. 44; also 6.5, 11.5), but in this case the same monophthongised form occurs in both places. The form *uicus* is listed eight times by the index of *CIL* I, never from the territory of the Marsi (585.5 *Lex agraria*, 627 [twice] Trebula Mutuesca in the Sabine territory, 721 Rome, 777 Pompeii, 1002 Rome, 2285, 2286 Nauportus; some of these inscriptions are fairly late); I disregard *ueicus*, in which the digraph could represent long close *e* or long *i*.[77]

Note too the following spellings, all from the Marsian territory: *CIL* 385 *patre* (dative), from Alba Fucens to the north-west of the Lacus Fucinus,[78] 390 and 391 *Valetudne* (dative), from Castelluccio di Lecce,[79] 392 *Erine patre* (dative),[80] from Ortona, east of the Lacus Fucinus,[81] and Poccetti (1979), 218 *Aplone* (Trasacco near the Lacus Fucinus).[82]

There is good evidence then that in the area of the Marsi in the early Republic the long close *e* originating from the *ei* diphthong was well established. That does not, however, establish that the *e* was peculiar to the region. I now look at evidence from other parts of Italy, and at 6.4 below return to divine names and present some conclusions.

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[73] See also Wachter (1987: 409).

[74] On this document, which seems to present two versions of the same text on the two sides of a bronze tablet, see Wachter (1987: 407–8) and Marinetti (2000: 70–3). Marinetti (whose earlier discussion of the tablet I have not seen) offered some restorations to the text and argued that side A is more 'urban' in language, side B more 'local'. *Veci* appears in both versions.

[75] See Wachter (1987: 400).   [76] Second/first century: see Wachter (1987: 313 n. 740).

[77] The index to *CIL* I lists six instances of the spelling *ueicus*, which tend to be in archaising inscriptions. Two examples are in 756 (9, 15), an inscription from Furfo (territory of the Vestini) of 58 BC. The inscription is archaising in orthography (there are several cases of *ei*-spellings); for this inscription see also below, 10.1. There are two examples in 809, another formal inscription (from Rome) in which the spelling *ei* occurs repeatedly. The remaining examples are at 1828 (Aequiculi) and 2514 (from near Rome, but late republican). The form belonged to artificial archaising orthography.

[78] See Wachter (1987: 405–6).   [79] See Wachter (1987: 409).

[80] Note *ILLRP* 283 n. 'Erinis Pater aliunde ignotus'.

[81] See Wachter (1987: 407) on *Erine*.   [82] See Wachter (1987: 402; also 397).

6.2   Rome

On one interpretation the joke in Plautus discussed above (6) could be taken to indicate that a word spelt with *ei* might have been pronounced with a long close *e* on the Roman stage, but it was suggested that the point of the joke remains obscure. Nevertheless the *e*-spelling is well represented at Rome.[83] The nominative plural *ploirume* is in one of the Scipionic *elogia* (*CIL* 9), as was noted above (6). *Faleries* 'at Falerii' (from original *Faleriois*, > *Falerieis*) occurs in a recently published Roman inscription on a bronze breastplate, dated to 241 (the date of the destruction of Falerii).[84] One of the *ollae* from the graveyard of the *Vinea S. Caesarii* generally dated to the second century BC[85] has the abbreviation *ed* for *eidus* 'Ides' (*CIL* 1048). *Fruge* is at *CIL* 1349 (*ILLRP* 943). *Compromesise* is in the *S. C. de Bacch.*[86] and *deuas* is at *CIL* 975 (*ILLRP* 69). In the Roman legal language *iure* (dative) is attested in certain formulae.[87] See further *CIL* 30 (*ILLRP* 123) and 981 (*ILLRP* 126) *Hercole*, 31 (*ILLRP* 157) *Honore*, 361 (*ILLRP* 161) *Iunone* (?), 2675c (*ILLRP* 45) *esdem* (nominative plural),[88] 802 (*ILLRP* 187) *uictore*.

6.3   Elsewhere

(i)   Pisaurum (ager Gallicus)[89]

    CIL 370, 378 *Iunone*
    373 *Salute*
    379 *Matre*
    381 *Lebro*

(ii)   Picenum (east of the Apennines)[90]

    384 *Apolene*[91]
    1928 *Apoline*[92]

(iii) Latium

    61 *Hercole* (Praeneste)
    62 *Hercole* (Praeneste)
    47 *Marte*, twice (Tibur)[93]

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[83] See the remarks of Wachter (1987: 314).
[84] For the full text see Meiser (1998: 5); cf. Wachter (1987: 313 with n. 739).
[85] See e.g. Degrassi *ILLRP* II, p. 221.   [86] See however Courtney (1999: 97) on the text.
[87] See Ernout (1909a: 56), *TLL* VII.2.I.679.2ff.   [88] See Wachter (1987: 344).
[89] See Wachter (1987: 433).   [90] The location of the Italic inscriptions known as 'South Picene'.
[91] See Wachter (1987: 438).   [92] See Wachter (1987: 437).   [93] See Wachter (1987: 376–7).

49 *Maurte* (Tusculum)[94]
359 *Iunone* (Norba)
1427 *[Herc]ole* (Lanuvium)
1429 *Hercole* (Lanuvium)
1430 *Iunone* (Lanuvium)
1440 *Venere* (Tusculum)
1458 *Hercule* (Praeneste)
2659 *[H]ercle* (Lacus Albanus)
JRS 50 (1960), 114–18 *Lare* (Lavinium)[95]

(iv)   Faliscan cooks' inscription, Falerii Novi

364 *Falesce* (nominative plural)

(v)   Sardinia

2226 *merente*

(vi)   Sabine territory

1861 *que* (Amiternum) (but reading uncertain)[96]
2675a *Hercole* (Cantalupo in Sabina)

(vii) Campania

399 *Apolone* (Cales)[97]
1581 *Iunone* (Capua)[98]
1582 *[Herc?]ole* (Capua)

(viii) Etruria

1993 *Iuno]ne* (Visentium)
2628 *Apoline* (Veii)
2630 *Iue* (Veii)[99]

(ix)   Sicily

2219 *Apoline*[100]
2222 *Vene]re*

(x)   Delos

2233 *Apolline*

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[94] See Wachter (1987: 377–8).   [95] For this text see above, 5, p. 47.
[96] See Wachter (1987: 416).   [97] See Wachter (1987: 397).   [98] See Wachter (1987: 401).
[99] For the last two texts see Wachter (1987: 439).   [100] See Wachter (1987: 398).

6.4   Conclusions

The evidence above is not complete (second-declension nominative plurals in *-es* deriving from *-eis* might, for example, be taken into account),[101] but it is revealing in some ways. It may be right to say that *e < ei* looks better attested outside Rome than within, but it would not be right to maintain that this distribution is relevant to the dialectalisation of Latin. In the early Republic there is more inscriptional material extant from outside the city than from within, and any phenomenon is bound to be better attested in the Italian regions (see n. 32 above).[102] This point was illustrated above (6.1, second paragraph) by the distribution of the dative forms of the name of Jupiter. It is not only *Ioue* that occurs more often in the provinces than at Rome; dative forms of the name as a whole turn up more frequently outside the city. Dative forms of the name *Hercules* could be used to make the same point. The *e*-form is indeed more common (by 8:2) outside the city, but similarly both the *ei*-form and that in *-i* are more numerous outside than within (by 13:2 and 2:1 respectively).

It is worth dwelling on the dative of *Hercules* to highlight the inadequacy of the statistics. The dative forms turn up a more confused picture than that adumbrated above for *Ioue* and variants (6.1, pp. 55–6). The *-e* spellings cannot be related to a substrate; almost all are from Rome and Latium (see 30 and 981 for Rome; for the six examples from Latium see above, 6.3 [iii]; for two further examples elsewhere see [vi], [vii]). The *-ei* spellings for their part are scattered all over the place, including again Rome and Latium (607, 985 Rome, 1827 Aequiculi, 1482 Tibur, 1531 Sora, 1503 Signia, 1697, 1698 Tarentum, 2220 Agrigentum, 2486 Superaequum, territory of Paeligni [see below, 10.5 for this text], 687, 1579 Capua, 1617 Puteoli, 1815 Alba Fucens, 2504 Delos). The form with *-i* is at Rome (982), Lanuvium (1428) and possibly in the territory of the Vestini (1805, text doubtful). No deductions can be made from these distributions about regional variations. This is a salutary case, and it might be interpreted as undermining the attempt made above to find a more subtle significance to the distribution of *Ioue* and its alternatives (pp. 55–6).

I now consider the distribution of the various dative forms of three other divine names in the material collected in 6.3.

There are seven instances of the dative *Iunone* listed in the index to *CIL* I (809), all of them cited above. Only one is from Rome. But the distribution again turns out not to be significant. There are four examples

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of the old diphthong spelling *Iunonei* listed, none from Rome (360 Norba, 362 Pomptine marshes, 364 Falerii Novi, 396 Beneventum, Campania). Here is the familiar pattern: religious dedications in the early period are mainly from outside Rome, and it is not possible to set up a distinction between Roman practice and that outside. Nor do the six examples of *Iunoni* cited in the index help in establishing dialectal differences. Three are in the *Lex Vrsonensis* (594), which is so late as to be irrelevant. An example from Rome (987) is of uncertain date, and is not included in *ILLRP*. The one example that is in *ILLRP* (*CIL* 1573 = *ILLRP* 168) is from Teanum Sidicinum in Campania. Finally, the interpretation of 1816 (territory of the Aequi) is uncertain.

Six cases are cited above (6.3) of the name of Apollo spelt with *-e* in the dative, none of them from Rome. But both instances of the ending *-ei* are also from outside Rome (693 Delphi, 1991 Falerii). Similarly the only two instances of *Apollini* listed are from Delos (718, 2232; for the text of the latter see *ILLRP* 750a: the ending of *Apollini* can be read but the rest is a restoration from the Greek version).

There are just three certain cases of the dative *Marte* listed in the index to *CIL* (810), none from Rome (see 6.3). The CL form *Marti* does not appear in the index. Three instances of the form *Martei* (*Mauortei*) are listed, two from Rome (609 = *ILLRP* 218, 991 = *ILLRP* 217) and one from outside (1720 = *ILLRP* 223, Prata di Principato). Attestations are so few that generalisations cannot be based on the distribution of the forms.

The evidence from the region of the Marsi seems to be the most telling. *e* for *ei* is well represented there, not only in the dative ending but also within the word. In the dative the *e*-ending of Marsian Latin matches that of the local Italic, and the same could be argued for *e*-spellings elsewhere in the word, because in Umbrian (with which Marsian shared features) the original *ei* diphthong regularly appears as **e**, *e*.[103] But these correspondences between the Latin of the Marsi and the Italic substrate may be coincidental, because *e*-spellings are widely spread in Latin from other areas. Can the datives *Iue* and *Ioue* legitimately be called 'Marsian' when comparable datives such as *Hercole* are scattered about outside the territory of the Marsi, including Rome and Latium? It may be tempting to fall back on the theoretical possibility raised above at 4, namely that the same form may have different motivations in different places, but it would be an extreme position to argue that the substrate determined the *-e* datives around the Lacus Fucinus but that the same forms in Rome, Latium and elsewhere reflect internal

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[103] See Buck (1904: 44–5).

developments within Latin itself. Moreover while we may know (or think we know, on the basis of two examples) how the Marsi in Latin wrote the dative of *Iuppiter*, we do not know the full geographical extent of that form, or its determinants in different regions, or the exact chronology of long close *e*. Many of the examples of such spellings cited above are, however, early (i.e. found in the inscriptions dated to before 150 by Wachter: see n. 32), and that might be taken to suggest that *e*-spellings in the early period reflect the date, not the region, of the inscriptions in which they occur. The language as a whole in all its regional forms may have gone through a stage in which a transitional *e* [ẹ̄] was in use before the further shift to long *i* took place. Later the long close *e* may have lingered on only in certain dialects: by the time of Varro *e*-forms seem to have been accorded a rustic flavour at Rome (6). The evidence available does not allow the setting up of dialectal variations in this matter in the earlier period.

6.5   e *for* ei *again*

The problem of interpretation raised by such *e*-spellings in Marsian inscriptions comes up again in another text. In the Marsian inscription quoted at 6.1 there seems to be an Umbrian-style dative plural in a second-declension adjective (*iouies*). I consider now a similar (ablative) plural (in a first-declension adjective), also from the Marsian territory. *CIL* 5 (= Vetter 1953, 228a, *ILLRP* 7; also Wachter 1987: 370) is an inscription from Lacus Fucinus, the so-called Caso Cantovios bronze. It appears to be in Latin or in a language close to Latin[104] on the conventional interpretation. Vetter (1953: 161) includes it in a section 'Lateinische Inschriften mit dialektischem Einschlag. Aus dem Gebiet der Marser', and Rix (2002) does not print it in his *Sabellische Texte*. It probably dates from early in the Latinisation of the Marsi. The text of Wachter (without his capitalisations) is as follows:

caso.cantouio
s.aprufclano.cei
p.apur()fine.e
salico.menur
bid.casontoni/a[105]
socieque.doiuo
m.atoierọ[.]ạctia
pro.l[---]nibus maṛ
tses.

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[104] See Wachter (1987: 371, c).
[105] The final *-a* is written between lines 5 and 6 (see Degrassi *ILLRP* ad loc.).

There are discussions of the text by Peruzzi (1961), Wachter (1987: 370–2) and del Tutto Palma (1997). Many problems of interpretation and reading remain. *Martses*, the item of interest, is taken as a feminine adjective in the ablative (= CL *Martiis*), dependent on *pro*, agreeing with the conjectural *l[ecio]nibus*.

A question arises about the ending of *Martses*. The original dative–ablative feminine plural ending was *-ais*.[106] The diphthong *ai* in final syllable in Latin developed to *ei*,[107] and then to long *i*; *-ei(s)* dative–ablative forms, prior to the monophthongisation to *-i(s)*, are well attested in Latin.[108] Thus *-e(s)* might represent a monophthongisation of the intermediate stage *-ei(s)*, showing the long close *e* dealt with earlier. As it happens the *-es* ending is paralleled in Umbrian, where in the first declension **-es** corresponds to the **-aís** of Oscan.[109] Could this then be the Umbrian (i.e. Marsian) morpheme retained after Latinisation of the area, a possibility that was raised above in the case of *Ioue*? Should one explain the form phonetically (as a monophthongisation that had taken place in Latin) or morphologically (as the adoption of an Italic morpheme into Latin at a time when the area was not fully Latinised)?

It would not be convincing to adopt the second explanation. It is possible that *socie* in the same document is a nominative plural (i.e. *socioi > sociei > socie*),[110] and if that were so the ending would not correspond to either the Oscan or Umbrian nominative plural endings of the second declension, and could only be explained phonetically; once one (Latin) monophthongisation to *-e* [ē] were allowed it would be implausible to explain the other *e* differently. Even if *socie* is excluded from consideration because of its ambiguity, it remains true that the *-es* ending is found elsewhere in Latin where Umbrian-type morphological interference would be out of the question. Note the inscription at Capua in the name of a Roman consul, *CIL* 635 = *ILLRP* 332 *Ser. Foluius Q. f. Flaccus cos. muru(m) locauit de manubies* ('Ser. Fulvius Flaccus, son of Quintus, consul, set up the wall from his share of the booty'); cf. *CIL* 1861 (*CE* 361, *ILLRP* 804, *ILS* 5221) *plouruma que[i?] fecit populo soueis gaudia nuges* ('who provided the people with many delights by his trifles'; Amiternum in the Sabine territory, not much later than the time of Ennius, according to Bücheler on *CE* 361).[111]

The ablative form *Martses* is not a straightforward Latin regionalism. It might be another matter if the word could be unequivocally interpreted as

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[106] See e.g. Leumann (1977: 421).
[107] On *ai* in final syllables in Latin see e.g. Buck (1933: 88).   [108] See Leumann (1977: 421).
[109] See e.g. Buck (1904: 113), Poultney (1959: 103), Leumann (1977: 421).
[110] This is only a possibility; an alternative interpretation would be that it is a feminine dative singular (see Wachter 1987: 370).
[111] See also Wachter (1987: 416–17).

containing an established Marsian morpheme (i.e. an ending that was a regular part of the local inflectional system), as distinct from an ad hoc phonetic spelling. Phonetically (as distinct from morphologically) determined *e*-spellings deriving from *ei* are found in Latin of many regions, as we have seen. Wachter (1987: 411) draws attention to the marked monophthongisation to be found in inscriptions from the area of the Fucine lake, and contrasts this with the relative absence of the phenomenon in inscriptions from the regions of the Paeligni, Vestini and Marrucini (see also 11.5), and in that sense the form might seem to mark a dialect distinction. But the problem with this view is that such spellings in Paelignian etc. inscriptions are traditional, and any spelling that is possibly archaising need not reflect local speech.

There are other possible regional features in the inscription. Wachter (1987: 370 with n. 848) notes parallels for the palatalisation in *Martses* in various Oscan and Paelignian inscriptions (e.g. *Bansa* for *Bantia* in the *Tabula Bantina*, Vetter 1953, 2). And there is also the problem of *ceip*. This has been the subject of various explanations,[112] but it is taken by Untermann (2000: 381–2) as an adverb, = 'here, in this place'. It would on this view be a local Italic word retained in Latin after Latinisation of the area.

7   *o* AND *ou*

Just as the diphthong *ei* developed to long *i* in Latin but with a variant long (close) *e* (see above, 6), so there is a spelling with *o* (a long *o*, presumably close) representing the outcome of the *ou* diphthong, which contrasts with the normal development to long *u*. Leumann (1977: 69) refers to the *o*-variant as 'dialektisch' in Latium. Meiser (1998: 62) takes a similar view. Leumann cites *Losna* < **louksna* = CL *luna* and *Poloces* < **Poldouces*, *Pollouces*[113] from Praeneste (*CIL* 549 = *ILLRP* 1200). Both spellings are on a mirror containing the text *Poloces Losna Amuces*. Leumann also cites *Locina* < *Loucina* (CL *Lucina*) from Norba (*CIL* 359 = *ILLRP* 162). *Locina* here has the dative ending in *-a* (for which see above, 5). Praeneste also shows full diphthongal spellings at 548 (*Polouces*) and 559 (*Loucilia*),[114] and *Loucina* as well as *Locina* is attested at Norba (360 = *ILLRP* 163).

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[112] See Peruzzi (1961: 177–81).

[113] See Leumann (1977: 71) on the early forms, which derive from Gk. Πολυδεύκης. See Degrassi *ILLRP* 1271a (bronze sheet from Madonetta in the region of Lanuvium) for the form *Podlouquei*.

[114] See Wachter (1987: 127). For further remarks about Praeneste in this context see Wachter (1987: 264, 275).

The rest of the evidence cited in this connection does not amount to much. Leumann also refers to *bos robus* in Paul the Deacon's epitome of Festus, a usage attributed to *rustici* (p. 325.1 Lindsay *robum rubro colore et quasi rufo significari, ut bouem quoque rustici appellant, manifestum est*, 'it is obvious that *robus* is characterised by a red colour, rouge as it were; rustics also refer to the ox as *robus*'). With *robus* should be contrasted *rufus* and *ruber*; the Umbrian equivalent is *rofu*.[115] Coleman (1990: 7) adds *CIL* 586 *nontiata* without stating its provenance. But this is the so-called *Epistula praetoris ad Tiburtes* of the 150s BC (= *ILS* 19, *ILLRP* 512), which must have been composed at Rome. Coleman also cites *robigo* as an alternative to *rubigo* as attested at Praeneste, but in fact the spelling with *o* was standard in Latin, even if it was dialectal in origin; the word is dealt with primarily under the form *robigo* by the *OLD*.[116] Coleman does however remark pertinently (1990: 21 n. 24) that the Praenestine example *losna* is '[t]oo early[117] to be cited, as it often is, for dialectically significant *o* against Roman *luna*'. In discussions of dialectal variations in early Latin it is not unusual for examples that come from different periods to be thrown together (for this methodological point, see above, 3). If we have, say, *o* at Praeneste and *u* at Rome, the variation need not be significant if, for example, the Praenestine example is centuries earlier than the Roman; if there were evidence from Rome of the period of the Praenestine the same phenomenon might have been seen there as well. Coleman cites various other bits and pieces of evidence. *Fonus* = *funus*, for example, he says, is 'reported, without attribution, by Marius Victorinus'. The passage (*GL* VI.11.14–12.2) runs: . . . *ut apparet ex libris antiquis foederum et [ex] legum, qui etiamsi frequenti transcriptione aliquid mutarunt, tamen retinent antiquitatem. nam o non solum pro breui et pro longa, sed et pro u poni . . . ut pro populo Romano ibi populoi Romanoi et pro piaculum ibi piacolom, sic et pro huic hoic, pro funus fonus, item alia multa.*[118] Victorinus had come across *fonus* in 'ancient books of treaties and laws', and it is likely that these were Roman. *Pomex* for *pumex*, Coleman states, 'has some Romance reflexes'. But in fact all the Romance

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[115] See Leumann (1977: 69), Untermann (2000: 638).   [116] See too Meiser (1998: 62).

[117] Coleman dates the inscription to the third century BC. See also Wachter (1987: 127–8) (late fourth or early third century).

[118] . . . 'as is apparent from ancient books of treaties and laws, which, even if they have undergone some change through frequent copying, nevertheless retain the character of antiquity. For *o* is [seen to be] written not only for short and long *o* but also for *u* . . . For example, instead of *populo Romano* [we find] there *populoi Romanoi* [text doubtful: is *popol-* required?], and instead of *piaculum*, *piacolom*, and instead of *huic*, *hoic*, and instead of *funus*, *fonus*, and likewise many other [such forms].'

forms (e.g. Italian *pomice*, French *ponce*) reflect *pomice* (with original long *o*).[119] Bloch and von Wartburg (1968: 498) state that *pōmex* is a 'forme dialectale (osque, semble-t-il; c'est en effet dans la région où habitaient les Osques qu'on recueillait cette pierre volcanique)'. This explanation would not do, at least without refinement, if the word originally had a diphthong. Oscan kept the *ou* diphthong; it was in Umbrian that it was monophthongised to *o*.[120] If on the other hand the etymon had a long *o*, that for its part would in Oscan have developed to a long *u*.[121] The uncertainties about the history of the word are such that it is best left out of the discussion of long close *o* from *ou*.[122] It will come up again in a later chapter (VI.4.3, p. 419; cf. VII.11.3.2.5).

The index to *CIL* I (814) cites one or two other relevant spellings: *coraueron* (= *curauerunt*)[123] at 59 (Praeneste) and *coraue[ru]nt* at 2661 (= *ILLRP* 695) (dated 171 BC, but not it seems of known provenance), *Luqorcos* (= Λυκοῦργος) at 555 (Praeneste), and *Poloc(i)* at 2352 (fragment of a 'patera cretacea' of unknown date; Rome or environs).[124] The spelling *Luqorcos* does not contain a monophthongisation of an *ou* diphthong, because Gk. ου was the symbol of a long close *o* in Greek. But the spelling is indirectly relevant here. Presumably Praeneste had a long close *o* (which sprang from the original *ou* diphthong) of much the same quality as the sound represented in Greek by *omicron + upsilon*, and for that reason the *o*-spelling was felt to be appropriate.[125]

Praeneste at an early period had a long close *o* deriving from the diphthong *ou*, but it is not clear for want of evidence whether at such a date there was a dialectal distinction between Rome and Praeneste in this matter. We have noted a reference by Marius Victorinus to 'ancient books' which may have been Roman. The spellings *Losna* and *Poloces* are perhaps to be treated as early special cases, and kept apart from the other material cited in this section, on which it is impossible to base any generalisations about regional variation. The *o*-spelling, though infrequent at Rome, is hardly less well represented there than elsewhere.[126]

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[119] See *REW* 6844; also Ernout and Meillet (1959: 545), Bloch and von Wartburg (1968: 498) on the length of the vowel.
[120] See Buck (1904: 46–7).   [121] See Buck (1904: 38).
[122] Note the uncertainties of Ernout and Meillet (1959) s.v., stating, somewhat obscurely, that the long *o* of *pomex* 'ne peut être que l'adaptation d'un *oi* normalement conservé en osque (la pierre ponce se trouve près des volcans)'.
[123] The development was *cois-* > *cour-* > *cur-/cor-*.
[124] On which see Wachter (1987: 315).   [125] See Wachter (1987: 113).
[126] The whole question of the *e-* and *o-* spellings for the old diphthongs is discussed by Wachter (1987: 313–15), who plays down the significance of the seemingly better attestation of the spellings outside the city than within. On *o* see in particular his remarks at 315 with notes 745, 746.

8 *i* FOR LONG *e*

In Vulgar Latin of the later Empire as evidenced in most of the Romance languages original long *e* and short *i* merged (once phonemic oppositions of vowel quantity had been lost) as a close *e*. This development was partially anticipated centuries earlier in Oscan,[127] in which long vowels had become closer and short vowels more open, with the consequence that the inherited long *e* and short *i* moved together and achieved the same timbre (though a full merger will not have taken place because oppositions of quantity were largely retained).[128] The orthographic consequence of this development was that both long *e* and short *i* were represented by the same letter, namely **í**, which was introduced around 300 BC originally to represent *e* (both long and short). Thus **líkítud** = *licētōd* has the same vowel grapheme in each of the first two syllables, in the first representing short *i* and in the second long *e*. Similarly in Greek script we find λεικειτ, which may represent *licēt(i)*, with ει for both vowels.[129]

There is no causal connection between the Oscan (or, if one prefers, proto-Sabellic) development and that of Vulgar Latin, merely a partial parallelism. I base this view on the chronology of the Vulgar Latin merger. In imperial Latin of the first three centuries AD there are some misspellings of the type *e* for short *i* which might be taken to suggest the beginnings of the Vulgar Latin merger referred to above, but they are infrequent, and many are open to alternative explanations (see III.4.3, p. 138, III.5, p. 151). There is a possibility that the readjustment of the Latin vowel system took place quite late, after the time when Oscan might have had an influence, and that it began in a restricted phonetic environment (in final syllables, particularly of verb-forms: see XI.5.1.2.4). Nevertheless scholars have not been lacking who have attributed the proto-Romance development to 'Italic influence'.[130]

Coleman (1990: 12), noting various spellings in the Latin of Pompeii (e.g. *filix*, *ualis*) showing *i* for long *e*, states that these (representing the 'raising of *ē* towards *i*') are 'no doubt under Oscan influence' (and he cites Osc. **líkítud** as one of his parallels, giving it the form *licitud*). But

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[127] The parallelism is noted by Lejeune (1975: 249) and discussed by Seidl (1994) and Coleman (2000).

[128] See Lejeune (1975: 245, 247), Meiser (1986: 42), Seidl (1994: 351).

[129] See Lejeune (1970: 291), and his text no. 29 at 283. For the text see also Rix (2002: 130, Lu 39). But see Untermann (2000: 428).

[130] See e.g. Blaylock (1964–5: 21 with n. 19), Solta (1974: 50–1), Vincent (1988: 33), Petersmann (1995: 537, 1998: 130). Väänänen (1966: 130), however, expresses scepticism, and draws attention to various parallel developments in popular Latin and Oscan that need not reflect the influence of the one language on the other.

the matter is not straightforward. There is a cautious discussion of the evidence by Väänänen (1966: 20), on which Coleman has drawn.[131] *Felix*, both vowels of which are long, occurs often in the form *filix*, and not only at Pompeii (*TLL* VI.1.434.83ff.). Not only is it found (e.g.) at Rome (*CIL* VI.1710.10), but it had entered the consciousness of grammarians as an alternative form to *felix* (see Caper *GL* VII.106.1 *felicem non filicem dicere debemus*); only if such a misspelling were confined to Pompeii would it be legitimate even to consider the possibility of Oscan influence. Väänänen (1966: 23) points out (cf. *TLL* VI.1.435.1–3) that another misspelling of the same word was *felex*. It is likely that both misspellings were due to vocalic assimilation, regressive in the one case and progressive in the other, as Väänänen allows. *Filic(iter)*, which also occurs at Pompeii (*CIL* IV.6882) but not only there (cf. *TLL* VI.1.450.41f.), might also have been due to assimilation. The same goes for *pidicaro* (*CIL* IV.2254 add. p. 216); the second vowel of *pedico* was long, and therefore stressed in some forms of the verb, and vowels were often assimilated to the stressed vowel of a word.[132]

It is also unsatisfactory to consider just a few cases of *i* for long *e* selected to suit a particular hypothesis. The misspelling is widespread,[133] and the examples fall into several categories.[134]

Eska (1987: 153) says that the form *similixulae* for CL *semilixulae* is attributed by Varro to the 'Latin of the Sabines'. The source is Varro *Ling.* 5.107: *hos quidam qui magis incondite faciebant uocabant lixulas et similixulas uocabulo Sabino: quae frequentia Sabinis* ('certain persons who used to make these rather carelessly called them *lixulae* "softies" and *similixulae* "half-softies", by the Sabine name, such was their general use among the Sabines', Kent, Loeb). But it is unlikely that Varro was referring to Sabine Latin; he means that the word is a borrowing from the language of the Sabines (see Coleman 1990: 12 on Varro's use of 'Sabine').[135] Moreover the etymology of the word is not certain, and the form *semilixula* is not actually attested in classical Latin (despite Eska's formulation).

9   *i* AND *e* IN HIATUS

There is a view that spellings showing *e* for *i* in hiatus (before non-high vowels),[136] such as *filea* for *filia* (*CIL* 561, on the provenance of

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[131] See particularly Coleman (1990: 23 n. 45), and compare the wording of Väänänen (1966: 20).

[132] See Adams (1977a: 14–17).

[133] See e.g. Sturtevant (1940: 109), B. Löfstedt (1961: 22–9, 30–7).

[134] See particularly the subtle discussion of B. Löfstedt, last footnote.

[135] Varro has many comments on Sabine, understandably, since Reate (his probable place of origin) was in the Sabine territory. See below, III.6.6, with cross references.

[136] This last formulation comes from Wallace (2005: 178).

which see below, *CIL* 60, probably Praeneste)[137] and *fileod = filio* (2658 Tibur),[138] were a feature of Faliscan[139] and some dialects of Latin. Coleman (1990: 11) states (citing a few examples) that the phenomenon was 'characteristic of Faliscan . . . and Faliscan Latin' and that it 'was also a feature of Latin at Praeneste . . . and perhaps among the Sabini'. *CIL* 561 (= *ILLRP* 1197) above (the so-called cista Ficoroni) is cited by Coleman as evidence for the phenomenon in the Latin of Praeneste,[140] but although the object was found at Praeneste, the text that it bears declares that it (the cista) was made at Rome[141] (*Nouios.Plautios.med.Romai.fecid / Dindia.Macolnia.fileai.dedit*).[142] Both lines are by the same writer,[143] and it could not be argued that only the first was written at Rome.

In addition to the above three cases, there is also the name *Feronea* (for *Feronia*). Poccetti (1979: 172), in reference to the inscription *ILLRP* 93b, numbered 226 in his collection (*L. Calpurnius [Fe]ronea dono merite*), from the area of Lucus Feroniae (near mod. Scorano, region of ancient Capena, to the south-east of Falerii Veteres on the border of the territory of the Falisci and Sabines: see map 2a),[144] states that '[i]l teonimo presenta due elementi propri del latino non urbano: il nesso -*ea*- per -*ia*- e la desinenza -*a* del dativo singolare' (but on the second see above, 5). The name is spelt in the same way (*Feronea*) at *CIL* 1834 = *ILLRP* 92, from Trebula Mutuesca (Monteleone Sabino) in the Sabine territory to the east

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[137] On the date of the first inscription (possibly mid-fourth century) see Degrassi on *ILLRP* 1197. The second, generally dated to the third or early second century (see *ILLRP* 101, Wachter 1987: 212), has usually been taken to contain the form *fileia* (see e.g. *ILLRP* 101), but see now Wachter (1987: 213, 216), defending *filea* convincingly. Joseph and Wallace (1991: 166) also cite the example as *filea*.

[138] *Fileod* has not always been read in this inscription, but see Wachter (1987: 83–4, 126). The date of the text may be sixth century BC (see Wachter 1987: 126).

[139] Note e.g. Vetter (1953), 270 (Giacomelli 1963, 67) for an example of **filea** in a Faliscan inscription from Falerii Veteres: **cauipi: leueli / filea** = *Ga(uia) Vibi Liuelii filia*; also Vetter 296 (Giacomelli 1963, 97) **hileo** (from the old town), 339c (Giacomelli 1963, 144 III) **file(ai)** (Vignanello-Vallerano), and **fileo** and **clipea(r)io** in the recently published Faliscan inscription from the Steinhardt collection (Wallace 2005). See also Giacomelli (1963: 117–18), Wachter (1987: 126), Joseph and Wallace (1991: 166), Wallace (2005: 178). On the problem of the change from -*i* to -**e** in Faliscan see Wallace (2005: 178): 'It is not clear exactly how this change is to be explained in light of the fact that -**i** is written in the same phonological environment in the family name **clipea(r)io** and in other names of Medio-Faliscan date e.g., **oufilio**, **puponio**, **firmio**, **cauio**, etc.'

[140] See further the masculine gentilicium from Praeneste, *Oueo = Ouius* (*CIL* 234), cited by Joseph and Wallace (1991: 166). This is one of the Praenestine *cippuli*, but they vary in date, and a date for this text is not given.

[141] And if the cista, why not the inscription too?

[142] This is the text of Wachter (1987: 123), but *CIL* and *ILLRP* print the two lines in the reverse order. See now the detailed discussion of Kruschwitz (2002: 25–32).

[143] See Wachter (1987: 124).

[144] Poccetti (no. 226) prints the inscription in this form: *Feronea dono merite L. Calpurnius*. *ILLRP* follows *AE* 1953, 196 and Bloch and Foti (1953: 71). Degrassi (on *ILLRP* 93a) dates the text to a little before 211 BC.

of Falerii Veteres, not far from Lucus Feroniae. On the other hand it is spelt *Feronia* at *CIL* 1832 = *ILLRP* 90 and *CIL* 1848 = *ILLRP* 93, the first inscription from Trebula Mutuesca again, the other from near Amiternum (to the north-east of Trebula Mutuesca in the Sabine territory: see map 2a).[145] The form *ueha* for *uia* attributed by Varro (*Rust.* 1.2.14) to rustics does not necessarily belong in the category under discussion here. The vowel is under the accent, and in any case the form is problematic (see III.4.3, p. 137 with n. 64).

It may be helpful to tabulate the (Latin) material, showing dates where they are suggested and provenance:

60 *filea*, Praeneste, third/second century
561 *filea*, Rome, mid-fourth century
2658 *fileod*, Tibur, sixth century
ILLRP 93b *Feronea*, Lucus Feroniae, late third century
1834 *Feronea*, Trebula Mutuesca (date?)
234 *Oueus*, Praeneste (date?)
2214 *precaream*, Aquileia (first century BC according to *ILLRP* 492 n.).

This tiny handful of examples spans a period of perhaps 400 or 500 years. As a corpus supposedly showing up dialectal varieties of Latin it is unsatisfactory on two grounds, first of size and second of chronology. It is unconvincing to argue that material as inadequate as this reveals as it stands that *e* in this environment was 'characteristic of Faliscan Latin' or a 'feature of Latin at Praeneste' (though on Praeneste there is some further evidence to be considered: see below).

There are several ways of classifying the evidence phonetically. One may, first, treat examples of the type cited (*filea*, *Feronea*) as self-contained and exclusively to do with *i* in hiatus and its development. On this approach the spellings might seem to have been fairly restricted geographically, but as we have just seen the different dates of the inscriptions undermine their significance as evidence for regional variation at any particular time; in addition the instance of *filea* in a Roman inscription raises a further obstacle to the interpretation of the opening as non-Roman. Second, *e* for short *i* in hiatus may be put together with *e* for short *i* in other environments,[146] as for example in such cases as *aidiles* nominative singular (*CIL* 8), *tempestatebus* (9), *trebibos* (398), *semol* (1531), *soledas* (1529), *oppedis* (583.31) and in the forms *dedet* [147] and *mereto* (1848, 2440).[148] Wachter, drawing attention for

[145] See also the index to *CIL*, 814, citing, in addition to some of the material in Coleman and Joseph and Wallace, 2214 *(uieam) precaream* (*ILLRP* 492) from the region of Aquileia.
[146] So Wachter (1987: 266).   [147] See *CIL* I index, 771 s.v. *do*.
[148] See the material cited in the index to *CIL* I, 813–14.

example to inconsistencies in the writing of short *e* and short *i* in the Scipionic *elogia* numbered 8–9 (*aidiles/aidilis, hic/hec, fuet/cepit/dedet*)[149] and the Faliscan cooks' inscription (364; *Mineruai* rather than *Men-*, juxtaposed with *Falesce* rather than *Falisc-*),[150] argues that the two vowels were articulated closely together in the early period, and that there was consequent uncertainty about the grapheme to be used.[151] The variations would therefore have nothing to do with dialectal variation (after all, such variations are found in single texts, and at Rome – as in the Scipionic inscription – as well as outside), but would reflect a 'general instability' of short *i* and short *e*,[152] which may indeed for a period have merged as an 'intermediate' vowel.[153] It should also be noted that in one place (Trebula Mutuesca) *Feronia* is spelt in two different ways (see above).[154]

There is in this case an additional piece of (literary) evidence. The rustic Truculentus in Plautus' play of that name, on being rebuked for saying *rabonem* instead of *arrabonem*, responds (691): *'a' facio lucri, / ut Praenestinis 'conea' est ciconia* ('I am making a profit on the *a*, just as to the Praenestines the *ciconia* ['stork'] is a *conea*'). The main point of the remark that the Praenestines said *conea* for *ciconia* is that they dropped the prefix, but according to the manuscripts of Plautus they also opened the vowel in hiatus (on this passage see further below, III.3).[155] The audience were expected to recognise the form of the word as something they would not have said themselves. There is a hint here that at one particular time the more open sound of the short front vowel in hiatus was indeed perceived as non-Roman but characteristic of Praeneste (or of outsiders to the city in a more general sense); moreover one of the inscriptional spellings from Praeneste (60 *filea*) of roughly Plautine date appears to tie in with the evidence in Plautus.

It is unconvincing to put all cases of *e* for short *i* in republican inscriptions on the same footing. In imperial Latin hiatus provided a special environment in which certain short vowels did not behave as they did in other environments. Short *e*, which in other parts of the word remained intact

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[149] See Wachter (1987: 305–6).   [150] Wachter (1987: 445).

[151] See further Wachter (1987: 258, 266–7, 487–8).

[152] The phrase is Vine's (1993: 162), who follows Wachter up to a point in bracketing e.g. *filea, hec, aediles, Menerua* together, but finds a qualitative difference between these forms and *Mircurius* and *stircus*, which are said to have a distinctive phonological environment (see below, 12).

[153] See particularly Wachter (1987: 487–8, 258).

[154] Where the spelling *filea* is concerned, there is possibly a special factor to be taken into account (see Wachter 1987: 258). Since the long vowel in the first syllable would have been closer than the short vowel in the second syllable, there may have been pressure to distinguish the two orthographically.

[155] See too the grammatical work *Vlt. syll.*, *GL* IV.263.9 *ut Plautus dixit a Praenestinis coneas pro ciconeas appellari*. Leo (1895–6) changes to *conia* against the manuscript tradition.

and survived into Romance as an open *e*, closed to *i* in hiatus (*linteum >
lintium*, etc.), and short *i*, which elsewhere in the word merged with long *e*
as a close *e*, eventually changed in hiatus to *yod* and effected palatalisations.
Vowels in hiatus in the early period should surely be treated as a separate
category, and if this is done we are left with a small corpus of forms with *e*
which, though scattered chronologically, are all but non-existent at Rome,
and which at the time of Plautus would seem to have been associated with
Praeneste. It is worth noting that *filius* (*-ia*), a lexeme in which the opening
is well attested both in Faliscan and regional Latin, often occurs in the
republican inscriptions of Rome in the classical form with *-ius*.[156]

10   *u* FOR LATIN LONG *o*: OSCAN INFLUENCE?

In Oscan long *o* closed to long *u*, 'and is regularly denoted by **u**, **uu**, *u*, not
by **ú**, *o*' (Buck 1904: 38).[157] I consider various items of evidence which
appear to show the same treatment of the vowel in Latin. There are a few
cases in which it is reasonable to talk of Oscan influence.

10.1   Flusare

Vetter (1953), 227 = Rix (2002: 67, VM 9) is an inscription from Scoppito
near L'Aquila (ancient Amiternum) in the Sabine territory: *[×?] mesene[?]
flusare poimunien̥ atrno aunom hiretum.*[158] Rix classifies the text under
'Volsci, Marsi, Aequiculi, Sabini' and adds 'vel sabine?' in his bibliographical
note. The precise branch of Italic to which it belongs is debatable. The
text contains an expression naming the month, *mesene flusare*, = *mense
Florali.*[159] Three noteworthy things about *flusare* are the close vowel (long)
u of Oscan type corresponding to the (inherited) Latin long *o*, the absence
of rhotacism, again typical of Oscan[160] and contrasting with the treatment
of intervocalic *s* in Latin, and the suffix *-are* corresponding to the Latin *-al-*
(< *-ar-*).[161]

Much the same expression (*mense Flusare*) occurs in a Latin inscription
of 58 BC from a nearby area (Furfo in the territory of the Vestini not far

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[156] See the index to *CIL*, 773 s.v.   [157] See also e.g. Meiser (1986: 49–50), Seidl (1994: 357).
[158] See also Adiego Lajara (1992: 117).
[159] See Untermann (2000: 471–2) for the first word, with which cf. Umbrian **menzne**; also id. 290–1
for the second, which corresponds to Lat. *Floralis* < *Flora*; in Oscan the name of the goddess is
attested in the (dative) form **fluusaí** at Vetter (1953), 21 (Pompeii) = Rix (2002: 105, Po 20) and
in the Tavola di Agnone (Vetter 1953, 147 A.24 = Rix 2002: 82, Sa 1; see Untermann 2000:
291–2).
[160] See Buck (1904: 74).   [161] See also Wachter (1987: 414).

from Amiternum: see map 2a): *CIL* 756.2 = *ILLRP* 508, *ILS* 4906 (see also Vetter 1953: 160) *L. Aienus L. f., Q. Baebatius Sex. f. aedem dedicarunt Iouis Liberi Furfone a. d. III Idus Quinctileis, L. Pisone A. Gabinio cos., mense Flusare* ('L. Aienus son of Lucius and Q. Baebatius son of Sextus dedicated a temple of Jupiter Liber at Furfo three days before the Ides of July, in the consulship of L. Piso and A. Gabinius in the month of Flusa'). The word for 'month' is Latin, but *Flusare* retains all three of the non-Latin features listed above from the Italic inscription. No conclusions can be drawn from this word about the phonetics of the local Latin, because the word form itself has been taken over into Latin lock, stock and barrel (lexical borrowing). It would be wrong to see *Flusare* as a genuine dialect word in the Latin of the Vestini in the last century of the Republic.[162] The month is also stated in conventional Latin form (*Quinctileis*, July). *Mense Flusare* looks like a phrase remembered from the past, used here alongside the current Latin name in reflection of an antiquarian interest. The fact that it is glossed establishes its lack of currency. There is another such word in the same inscription, *fifeltares* (15), the meaning of which remains obscure:[163] *sei qui heic sacrum surupuerit, aidilis multatio esto quanti uolet, idque ueicus Furf(ensis) mai(or) pars fifeltares sei apsoluere uolent siue condemnare liceto.*

10.2 flus

Twice on amphorae from Pompeii (*CIL* IV.5735, 5736) the spelling *flus* occurs. The second example is in the form *flusí*, which has sometimes been taken as a dative (= *Flori*), without rhotacism.[164] At *TLL* VI.1.932.77, however, it is suggested that the final letter represents a numeral, and that the form implies *flos primus*. The *TLL* loc. cit. convincingly takes the use of *flos* on the two vessels as that indicating the 'choicest part of anything' (*OLD* s.v. 9), a usage seen for example in the expression *gari flos* at *CIL* IV.5663 (see the material cited by Väänänen 1966: 117 and at *TLL* loc. cit.). *Flus* on the amphorae would thus characterise the contents of the vessel. There is another case of *flus* at Poccetti (1979), 184, '[s]ulla faccia superiore di un cippo' (Poccetti 1979: 131) from S. Maria di Banzi. This is taken by Poccetti as an abbreviation, equivalent to Lat. *Flor(ae)* (i.e. *flus* for **fluusaí**), but Untermann (2000: 291) is more circumspect, classing the form as 'unklar' and allowing that it may be a nominative singular.

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[162] Cf. Watkins (1970: 526).

[163] See *TLL* VI.1.707.17, Leumann (1977: 169), suggesting that it may be of the same root as Lat. *fidelis*.

[164] So Moltoni (1954: 201).

The two Pompeian examples, given their provenance, may show Oscanisations of the Latin word, with *o* replaced by *u*; or could they perhaps represent the Oscan equivalent (unattested otherwise) of Lat. *flos*? The second example, however, is accompanied on the other side of the amphora by the letters *G R* and by *Felicis*, which suggests that *flus* was conceived of as Latin (if, that is, the suggestion of the *TLL* quoted above is accepted).

<div style="text-align:center">10.3 duno</div>

Vetter (1953), 220, Rix (2002: 78, MV 5) = *CIL* 394, *ILLRP* 147 runs as follows: *t. uetio duno didet herclo iouio brat(es) data(s)* ('T. Vettius gives a gift to Hercules son of Jupiter because of a favour given'). This is from the territory of the Vestini (Navelli), and is said to belong to the third century BC.[165] The first vowel of *duno* looks Italic (Oscan **dunúm**).[166] The omission of final -*m* is in accord with Latin (and Umbrian) tendencies,[167] in contrast to the usual retention of the consonant in Oscan.[168]

The inscription is so heavily coloured by Italic features that it is legitimate to take the first vowel of *duno* as reflecting the influence of Italic. The final formula *brat data* is Oscan.[169] The verb *didet* is an Italic reduplicated present, as in Paelignian *dida*.[170] *Herclo* belongs to the *o*-declension, as does this theonym in Oscan (in contrast to Latin: see below, 15), though its inflection is Latin.

On the other hand the nominative inflection of *Vetio* looks to be Latinate, with omission of final -*s* in the Latin manner (see 5, p. 51, 18 with

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[165] For a discussion of this text and its date see Durante (1978: 807–8); also Wachter (1987: 410).
[166] See Untermann (2000: 190).   [167] For the latter see Buck (1904: 71).
[168] In Oscan final -*m* is almost always written (see Buck 1904: 71), except at Pompeii, where it is more frequently left out. In Vetter (1953), 11 (the testament of Vibius Adiranus) final -*m* is written five times and never omitted. But this is an elaborate inscription which was probably recarved in the early imperial period (see Poccetti 1982a). On the other hand in Vetter (1953), 8 -*m* is written four times but omitted six times. In Vetter (1953), 8, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14, 18, 19, 23, 24, 25, 26 and 28 I have noted nineteen cases of omission, compared with eleven instances of the letter written, almost half of which are in the one text 11 referred to above. The abnormality of the Oscan of Pompeii in this respect must be related to the currency of Latin in the town. Final -*m* is constantly omitted in the Latin inscriptions of Pompeii (see Väänänen 1966: 76–7), and there can be no doubt that Latin 'influenced' Oscan in the town (see Väänänen 1966: 76–7, Coleman 1990: 16). But in what sense? It is possible that those writing Oscan were also used to writing Latin, and that the orthographic carelessness seen in the one language (in which final -*m* was not pronounced, and was sometimes carelessly left out in writing) influenced the writing of the other; those who had a habit of dropping *m* in Latin writing sometimes did so in Oscan as well. This example highlights the potential variability of meaning of the term 'regional variation'. On my interpretation the phenomenon here is merely orthographic.
[169] See Untermann (2000: 149–51) for attestations and discussion.
[170] See e.g. Buck (1904: 157), Durante (1978: 808), Wachter (1987: 410), Untermann (2000: 175).

n. 319) and a Latinate vowel; in Oscan, *-ios* > *-is*, and in Umbrian there was rhotacism of *-is* to *-ir*.[171] Thus the verb, the declensional category of *Herclo* and the final two-word formula are Italic, but all the other inflections in the inscription are Latinate. Could it be that in this area a mixed language was in use? An alternative hypothesis is that the writer set out to compose an Italic inscription, but that at a time of language shift his command of Italic nominal inflections was so poor that he had to use Latin inflections instead. Another possibility is that he was attempting to compose a Latin inscription but lapsed into Italic at times. Whatever the case, the inscription seems to be the product of a time of language shift. Language mixing need not have continued once the shift to Latin was complete.

10.4   Terebunius

The name *Terebuni(us)* is attested in Latium: *CIL* 312 *Q. Terebuni C. f.* (one of the *cippuli Praenestini*). The form *Terebonius* occurs at *CIL* 33 = *ILLRP* 248 (probably from Rome). Wachter (1987: 187–8) draws attention to a second unusual feature of the name, the anaptyxis of *e* in the first syllable (cf. the common names *Trebius, Trebatius* etc. listed by Wachter 1987: 187 n. 495). He rules out (1987: 188) the influence of Etruscan on Praenestine Latin as determining the *u* (cf. Etr. *trepu*), given both the *b* and the anaptyxis, but suggests that both the vocalism and the anaptyxis are typical of parts of the Oscan–Umbrian group (for anaptyxis in Oscan see Buck 1904: 52–3). However, the anaptyxis would not be normal for Oscan, in which initial clusters are not affected.[172]

It is also worth noting the phonetic environment in which the *u* appears here, before a consonant followed by *i* in hiatus, or, one might conjecture, *yod*. In later Latin *yod* after a consonant often has the effect of closing a preceding long vowel, as in such spellings as *custudia, matrimunium*.[173] It is possible that there had been a long-standing tendency for *yod* to have this effect in speech. The parallels for *Terebunius* cited by Wachter (1987: 187 n. 494), *Orcunius* (*CIL* 1126, Rome) and *Sepunius* (808 Rome, 2683 Minturnae), are both of the same type. Another alleged case of an Oscanised spelling shows *u* in the same position, namely *mut(h)unium* at *CIL* IV.1939, 1940.[174] This example is uncompelling as Oscan-influenced, as *mutunium* might have been the original form of the word. *Muttonium* does turn

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[171] See Buck (1904: 119).   [172] I owe this observation to John Penney.
[173] See B. Löfstedt (1961: 72–3).
[174] See Väänänen (1966: 30), Moltoni (1954: 202), Eska (1987: 152).

up in Lucilius (959), but the adjective derived from the noun is attested only in the form *mutuniatus* (in the *Priapea* and Martial). There is not enough evidence to establish why there are two different vowels found in the second syllable of the noun, or to allow the setting up of a regional variation determined in part by the influence of Oscan in a particular area.

10.5   uicturei

Two dedications to Hercules in different hands written on a *cippus* found in the territory of the Paeligni near Castelvecchio Subequo (Vetter 1953, 217, *ILLRP* 143, *CIL* 2486, Zamudio 1986: 41 no. 43, Rix 2002: 73, Pg 6–7; discussed by Wachter 1987: 409–10) are as follows (Rix's text):

(a) sa. seio(s). sa. f. herclei. donom ded(ed). brat(eis). datas;
(b) ḷ. seio(s). sa. f herclei uicturei.

The first is in mixed language, in that the final formula is Oscan (see above, 10.3) but the rest Latin. The second vowel in *uicturei* is of Oscan type (cf. Poccetti 1979, 16 = Rix 2002: 85, Sa 24 **víkturraí** = *Victoriae*).[175] Again the provenance of the text and its association with another text in a mixture of languages favours the interpretation of the *u*-spelling as showing a regional feature determined by a local language.

10.6   facitud

The inscription *CIL* 361 = *ILLRP* 161 (*Iunone.Loucinai / Diouis. castud.facitud*),[176] possibly of the third century BC, does not have a known find-spot. The first four words are pure Latin (*castus* is a fourth-declension noun defined by the *OLD* as meaning 'a ceremonial state of abstinence'),[177] but *facitud* is more problematic. It is presumably an imperative, with an ending -*tud* for the usual -*tod* which appears to be of Oscan or Umbrian type.[178] Wachter (1987: 461) takes a sceptical view of this possibility, given the absence of other Oscan/Umbrian features in the text and the lack of information about the find-spot; there may have been a mechanical writing error caused by the ending of the preceding word.

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[175] See Untermann (2000: 856).   [176] Discussed by Wachter (1987: 460–3).
[177] On the interpretation of the phrase see Wachter (1987: 462).   [178] See Buck (1904: 176).

10.7 cernu

The spelling *cernu* for *cerno* found at Pompeii (*CIL* IV.6698) should not be used in a discussion of the Oscan influence on Latin, as e.g. Moltoni (1954: 202) is inclined to use it. The words *Idai cernu nemura* are, as the editor points out, a quotation of Seneca *Agam.* 730 *Idaea cerno nemora*. There is also a misspelling *u* for *o* in the last word, though there the *o* would have been short. Väänänen (1966: 28) quotes as a parallel for the latter *ampur* = *ampora* at 6710, suggesting that after the accent in a non-final syllable the vowel may have been indeterminate ('Cette voyelle, tout comme *i* dans la même position . . . , était de timbre indécis en raison de sa débilité'). It is possible that, as Väänänen (1966: 30) suggests, the *u* of *cernu* was a mere slip. There are no grounds in the inscription considered as a whole for attempting to find substrate influence.

10.8 Miscellaneous

Moltoni (1954: 201–2) lists from Regio I examples of the misspelling *u* for long *o*, the implication being that these show Oscan influence. Much of this material does not bear examination. The spelling *nepus* for *nepos* has nothing to do with Oscan influence. This form is frequent in late Latin, along with comparable misspellings of *custos* and *sacerdos*.[179] It is the influence of masculines in *-us* that is decisive in these cases (particularly at a time when long *o* and short *u* had fallen together in pronunciation), as Löfstedt (see the last footnote) points out. Some of the other examples are late (imperial), from a time when Oscan cannot have exerted any influence. For example, the expression *c(um) maritu* at *CIL* X.1350 (Nola) is in an inscription which may be as late as the sixth century (see the note ad loc.: AD 538?). *Octabu* at *CIL* X.1366 (Nola) is in a Christian inscription which, though it has no precise date, is certain to be much later than the Oscan period. The spelling *annus* for *annos* is of a common type in late Latin, its determinants extensively debated;[180] it is irrelevant to regional variation and substrate influence, and that it should have been cited from just one region is misleading. *Decretu* at *CIL* X.6071 (Formiae) is again obviously fairly late. In late Latin there are many cases of the spelling *u* for long *o*, which are subject to a variety of explanations according to the case; these have been discussed by B. Löfstedt (1961: 69–88). Moltoni has thrown together material from different periods and open to differing explanations.

179 See B. Löfstedt (1961: 86).
180 See e.g. B. Löfstedt (1961: 86–8), with extensive bibliography.

The form *glaucuma* for γλακωμα at Plaut. *Mil.* 148 seems to belong with a small group of early loan-words from Greek which show closing of an *o* (long as here or short).[181]

The variant form *abdumen* for *abdomen* reported by Charisius (p. 43.12 Barwick) is not decisively explained.[182]

10.9   Conclusions

The examples of the misspelling *u* for long *o* cited in discussions of the regional differentiation of Latin cannot be lumped together as exhibiting a single phenomenon. Most such spellings have turned out to be irrelevant here, but there remain a few cases (those discussed at 10.3, 10.5) which there is reason to attribute to Oscan interference[183] in the Latin of bilinguals. There is internal evidence in the inscriptions showing their bilingual background. They spring from a period of language shift when those moving to a second language were still holding on to elements of their first. As such they reflect a transitory phase, and should probably not be taken as evidence for a mixed language with a life of its own; the example at 10.1 is a lexical retention, perhaps motivated by antiquarianism.

Another alleged Oscanism of this type (the spelling *octuber*) will be discussed below (VI.4.3).

11   MONOPHTHONGISATION OF *ai/ae*

Coleman (1990: 12–13) discusses this monophthongisation in various Italic languages, with a table of correspondences. It occurred in Umbrian, Sabine (it would seem: see below) and Faliscan,[184] but not in Oscan.[185] The question arises whether there are variations to be seen in regional Latin itself, and whether any such can be related to the influence of the local languages. Blümel's treatment (1972: 13) of the inscriptional evidence is

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[181] See Biville (1995: 399–400).
[182] See Ernout (1909a: 89–90), Walde and Hofmann (1938–54: I, 3).
[183] The old dissertation of Prinz (1932) is well worth consulting on this point. He has a careful chapter on *u* for long *o* (60–75), which contains a short and judicious section (63–4) 'De vi dialectorum Italicarum'. Most cases of the misspellings considered in the chapter are explained internally within Latin.
[184] See e.g. Vetter (1953), 297; also Giacomelli (1963), 98 **creco** = *Graecus*, and the material collected by Giacomelli (1963: 121); and Wallace and Joseph (1991: 165).
[185] See Buck (1904: 43–4).

incomplete.[186] On the date of the phenomenon see the bibliography cited by Müller (2001: 33 n. 8).

The clearest indication that a distinction was felt between the city and non-urban regions in the articulation of the sound represented by *ae* comes from literary sources of the later Republic. Varro *Ling.* 5.97 says that *haedus* was pronounced *hedus* in rural Latium (see also below, III.6.1 for his comments on the name *Mesius*), and he makes a contrast between the country and the city (and also Sabine): *hircus, quod Sabini fircus; quod illic fedus, in Latio rure hedus, qui in urbe ut in multis A addito haedus* ('*hircus* "he-goat", which the Sabines call *fircus*; and what there is *fedus*, in rural Latium is *hedus* "kid". In the city this is *haedus*, with an added A as in many words'). Somewhat earlier there is Lucilius' line 1130 (*Cecilius pretor ne rusticus fiat*, 'let not Cecilius be appointed a rustic praetor'), which presents the monophthongal pronunciation as rustic. These two *testimonia* are explicit evidence for regional variation, with Rome distinguished from rural regions.

In the Romance languages the outcome of the original CL diphthong *ae* and of short *e* is the same (an open *e*), and it is therefore reasonable to assume that the usual form of monophthongisation was from *ae* to open *e*, with a long open *e* as an intermediate stage.[187] But there is some evidence also for a variant development, to a long close *e*, in that various Romance reflexes of *saeta*, *praeda*, *fenum/faenum* and *saepes* must be derived from forms showing original long (close) *e*.[188] This treatment is sometimes described as 'rustic',[189] or even assigned precise regional origins. Biville (1995: 330) sees such forms as belonging to 'les dialectes ruraux de Latium',[190] and at *FEW* XI.50 the Romance reflexes of *saeta* are said to correspond to a development of Volscian–Faliscan. There is no evidence for these attributions. Spellings in Faliscan or Faliscan Latin, for example, showing *e* rather than a digraph cannot in the state of the evidence be given a close rather than an open value. These isolated instances of close *e* are best regarded as special cases, each with its own motivation. Reflexes of *preda* have indeed regularly been explained in such a way, as due to the influence of the participle *prēnsa*

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[186] Collections of material can be found in Sturtevant (1940: 124–9), Coleman (1971: 183) and Biville (1995: 330 n. 26).

[187] See particularly Coleman (1971: 185–6, 190); also Väänänen (1966: 23, 1981: 38). The hypercorrect use of *ae* for CL short *e* (Coleman 1971: 186, Väänänen 1966: 24–5) reveals the final stage in the development (i.e. the equivalence of the sound represented by *ae* to short *e*). See also Adams (2003a: 179 n. 278, with cross references) on the use of *epsilon* in transliterations of Latin into Greek letters to represent the original diphthong.

[188] See Leumann (1977: 68).   [189] So Leumann (1977: 68).

[190] Biville (1995: 330 with n. 26; cf. 333) indeed seems to take all the inscriptional examples of *e* for *ae* from outside Rome as representing close *e*.

(< *prehensa*) which might sometimes have been associated with the noun (see *REW* 6714, *FEW* IX.286), but the most thoroughgoing and convincing explanation of the individual items as special cases is by Coleman (1971: 190 n. 36). These rare instances of close *e* deducible from Romance reflexes have no necessary place in the discussion of regional variation in republican Latin.

An examination of the distribution in early inscriptions of the spelling *e* for *ai/ae* does point to a contrast between Rome and some other regions. Monophthongal spellings are virtually non-existent at Rome (see below), but quite well attested in some other places. Nevertheless, any attempt to identify in specific detail those regions which had undergone monophthongisation at an earlier date as against those which had not must be indecisive in view of the poverty of the evidence. It is pointless to fasten on to an area in the inscriptions of which *ai/ae* may be common and to contrast it with another where *e* predominates, and to draw the conclusion that monophthongisation was more advanced in the second area. Whereas spellings with *e* are indicative of monophthongisation, spellings with one or the other of the digraphs are not necessarily indicative of the retention of a diphthong in the speech of the area (for the principle here see above, 3). It is in the nature of early inscriptions that they are formal, and in formal texts old spellings die hard. A traditional spelling need not reflect speech but an innovatory spelling may do so. It is therefore unsatisfactory to seek to find a difference in the treatment of the diphthong in the territories of the Paeligni, Vestini and Marrucini as against the region of the Fucine lake (see below) on the basis purely of the relative incidence of the monophthongal spelling and of the digraphs.

The influence of Italic languages in this matter on regional Latin is difficult to establish. If a Latin inscription written in Umbria has *e*, can we say that there has been Umbrian influence on the Latin without knowing anything of the provenance of the stonecutter and of his first language? The evidence from the Fucine lake (see below) is perhaps of a different order, because several of the spellings found in Latin texts there also occur in exactly the same form in local Italic texts; it is likely that the form of the Italic has influenced the form of the local Latin in some way. But that is not to say that there had necessarily been monophthongisation of *ae* in the local Latin under substrate influence. It may simply mean that the writer or stonecutter was familiar with the local spellings of the words and imitated them in the Latin text (see further below). The most likely person to perpetrate such spellings would be someone who was using Latin as his second language and who knew how to write the other language.

11.1 Rome

The index to *CIL*, 813 cites *Fedra* at *CIL* 1413 as showing *e* for *ae*, but the name is re-read as *Flora* at *ILLRP* 809.

It is sometimes said[191] that early evidence for monophthongisation in the literary language is to be found in the forms of the verb *praehendo*, viz. *prehendo* and *prendo*, and in the (apparently) inverse spelling in Latin of the loan-word σκην, viz. *scaena*. *Prehendo* is not good evidence, because the phonetic environment of the (original) diphthong (in hiatus) is special,[192] and one would need instances in other compounds where the prefix was followed by a consonant before making claims about the state of the spoken language (of Rome) at the time. *Scaena* as a representation of σκην is open to various explanations. It might be argued that the grapheme *ae* already had at Rome during the Republic the same open-*e* quality as *eta*,[193] but that is only one way of looking at it.[194] An alternative possibility is that the spelling with *ae* (along with, one assumes, a diphthongal pronunciation) was adopted as a hyperurbanism to avoid the rustic flavour conveyed by long open *e*.

Biville (1995: 331) discusses a double etymology of *caelum* attributed by Varro (*Ling.* 5.18) to Aelius Stilo, which derives the word from either *celatum* (with long *e*) or *caelatum*. The double derivation, it is said, 'suppose une monophtongaison', but in fact the Romans both in making puns (see above 6 with n. 61) and offering etymologies did not bother about distinctions of vowel quality if a connection could be argued on the strength of a graphic overlap. The shared *e* of *cel(atum)* and *cael(um)* was enough to justify the derivation, even if *caelum* did not have a monophthong.

From the middle of the second century there are various instances in inscriptions of the spelling *aei* for *ae* (*CIL* 633 *Caeicilius* Rome, 638 *conquaeisiuei* Polla in Lucania, 2270 *Caeici* Africa).[195] Sturtevant (1940: 124) stated that such spellings 'must represent a diphthong'. Alternatively it might be suggested that, if the grapheme *ae* now had the phonetic value of a form of long *e*, someone wishing to stress the original diphthongal value of the digraph might have been moved to add the additional vowel symbol. Thus *aei* could be interpreted as evidence for a monophthongisation in speech which some purists were attempting to counter.[196] But it is

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[191] See the discussion of Blümel (1972: 14–15 and the footnotes on 125); also Meiser (1998: 62), Väänänen (1981: 38).

[192] See Biville (1995: 331).   [193] See for example Väänänen (1981: 38).

[194] See the detailed discussion by Biville (1995: 326–33) of the various alternative explanations that have been advanced; also Leumann (1977: 68).

[195] See Sturtevant (1940: 124), Wachter (1987: 481).   [196] See Wachter (1987: 481).

impossible to be sure what such forms signify. They might be taken at their face value (as appears to have been done by Sturtevant) as evidence that the diphthong was still alive. They have also been seen as grecising.[197] The spelling has no decisive information to impart about Roman practice; it is not even exclusively Roman.

It is difficult then to find solid evidence in the early Roman material for monophthongisation.

11.2   Praeneste

Coleman (1990: 13) cites from Praenestine Latin just two spellings, *Ceisia* (*CIL* 559) = *Caisia*,[198] and *Grecia* (350). He quotes Lucilius' disparaging line *Cecilius pretor ne rusticus fiat* (see above, 11) and states: 'If the Caecilius ridiculed in Lucilius's [line] is correctly identified with the Praenestine Caecilius Metellus, consul in 113 BC, then *e* for *ae* was already identified with Praenestine Latin in late 2C'. To refer to a member of the Caecilii Metelli (in this case possibly C. Caecilius Metellus Caprarius, cos. 113), one of the most distinguished Roman noble families of the later Republic, as a 'Praenestine' is not entirely convincing. A late tradition had it that Praeneste was founded by one Caeculus, and that the family originated from there,[199] but it cannot be straightforwardly assumed that there is an allusion to that tradition here, and that a specifically Praenestine accent is at issue.[200] It is at least as likely that Lucilius was making a joke based on the referent's rustic cognomen, if indeed the man has been correctly identified. Another fragment, referring to a 'praetor designate', uses the animal term *rostrum* of his face or 'snout', perhaps in allusion to the same cognomen: a *caper* would have a *rostrum* (210–11 Marx, 233–4 Warmington 1967),[201] and the word might also have been applicable in jest to a 'goat-herd' (*caprarius*). The same man's cognomen is definitely the butt of a joke made in 134 BC at Numantia by Scipio Aemilianus as reported at Cic. *De orat.* 2.267:[202] *ex quo genere etiam illud est, quod Scipio apud Numantiam, cum stomacharetur*

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[197]   See Marx (1904–5: II, 359).

[198]   On which see Wachter (1987: 117–18, 264). In the second discussion Wachter argues that *Ceisia* is an intermediate form, with the first stage of the monophthongisation in evidence. Compare also some of the Faliscan spellings showing *ei* where Latin has *ae* (< *ai*) to be found in the list of names assembled by Giacomelli (1963: 120).

[199]   See Paul. Fest. p. 38.23 Lindsay *Caeculus condidit Praeneste. unde putant Caecilios ortos, quorum erat nobilis familia apud Romanos* ('Caeculus founded Praeneste. From here they think that the Caecilii originated. Their family was a noble one among the Romans').

[200]   That however is the assumption made by Marx (1904–5) ad loc. See also Ramage (1960: 71).

[201]   See Marx (1904–5: II, 87) and Warmington (1967: 72 n. *a*). On this use of *rostrum* see Adams (1982a: 103, 1995b: 365), and below, VI.2.6, VIII.4.7.1.

[202]   On which see Leeman, Pinkster and Rabbie (1989: 298).

cum C. Metello, dixisse dicitur: 'si quintum pareret mater eius, asinum fuisse parituram' ('to this category also belongs the remark attributed to Scipio at Numantia when he was angry with C. Metellus, that "if his mother had produced[203] an offspring a fifth time [or 'a fifth son'], she would have produced a donkey"'). Metellus Caprarius was the fourth son of Q. Metellus Macedonicus. The point is that a donkey is even more stupid than a goat, *caper*.

Apart from that in *Grecia* there is one other instance of the monophthong from Praeneste (*CIL* XIV.2846 *Esculapio*, cited by Wallace and Joseph 1991: 165).[204] But what is the date of this inscription?

By contrast diphthongal spellings are common at Praeneste,[205] but these may merely be archaising.

11.3   Other parts of Latium

CIL 48 is from Tusculum: *M.Fourio.C.f.tribunos / [milita]re.de.praidad. Fortune[.]dedet* (see too *ILLRP* 100; Degrassi suggests that the reference may be to M. Furius Crassipes, praetor in 187 and 173).[206]

Notable here is the discrepancy between the *ai* of *praidad* and the *e* of *Fortune*.[207] The latter represents the pronunciation and the former is a conservative spelling. Here is evidence that orthographic conservatism was capable of obscuring linguistic developments.[208]

11.4   Falerii Novi

Pretod (for *praetor*) is at *CIL* 365 = *ILLRP* 238 (second century BC), a text in Latin but Faliscan script.[209] For possible 'Faliscan' features of this

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203 The conditional clause, with the imperfect subjunctive *pareret* for the expected pluperfect of CL, is of early Latin type.

204 *Meclonia* (for *Maec-*?) at *CIL* 198 is uncertain: see Wachter (1987: 187 n. 491).

205 In the inscriptions of the second and first centuries BC quoted and discussed by Wachter (1987: 238–47) both *ai* and *ae* are found. Note *CIL* 1463 *aediles, aerarium*, 1465 *aid . . .*, 1469 *aid.*, *ILLRP* 102 *Fortunai*, 656 *haec*, *CIL* 1446 *Praenestinei, Talabarai*, 1447 *Ae[mili . .]*, *ILLRP* 104a *Baib[. . .*, 105b *Fabiai(s.)*, 107a *[P]opiliai.s*. For *ai* in the *cippi Praenestini* see *CIL* 99, 138 (?), 168, 177, 207, 321, 326, 339, 342, 358, and for *ae*, 97, 336. For *ai* in early inscriptions from Praeneste see *CIL* 558 *Prosepnai* (Wachter 1987: 114–6), 552 *Painiscos, cailauit* (Wachter 1987: 143; also 264), *ILLRP* 1204 *Caia* (origin not certain). Some of these forms in *-ai* are dative singulars; if they represented genuine diphthongs the question arises whether the diphthong retained its original long first element.

206 For the text see also Wachter (1987: 377). On the date see also n. 208.

207 See Wachter (1987: 381).

208 Poccetti (1982c: 672) argues that the reference may be to a fourth-century Furius, but that the inscription cannot be as old as that. The *e*-spelling is a provincialism, whereas the old *ai* is retained in the official term (672–3). For another case of inconsistency see below, 11.6 (iii).

209 See Meiser (1998: 62).

inscription, see below, 18. In some new neo-Faliscan (Latin) inscriptions (again in Faliscan script) there are now instances of *c[u]estod* and *pretod* (see below, 18). For monophthongisation in Faliscan (as distinct from Faliscan Latin), see above, 11 with n. 184.

11.5   Lacus Fucinus, in the territory of the Marsi

The evidence as collected by Wachter is as follows:

(i) Letta (1979) (see Wachter 1987: 403, d), inscription from Supinum on the south side of the Lacus Fucinus.[210] The text is fragmentary, consisting largely of incomplete names, but it contains the title *qestur[. . .]*. The monophthongisation is typical of Umbrian, in which the title is attested in the forms **kvestur** and **cvestur** (the latter nominative plural),[211] and the ending in *-ur* for Lat. *-or* is found in both Oscan (**kvaísstur**) and Umbrian. The writer of the text has used the local form from the substrate language, and this constitutes a regionalism of a sort. The *q*, however, is Latinate.

(ii) *CIL* 388 = *ILLRP* 286 = Poccetti (1979), 220 from near Trasacco has the form *queistores*,[212] which perhaps shows the transitional stage in the monophthongisation noted above in *Ceisia* (11.2).

(iii) In the same inscription (388) there is also the name *Victorie*, a dative singular (see the index to *CIL*, 818).

(iv) *ILLRP* 303[213] is a bronze tablet from Lacus Fucinus with the name *Ceseius*, which possibly has a monophthongisation of *ai* in the first syllable.[214]

(v) *CIL* 392 = *ILLRP* 283 = Vetter (1953), 228b (. . . *Ve[s]une Erinie et Erine patre . . .*) from Ortona dei Marsi, 6 km east of the Lacus Fucinus, has the name *Vesune*,[215] showing a dative in *-e* rather than *-ai*; the same ending is to be seen in the patronymic *Erinie*.[216] This same form *Vesune* is found in a non-Latin inscription from the territory of the Marsi (see below). Also of note is the dative *patre*, which is in line with other datives from the area (see above, 6.1).

(vi) *CIL* 1763 = *ILLRP* 44 was found at Antinum south of the Lacus Fucinus: *P. Pomponi(us) N. f. Ancitie donom dedit lubens mereto*. Angitia was a goddess of the Marsi (see Degrassi *ILLRP* ad loc.). According to Wachter (1987: 411 n. 939) the inscription is 'aus späterer Zeit'.

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[210] See also Prosdocimi (1980: 223–4).   [211] See Untermann (2000: 423).
[212] The inscription is discussed by Wachter (1987: 403–4).
[213] Cf. Wachter (1987: 407).   [214] See Wachter (1987: 408).
[215] For the goddess Vesuna see *ILLRP* 283 n.   [216] See Wachter (1987: 407).

Monophthongisation had certainly taken place in this region.[217] But it is less clear (see 6.5) that Wachter (1987: 411) was justified in concluding that in the area of the Fucine lake monophthongisation was more developed than in the area of the Paeligni, Vestini and Marrucini. Diphthongal spellings should not be used as evidence for what was happening in speech in these latter places.

There are various cases of comparable monophthongisations in non-Latin inscriptions from the territory of the Marsi, such as Vetter (1953), 223 = Rix (2002: 66, VM 3) *pa.ui.pacuies.medis* / *uesune.dunom.ded(e)* / *ca.cumnios.cetur* (Antinum),[218] 225 = Rix (2002: 66, VM 5) *ẹsos* (Marruvium, S. Benedetto dei Marsi)[219] and 226 = Rix (2002: 67, VM 8) *state* (dat.) (Collemaggiore).[220]

The two most striking examples in the Latin material above are *qestur*, which shows two regional features, and *Vesune*. Both of these forms can be associated directly with Italic forms from much the same area (see above). But even such evidence as this would not definitely establish that monophthongisation in the local Latin in general had been effected under the influence of the local Italic. In the first case the lexical item itself might have been retained from the substrate. Names of deities may show conservative retentions, and this one might have retained a spelling from its language of origin.

11.6 Umbria (and the northern coastal region, ager Gallicus)

It was seen in the previous section that monophthongisation occurred in Umbrian. I now list examples from the Latin of Umbria.

(i) The *Lex sacra* from Spoletium (*CIL* 366 = *ILLRP* 505)[221] has *cedito* and *cedre*.[222] *CIL* 2872 is a duplicate text of the *Lex sacra*, and this has the form *caiditod* rather than *ced-*.[223]

(ii) One of the *cippi Pisaurenses* (from Pisaurum, ager Gallicus) (*CIL* 376 = *ILLRP* 21)[224] has *Cesula* and *Diane*.

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[217] On its early date there see also Wachter (1987: 482).

[218] The last word is problematic (see Untermann 2000: 394).

[219] For *aisos* 'god' see Untermann (2000: 68–9).

[220] This is a female divine name (Untermann 2000: 701).

[221] See also e.g. Wachter (1987: 428–32), Bradley (2000: 298).

[222] On the date of this text (perhaps not earlier than the *S. C. de Bacch.*) see Vine (1993: 289), supporting Wachter (1987: 432); cf. Leumann (1977: 68).

[223] According to *CIL* this copy 'nec multo post incisa esse videtur, licet et terminationibus et alioquin differat'.

[224] Discussed by Wachter (1987: 432–7); see too Bradley (2000: 297).

(iii) Another Umbrian example is *Supunne* (dative: see *CIL* index, 818) from Fulginiae (*CIL* 2111 = *ILLRP* 260; according to the latter the name is that of a 'numen aliunde ignotum').

CIL 420a was originally read with a locative *Meuanie* (*C. Popili, Meuanie*). This is on one of the 'vascula Megaricis similia', which are said to be of Umbrian origin (see *CIL* p. 415, introduction to no. 418). Mevania was in Umbria. A note in *CIL* ad loc. suggests that the form shows substrate influence: '*Mevanie* pro -*ae* congruit cum declinatione Umbrica'. This example does not seem to have found its way into the literature on monophthongisation, and with good reason. The last letter of the place name may well be -*a* (see *CIL* I, 721 'in fine inscriptionis potest fuisse *Mevania*, littera postrema paullum decurtata'). Degrassi at *ILLRP* 1224 prints the suggested re-reading (*C. Popili(us) Meuania*).

Vine, discussing monophthongisations from Umbria and the north coastal area, adds to the 'hitherto isolated' dative *Diane* (for which see above, [ii]; but see also [iii]) another example (*Menerue*), from Hadria, Picenum (*CIL* 3292a; dated, it is said, to the beginning of the second century). He observes (151): 'geographically . . . **Menerve** is not far removed from many of the other examples of dat. **-e** . . . , a phenomenon which Blümel (45) takes to have a Marsian epicenter'.

Note too *CIL* 1998 (with the observations on the text by Wachter 1987: 453–4) *Cn.Afreius.magister.donum.dat.Taniae.Detronie.Vel.f.* (Orvieto, in the border zone between Umbria and Etruria).[225] Noteworthy here is the juxtaposition of the 'correct' form in -*ae* with the phonetic spelling; *Taniae* provides another indication that a digraph cannot necessarily be taken to represent a diphthongal pronunciation.[226]

Coleman (1990: 12) under 'Local Latin Dialect' (of Umbria) refers only to *cedre*. Vine (1993: 150) says that '[e]ven Wachter, despite his pervasive and thoroughgoing skepticism concerning dialectal or other non-urban influences . . . , admits that the inconsistent monophthongization of *ai* and *au* seen in Latin inscriptions from Umbria and the north coastal area results from a "weak substratum influence" . . . , a view that is generally accepted

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[225] See too Vine (1993: 151 n. 55), printing however *Petronie*. The second name has a ligature in the ending (see both Wachter and Vine). The inscription is dated to roughly the middle of the second century.

[226] There are other digraphs from the region which may merely be archaising. The form *aediles* is in a Latin inscription pre-dating the Social War from Narnia in Umbria (*CIL* 2097 = *ILLRP* 628 = Bradley 2000: 297). *Ai(dilis)* is at *CIL* 3379, from Urvinum Hortense (see Bradley 2000: 299 on the text and date). Note too *CIL* 2118 from Asisium, with the forms *audiae, hygiae, carisumae* (see Bradley 2000: 295 for the text and discussion of the date).

and widely discussed'.[227] Wachter expresses doubt whether incoming Latin speakers could have picked up this tendency purely from the substrate (1987: 431, 475), and suggests (475) that monophthongisation was already a tendency of the immigrants and that it was reinforced by contact with the locals (see also 434, 482). But this is to impose a particular interpretation on the nature of the contact between Latin and Umbrian. The assumption is that Latin speakers from outside came into contact with the substrate, which may then have influenced their Latin. But it is at least as likely that the Latin texts were written by Umbrians who had also acquired Latin, preserving in the process features of the first language in the second. The circumstances of the language contact remain uncertain.

11.7 Etruria

An inscription from Etruria (*CIL* 2631, Veii) has the dative form *Victorie*.

11.8 Cisalpine Gaul

There is a dative *Amande* (2163) from Verona.

11.9 Samothrace

Twice the nominative plural *muste* occurs (663, 664).[228]

11.10 Conclusions

Spellings with digraphs had the status of being correct once monophthongisation had taken place, and it is possible that in a region in which they are common or even standard an open *e* was already in use in speech. It is no surprise to find attempts to establish that monophthongisation had already taken place at an early date in Rome, despite the prevalence of *ai/ae* in inscriptions. But there is unequivocal literary evidence from both the second and first centuries BC that the diphthong was considered urban and the monophthong rustic, and these literary *testimonia* cohere with the absence of clear-cut *e*-spellings in the early Roman inscriptions. More than twenty cases of monophthongisation have been cited above, none of them

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[227] For Wachter (1987) on the 'weak substrate influence' possibly to be seen in these Umbrian Latin inscriptions see 474; also 430.

[228] Discussed briefly by Biville (1995: 332).

from Rome. This distribution would be insignificant if the corresponding diphthong spellings (*ai*, *ae*) also failed to occur at Rome, but these are easy to find there (e.g. *CIL* 9 twice, 11 twice, 12, 25 three times, 27, 29, 37, 581 four times, etc.). The *e*-spellings listed in the previous sections turn up within the word (in e.g. *Grecia*, *Esculapio*, *pretod*, *qestur*, *cuestod*, *Ceseius*, *Cesula*, *cedito*, *cedre*) as well as in the dative singular ending of the first declension; the latter (*-e*) can only loosely be called a 'morpheme' because its primary determinant was a phonetic change. The best evidence for monophthongal spellings comes from the Marsian region of the Lacus Fucinus, and Umbria and the north coastal region, though the examples are not numerous and their significance is as ever undermined by the lack of a clear chronology. In the first there are correspondences between Latin texts and substrate texts suggesting a possible interaction between the substrate (Marsian) and the local Latin (but see further below, XI.3.1). Latin inscriptions at Falerii Novi too seem to carry on the monophthong that is to be found in Faliscan texts at Falerii Veteres (see below, 18, and above, 11 with n. 184). But monophthongal spellings are also scattered about elsewhere outside Rome, in Latium, among other places, where substrate influence is not likely. The evidence of the literary sources would thus seem to be confirmed in general terms, though precise geographical details concerning dialects are not available.

Eventually *-ae* was to be monophthongised all over the Empire, including Rome, as its Romance outcome (an open *e*) shows, though the grapheme was long retained by the educated as a learned spelling. The question arises whether there had occurred a 'wave' effect, with the monophthong originating in certain provincial regions of Italy and spreading to Rome and further afield. There is an alternative way of looking at the extension of the monophthong. It is a characteristic of the history of Latin that all the inherited diphthongs were eventually lost; this may be seen as an internally motivated development. It is possible that the monophthongisation of *ai/ae* simply occurred earlier in some places than others. In e.g. Umbria and the Marsian territory the process might have been hastened by contact with the Italic vernacular languages, but it might in due course have taken place at Rome and elsewhere independently of the influence of Italic-speaking regions. At a much later date in the Roman Empire there is evidence that certain phonological changes that were eventually to show up in all or most of the Romance languages took place earlier in some provinces than in others (see below, 21, and on differential rates of change in general, XI.4.6). Evidence of this kind will be presented in Chapter X.

12   *MIRCURIUS* AND COMPARABLE FORMS

The theonym *Mercurius* is of the same root as *merx*, and is usually spelt with *e* in the first syllable. There is, however, a spelling with *i* in the early period (*Mirc-/Mirq-*), which has generally been taken as dialectal.[229] It is usual to compare this spelling with the Oscan **mirikui** (Vetter 1953, 136 = Rix 2002: 117, Cm 12)[230] and **amirikum** (Vetter 1953, 3 = Rix 2002: 117, Cm 13). The latter is also probably of the same root as Lat. *merx*, with a prefix.[231] If *Mirc-* was dialectal, was it influenced by Oscan? Or were the Oscan forms themselves influenced by dialectal Latin? Untermann (2000: 86) opts for the latter possibility.

There are eight certain cases of the form *Mirc-*, distributed as follows: two are at Praeneste (*CIL* 553, 564), four at Delos (2233, 2239, 2240, 2504), one at Firmum Picenum (1920) and one at Lissa in Dalmatia (2295). According to Lazzeroni (1974: 295) the form is unknown at Rome, but there is now a newly published item *MIPC* (discussed by Vine 1993: 168–9) on a fragment of the base of a dish found at Rome (2890, p. 891). This may represent *Mircurio* (on the assumption either that the writer has used a Greek *rho*, or that this letter shape is acceptable also for Latin of this period).

Vine (1993: 163) finds significance for his thesis that the spelling represents a regionalism in the fact that four of the examples are at Delos: 'The "dialectal" status of the **Mirc-/Mirq-** forms emerges with particular clarity from the attestation of four such forms in Latin inscriptions from Delos.' The suggestion is that the Latin of the *negotiatores* in Greece in the second and first centuries BC is not that of Rome but of Campania, because the *negotiatores* originated mainly in the south of Italy. This view of the origins of the traders is no longer acceptable, following Solin's article (1982a): those responsible for drafting the Delian inscriptions might have come from anywhere in Italy, including Rome. The dish bearing *MIPC* might have been found at Rome, but the vocalism suggests, Vine says, that it must have been of non-urban provenance.

If *Mirc-* is dialectal, by implication *Merc-* must be Roman. But was that necessarily the case during the period from which we have attestations of *Mirc-*? Ideally the sort of case argued by Vine and Lazzeroni ought to

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[229] According to Leumann (1977: 45) *-erc-* > *-irc-* was 'dialektisch im Altlatein'. He cites *Mircurius*, and also *stircus* and *commircium*.

[230] See e.g. Lazzeroni (1974: 295), Vine (1993: 161–73).   [231] See Untermann (2000: 86).

be supported by a comparison of the distribution of *Mirc-* with that of *Merc-*. The index to *CIL* I (810) cites only half a dozen instances of *Merc-* alongside the slightly more numerous instances of *Mirc-* listed above, and only one of these is from Rome (992).[232] Two are from Delos (2242, 2243), one from Praeneste (563) and one from Puteoli (1618). The last (579) is of uncertain provenance. It is constantly the case, as here, that when a certain spelling is found mainly outside Rome and is accordingly taken to be dialectal, there turns out to be little or no evidence for an alternative spelling in Rome itself. If *MIPC* is admitted to the discussion there is at Rome just one example of each of the spellings, evidence which would not support the hypothesis about regional variation; and if it is not, the god's name turns out to be so little attested at Rome in inscriptions that we do not know which of the forms might have been favoured there at any one time.

Various other bits and pieces of evidence are sometimes brought into the discussion. Joseph and Wallace (1991: 168) cite Faliscan **loifirtato** (Vetter 1953, 253 = Giacomelli 1963, 25) 'freedom' (cf. *libertatis*) and [**l**]**o̦ifirța** 'freedwoman' (Vetter 1953, 276 = Giacomelli 1963, 73 I),[233] but the closing here is not in exactly the same phonetic environment.[234]

Stircus occurs in the so-called *Lex Lucerina* from Luceria in northern Apulia (*CIL* 401).[235] The usual form *stercus* appears in the index to *CIL* I (787) four times (593.66 *Lex Iulia municipalis*, 591 *Senatus consultum de pago Montano* Rome, 838, 839 Rome). The spelling in the *Lex Lucerina* might well have been local. The law also has the forms *fundatid* and *parentatid*, which are widely regarded as exemplifying Oscan morphological interference.[236] Wachter (1987: 422), while allowing that the text shows local linguistic influence, nevertheless excludes the form *stircus*, 'die mit der Aehnlichkeit der kurzen *i/e* zu erklären ist', from consideration as Oscan-determined.

Vine (1993: 166–8) discusses the possible case of *Hircol(e?)* at *CIL* 2873b from Trasacco in the Marsian territory. But there are uncertainties about the reading and also the length of the first vowel (see Vine 1993: 168).

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[232] Nevertheless Joseph and Wallace (1991: 168) compare with *Mircurios* (Praeneste) what they describe as 'Roman Latin' *Mercurius*.

[233] See also Coleman (1990: 11), Vine (1993: 162).

[234] There is also a new fragment *]firtati*, which may correspond to Lat. *[Li]bertati*. See Fogolari and Prosdocimi (1988: 242–3) and the discussion of Vine (1993: 170–1).

[235] See e.g. Coleman (1990: 11), Vine (1993: 162).

[236] See e.g. Wachter (1987: 422), Wallace (1988), Vine (1993: 170); also Adams (2003a: 120 n. 43), with some further bibliography.

Velius Longus, probably quoting Varro (*GL* VII.77.12–14), attributes the form *commircium* to *antiqui*:[237] *mium et commircium quoque per i antiquis relinquamus, apud quos aeque et Mircurius per i dicebatur, quod mirandarum rerum esset inuentor, ut Varro dicit* ('let us leave *mium* and *commircium* too, written with an *i*, to the ancients, among whom in the same way *Mircurius* too was in use with an *i*, because, according to Varro, he was the discoverer of marvellous things'). Whether or not Varro commented on *commircium*, he certainly did so on *Mircurius*, advancing an etymology. It was seen above that in extant Latin the form is only in inscriptions, most of them remote from Rome. One wonders whether Varro had come across the form in ancient literary or religious texts. If so these are as likely as not to have been of Roman provenance.

The material discussed in this section raises at least three questions. First, was *-irc-* for *-erc-* a Latin dialectal feature, characteristic not of Rome but of various regions outside the city? Second, if so, was it a reflection of Oscan, or some other Italic-substrate, influence on regional Latin? It would not be acceptable to answer the second question in the affirmative. The change *-erc-* > *-irc-* is not attested in Oscan except in forms that might have been influenced by or borrowed from Latin (so Untermann cited above, first paragraph). The first question is more difficult to answer. Most of the instances cited come from outside Rome, but (at least in the case of *Merc-/Mirc-*) we do not have good evidence for the forms that might have been current in Rome at the same time. There is also the attribution by Varro of *Mircurius* to *antiqui*. Varro was a constant commentator on regional usages, but in this case he attributes an aberrant form to the ancients rather than to provincials, and that perhaps suggests that he knew it from close to hand.

A third question is this: is it legitimate to bundle examples of *i* for *e* in the phonetic environment vowel + *rc* together with examples of the same vocalic substitution in completely different phonetic environments? Wachter (1987: 266–7, 422) explains *Mirc-* from the general variability in the writing of short *i* and short *e* in early inscriptions, but it is not clear that forms such as *filea, mereto, tempestatebus* etc. are genuinely comparable (see further above, 9).[238]

I conclude that *-irc-* for *-erc-* seems to have been non-Roman, but that there are some uncertainties; it is unfortunate that the evidence for the god's name at Rome in the early period is so poor.

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[237] See Coleman (1990: 11), Joseph and Wallace (1991: 168).
[238] See too Vine (1993: 162) for much the same point.

Coleman ([1990](): 16–17) comments on the loss of the final consonant (*-d/ -t*) in third-person verb forms in terms which imply that the loss was characteristic of certain dialects of Latin as distinct from the Latin of Rome. He refers to the phenomenon as taking place in Umbrian and Umbrian Latin, and in Latium at Tibur and Praeneste. He goes on to say (17) that '*-t* is not lost at Rome' and remarks, on *dedron* at 30 (Rome), that the form of the gentile name which occurs with it (*Pomplio*) and the syncope 'point to an Italian origin'. Joseph and Wallace ([1991]()) are more circumspect. After listing (166) a few cases of omission from outside Rome, at 172 they cite two instances from Rome itself (*CIL* 30, *ILLRP* 321a). Wachter ([1987]()) often refers to cases of omission without offering a comprehensive collection of the data in one place; he was, however, aware that the phenomenon is not peculiar to non-Roman Latin (see particularly 490). I here list the material (which includes both the loss of *-t* and of *-nt*) known to me from the early period, with references to Wachter's discussions of the particular cases. References are to *CIL* I (see the index, 817) unless otherwise indicated. There is the possibility in some cases that engravers or stonemasons have merely abbreviated a verb form; I do not go into details of this type. Moreover some of the early examples, such as those at 47b and 416, may show not omission of the consonant but the original third person in **-e* before the consonant was attached.[239]

59 *corauero* (Praeneste)[240]
61 *[d]edero* (Praeneste)[241]
ILLRP 107a *c]oirauerun* (Praeneste)[242]
377 *dede* (Pisaurum)[243]
379 *dedro* (Pisaurum)[244]
380 *dede* (Pisaurum)[245]
47b *dede* (Tibur)[246]
2659 *dedero*, possibly *iousi* (Lacus Albanus)[247]
416 *fece* (Cales)[248]
22 *probaue[r]o* (Rome)[249]
30 *dedron* (Rome)[250]

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[239] On this point see Untermann ([1968](): 170).
[240] See Wachter ([1987](): 229–31, 256).   [241] See Wachter ([1987](): 232).
[242] *ILLRP* prints this example as follows: *c]oirauerun[t . . .]*. See Wachter ([1987](): 246, 252).
[243] See Wachter ([1987](): 433).   [244] See Wachter ([1987](): 433).   [245] See Wachter ([1987](): 433).
[246] See Wachter ([1987](): 376).   [247] See Wachter ([1987](): 381–2).
[248] See Wachter ([1987](): 398–400).   [249] See Wachter ([1987](): 343).
[250] See Wachter ([1987](): 345).

477 *dede* (Rome)[251]
ILLRP 321a *cepi* (Rome)[252]
2438 *dede* (Minturnae, Roman colony).[253]

No conclusions can be drawn from material such as this about dialectal distinctions.

A few items can be added that do not alter the picture. At 1618 (Puteoli?) the spellings *curarun* and *dan* are both followed by a point, and may be abbreviations. At 2540a (Pompeii) *tabificanque* does not represent a loss of *-t* in the above sense so much as a loss by assimilation before k^w.[254] The banal spellings *pos tempus* (2189) and *posquam* (2540a) also show the assimilation of consonant clusters. The inscription 1635 (= *ILS* 5706), which has *probaru*, is much later than some of the above material (period of Sulla according to Dessau), and it contains a number of abbreviations of different types. At 2542 *courauru* may be an abbreviation, given the omission also of *e* in the third syllable. And at 1 the interpretation of *kapia* is problematic (but the provenance of the *cippus* is Rome).[255]

14 NAMES OF THE GOD MARS

The relationship between the names found in Italy of the god Ares/Mars remains controversial.[256] In Oscan (and Sabine) the name is attested in the form *Mamers*: Poccetti (1979), 177 = Rix (2002: 129, Lu 36) μαμερτει; Paul. Fest. p. 117.23 Lindsay *Mamers Mamertis facit, id est lingua Osca Mars Martis* ('*Mamers* forms *Mamertis* [as its genitive], that is the Oscan equivalent of *Mars, Martis*'); also Festus p. 116.2 Lindsay *Mamercus praenomen Oscum est ab eo, quod hi Martem Mamertem appellant* ('*Mamercus* is an Oscan praenomen, derived from the fact that they call Mars *Mamers*'); Varro *Ling.* 5.73 *Mars ab eo . . . quod Sabinis acceptus ibi est Mamers* ('Mars [is so called] from the fact that . . . , a favourite of the Sabines, he is there called *Mamers*'). This name in a slightly different form has now turned up in the Satricum inscription from the territory of the Volsci: *[. . .]uiei steterai popliosio ualesiosio suodales mamartei* ('. . . the companions of Publius Valerius, to Mars').[257] The form with *a* in the second syllable must be

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[251] See Wachter (1987: 348).   [252] See Wachter (1987: 299, 490).
[253] See Wachter (1987: 396).   [254] *n* no doubt represents a velar nasal.
[255] See Degrassi *ILLRP* 3 with commentary.
[256] See Leumann (1977: 121), and most recently Wachter (1987: 378–9), Meiser (1998: 127), Untermann (2000: 446), the last with bibliography.
[257] I follow the word division adopted e.g. by Meiser (1998: 4). For the text see Stibbe et al. (1980). Coleman (1986: 120–1) gives the last word as *mamertei*. See further Wachter (1987: 75–80).

older than the attested Oscan form with *e*, which presumably reflects a dis-similation. The antiquity of the form with a second *a* can be deduced from Etruscan evidence. The Italic (Oscan) praenomen given the form *Mamercus* by Festus above was borrowed into Etruscan at an early period (seventh–sixth centuries BC) in the form *Mamarce*.[258] The Satricum inscription belongs to the sixth century, and is roughly contemporary with the attes-tations of the praenomen in Etruscan. If the Satricum inscription is in a variety of Latin,[259] then the name of the god might seem to be a regional-ism taken over from Oscan. But it has not universally been accepted that the inscription is in Latin,[260] and even granted that it is it might in theory represent an early stage of the language when such a form of the god's name was widespread in varieties of Latin.

The form *Mauors*, from which *Mars* was probably derived (*Mauors* > *Maors > *Mars*),[261] is attested (in the early period) only in Rome and Latium: *CIL* 991 *Mauortei* (Rome), 49 *Maurte* (Tusculum), also *Maurtia* (< *Maortia*) from Tor Tignosa near Lavinium (*ILLRP* 10, Vetter 1953: 333 on 364, *Parca Maurtia dono = Parcae Martiae d.*).[262] It would be rash on the basis of such limited attestations to see it as a regionalism (i.e. Roman). After all, *Mars* (and *Martius*) derive from *Mauors*, *Mauortius*, and these are not restricted to Rome and Latium (see *CIL* index, 810: 1720 Beneventum, 1801 territory of the Paeligni).[263]

From as early as the time of Plautus *Mauors* had the status in the literary language of an archaism. The earliest literary examples are at Ennius *Ann.* 99 Skutsch and Plautus *Mil.* 1414, in a solemn context (an oath): *iuro per Iouem et Mauortem me nociturum nemini* ('I swear by Jupiter and Mars that I will harm no one'). The form is found in Cicero in an etymological discussion (*Nat.* 2.67) and used by Livy as an archaism (22.1.11 *sortes sua sponte attenuatas unamque excidisse ita scriptam: 'Mauors telum suum concutit'*, '[it was reported that] lots shrank of their own accord and one fell

[258] See De Simone (1970: 52), Wachter (1987: 378). De Simone's list of examples contains the form *Mamarc-* from the seventh and sixth centuries, *Mamerc-* from the sixth and fifth.

[259] See particularly Wachter (1987: 78–9), arguing from the *d* of *suodales* that the inscription is not Volscian but Latin. Note 79 on the form: 'Das *-d-* erweist die Wortform *suodales* also mit sehr grosser Wahrscheinlichkeit als nicht-volskisch, sondern lateinisch.'

[260] It is taken as such by Meiser (1998: 4), who cites it along with early Latin material. Coleman (1986: 122) on the other hand is inclined to see the language as 'Volscian'.

[261] See Leumann (1977: 121, 137 §145c); also Walde and Hofmann (1938–54: II, 45).

[262] See Wachter (1987: 378), and on the distribution of *Mauors*, Wachter (1987: 379). On the last example, see Leumann (1977: 7).

[263] Note too *Martses* from the territory of the Marsi (above, 6.5); also Wachter (1987: 379). On the find-spot of 1801 see *ILLRP* 635.

out on which was written, "Mars brandishes his weapon"'),[264] and also by the poets.

There is no trace of a tradition that regarded *Mamers* as a Latin archaism; it by contrast, as we saw, is treated as alien to Latin (as Oscan, Sabine). If folk tradition as reflected in the archaising register of literary Latin is anything to go by, *Mamers* is unlikely ever to have been genuinely current at Rome, and if therefore we can accept the argument that the Satricum inscription is unlikely to be in 'Volscian' but must be in Latin, then it would follow that the presence of *Mamars* in the text might reflect a variety of Latin which was subject to the influence of the neighbouring Italic. But this is mere speculation.

There is an alternative possibility. If the *sodales* of Publius Valerius were from Rome and were setting up an inscription at Satricum in honour of the god, they might have used Latin in reference to themselves, while adopting the local Oscan/Volscian name of the god who was receiving the dedication. Thus the text would be in a mixture of languages (Latin and Oscan/Volscian), not in a single language (whether we opt for Oscan/Volscian or Latin), with code-switching matching the different topics of the inscription. Language mixing of this type must have been common at the period when so many languages were spoken in Italy. There remain, however, many uncertainties about the interpretation of the inscription and its ramifications; we do not know, for example, when *Mauors* came into existence, or what the relationship is between *Mauort-* and *Mamert-*.[265]

It is often worthwhile to consider the possibility that code-switching might be evidenced in a text, as distinct from borrowing. Code-switching is ad hoc rather than institutionalised, and ad hoc switching need not reflect an established regional form of a language.

15 THE NAME HERCULES

In Oscan the name of Hercules belonged to the *o*-declension (e.g. dat. **herekliíí**, TA A 13, B 16, Vetter 1953, 147, Rix 2002: 82, Sa 1).[266] A number of inscriptions in Latin from Italic-speaking areas have the name of Hercules in an *o*-declension form, *Herclo* or *Hercolo* (though the dative ending itself is Latinate). These are:

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[264] The event took place at Falerii, but Livy would merely have been using generalised archaising Latin, after his manner in such special contexts.
[265] See e.g. Leumann (1977: 121).   [266] See Untermann (2000: 318).

(i) Poccetti (1979), 219 from Trasacco, territory of the Marsi:

> T. Vareci[o]
> Herclo I[ouio?]
> [l]ube()s
> ṃere[to].

(ii) Paelignian Latin inscription from the church of S. Agata in Campo Macrano, cited by Vetter (1953: 153) on 217; cf. Zamudio (1986: 43), 44:

> L. Seius. C.f. Hercolo donum dat. Burus.

> In two other Paelignian inscriptions (Vetter 1953, 217a, b; Zamudio 1986, 43), both of them in Latin, the Latinate form *herclei* is used instead.

(iii) An inscription from the territory of the Vestini (near Navelli) (Vetter 1953, 220, Rix 2002: 78, MV 5) (see above, 10.3):

> t. uetiọ duno didet herclo iouio brat(es) data(s).

This form in Latin inscriptions from an area where Oscan or closely related languages were originally spoken represents a regionalism influenced by the substrate language(s), but the name belongs to a deity and the form may be a fossilised religious archaism.

16 LEXICAL MIXING IN A REGIONAL INSCRIPTION

Poccetti (1979: 171), 225, under the heading 'Latino dialettale', prints an inscription from Lucus Feroniae (ager Capenas) on the borders of the territory of the Falisci and Sabines, dated to just before 211 BC at *CIL* 2867.[267] The inscription in a different form appears at *ILLRP* 93a; Poccetti's text is based on the reinterpretations of Letta and D'Amato (1975: 46), 36 and Torelli (1973–4). Letta and D'Amato (see also *CIL* 2867) print the text in the following form:

pesco.Sal(uia) Plaria T.l. Fero(niae) don(o) [q]uod a[f luc(o)?] dedet libes m(erente) ṃereto.

The inscription is in Latin, but it has a non-Latin opening word. The reading of the first letter is not clear, and the word has also been taken as *tescum*.[268] The spelling printed here seems also to be in the Marsian

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[267] Untermann (2000: 548) says that the text Poccetti 225 is 'aus dem Marsergebiet'.
[268] See the discussion at *CIL* 2867.

inscription (from Marruvium) Vetter (1953), 225 = Rix (2002: 66, VM 5) (*ẹsos.[?] nouesedẹ pesco.pacrẹ*), which is in Italic rather than Latin; this latter text has been subject to many interpretations.[269] The sense of *pesco* is unclear; for a full list of interpretations and for literature on the matter see Untermann (2000: 548). Equivalences such as *sacrificium* and *templum* have been proposed; Letta and D'Amato (1975: 46) favour the meaning *piaculum*, noting that the private dedication by a freedwoman to the local goddess is unlikely to have been of a temple.

Whatever the meaning, it would seem that a local non-Latin word, culturally marked in the region, had been retained there for a time during the shift to Latin. This is a case either of a loan-word from the substrate language entering the local Latin and giving that Latin a regional flavour, or of an ad hoc code-switch.

A parallel in type to the above text is provided by a transitional text from the Venetic territory: Pa 6 *[M'. Galle]ni M'. f. Ostialae Galleniae equpetars*. The syntax and morphology of the onomastic formula are pure Latin. The Latinate names are combined with the local word *equpetars*, apparently signifying a tomb, stele or the like.[270] The referents had Latinised their names, but had held on to a local term which probably had a special significance in the area.

17 SOME 'NOMINATIVE' FORMS IN ETRURIA

In Etruscan names of Latin or Italic origin the endings *-i* (or *-ie*) and *-e* correspond to the Latin/Italic vocative endings of names in *-ius* and *-us* (e.g. *Arri* on the one hand, *Tite* on the other).[271] There are two possible explanations of this. The two endings might have been native to Etruscan, and Latin names assigned to the one class or the other because of the chance correspondence between the pre-existing Etruscan endings and the Latin vocative forms.[272] Alternatively the names might have been borrowed from Latin/Italic in the vocative,[273] the vocative being the form of a name most commonly heard in any language and the most likely to be interpreted by those learning a language as the correct form in the target language. On this view the Latin morphemes, once having entered Etruscan in borrowed

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[269] See Letta and D'Amato (1975: 43–7).
[270] For a discussion of this word (which is also found in purely Venetic inscriptions at Pa 1, 2, 3, 3bis), see Pellegrini and Prosdocimi (1967: I, 74–8).
[271] See e.g. Rix (1963: 227, 230, 258, 259, 1994: 63–4), Adams (2003a: 514).
[272] This seems to be the view of De Simone (1970: 142) in reference at least to *-e*.
[273] See e.g. Rix (1981: 124, 1994: 63 n. 32), Steinbauer (1993: 288).

names, would have spread to other names of Etruscan origin. There is a possible parallel at a later period for the borrowing of Latin names into another language in the Latin vocative form rather than the nominative. In Punic, Latin names almost invariably have what looks like a representation of the Latin vocative ending (see VIII.10.1). Scholars of Etruscan seem to be leaning towards the interpretation of the Etruscan endings as Latin/Italic vocatives,[274] without referring to the Punic material.

I make the assumption that the endings are indeed Latin vocatives in origin, and consider the implications of some related material to the present topic. There are Latin inscriptions from Etruria (dating from the period when language shift was well under way) in which some names have 'vocative' endings. As a case in point I first cite *CIL* XI.2979 *Sex. Gegani P. f. Galle a(nnos) u(ixit) LXX* (from Tuscana). The presence of the verb phrase shows that the names *Gegani* and *Galle*, despite their endings, are conceived of as nominative in function. There is a type of epitaph (of Greek origin but imitated in Latin)[275] in which the deceased is addressed and his name accordingly placed in the vocative, as in the following bilingual inscription: *CIL* 2259 = *ILLRP* 961 *Q. Auili C. f. Lanuine salue* ιντε Ἀουλλιε Γαου υ ʽΡωμαε χρηστ, χαρε. Here the format of the Latin was determined by the Greek. The above Etrurian inscription does not belong to this category but has what look like vocatives used with nominative function as subjects of a verb. There are various possible ways of explaining the case usage in the text. There might have been a tendency in the Latin of the region for names to be fossilised in the vocative form (a tendency which would help to explain why it was that Latin names were taken over into Etruscan with vocative form). But it seems unlikely that native speakers of Latin in the late Republic in just one area of Italy would have been prone to using vocatival names with nominative function. It is more likely that native speakers of Etruscan, having heard Latin names constantly used in Latin in the vocative, having made the false assumption that the vocative form was the base-form, and having taken over that form into Etruscan, tended to transfer the 'vocative' back into their second language, Latin, as a sort of nominative. To them the endings *-e* and *-i* were not markers of the vocative at all, but were the two basic endings of names of Latin origin and by extension of masculine Etruscan names as well. On this view an inscription such as that from Tuscana displays a form of regional Latin, marked by the imposition of 'Etruscan' morphemes on names embedded

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[274] See e.g. Rix (1994: 63 n. 32), citing another item of bibliography which I have not been able to locate.
[275] See e.g. Kajanto (1963: 18).

in a Latin text.[276] This regional Latin, it should be noted, is primarily that of users of Latin as a second language, and represents an ephemeral stage in one area at a time of language shift. Put more simply, some names retain their Etruscan form in some Latin texts. The transfer of such forms back into Latin is particularly clear in a few bilingual texts, in which the gentilicia of vocative type are basically the same in both versions:[277] *CIE* 1290[278] *au fapi larθial* / *A. Fabi. Iucnus*, 2965[279] *aθ: trepi: θanasa* / *Ar. Trebi. Histro*.

There are considerable numbers of *tituli sepulchrales* in Latin from Caere in Etruria dating perhaps from the fourth century BC to the beginning of the Empire (*CIL* 1931–86, 2546–627, 2721–64),[280] quite a few showing endings in *-i*. A selection is published by Degrassi *ILLRP* 829–42. Degrassi II, p. 211 states that all his selected texts are ('ut videntur') in the nominative, with the exception of the text he numbers 838 (*CIL* 2551): *L. Atili C.f. Serane*. Kaimio (1969: 41) also says that the text is 'probably in the vocative'. The statement that the names in a Latin inscription from Etruria are 'in the vocative' is ambiguous. I reiterate the double meaning of the expression. An epitaph may be of the Greek type whereby the deceased is addressed, with the names intended as vocatives. Alternatively an epitaph may display some Etruscan morphemes, which, since they probably derive from Latin vocatives, superficially resemble but are not necessarily conceived of as Latin vocatives: they function as nominatives. Since according to Degrassi all his other Caeritan *tituli* are in the nominative he has no alternative but to print a text such as 837 as if it has an abbreviation, thus: *L. Arunti(us) S. f. Buco*. It cannot be denied that in early Latin inscriptions gentilicia are sometimes abbreviated at this point (see below, VI.4.3),[281] but nevertheless in the Latin inscriptions of Etruria some such forms may rather display the Etruscan morpheme (deriving from the Latin vocative) transferred back into its native Latin. I base this view on the fact that in the *tituli* of Caere there are also names in *-e*, which cannot be dismissed as abbreviations (e.g. *ILLRP* 832 *Hatile*, 835 *Pabate*). It is also worth noting Kaimio's observation (1969: 33), based on his collection of a large number of republican texts containing nominative singulars in *-i*, that the 'greatest number of *-i* endings comes from regions where the influence of Etruscan is discernible'.

I conclude that in the Latin inscriptions of Etruria there are names with Etruscan endings which probably originated from Latin vocatives, and that the presence of these endings in Latin texts even in names of Latin origin

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[276] For some further examples see Kaimio (1972: 62).
[277] See Kaimio (1969: 34).   [278] = Benelli (1994), 20.
[279] = Benelli (1994), 21.   [280] On the date see *ILLRP* II, p. 211.
[281] See the remarks of Kaimio (1969: 37–8) on the *S. C. de Bacch.*

constitutes an ephemeral regional feature of the Latin of the area determined by language contact at a time of language shift. This conclusion does not depend on the assumption that the endings derived from the Latin vocative: even if these morphemes were of native Etruscan type they are found in Latin texts in which their Latinisation would have been easy.

<p style="text-align:center">18 LATIN AND FALISCAN</p>

'Faliscan' is the name given to the language or dialect of the Faliscans, inhabitants of the area between Monte Cimino and the Tiber to the north of Rome. Their principal city was Falerii Veteres. Faliscan inscriptions date back to the sixth or even seventh century BC. Their language is closely related to Latin but should probably be regarded as a separate entity rather than a dialect of Latin.[282] A collection of inscriptions is found in Giacomelli (1963), but there have been some notable additions to the corpus since then.[283] The Romans destroyed Falerii in 241 BC and moved its inhabitants to a new site, Falerii Novi, 3 miles to the west. The inscriptions of the later period, though retaining some early features, are markedly Latinised, and it seems reasonable to speak of a mixed dialect with input from the Latin of the conquerors.[284]

An important text in this respect is *CIL* 365,[285] which is an inscription on a large bronze sheet discovered at Falerii Novi (S. Maria di Falleri) and probably originating at the temple of Minerva. It is datable to some time in the second century BC. The document has often been discussed, notably by Vetter (1953: 308–9), Giacomelli (1963: 68), Wachter (1987: 448–53), Vine (1993: 108–9 with nn. 68–9), Peruzzi (1997) and Mancini (2002: 34–8). Freeman (2002) does not mention important earlier discussions.

Various questions arise. What is the language of the text? If Latin, is it dialectal Latin, and if so what are the sources and features of the dialect? The

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[282] For a brief overview see Baldi (1999: 170–4). On the question whether Faliscan inscriptions are in a dialect of Latin or a separate language see in particular Joseph and Wallace (1991), who conclude (182) that 'Faliscan is not a dialect of Latin'. The question what constitutes a dialect and what a language is, however, a difficult one (see e.g. Davies [1987] 2002: 154–5 with n. 4). Penney (1988: 729) writes as follows: '[A]rchaic Faliscan is remarkably like the language of the earliest Latin inscriptions – an impression now reinforced by the appearance of gen. sing. *-osio*, hitherto attested within Italic only in Faliscan, in the recently discovered inscription from Satricum . . . Not that the early remains of Latin are so ample as to give more than a glimpse of the state of the language.'

[283] See e.g. Berenguer-Sánchez and Luján (2004) and Wallace (2005), both with bibliography.

[284] See e.g. Penney (1988: 729): 'After 241 the inscriptions bear witness to a rapid process of Latinization; Faliscan elements often appear as no more than dialectal features in essentially Latin texts.'

[285] See also *ILLRP* 238, Giacomelli (1963), 59 (with some commentary).

document has an ostentatiously Faliscan feel to it. It is in Faliscan script and is written from right to left in the Faliscan rather than Latin manner.[286] Peruzzi (1997: 63) indeed speaks of it as showing a non-Roman, even anti-Roman, character, a view which is perhaps exaggerated, but there is nevertheless a local identity conveyed.[287] The praenomen of the father, *Lars*, which was probably shared by the dedicator, was of Etruscan origin and in local use.[288] *Cotena* too has an Etruscan look to it.[289] The dedicator, of a local family, set out as best he could to present himself as Faliscan:

Menerua.sacru / **[L]a.Cotena.La.f.pretod.de** / **zenatuo.sententiad.uootum** / **dedet.cuando.datu.rected** / **cuncaptum**.[290]

I start with the nominative form *pretod* for *pretor*. The usual explanation is that the *d* represents a sandhi-phenomenon (assimilation to the *d* that follows).[291] This explanation was questioned by Wachter (1987: 449–50), partly on the grounds of the 'syntactic pause and the extra space after **pretod**' (Vine 1993: 108 n. 67).[292] Vine himself refers (108) to a 'form of syntactic space punctuation not uncommon in Roman legal inscriptions', which does indeed undermine the explanation from assimilation. Wachter's own explanation of the spelling (450) is that the writer was conscious of the tendency for final consonants (including *r*) to be lost in later Faliscan[293] and compensated, but by adding the wrong consonant.

There is however new evidence on the matter, in one of the neo-Faliscan inscriptions (P Iabcd)[294] from Pratoro di Civita Castellana that came to light in the 1970s.[295] The corpus can be dated to the late second century BC on the basis of a consular date found on a tile at the site.[296] The text to which I refer is also written in Faliscan script and from left to right.[297] It contains both **c[u]estod pi(s)** and **pretod [p]is** representing Lat. *quaestor bis* and *praetor bis*.[298] Another of the texts (T VIb) has **[pre]tor pis**,[299] which confirms the nominative interpretation. The explanation from assimilation

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286 See the remarks of Vetter (1953: 308) and Peruzzi (1997: 62).
287 See further Mancini (2002: 36); also Wachter (1987: 453).
288 See Giacomelli (1963: 197).   289 See Giacomelli (1963: 186).
290 Translated by Warmington (1940: 81), 71 as follows: 'The praetor Lars (?) Cotena, son of Lars, by a vote of the Senate bestowed this as a gift vowed sacred to Minerva. When it was bestowed, it was dedicated duly in set form of words.' On the problems of interpretation, particularly of the last five words, see Wachter (1987: 450–2); also Peruzzi (1997: 67–8).
291 See Giacomelli (1963: 68) and the bibliography listed by Mancini (2002: 34 with nn. 51, 52).
292 On the spacing see also Peruzzi (1997: 62).
293 See Giacomelli (1963: 129), and particularly Peruzzi (1997: 63) and Mancini (2002: 34). See also below on *uxo = uxor*.
294 On the sigla see Renzetti Marra (1990: 331 n. 20).   295 For these see Renzetti Marra (1990).
296 See Renzetti Marra (1990: 329).   297 See Renzetti Marra (1990: 333).
298 See Renzetti Marra (1990: 334, 339–40).   299 See Renzetti Marra (1990: 334).

in the earlier case is now obviously wrong, nor can *pretod* be dismissed as an isolated aberration.[300]

Before saying more about the spelling *pretod* and 365 I quote the whole of P Iabcd, which is spread over several tiles:[301]

/]**a.pr**/**otacio**/**m.f.m.a̧** /**cistr**[**a**]**tu**//
/**keset.c**[**u**]/**estod.pi**/**.pretod**[**.**]/[**p**]**is**//
/**cau**/**ia.ux**/**o.a.f.**//

The document consists of a masculine onomastic formula (including filiation), followed by a verb phrase (= *magistratum gessit*), then the equivalent of *quaestor bis, praetor bis*, and finally a feminine onomastic formula (feminine praenomen, 'wife', abbreviation of the maternal praenomen and 'daughter').[302] If the script and various Faliscan orthographic oddities are disregarded,[303] the text reads almost entirely as pure Latin, and it would not be plausible to see it as in a different language. *Magistratum gerere* is a Latin official phrase (*OLD* s.v. *gero* 10). Nevertheless there remain several features that are not straightforwardly Latin, or at least urban Latin, of the late second century BC. I refer, apart from the ending of *cuestod* and *pretod*, to the loss of final *r* in *uxor* and to the monophthong *e* in **c**[**u**]**estod** and **pretod** (the latter form at 365 above as well). For *uxo* in early Faliscan see Vetter (1953), 269b (Giacomelli 1963, 66 III) **ouxo** and 322b A (Giacomelli 1963, 121 II) **uxo**.[304] Was there still a tendency to omit final -*r*, even in Faliscan Latin?[305] Or was the form merely archaising?[306] The monophthong *e* for original *ai* also appears in early Faliscan, as we have seen (11 with n. 184).

For speculations about the phonetics of -*o(d)*, see the discussions of Peruzzi (1997: 64–5) and Mancini (2002: 36–40). One possibility is that Faliscans were still omitting final -*r*,[307] but that an attempt was made in

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[300] This point is made strongly by Mancini (2002: 36).

[301] For the text and for a drawing of the tiles see Renzetti Marra (1990: 334).

[302] For the structure see Renzetti Marra (1990: 339). Translation: ' . . . A. Protacius son of Marcus held a magistracy, as quaestor twice and praetor twice. Cavia, his wife, daughter of A.'

[303] The Faliscan, or at least non-Latin, orthographic features are *cu*- for *qu*- (see below, p. 105), some alternation between *c* and *k* with the phonetic value [g] (see Renzetti Marra 1990: 339, Giacomelli 1963: 31–2), and the use of *p* with the value [b] in *pis* (see Giacomelli 1963: 122 with n. 38).

[304] See further Peruzzi (1997: 63).

[305] On the loss of final consonants in general in Faliscan see the bibliography at n. 293 above.

[306] Since the text is in Faliscan script it is possible that the form *uxo* is merely an orthographic archaism. I will make the assumption that it reflects local speech but we cannot be certain.

[307] According to Renzetti Marra (1990: 329) one of the texts from Pratoro has a form *suto* for *sutor* (apparently a cognomen), and this is taken as a manifestation of a local form of Latin with Faliscan elements. Mancini (2002: 26–7), who prints the text in full, questions this interpretation. There is an uncertainty about the origin of the cognomen *Suto*.

the overtly official Latin titles *pretod* and *cuestod* to retain a final, Latinate, consonant. Peruzzi (1997: 65) speaks of final *-r* as 'weakly articulated' in the area and as resembling *d* but not identical to it, and of the alphabet as having no letter appropriate to the sound. A 'tapped' *r* (often heard in English in the dialect of Manchester) sounds like a *d*. The Latin *r*, the *littera canina*, was of the trilled tongue-tip sort,[308] that is articulated with a series of taps of the tongue. Perhaps Faliscans reduced the marked trill to a single tap when they set out to retain the final consonant. But that is mere speculation. However the spelling is to be explained, it seems to reflect a regional treatment of these Latin political terms. The presence of the spelling in a formal public inscription and also in a cursus honorum at Pratoro strikes an odd note. The drafter could no doubt have written the word correctly in the Latin manner (as was done in one of the texts from Pratoro: see above). The decision to write the form with *-d* may indeed represent an attempt to give the official terminology a local character.[309]

The dative[310] *Menerua* (for which see above, 5) found in 365 is said to have been alien to Faliscan, which retained *-ai*.[311] If that is correct the form would have to reflect the influence of a variety or register (see above, 5) of Latin which had the *-a* form. But the situation in early Faliscan is not as straightforward as it might seem. The Faliscan examples of *-ai* are in personal names: Giacomelli (1963), 13 I **iunai**, Vetter (1953), 331 (Giacomelli 1963, 131) **citiai**,[312] 339c (Giacomelli 1963, 144 III) **popliai file**(**ai**), perhaps 350 (Giacomelli 1963, 52) **uoltai**. There is also the odd adjective (Giacomelli 1963, 1 **karai**).[313] There are no cases extant in divine names, as far as I can see. To be absolutely certain that Faliscan did not have the dative *-a* we would need to have instances of the *-ai* ending attested in divine names. In this name and this inscription the form is not relevant to regional usage. The drafter would have seen the ending in dedications to Minerva and copied it, without using it in speech.

The doubling of the vowel to mark length in *uootum* is a practice alien to Faliscan.[314] Gemination was in use in Latin from the second half of the second century BC, and also in Oscan. There are close similarities between

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308 See Sturtevant (1940: 150–1).   309 See Peruzzi (1997: 66), Mancini (2002: 36).
310 It is taken as a genitive without final *-s* by Giacomelli (1963: 68) (see however id. n. 63), but *-a* forms, which are common in religious dedications, as we have seen (5), are sometimes in contexts where the genitive is impossible (e.g. *CIL* 2233 = *ILLRP* 53). See also Wachter (1987: 449 with n. 1017), and the discussion of Lazzeroni (1965: 66–9).
311 See Giacomelli (1963: 133, 139–40), Wachter (1987: 542), Joseph and Wallace (1991: 168–9).
312 Female name.
313 It has to be said, however, that the case is usually difficult to determine: genitive or dative? See Giacomelli (1963: 60, 65) on 33 and 52.
314 As noted by Vetter (1953: 308). See also Peruzzi (1997: 66–7).

the Oscan and Latin practice, and inscriptional examples in Latin tend to be in Oscan areas.[315] *Vootum* had previously been considered aberrational, as the unique case of doubling of *o* (*a* is the letter most commonly doubled), but Vine (1993: 271) has drawn attention to *Roomanus* in the 'Tabula Alcantarensis' from Spain (104 BC)[316] and has argued (1993: 278, 282) that both examples fit certain structural patterns discernible in geminations in Latin (and Oscan). Mancini (2002: 38 n. 64) by contrast prefers to see the gemination *oo* as 'hyper-Roman', in that it was not usual in Latin to double this letter. *Vootum* reflects an orthographic practice imported into a 'Faliscan' text, and perhaps, if one follows Mancini, overextended.

The expression *de senatuo(s) sententiad* is Latin officialese. It occurs in the *Senatus consultum de Bacchanalibus*,[317] and was familiar around Italy. It was calqued into Oscan (Vetter 1953, 11 **kúmbennieís tanginud**).[318] The omission of final *-s* in an *-os* genitive can be paralleled in Faliscan (Giacomelli 1963, 25 **loifirtato** = *libertatis*), but this is not a regional feature. The omission of *-s* after short *o* is widespread in early Latin, and is attested at Rome as well as outside (see 5, p. 51).[319] Moreover the omission in this phrase can be seen as a special case, in that there is an *s* following at the start of the next word.[320] In that environment *s* is often left out in Latin.[321]

The *z* at the start of *zenatuo* is Faliscan orthography. The sign transliterated as *z* appears to have had the same value in Faliscan as *s* in Latin, and there are indeed alternations of the symbols *z* with *s* in earlier Faliscan texts.[322] The original phonetic significance of the alternation is not clear, but by this period the use of the symbol is purely orthographic (cf. below on *cu-*), and part of the attempt by the drafter to give the text a Faliscan feel.[323] Freeman (2002), discussing the question of Faliscan language survival with reference to this inscription, refers to the Latin as flavoured 'with two clear Faliscan forms'. He concedes that spellings do not prove that Faliscan was still spoken in the mid-second century BC, but says that they 'argue for a continuing influence of the earlier language'. Freeman is

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[315] See Lazzeroni (1956), Vine (1993: Chapter 11).   [316] See *AE* 1984, 495.
[317] See also Wachter (1987: 452).   [318] See e.g. Penney (1988: 734).
[319] For examples see *CIL*, index, 818: e.g. 6, 8 (Scipionic *elogia*), 20, 21, 28, 31, 33 (Roman). There is an extensive collection of inscriptional material in Proskauer (1909), who lists Roman examples at 10–11; see also Wachter (1987: 490). In early Latin verse (e.g. Ennius) final *-s* after a short vowel is regularly dropped before a consonant (see Skutsch 1985: 56; also Leumann 1977: 227), and that suggests that at the time it was at best weakly articulated in city Latin. In the late Republic it was restored, and its omission, according to Cicero, was by that time 'rustic'. See further below, III.4.3, p. 140 with n. 74 (with further bibliography).
[320] See also Wachter (1987: 449).   [321] See Adams (1977a: 30) with bibliography.
[322] See Giacomelli (1963: 33).   [323] See Vetter (1953: 308).

keen to see Faliscan as still a living language, stating that 'it is reasonable simply on chronological grounds to assume that native speakers of Faliscan survived into the second century BC'. He also says that the inscription 'provides circumstantial evidence that the Faliscan language continued to be spoken over a century after the destruction of Falerii Veteres'. If so one wonders why the drafter of this inscription, who went to the trouble of using Faliscan script and orthographic practices, did not use a distinctively Faliscan language as well. The Faliscan orthography in what is in effect a Latin text may be taken to justify precisely the opposite conclusion to that reached by Freeman. When a language dies members of the culture of which that language was once a part may attempt to hold on to their linguistic heritage, if not by the use of the defunct language itself, at least by the preservation of its script. A new language written in the old script may be regarded as the next best thing to the old language itself. Parallels abound from antiquity, such as the use of Hebrew script to write Greek or of Etruscan script to write Latin.[324] One cannot argue from the Faliscan script and orthography for the survival of the Faliscan language itself. The question raised by this text is not whether Faliscan survived, but whether there was an identifiable Faliscan dialect of Latin.

The other item of Faliscan orthography to which Freeman was referring is the spelling of *quando* with *c* rather than *q*. In Faliscan the enclitic *-que* has the form *-cue*,[325] and in the new corpus from Pratoro *cuestor* for *quaestor* has turned up.[326]

The perfect form *dedet* (with the ending *-et*) can now be paralleled in a medio-Faliscan inscription of about the fourth century BC (**facet**: see Wallace 2005: 179), but that is not relevant to the identification of the language of the present inscription. Renzetti Marra (1990: 340) interprets two such *-et* forms (*keset*, *obiet*) in the inscriptions of Pratoro as evidence of Faliscan regional Latin (compared with Roman *-it*), but is rightly taken to task by Mancini (2002: 27), who points out that the perfect ending *-et* is common in republican Latin, including that of the city.

Cuncaptum (CL *conceptum*) has no regional significance but is an artificial piece of ad hoc (etymological) recomposition.[327]

I come now to a characterisation of the language of the document. The question has prompted mixed responses. Vine (1993: 272) speaks of the text as having a 'heavily Latinized character', but earlier (109 n. 69) remarked on the document as 'essentially Faliscan', though Latinised.

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[324] See Adams (2003a: 823) s.v. 'script' (serving as 'language').
[325] See Giacomelli (1963: 241; also 11).   [326] See Renzetti Marra (1990: 332, 333, 337).
[327] Cf. Wachter (1987: 453), Vine (1993: 109 n. 69).

Giacomelli (1963: 68) by contrast stated that the language was 'essentially Latin'. Wachter (1987: 453) allowed that the inscription, as demonstrated by the script, was meant to be Faliscan, but Faliscan officialese at this period was 'starkly Latinised'. Pisani (1964: 352–3) thought that the language was completely Latin. This judgment was quoted with disapproval by Peruzzi (1997: 62), who stressed the 'extreme resistance of Faliscan culture against Rome' as demonstrated by the document. Mancini (2002: 38) remarked that, despite any 'anti-Roman animus' that the inscription might display, it also demonstrates how profound the influence of Latin was, and he noted the presence of technical–administrative borrowings such as *zenatuo sententiad*.

One cannot argue for the language of a text from its script in antiquity. Countless texts are written in the wrong script, for a variety of reasons.[328] In some of the opinions just quoted a distinction is not made sharply enough between Faliscan culture and Faliscan language. The maintenance of the old script and certain orthographic practices (*z*, *cu-*) represents an attempt to preserve the old Faliscan culture, though even the orthography is not entirely authentic (see above on *uootum*). But if one leaves aside script and orthography (and the names) and asks what is un-Latin about the language, the answer is nothing, with the single exception of the form *pretod*. Every other word or form could be paralleled in Latin. Faliscan, if it was once a separate language, had been swamped by Latin. *Pretod*, though it is a Latin word, has a non-Latin ending; it also has the non-urban monophthong in the first syllable. That same ending (and the monophthong) can now be paralleled in some material from Pratoro, and it becomes likely that it reflects a regional pronunciation (of Latin), restricted to Falerii and its environs. The same text from Pratoro also has *uxor* in the form *uxo*, and that points to a lingering regional treatment of final *-r*. There was strong influence from the Latin standard language, as can be seen in the Latin official terminology (*de senatuo(s) sententiad*, *magistratum gessit*, the titles of officials), but also some sign of local phonetic features. The omission of *-r* and the monophthong are features that go back a long way in Faliscan, to a time before the destruction of Falerii Veteres, and if they were now dialect characteristics of Faliscan Latin they were retentions from the earlier language or dialect. It is possible that in masculine personal names there was still a tendency to hang on to the old *-os* ending. I mention finally the use of *cuando* in a temporal sense. This usage, as we will see (III.6.2), was

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[328] See Adams (2003a: 825–6) s.v. 'transliteration' for numerous examples of different kinds.

lost in city Latin in the later Republic but there is good evidence for its preservation outside Rome. This is a non-Roman lexical regionalism.

19   A LEXICAL ITEM IN AN INSCRIPTION OF PRAENESTE

The inscription *CIL* 60 = *ILLRP* 101 has an interesting use of *natio*: *Orceuia Numeri nationu(s) cratia Fortuna Diouo filea Primogenia donom dedi* ('I, Orcevia, wife of Numerius, for the sake of the birth of a child have presented a gift to Fortuna Primigenia the daughter of Jupiter').[329] On this interpretation (that for example of the *OLD* and of others)[330] *natio* had retained its archaic/etymological sense at Praeneste. At Rome it had already undergone a semantic change by the time of Plautus.[331] It was sometimes the case that an old usage was maintained in one place (such as a rural or provincial area) but lost in another (such as a metropolis): see below, III.6.5 on *cenaculum*, and in general I.11, XI.4.3. However, the possibility cannot be excluded that the old meaning was still current at Rome at the time of the Praenestine inscription.

It also seems that in country districts a concrete meaning of *natio* directly derivable from that seen above ('issue') was preserved in the late Republic (see Varro *Rust.* 2.6.4 *praegnates opere leuant: uenter enim labore nationem reddit deteriorem*, 'they relieve pregnant donkeys from work, for the womb produces inferior offspring as a consequence of toil'; cf. Paul. Fest. p. 165.4–5 Lindsay).[332] Here is a lexical distinction between rural and city Latin.

20   THE 'INTERMEDIATE' VOWEL IN THE LATE REPUBLIC

Velius Longus (*GL* VII.49.16ff.), commenting on the spelling of such words as *optimus* (*optumus*) and *maximus* (*maxumus*), writes: *i uero littera interdum exilis est, interdum pinguis . . . ut iam in ambiguitatem cadat, utrum per i quaedam debeant dici an per u, ut est optumus maxumus. in quibus adnotandum antiquum sermonem plenioris soni fuisse et, ut ait Cicero, rusticanum atque illis fere placuisse per u talia scribere et enuntiare* ('the letter *i* is sometimes thin and sometimes rich . . . so that it is now a matter of doubt whether certain words should be said by means of *i* or by means of *u*, as in the case of *optumus* and *maxumus*. It should be noted that in these words the ancient usage was of fuller sound, and, according to Cicero, "rustic", and it

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[329] On the form *filea* see above, 9 n. 137.
[330] See e.g. the note on *ILLRP* 101 and also Pease (1955–8: II, 1071–2).
[331] See e.g. Campanile (1968: 111).   [332] See also *OLD* s.v. 1b, Ernout and Meillet (1959: 430).

generally pleased them [the ancients] to write and pronounce such words by means of *u*'). Coleman (1990: 6), citing part of this passage, states: 'it is likely that the forms with *u* continued in the country dialects for some time after their replacement at Rome'. Caesar is said to have been the first to adopt the new spelling with *i* (see Quint. 1.7.21).[333]

The evidence that *u* continued longer in country districts resides entirely in Cicero's use of the word *rusticanum* as an additional complement to *sermonem*. There is a danger here of confusing speech with spelling. If the short unstressed vowel in this environment, before a labial, was an 'intermediate' sound (see Quint. 1.4.8), that is neither short *i* nor short *u*, then what changed at some point in the late Republic was merely the way of representing that sound in an alphabet that had no letter for the allophone.[334] One cannot justifiably argue from such evidence that there was a distinctive rustic way of pronouncing such words.

21 CONCLUSIONS

Many of the phenomena discussed in this chapter were dismissed as irrelevant to the question whether the early inscriptions show regional variations. I have rejected genitives of the type seen in *Venerus* (3), *oi* for *u* (4), the dative in *-a* (5), *o* for *ou* (7), *i* for long *e* (8), the loss of final *-t/-d* (13) and a pronunciation of the intermediate vowel (19). Various faults of method have been discussed. First, evidence may be inadequate to support a case or even have been misrepresented. Second, there has been insufficient recognition of the fact that a significant amount of the inscriptional evidence from the republican period comes from outside Rome (see n. 32), and deviant (i.e. non-classical) forms are likely for that reason alone to be more numerous in non-urban regions. The true significance of the distribution of a deviant form will only become apparent if the distribution of the corresponding classical form is set alongside it. Not infrequently the classical form as well as the deviant turns out to be better attested outside Rome than within, and that means that the distribution of both is due to the chance distribution of the inscriptions that happen to contain them.

A case in point was seen in 5 (the dative singular of first-declension feminine nouns and names). The *-a* ending, which is almost exclusively in the names of female deities and divine epithets, is attested to an overwhelming extent outside the city, but its equivalent in *-ai* as used in divine

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[333] On the interpretation of the passage of Quintilian, which is not without difficulties, and for some other relevant material, see Colson (1924) ad loc.

[334] The matter is complicated. See the discussion of Allen (1965: 56–9).

names and epithets also turns out to be all but non-existent at Rome. The restriction of *-a* to religious terms may partly reflect the nature of the early inscriptions: they are often religious dedications. But that is not the whole story. The alternative form is found in secular terms, both at Rome and in other areas, and it is therefore probable that *-a* was a morpheme specifically of the religious register. It occurs in inscriptions that can be dated to about the time of Plautus, such as one from Spain, which like some of the plays of Plautus belongs to the period of the Second Punic War. Plautus used *-ae* as the feminine dative, never *-a* (as far as one can tell from manuscripts). Specialised religious usages are often archaisms, and if the mere possibility is allowed that by the time of Plautus *-a* was an archaism, any attempt to use its distribution to get at regional dialects becomes an absurdity. An archaism by definition is a usage that had once been current but had fallen out of use, sometimes living on in a special register such as the language of law or religion. If *-a* was a religious archaism by the time of extant inscriptions, its period of currency lies in the distant past before written texts start appearing, and we cannot know what its regional distribution might have been at that time.

But after the elimination of dubious material there remain signs of regional diversity in the Latin inscriptions of the Republic. I note various phenomena, classified into five groups.

First, the monophthongisation of *ai* was later at Rome than in certain other places (see above, 11). During the period when Rome still had the diphthong but some other regions did not Romans were aware that the monophthong was rural. I list three important features of the evidence cited earlier. (1) Inscriptional material is supplemented by literary *testimonia*: Lucilius and Varro in the second and first centuries BC express the view that the monophthong was a non-urban feature, and Varro notes its currency in Latium, information which is confirmed by a small number of inscriptional spellings, at Praeneste and Tusculum (II.2, 3). The best evidence for regional diversity in the period is of just this kind: literary sources support the conclusion suggested by inscriptions. (2) Solid evidence for monophthongisation has not turned up at Rome in the early period, even on a small scale. The absence of attestations of a phenomenon at Rome is not decisive on its own, given the poor state of the Roman record, but its significance may be enhanced if there is additional evidence pointing in the same direction. (3) In three regions (Falerii Novi, Lacus Fucinus in the territory of the Marsi, and Umbria) the earlier languages (Faliscan, 'Marsian' and Umbrian) had undergone the same monophthongisation as that which shows up in the local Latin. It would seem that a phonological

feature of the substrate was maintained as the switch took place to Latin. An alternative, but less plausible, possibility (see 11.6 is that Latin-speaking incomers to these regions picked up a substrate feature. But caution is always needed in opting for the substrate hypothesis. A salutary case is that of the name *Mesius* in farce as discussed by Varro (see below, III.6.1). Farce was of Oscan origin, and this name itself seems to have an Oscan base, but the monophthongisation was not Oscan, and one could not argue from this evidence that Latin-speaking rustics in Oscan areas were using a form of the name showing Oscan interference. The area in which monophthongisation is attested forms a well-defined block bordered by Veii, Falerii, Spoletium, the Lacus Fucinus and Praeneste, lying mainly to the east of Rome and stretching from Spoletium in the north to Praeneste and the Lacus Fucinus in the south (see maps 2a, 2b). Monophthongisation may have been retarded somewhat at Rome, particularly among the educated, by the efforts of grammarians.

Second, the material from Falerii Novi (see above, 18) introduces a different aspect of dialectalisation. Throughout the history of Latin most phonological evidence for regional diversity is of a type seen in the last paragraph. The monophthongisation of *ai/ae* eventually occurred everywhere, including Rome, but appears earlier in some places than others. Regional diversification was determined by the differential chronology of the same linguistic change in different places. In later Latin we will again see that chronology was a determinant of regional variation of a phonological kind. The Latin of the imperial provinces was not to any extent characterised by unique phonological features, but by the different rates at which the same changes, eventually to be widespread, took place across the Empire (see Chapter X). But at Falerii there are treatments of final *-r* that are unique to this area. Loss was a feature of early Faliscan, and also turns up in later Faliscan Latin. Modification to *-d* on the other hand is attested only in Faliscan Latin. It would seem that there was something distinctive about the treatment of final *-r* at Falerii Novi.

Third, different again is some of the evidence discussed in 10 (10.3 *duno*, 10.5 *uicturei*) and in 15 (*Herc(o)lo*). These spellings occur in mixed-language texts, that is texts showing elements of Latin but retentions from Oscan. It is not clear whether we should speak of a dialect of Latin with some input, phonetic and morphological, from Oscan, or of an artificial confection determined (e.g.) by imperfect learning of the new language, Latin. It does not matter what explanation one opts for. During a period of language shift distinctive regional forms of a language will show up that are determined by the interaction of the old language and the new. But

such interaction is transitory. In later generations the old language will be forgotten (though the odd culturally marked term may be remembered: see 10.1 on *Flusare* and 16 on *pesco*) and signs of language mixing will disappear.

Fourth, there are some less clear-cut cases. The inadequate number of instances of *e* for *i* in hiatus (see above, 9), if these are taken as representing a phenomenon in their own right as distinct from a widespread orthographic confusion between short *e* and *i*, are at least complemented by Plautus' 'Praenestine' *conea*, where the opening of the vowel must be a reflection of speech rather than a spelling confusion. A comparable spelling occurs at Praeneste itself in the Plautine period. The phenomenon is well attested in early Faliscan, and also occasionally later in Latin at Lucus Feroniae on the edge of the Faliscan territory. It is possible that the opening was regional, though there is one Roman example of the *e*-spelling which muddies the waters. Opening of *i* in hiatus falls into the same category as the Faliscan treatment of final -*r* discussed as the second point above, in that it is out of line with the development of the language in general, in which closing was the norm in this environment. Opening belongs to the early period and to a limited number of places not far apart.

Even more problematic is the evidence concerning *e* for *ei* (see above, 6). There is a cluster of such spellings in the Marsian territory in the dative singular (third declension), ablative plural (first declension) and within the root of certain words, and the spelling also occurs in the dative singular in a Marsian (Italic) inscription. Given the different environments in which the spelling occurs in Marsian Latin the -*e* dative should probably not be treated as an Italic morpheme transferred into the local Latin; the spelling looks to be phonetically determined. But while we are able to say that the monophthongisation had taken place in this region, it is not confined to there; there are comparable forms in other areas, including Rome. There are several such spellings in the Latin of inscriptions from the Oscan and Sabine territories (6.3). This fact would seem to undermine any attempt to establish that such forms in the Latin of the Marsian territory were due to substrate influence (i.e. reflecting a Marsian monophthong *e* corresponding to the Umbrian *e* against Oscan *ei*): if *ei* is sometimes monophthongised to *e* in Oscan regions whereas Oscan itself did not show this development, then the monophthongisation there looks like an independent Latin phenomenon, and it becomes uneconomical to argue that elsewhere it had an external determinant. Again there is some literary evidence suggesting that the long close *e* was felt to be rustic by Romans, but the best literary *testimonia* are from the late Republic, by which time /ẹ̄/ might have been exclusively rural.

The evidence is consistent with the following conclusions. At the period of the early inscriptions /ẹ̄/ was probably current in all areas, including Rome, as a transitional stage in the development /ei/ > /ī/. The final shift /ẹ̄/ > /ī/ may not yet have taken place in some rural regions by the late Republic, and consequently a distinction came to be perceived between rustic and city Latin.

Finally, on the face of it the closing of *e* before -*rc*- (see above, 12) was non-Roman, but the case is not straightforward.

What places outside Rome in the republican period produce the clearest evidence of a local dialect? Falerii stands out. Not only does it share the non-urban *e* for original *ai* with some other areas but it also displays its own treatments of final -*r*. Both of these features are found in early Faliscan (arguably a language separate from Latin) and as well in late republican Faliscan inscriptions written in Latin (but Faliscan script). Local features may endure in a region for centuries (see I.7, XI.3.5). Early Faliscan also had a marked tendency to open *i* in hiatus, and this tendency reappears, at least on the fringe of the Faliscan territory, in the Latin of the later period.

There is literary evidence that Romans at the time of Plautus and later in the second century BC regarded Praenestine Latin as distinctive (and a source of humour) (see below, III.3), but the non-literary evidence is weaker.[335] Apart from opening in hiatus, the other abnormal spellings and forms attested at Praeneste are scattered over other areas as well (the genitive in -*us* [see above, 3], the dative in -*a* [at *CIL* 60 twice, 1445], *e* for *ei* [6.3], *e* for *ai* [11.2], *Mircurius* [12], loss of final -*t*/-*d* [13]). *o* for *ou* is at Praeneste (7), but the examples are early, and we do not know whether the same treatment might have occurred at Rome at the same period. I have not gone into the question whether there is Etruscan interference to be found at Praeneste, particularly in names.[336] The lexical item discussed at 19 should be noted.

Another question concerns the determinants of regional variation (see above, I.11). I comment on factors that have come up in this chapter, some of them in this section.

First, the same linguistic change may occur earlier in one place than another.

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[335] There is a full review of the inscriptional evidence by Wachter (1987: 102–277). See also Ernout (1905–6), Campanile (1968: 107–16), Coleman (1990).

[336] On this matter see now Mancini (1997), arguing against the sceptical position taken by Wachter (1987).

Second, a regional form of language may be overwhelmed by a standard variety belonging to an urban centre, but still retain some of its early features.

Third, language contact influenced the Latin of rural parts of Italy in the Republic. In the transitional stage when speakers were shifting from (say) Oscan to Latin some language mixing took place (see 10.3, 5, 15, 16, 17), either because of imperfect learning of the new language, or because of fading knowledge of the original language and an inability to use it uncontaminated by Latin inflections, or because of conservative retention of old elements in the new language (see 10.1, 16, 17, 18 and above). The influence of Oscan or other Italic languages on Latin is limited, and most clearly identifiable in lexical items. There is no evidence for forms of Latin displaying structural modification under Italic influence. It is possible to parallel certain monophthongal spellings in Marsian Latin inscriptions with spellings in the earlier Italic language from the same area (6.1, 11.5), but monophthongisations might have occurred in varieties of Latin independently, as diphthongs were subject to loss in all varieties of Latin.

I close this chapter with a different topic. Of the material discussed in the chapter as supposedly showing up regional variations it is not only the dative in *-a* that has a connection with the religious language. The same may be said of the *-us* genitive (see above, 3), the dative in *-e* (6.1, 6.3), *Mircurius* (12), names of Mars (14) and names of Hercules (15). The religious variety of any language is a register, not a regional dialect in the conventional sense. If one were able to identify regional variations within a religious register those variations would not be straightforward dialect variations. But that is merely a theoretical point, because we failed even in the case of the feminine dative singular to find local variations in the religious language.

Explicit evidence for regional variation: the Republic

I INTRODUCTION

This chapter and the next five will be mainly about literary texts. Literary evidence for the regional diversification of Latin is either explicit or implicit. By 'explicit' I refer to comments by Latin writers about features of the speech of an area or people. Evidence of this type is sometimes referred to as 'metalinguistic'. Latin speakers from the earliest period were interested in the diversity of the language, and they often noted details or expressed an attitude to the variations that they observed. There were also those who did not describe regionalisms as a linguistic exercise in its own right, but commented on practices particular to a region and made passing remarks about the terminology related to those practices. The corpus of metalinguistic comments is considerable, stretching from Plautus through to late antiquity, and has never, as far as I am aware, been comprehensively assembled.[1] In this chapter I collect and discuss the republican and Augustan *testimonia*, and in the next the later *testimonia*.

By 'implicit' evidence I mean the use without comment in a text of a word or usage that there may be reason to think was confined to the area from which the writer came. Regionalisms of this second type are hard to detect, and problems of methodology must be addressed. From Chapter V onwards I will move through the (western) Roman Empire province by province, trying to establish criteria for identifying regional features embedded in texts and for assigning texts a place of composition on linguistic grounds.

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[1] Such anecdotes have often been collected, if unsystematically. There is material of relevance, for example, in Muratori (1739b), Schuchardt (1866: 76–103), Sittl (1882), Ernout (1909a: 30–5), the introductory chapter to Muller (1929), Schmitt (1974a: 80–91), Calboli (1994, 2000) and Müller (2001). Ramage (1960, 1961) discusses the Ciceronian and some of the earlier evidence, and (1963) compares Quintilian with Cicero. The preface of Du Cange, *Glossarium mediae et infimae Latinitatis* I, 7–9 has some material, and much of the rest of the preface is an interesting account of the splitting up of Latin. See also the remarks of Herman (1996: 46–7) on early discussions of regional variety.

There are difficulties to be faced by anyone interpreting metalinguistic evidence. Speakers commenting on their own language can never unreservedly be trusted. They are more likely to express entrenched attitudes than to give information derived from investigation. Communications were poor in the ancient world, and even a keen linguistic observer would not necessarily have had any knowledge of the speech of regions distant from his own *patria*. A feature he took to be localised might have been established in places of which he knew nothing (the same may be true today: see I.1).

Nevertheless some writers (e.g. Columella and Pliny the Elder) were great travellers, and able to make comparisons between one region and another. Others, in the Republic, had moved to Rome from elsewhere in Italy (e.g. Plautus, Lucilius, Varro and Cicero), and they sometimes remarked on non-urban usages that they had noticed in rural Italy. There are also several ways of assessing ancient assertions about regional usages, at least of a lexical kind. First, the Romance languages can be consulted. A usage attributed to a locality by an ancient writer may survive in much the same place in Romance, and nowhere else. We will see some extraordinary cases of regional continuity between the Republic or early Empire, and Romance more than a millennium later (see XI.3.5). I drew attention in the first chapter (I.7) to the survival of regional phenomena for centuries in parts of England, despite the pressures of the standard language and the media. Second, an observation about a regionalism can be tested against the distribution of the usage in extant texts. Sometimes a restricted distribution confirms the metalinguistic evidence.

Even if doubts remain about the reliability of an ancient assertion, the attitudes that it conveys may have their own interest. Metalinguistic comments are often polemical. Prestige may be accorded to one variety in relation to others, and an attempt made to marginalise linguistically those considered for other reasons to be outsiders. Whatever we may make of an observation about regional practice, it will reveal a concept that the language varied spatially. Such a concept is unlikely to have developed if there were not variations to be heard (see below, 2).

But were commentators on Latin merely trying to find parallels for the dialectal variation that existed in Greek? Educated Latin writers were aware that Greek had named dialects, but the comments that they make about their own language usually cannot be explained as efforts to inflict a Greek model on Latin. Latin *testimonia* are frequently circumstantial. The language is not divided into dialects with names. It was seen in the first chapter (I.2) that regional varieties may remain nameless if they lack prestige. Latin writers making miscellaneous comments about local linguistic practices

were responding ad hoc to oddities that they had noticed, not imposing an artificial model from an outside source. That said, there is a fleeting attempt in the late Republic to present Roman Latin as of equivalent status to Athenian Greek (see below, 4.2).

In a recent paper on attitudes to dialectal variation in Greek it has been remarked (Davies 1993: 261): 'For all multilingual or polylectal societies some questions must be asked at an early stage: are the speakers aware of the existence of linguistic varieties? How do they distinguish them? How do they use them? How wide is their active or passive knowledge? How do they rate the linguistic variety which they mainly use? And what about the varieties which they do not use, those which belong to different communities?' These are some of the questions that might be put in relation to Latin. It is justifiable to argue that from our earliest records Latin speakers did show an awareness of regional variation, that the attitude of outsiders to Roman Latin was constant over a long period, that attitudes to varieties spoken in Italy, particularly in the environs of Rome, changed in time, and that eventually new cultural centres emerged in the provinces.

According to Väänänen (1981: 21) it is necessary to wait until the time of Jerome before there is any mention of dialectal variation in Latin: *Comm. in Gal.* 357A (*PL* 26) *et ipsa Latinitas et regionibus quotidie mutetur et tempore*.[2] But we will see allusions in literary texts of the third and second centuries BC (Plautus and Lucilius) to regional usages (see also above, II.6, 9, 11). Jerome's remark is, it is true, a generalisation, about the diversity of the language as determined not only by diachronic change but also by variations from *regio* to *regio*. But there are also some generalisations, if less sweeping than that above, from earlier periods. Columella (3.2.30)

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[2] The passage is preceded by the following: *unum est quod inferimus, et promissum in exordio reddimus, Galatas excepto sermone Graeco, quo omnis Oriens loquitur, propriam linguam eamdem pene habere quam Treuiros, nec referre, si aliqua exinde corruperint, cum et Aphri Phoenicum linguam nonnulla ex parte mutauerint, et ipsa Latinitas . . .* ('There is one point which I make and deal with as promised in the exordium, namely that the Galatians, if one leaves aside the Greek language, which the whole of the Orient speaks, retain their own language, which is almost the same as that of the Treveri, and that it does not matter if they have corrupted it in some way, since even the Afri have changed the language of the Phoenicians to some extent, and Latinity itself daily changes by region and with the passing of time'). The reference in the second clause is back to 353C, where Jerome had undertaken to deal with the question whether the Galatians had lost their language through intermarriage, or had learnt a new language without losing their own. Galatia, in central Asia Minor, was occupied by a Celtic people in the third century BC, and the Galatians were still speaking Celtic at the time of Jerome. If Greek is left aside, Jerome says, the Galatians have their 'own language' (Celtic), which is almost the same as the language of the Treveri, a Gallic tribe from the Moselle basin. It is of no consequence if the Galatians have corrupted the Celtic language a little, because the Africans (i.e. Punic speakers) have changed the Phoenician language. So Latin varies by place and time. The idea is that diachronic and regional language variation is acceptable (and readily observable within Latin).

generalises about lexical variation in Italy within a single semantic field: names for the same grape varieties are different from place to place (see below, IV.1.3.2). Quintilian (1.5.33) remarks that there 'are . . . certain special, indescribable sounds, by which we sometimes recognize particular nations' (Russell, Loeb): *sunt . . . proprii quidam et inenarrabiles soni, quibus nonnumquam nationes deprehendimus*. This remark is a generalisation, though it is not easy to interpret. Quintilian perhaps meant that foreigners speaking Latin as a second language had foreign accents.[3] Alternatively the sentence might be a 'comment on local and provincial types of Latin' in general (Russell 2001: I, 141 n. 42). If so it would refer to the regional forms of Latin as spoken by native speakers in the provinces as well. Similar is Quint. 11.3.30–1 *emendata erit, id est uitio carebit, si fuerit os facile explanatum iucundum urbanum, id est in quo nulla neque rusticitas neque peregrinitas resonet. non enim sine causa dicitur barbarum Graecumue: nam sonis homines ut aera tinnitu dinoscimus* (speech 'will be correct, that is to say free of fault, if the accent is easy, clear, pleasant and of the city, that is without any sound of rusticity or foreignness. For there is good reason for the common description of an accent as "barbarian or Greek," since we distinguish people by their sounds as we do bronze by its ring'). There is a threefold division of speech implicit here, which owes something to Cicero, as we will see (4.1). The language of the city is distinguished from that of the local countryside and of more 'foreign' parts. The final clause (*sonis homines . . . dinoscimus*) recalls the end of 1.5.33 just cited. In the two passages there is a recognition that people can be placed from the sounds of their speech (note *soni*, twice).

Quintilian also warns that one cause of obscurity was the use of words that were regional ('more familiar to certain districts'): 8.2.13 *fallunt etiam uerba uel regionibus quibusdam magis familiaria uel artium propria, ut 'atabulus' uentus et nauis 'stlataria' et †inmalocosanum†, quae uel uitanda apud iudicem ignarum significationum earum uel interpretanda sunt* ('[w]ords more familiar in certain districts or peculiar to certain professions are also misleading. Such are *atabulus* (a wind), *stlataria* (a type of ship) and . . . These expressions are either to be avoided with a judge who does not know their meanings, or else explained', Russell). Quintilian was, it seems, taking his examples from literature rather than speech (though there is a corruption in the passage),[4] but he clearly held (see the first clause) that there were dialect words to be heard in varieties of Latin. Cicero, who believed in a Roman standard and condemned diversity (see below, 4.1, p. 127), spoke of the

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[3] See Adams (2003a: 432).   [4] See Russell (2001: III, 332 n. 26).

'defiled' speech of many in the city who had come from 'different places': *Brut.* 258 *confluxerunt enim et Athenas et in hanc urbem multi inquinate loquentes ex diuersis locis* ('there streamed together both to Athens and into this city many users of defiled speech from diverse places').[5] The reference here is not to literary usage, and the implication is that there were regional forms of the spoken language. These comments are vague,[6] but that is the nature of much of the ancient material. It will be necessary here to put together, little by little, insubstantial items of evidence in an attempt to get at regional varieties.

This chapter will not be concerned with the relationship between Latin and other Italic languages during the Republic, but with the relationship between the Latin of Rome and that spoken outside the city.

2   THE REPUBLIC: INTRODUCTION

The feeling is sometimes conveyed as early as the time of Plautus that the Latin spoken in the city was different from and 'superior' to that spoken outside the city in Latium and beyond. Such an attitude might be explicable in at least three ways.

First, Romans (or adoptive Romans) of the Republic and later were keen to set up a cultural distinction between themselves and others,[7] both Italians and provincials from further afield. Gross forms of behaviour were attributed to outsiders,[8] or a general savagery (see e.g. Cic. *Q. fr.* 1.1.27 on Africans, Spaniards and Gauls as *immanibus ac barbaris nationibus*; also *Font.* 27 on Gauls; cf. Firm. Mat. *Math.* 1.2.3 and below, XI.3.2). Such charges suggest a polemic intended to establish a distinctive identity for the educated urban class. As Nisbet (1961: 193) puts it, 'Roman invective often shows more regard for literary convention than for historical truth'. Inventions, often to do with the origins and behaviour of the victim, 'were meant to cause pain or hilarity, not to be believed' (1961: 196–7). On this view a charge that someone's speech had non-Roman characteristics might

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[5] See also e.g. Marouzeau (1949: 9).
[6] Q. Cic. *Comm. Pet.* 54–5 is even vaguer, but there seems to be a reference to the diversity of Latin in the city: *uideo esse magni consili atque artis in tot hominum cuiusque modi uitiis tantisque uersantem . . . esse unum hominem accommodatum ad tantam morum ac sermonum ac uoluntatum uarietatem* ('I see that among so many people of such great and various vices, it needs much judgement and skill . . . to be a man whose one personality has been adapted to such multifarious ways of behaving, speaking, or feeling', Shackleton Bailey, Loeb).
[7] On the ideology of some linguistic remarks of this type see Dench (1995: 105).
[8] See e.g. Horsfall (1997: 75–6).

have had no more basis in fact than a charge that he was given to provincial gluttony.

Second, commentators on non-Roman speech might have been confusing regional with social dialects,[9] by comparing educated speech as heard in the city with uneducated speech as heard in the country. There may be an element of such confusion, but it is not the whole story. Cicero in at least one place compares the speech of educated non-Romans with that of educated Romans (see 4.1).

The third possible reason for assertions of the distinctiveness of Roman speech is that there were in reality distinctions of accent in the late Republic within Italy. This possibility is the correct one, though some ancient remarks might best be put into one or the other of the first two categories. I base this opinion on several considerations (see below, 9.1 for further discussion). First, not all commentators on regional peculiarities were polemical. Varro does not try to press the superiority of any one variety of the language. His objectivity as a commentator on regional variation approaches that of a dialect geographer. He notes features neutrally, usually giving details, and could not have been making things up. Second, there were also those who esteemed the rural varieties of the language more highly than the variety of the city itself (see above, I.5 and below, 4.3). That is no surprise, given the pride of Romans in the virtues of their rustic ancestors. Those who cultivated a rustic accent as a mark of old-fashioned integrity must have had a model to imitate. Third, Plautus, Lucilius and even Cicero do not speak only in vague terms. Sometimes they remark on specific features, and that suggests that there were genuine variations. Nevertheless an examination of Cicero's comments on *urbanitas* and *rusticitas* will raise doubts about the substance of some of the details he appears to give.

The attempt by self-appointed purists to stamp out regional variation (Cicero advocates the suppression of regional features in one's speech: see *De orat.* 3.44 below, 4.1, p. 127) can be seen as part of a wider movement of language standardisation in the late Republic (on which see I.4). Standardisation can only be attempted if diversity exists.

3   PLAUTUS, LUCILIUS AND THE LATIN OF PRAENESTE

I begin with Praeneste,[10] a town of Latium just 37 km east-south-east of Rome on a spur of the Apennines. By tradition its foundation lay in the

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[9] This type of confusion is also noted by E. Löfstedt (1959: 40).
[10] The evidence is also discussed (e.g.) by Ramage (1960) and Campanile (1968: 107–16).

mythical period,[11] and it had had a long civilisation, some of it strongly under the influence of the Etruscans. Inscriptions survive from an early period,[12] and there has been a long tradition of regarding the Latin of the place (not least that attested in inscriptions) as distinctive. According to *OCD*[3] s.v. 'Praeneste', referring to Paul. Fest. p. 157.14 and Fest. p. 488.7 Lindsay, Pompeius Festus stated that 'Praenestine Latin was abnormal'. Both of these passages will be discussed below (8.1, 8.2), but neither is without problems. The second, however, is a quotation of the grammarian Aelius Stilo, who was born in the middle of the second century BC at Lanuvium.[13] Aelius was not the earliest republican writer to find regional features in the Latin of Praeneste. Another was Plautus (see also above, II.9, p. 71), and he was followed in the second century also by Lucilius.[14]

A joke made by Plautus at the expense of a rustic character (Truculentus; for *agrestis* applied to him, see *Truc.* 253) was discussed in the last chapter (II.6). In another place Truculentus cites Praenestine usage to justify an oddity that he has just used. At *Truc.* 688 Truculentus has the noun *rabonem* instead of *arrabonem*.[15] I quote in full a passage that was quoted in part in the last chapter (II.9):

> TR. rabonem habeto, uti mecum hanc noctem sies.
> AS. perii! 'rabonem?' quam esse dicam hanc beluam?
> quin tu 'arrabonem' dicis? TR. 'a' facio lucri,
> ut Praenestinis 'conea' est 'ciconia'.

> TR. Have a token (*rabonem*), so that you may spend tonight with me.
> AS. I can't believe it, *rabonem*? What sort of a monster am I to say this is?
> Why don't you say *arrabonem*? TR. I am making a profit on the *a*,
> just as to the Praenestines the *ciconia* ['stork'] is *conea*.

The term does not pass unnoticed, and is meant to be funny; Astaphium draws attention to it by calling the speaker a *belua*. Truculentus compounds the joke by appealing to the analogy of the Praenestine term *conea* for *ciconia* (with haplology?; on -*ea* for -*ia* see above, II.9, with p. 71).[16] *Rabonem*,

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[11] See Horsfall (2000: 443) on Virg. *Aen.* 7.678.

[12] Some of the evidence of these was dealt with in the last chapter (see II.21, p. 112 for cross references, and n. 335 for bibliography).

[13] See Suet. *Gramm.* 3.1 and Kaster (1995: 68–70).

[14] There is a characteristically succinct collection of the literary evidence to do with Praenestine Latin by Brix (1907: 94) on Plaut. *Trin.* 609.

[15] The form is difficult to explain from normal linguistic developments. See Leumann (1977: 382), comparing the assimilated compound form *arrideo* alongside *rideo*. Plautus may simply have been making up silly word forms in keeping with a view of rustic sloppiness.

[16] For a speculative but interesting discussion of the possible meaning and origin of *conea* see Peruzzi (1976).

possibly an invented form, need not have been Praenestine. But it is beyond question that the rustic Truculentus' justification of his usage by invoking a Praenestine form before a Roman audience was intended as humorous, and we may deduce that Praenestine Latin was not taken seriously in the city. A whole audience is invited to participate in the joke, and there must have been a widespread sense that Praenestine Latin was different from that of the city, and inferior.

There are also other places in the *Truculentus* where Plautus makes Truculentus sound foolishly rustic by the way he speaks.[17] He uses some colourful rustic imagery, as for example at 276ff.:

> ita me amabit sarculum,
> ut ego me ruri amplexari mauelim patulam bouem
> cumque ea noctem in stramentis pernoctare perpetim
> quam tuas centum cenatas noctes mihi dono dari (see further 256, 268).
>
> So will my hoe love me,
> I'd prefer to embrace a gaping cow in the country
> and spend the whole night in the straw with her,
> than to be presented with a hundred nights with you, dinner included.

At 683 he pronounces *cauillator* as *caullator*, under the influence, Marouzeau (1949: 14) suggests unnecessarily, of *caulis*.[18] In any case he is mocked for the form by another speaker (684–5).

Evidence for the distinctiveness of Praenestine Latin as perceived by Romans can also be found at *Trin.* 609: CA. *quam dudum istuc aut ubi actumst?* ST. *ilico hic ante ostium, / 'tam modo', inquit Praenestinus* ('How long ago was that done, or where? This minute,[19] here in front of the door, "just now", as the Praenestines say'). See Lindsay (1900: 318) on Plaut. *Capt.* 882, remarking that apparently 'in the Praenestine dialect the particle *tam* (deictic) was used for emphasis'.[20] The term *tam modo* is also found in Accius (163a), as cited by Festus (p. 492.26–7 Lindsay *tammodo antiqui ponebant pro modo. Accius in . . .*; the quotation is very fragmentary),[21] and Plautus may not be strictly accurate in assigning the term to 'the Praenestine'

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[17] See Marouzeau (1949: 14), Müller (2001: 57). Not all of the alleged rustic usages listed by Marouzeau are convincing.

[18] Syncope of this type is well represented in Latin, as e.g. in *auceps* < **auiceps*, *cautus* < *cauitus*, *auca* < *auica*, and in perfect verb forms in imperial Latin, *curaut* < *curauit* (*CIL* III.12700). See Väänänen (1966: 45) on the phonetics of this development, arguing that it is not syncope 'proprement dite'.

[19] On *ilico* as temporal see Gray (1897) ad loc.

[20] So Gray (1897) on 609. Brix (1907: 94) on *Trin.* 609 describes *tam modo* as a provincialism for *modo*.

[21] The line number 163a is from Ribbeck's third edition (1897), where a conjectural text is printed.

(collective singular).[22] Nevertheless it is obvious that he (and by implication the audience) held that the Praenestines spoke a different variety of the language.

Lucilius also made disparaging remarks about the Latin of Praeneste in mocking a certain Vettius: Quint. 1.5.56 *taceo de Tuscis et Sabinis et Praenestinis quoque (nam ut eorum sermone utentem Vettium Lucilius insectatur, quem ad modum Pollio reprehendit in Liuio Patauinitatem)* ('I say nothing of Tuscan and Sabine (words) and Praenestine too; Lucilius rebukes Vettius for using their language, just as Pollio finds fault with "Patavinity" in Livy').[23]

There are problems both about the identity of Vettius and the interpretation of Quintilian's remark, and I take the two in turn.

One possibility is that Vettius was the Vettius Philocomus (no doubt a freedman) who was, according to Suetonius *Gramm.* 2.2, a friend of Lucilius.[24] Though Vettius is criticised for the use of regional Italian words (see below), he might still have been of Greek origin, given the cultural mixing that went on in early Italy. An alternative possibility is that he was the *Q. Vettius Vettianus e Marsis* of Cic. *Brut.* 169.[25]

Whatever the case (see further below), it is the second problem that is our main concern. The comment is not about Italian languages but about regional varieties of Latin, in this case the incorporation of Italian words into Latin. For the use of *sermo* of regional forms of Latin, see Sen. *Contr.* 2.4.8 *itaque cum audisset Latronem declamantem, dixit: sua lingua disertus est. ingenium illi concessit, <u>sermonem obiecit</u>* ('and so when he [Messala] had heard Porcius Latro declaim, he said: "He is eloquent, but in his own language." He allowed him cleverness, but found fault with his speech'; of a declaimer who had a Spanish accent: see below, IV.2.1), Stat. *Silv.* 4.5.45–6 *non sermo Poenus, non habitus tibi, / externa non mens: Italus, Italus* ('Your speech is not Punic, nor your bearing; your outlook is not foreign: Italian you are, Italian', Coleman 1988; on the interpretation of *Poenus*, see below, IV.1.2.4), Pacatus *Pan.* 1.3 *huc accedit auditor senatus, cui cum difficile sit pro amore quo in te praeditus est de te satis fieri, tum difficilius pro ingenita atque hereditaria orandi facultate non esse fastidio rudem hunc et incultum <u>Transalpini sermonis horrorem</u>* (see below, IV.1.2.2 on this passage).

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[22] See Löfstedt (1956: I, 16) on the singular use. Ramage (1960: 69), without mentioning Accius, offers a reconciliation of the statement of Festus with the comment of Plautus: 'I take this statement [of Festus] to mean that *tammodo* was an early combination that gradually disappeared and was replaced by *modo*. If this is the case, then Plautus in the line under discussion must be criticizing the Praenestines for continuing to use the archaic form which had been superseded by *modo* in Roman Latin.'

[23] See Ramage (1961: 487).   [24] See Kaster (1995: 67).   [25] See David (1983: 319 n. 69).

The section of Quintilian (above) begins with a statement that words may be either Latin or foreign; foreign words have entered Latin from almost every people: 1.5.55 *uerba aut Latina aut peregrina sunt. peregrina porro ex omnibus prope dixerim gentibus ut homines, ut instituta etiam multa uenerunt.* After the reference to Vettius Quintilian gives some examples of foreign words (from Gaul, Africa and Spain) which had come into Latin (1.5.57). The comparison between Livy's *Patauinitas* (see below, 5) and Vettius' practice makes it clear that Quintilian is referring throughout to Italian regionalisms rather than languages distinct from Latin. There remains a difficulty in Quintilian's remark. What does *eorum* refer to? – to Etruscan, Sabine and Praenestine words collectively, or to Praenestine alone? The first possibility is unlikely, given that it is more plausible that Vettius used a regional form of Latin than that he drew words from all over Italy. In the list of three types of *uerba*, *Praenestinis* is highlighted, in that it has *quoque* attached, and the emphatic position of *eorum* before *sermone* suggests that it looks back to the highlighted member of the list. The passage has usually been taken in this way.[26] On this interpretation it becomes difficult to believe that the Vettius referred to was from the territory of the Marsi (see above).

Spellings found in Praenestine inscriptions (see the summary at II.21, p. 112) turn up very little evidence for features of Praenestine Latin specific to the town (but see II.9), but the circumstantial literary evidence, particularly that in Plautus, makes it certain that at the end of the third and beginning of the second century Praenestines had a linguistic reputation at Rome. It may be concluded that the town had a dialect to Roman ears (see also II.19 on a use of *natio* in an inscription), but to what extent it shared non-urban phonology with other areas of Latium and nearby cannot be determined. We have seen evidence (II.11), for example, for the monophthongisation of *ai*, a non-urban feature, but the same feature is widespread outside Rome, and cannot be labelled 'Praenestine'.

Another item in Lucilius, on the regional monophthong *e* in *Cecilius* and *pretor*, was discussed in the previous chapter (II.11, 11.2).

4 CICERO

Cicero's observations on regional variation are a mixed bag, and not entirely satisfactory as linguistic evidence. Much of what he says is polemical, and

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[26] See e.g. Marx (1904–5: II, 424), Cousin (1975: 100), Russell (2001) ad loc.

his terminology is impressionistic. *Peregrinitas*, for example, is not a single concept. *Peregrinus* refers variously to Italian provincial Latin, to foreigners' Latin (or Latin influenced by a foreign language such as Greek), or to the Latin of a province beyond Italy. 'Rusticity' might seem more straightforward, as expressing the 'rustic' usage of parts of Italy outside Rome, but it too raises problems; it sometimes seems to mean no more than 'substandard'. Nor is the relationship of the foreign to the rustic always obvious. Nevertheless he does present an opposition between the urban and the rustic, and that is a concept which he shares not only with Varro but also with Plautus and Lucilius.[27] The idea must have been an old one, but the question will arise whether Cicero had anything precise in mind when he used the terms *rusticus*, *agrestis* and derivatives (for the distinction between the two adjectives, see below, 4.4).

4.1   The city 'sound': 'smoothness' versus 'harshness'

I start with Italy beyond Rome. Sora, originally a Volscian town but the recipient of a Latin colony in 303 BC, lay 60 miles south-east of Rome (see map 2b). It was not far north of Arpinum, the birthplace of Cicero. Quintus Valerius and Decimus Valerius, from this town, were friends and neighbours of Cicero: *Brut.* 169 *Q. D. Valerii Sorani, uicini et familiares mei*. Both were learned in Greek and Latin literature: *docti et Graecis litteris et Latinis*. Of the pair Quintus Valerius, whose *floruit* must have been *c.* 91,[28] is singled out at *De orat.* 3.43 as the most 'lettered' of all the *togati* (see below), a high compliment in Ciceronian terms since the Latins 'devote themselves to letters more diligently than Romans' (see below). But despite his learning he had an inferior, non-Roman, accent ('sound' is one of the words used: see further below).[29] It is stated that even a poorly educated Roman would sound better than the most highly educated Latin (*De orat.* 3.43):

nostri minus student litteris quam Latini; tamen ex istis, quos nostis, urbanis, in quibus minimum est litterarum, nemo est quin literatissimum togatorum omnium, Q. Valerium Soranum, lenitate uocis atque ipso oris pressu et sono facile uincat.

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[27] The concept also surfaces in an unusual form in Livy (10.4.8–10). He tells a story set in the Etruscan town of Rusellae (302 BC). Some Caerites, apparently serving in the Roman army, interpret the words of Etruscan *pastores* to the Roman *legatus*, and are able to deduce from the accents of the Etruscans that they were not true *agrestes* but *urbani* (and hence that an ambush was intended). This anecdote seems to impose on early Etruscan speech a model that was applied in certain quarters to Latin. See further Adams (2003a: 168).

[28] See Sumner (1973: 101), arguing from Cic. *De orat.* 3.43.

[29] The case is also discussed by Ramage (1961: 487–8).

Our citizens devote themselves to literature less than the Latins; and yet of those city dwellers you know in whom there is scarcely a trace of literary culture, there is none who would not easily surpass Q. Valerius Soranus, the most lettered man of all the *togati*, in smoothness of voice and in the articulation of his mouth and its sound.[30]

There is a hint of the same idea at *Brut*.169, partly quoted above: though the brothers were learned in Greek and Latin literature, they were not *tam in dicendo admirabiles*. Since the Valerii were highly educated, there can be no possibility that Cicero was confusing social with regional variation. The speaker goes on to generalise about a sound peculiar to Rome, which is pleasant to listen to. Provincial or foreign sounds should be avoided (*De orat*. 3.44):

qua re cum sit quaedam certa uox Romani generis urbisque propria, in qua nihil offendi, nihil displicere, nihil animaduerti possit, nihil sonare aut olere peregrinum, hanc sequamur neque solum rusticam asperitatem, sed etiam peregrinam insolentiam fugere discamus.

Therefore since there is a definite accent ['voice'] peculiar to the Roman race and to the city, in which nothing can cause offence and nothing give displeasure, in which nothing is deserving of censure and there is no possible sound or whiff of the foreign, let us strive after this, and let us learn to shun not only rustic harshness but also foreign strangeness.

Imprecise as the language is, at *De orat*. 3.43 (above) the speech of a real person is referred to, and it is unlikely that Cicero would have been so explicit if there were not some substance to his perception of speech differences. By the 'sound' or 'voice' (for these terms see further below, 4.5) characteristic of the city Cicero can only have meant accent. By 'accent' I refer to features of the pronunciation (including intonation) of different regions, not necessarily entailing variations of phonemic system (see above, I.2). I will come below (pp. 127–9) to an aspect of pronunciation that Cicero might have had in mind.

  Cicero is presenting a model of three zones of Latin.[31] There is the Latin of the city, contrasting with that of rustics. By *rusticus* (in the phrase *rusticam asperitatem*) Cicero is referring to country regions outside the city, in Latium and slightly beyond, as the mention of Sora makes clear. Similarly

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[30] On the verbal details of the passage see Leeman, Pinkster and Wisse (1996) ad loc. With *oris pressu* cf. *De orat*. 3.45 *non aspere, . . . non uaste, non rustice, non hiulce, sed* presse *et aequabiliter et leniter*. Note too *leniter* in this passage, and cf. *lenitate uocis* in the passage quoted in the text. *Lenitas uocis* also appears at *De orat*. 2.182, and at *Brut*. 259 note the phrase *suauitas uocis et lenis appellatio* ['pronunciation'] *litterarum* (see Müller 2001: 42; also 225).

[31] See Müller (2001: 43).

Varro (*Ling.* 5.97) contrasts *haedus* as used in the city with the form *hedus* as used *in Latio rure* (see above, II.11, and below, 6.1, on Varro and rustics).[32] In the context at *De orat.* 3.44 above *peregrina insolentia* is at a further remove from urbanity than is 'rustic harshness', and it is tempting to give the phrase some sort of geographical implication. Thus Müller (2001: 223 n. 6; cf. 269) cites as an illustration of *peregrina insolentia* the accent of the 'poets of Corduba' alluded to by Cicero at *Arch.* 26 (a passage which does indeed contain *peregrinus*; see below, 4.3), and one also thinks of the remarks at *Brut.* 171 (see below, 4.3) about the Latin of Gaul.[33] But *peregrinus* is an emotive and 'persuasive' word,[34] and it would not do to give it too precise a definition. We will shortly see (4.3) a passage (*Fam.* 9.15.2) where even Latium is by implication treated as foreign. Moreover Cicero might well have been thinking in the above passage (*De orat.* 3.44) not merely of native speakers of Latin in remote places such as Spain and Gaul, but also of foreigners speaking Latin as a second language in a 'corrupt' form, or of native Romans speaking Latin 'corrupted' by the influence of foreigners. In this connection Cic. *Brut.* 258 is worth citing:

aetatis illius ista fuit laus tamquam innocentiae sic Latine loquendi . . . sed omnes tum fere, qui nec extra urbem hanc uixerant <u>neque eos aliqua barbaries domestica infuscauerat</u>, recte loquebantur.

That time was distinguished not only by innocence but also by correct Latinity . . . but almost everyone of that time who had neither lived outside this city <u>nor had been corrupted by some 'domestic barbarism'</u> spoke correctly.[35]

Douglas (1966: 189) observes that the oxymoron *barbaries domestica* seems emphatic, and asks: '[I]s there an allusion to the influence of foreign slaves in the upbringing of Roman children?' This suggestion is convincing; on the potential influence of the speech of slaves on children, see Quint. 1.1.4–5. If this view is accepted, the slaves (presumably Greeks) will have pronounced Latin with a foreign accent, which, it is hinted, might be passed on to young children. 'Foreign strangeness' might therefore have embraced Latin spoken with a foreign accent even at Rome, as distinct from Latin spoken in a distant region. Similarly Quintilian (1.1.13) argues that, though pupils should begin with Greek, Latin should soon be taken up as well, or else their Latin speech will be corrupted by foreign sound. He too uses *peregrinus*:

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[32] Cf. Müller (2001: 43).   [33] Cf. Müller (2001: 269).

[34] I refer to the words found in any language which do not have a precise technical sense but are used emotively to 'persuade' the hearer. Their semantic implication will vary from context to context.

[35] On the interpretation of this passage see also Adams (2003a: 435).

non tamen hoc adeo superstitiose fieri uelim ut diu tantum Graece loquatur aut discat, sicut plerisque moris est. hoc enim accidunt et oris plurima uitia in peregrinum sonum corrupti et sermonis, cui cum Graecae figurae adsidua consuetudine haeserunt, in diuersa quoque loquendi ratione pertinacissime durant.

However, I do not want a fetish to be made of this, so that he spends a long time speaking and learning nothing but Greek, as is commonly done. This gives rise to many faults both of pronunciation (owing to the distortion of the mouth produced by forming foreign sounds) and of language, because the Greek idioms stick in the mind through continual usage and persist obstinately even in speaking the other tongue (Russell).

The point is that interference from the first language (Greek) might persist in the second (Latin) if pupils are forced to speak mainly Greek for too long.

Cicero is not neutral in his attitude to varieties of speech. The speaker at *De orat.* 3.44 makes value judgments and is prescriptive. Not only does the speech of Rome have pleasant characteristics, but that of rustics is perceived as harsh (note *rusticam asperitatem*). It is implied that speakers of such forms of Latin should seek to suppress their accents and cultivate city speech (note *hanc sequamur . . . fugere discamus*). This is the first of a number of passages that will come up in which it is presented as desirable that a regional accent should be suppressed (cf. IV.1.2.1, IV.2.1). Indeed success in the capital is dependent on the ability to speak with 'urbanity' (see below, 4.3 on Tinga). Just as the harshness of the regional variety at *De orat.* 3.44 contrasts with the smoothness of the urban (*lenitate uocis*) at 3.43, so a few sentences earlier (3.42) the speaker had referred to the *suauitas* of Roman speech,[36] which he compared with that of 'the *Attici*' in Greek (for this passage see below, 4.2).

It is difficult to know whether Cicero had anything specific in mind when making the charge of harshness against rustic speech. However, such terminology is used most notably in discussions of the junctures of words. Note first *Orat.* 150:

nam ut in legendo oculus sic animus in dicendo prospiciet quid sequatur, ne extremorum uerborum cum insequentibus primis concursus aut hiulcas uoces efficiat aut asperas.

For as with the eye in reading so the mind in speaking will look forward to what follows, lest the juxtaposition of the ends of words with the start of those that follow produces 'gaping' or harsh sounds.

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[36] On which see e.g. Ramage (1961: 483), Müller (2001: 225 with n. 11), and above, n. 30.

Here *hiulcas uoces* refers to vowels (or certain types of vowels: see below) standing together in hiatus across word boundaries.[37] *Voces asperas* on the other hand refers to harsh collocations of consonants across word boundaries. Quintilian discusses this second phenomenon at 9.4.37, also using the adjective *asperiores*. Cicero makes the same point at *De orat.* 3.172: *id adsequemini, si uerba extrema cum consequentibus primis ita iungentur, ut neue aspere concurrant neue uastius diducantur* ('that you will achieve [i.e. a collocation of words producing coherent and smooth speech] if the ends of words are linked to the beginnings of those that follow in such a way that they do not clash harshly and are not kept "vastly" apart'). Here *aspere concurrant* alludes again to the clash of consonants, and *uastius diducantur* to vowels in hiatus. For this use of *uastus* (usually translated as 'harsh' or the like: see *OLD* s.v. 4, 'coarse, unrefined') see *Rhet. Her.* 4.18 *ea (conpositio) conseruabitur si fugiemus crebras uocalium concursiones, quae uastam atque hiantem orationem reddunt* ('that [artistic composition] will be maintained if we avoid frequent juxtapositions of vowels, which make speech "vast" and gaping').

Cicero seems not entirely consistent in his pronouncements (and his own practice) in the matter of hiatus, though an interesting attempt has recently been made to resolve the inconsistency (by Müller 1999: see below). At *Orat.* 77 Cicero expresses qualified approval of hiatus, as is noted by Quintilian (9.4.37), who quotes the passage following his own generalisation (36) that 'hiatus is sometimes actually appropriate and adds a certain grandeur' (Russell): *nonnumquam hiulca etiam decent faciuntque ampliora quaedam.* The passage of Cicero is as follows:

habet enim ille tamquam hiatus et concursus uocalium molle quiddam et quod indicet non ingratam neglegentiam de re hominis magis quam de uerbis laborantis.

This hiatus or coming together of vowels has a certain softness in it, a sign of an agreeable carelessness on the part of a man who is more concerned for his matter than for his words.[38]

Müller (1999) points out that juxtapositions of vowels at word boundaries are common in Cicero's own works, and suggests that there may be a difference between *hiatus* in the passage just quoted (indicating euphonic vowel combinations, with at least one of them short) and *hiulcae uoces* at *Orat.* 150 above (indicating intolerable collisions of long vowels, notably combinations of homophonous long vowels).

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[37] See Quint. 9.4.36 for an unambiguous example of the adjective. See also Kroll (1913) ad loc., *OLD* s.v. 3a.

[38] I quote Russell's translation of the passage as it appears in Quintilian (9.4.37).

Whatever one makes of the details, Cicero does several times appear to associate hiatus with rusticity. At *Orat.* 150, after advising that the speaker should avoid hiatus and harsh clashes of consonants, he remarks: *quod quidem Latina lingua sic obseruat, nemo ut tam rusticus sit quin uocalis nolit coniungere* ('the Latin language is so particular about this that no one is so rustic as not to be reluctant to join vowels in hiatus').[39] Also suggestive are the juxtapositions at *De orat.* 3.45 (*non aspere ut ille, quem dixi, non uaste, non rustice, non hiulce, sed presse et aequabiliter et leniter*), where *ille, quem dixi* refers back to Q. Valerius of Sora.[40] I note, first, that, if Cicero was implying in various places that smooth *iuncturae* were characteristic of urbane Latin rather than of rustic, the distinction (if it existed at all) would only have been one of careful versus unguarded delivery, with educated city dwellers supposedly cultivating certain acceptable juxtapositions, and those not exposed to the obsessions of the educated neglecting to do so. Second, it would on this view be hard to believe that Cicero had a very precise notion of or interest in real geographical variation in the matter. He was using *rusticus* loosely as a disparaging term indicating one who did not match his idea of the educated. The use of the adjective at *Orat.* 150 (quoted above, this paragraph) seems merely to be a way of dismissing anyone given to a practice he did not approve of when he wrote the passage. It is not impossible that *iunctura* was at least one of the things Cicero had in mind when he pronounced on rustic harshness and urban smoothness and the like. But it would be unsatisfactory to take his remarks as pointing to a genuine rural feature. To him urban Latin was smooth, and rustic Latin is brought into the discussion merely to provide a contrasting harshness.

4.2   Athens and Rome

At *De orat.* 3.42 Cicero makes a comparison between city Latin and the Greek of *Attici*: *sed hanc dico suauitatem, quae exit ex ore; quae quidem ut apud Graecos Atticorum, sic in Latino sermone huius est urbis maxime propria* ('but I mean the sweetness that issues from the mouth; as this among the Greeks is particularly characteristic of the *Attici*, so in Latin it specially characterises this city'). The same comparison comes up at *Brut.* 172, quoted immediately below. Both passages raise several questions. What

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[39] On the text (*quin* not *qui*) and interpretation of this passage (which refers to hiatus, not synaloephe) see Kroll (1913) ad loc. The discussion of hiatus continues at the end of 151 and into 152, and synaloephe is simply not at issue in the context, despite the views of the earlier commentator Sandys (1885).

[40] So e.g. Leeman, Pinkster and Wisse (1996: 192). Or could the reference be to L. Cotta at 3.42?

was Cicero asserting about the Greek of *Attici*? Are there grounds here for thinking that he might have been imposing on the situation of Latin a Greek model and attempting to find an equivalent of 'Attic' Greek in 'Roman' Latin? I take these questions in turn.

What he was getting at is made clearer earlier in the passage of the *Brutus* (172). An anecdote is told about Theophrastus, who was born on Lesbos but lived at Athens.[41] He asked an old woman (at Athens) the price of something she was selling, and was addressed in return as 'stranger' (*hospes*).[42] He was upset, we are told, to be taken as a stranger:

ut ego iam non mirer illud Theophrasto accidisse, quod dicitur, cum percontaretur ex anicula quadam quanti aliquid uenderet et respondisset illa atque addidisset 'hospes, non pote minoris,' tulisse eum moleste se non effugere hospitis speciem, cum aetatem ageret Athenis optimeque loqueretur omnium. sic, ut opinor, in nostris est quidam urbanorum, sicut illic Atticorum sonus.

So that I am no longer surprised about what happened to Theophrastus according to the story which runs as follows. When he asked an old woman for how much she was selling something, she replied and added, 'stranger, it cannot be less'. He was annoyed not to be escaping the label of 'stranger', since he was living at Athens and was the best speaker of all. So in my opinion among our people there is a certain sound that inhabitants of the city have, just as there the *Attici* have a certain sound.

The linguistic details of the story are difficult to unravel, not least because it is told in a different form by Quintilian (see below). On the face of it the meaning seems to be that Theophrastus retained traces of his native Lesbian dialect when speaking Attic, and that he had tried to suppress signs of his origins and was annoyed that he had not succeeded.[43] Alternatively forms of the koine might have been at issue in the story, though Cicero need not have known that. Theophrastus might have spoken a koine with residual

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[41] I am grateful to Anna Davies, Geoff Horrocks and John Lee for discussing the implications of this anecdote and the one that follows with me.

[42] ξυε: see Dickey (2002: 149), and on the force of the Greek word, Davies ([1987] 2002: 159, 160 with n. 14).

[43] On the Attic dialect (earlier) as eliciting pride, see Davies (1993: 263–4), citing and discussing Solon 36.11 West, ps.-Xen. *Ath. Pol.* 2.7, Thuc. 7.63. On the second passage she writes (263–4) that the Old Oligarch deplored 'the changes undergone by Attic through mixture with other dialects and with foreign languages; this linguistic "contamination" is obviously felt to endanger the integrity of the country'. In the passage of Thucydides Nicias addresses the troops before the last battle of the Sicilian expedition. Davies (264) remarks: 'The sailors are told . . . not to forget how important it had been for them to be taken for Athenians even when they were not and to be the wonder of the whole [of] Greece for their knowledge of the (Attic) language.' She concludes that in Attica 'the dialect was an object of pride'. Later (278) she notes (in reference to the case of Oropos) the privileged position of those who had mastered Attic. It might seem to have been important to Theophrastus to have mastered Attic and to be taken as an Athenian. On the spread of 'Great Attic' as a prestigious official medium see Horrocks (1997: 29–30).

traces of a Lesbian accent. The survival until relatively late of the Lesbian dialect[44] perhaps resulted in Lesbian interference in the koine spoken on Lesbos, and Theophrastus might have been unable to throw off all traces of that interference. Whatever the case, in the last sentence of the passage quoted Cicero has leapt forward in time to his own day (note the present tense *est*). He seems to be asserting that there is today a distinctive (and by implication superior) sound of Athenians. Since this assertion is supported by a story set hundreds of years earlier in the fourth century it is clear that there is a degree of confusion in Cicero's argument.[45] At *De orat.* 3.43, however, he is more explicit about the superiority of current Athenian speech compared with that of *homines Asiatici*. Its quality lies not in words but in sound of voice (*sono uocis*) and in its *suauitas*:

Athenis iam diu doctrina ipsorum Atheniensium interiit, domicilium tantum in illa urbe remanet studiorum, quibus uacant ciues, peregrini fruuntur capti quodam modo nomine urbis et auctoritate; tamen eruditissimos homines Asiaticos quiuis Atheniensis indoctus non uerbis, sed sono uocis nec tam bene quam suauiter loquendo facile superabit.

At Athens long since the learning of the Athenians themselves has perished, and there remains in that city only an abode for studies, which the citizens take no part in but foreigners enjoy, captivated as it were by the name and prestige of the city;[46] nevertheless any uneducated Athenian will easily outdo[47] the most learned men of Asia Minor, not in words but in sound of voice, and not so much by speaking well as by speaking with pleasant sound.[48]

Quintilian's version of the story about Theophrastus is as follows (8.1.2):

multos enim, quibus loquendi ratio non desit, inuenias quos curiose potius loqui dixeris quam Latine, quo modo et illa Attica anus Theophrastum, hominem alioqui disertissimum, adnotata unius adfectatione uerbi hospitem dixit, nec alio se id deprendisse interrogata respondit quam quod nimium Attice loqueretur.

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44 See Cassio (1986).
45 Sometimes one has the impression that Cicero is influenced by the Atticist movement of his day (on which see now Wisse 1995) in judging Athenian Greek. The Atticist movement, which possibly began at Rome in the coterie of Calvus *c.* 60 BC (see Wisse 1995: 81), represented an attempt to use the early Attic orators such as Lysias as models for oratory, but it was easy for those sympathetic to the ideal to lapse into value judgments about Attic Greek itself. At *Brut.* 51 there is a vivid description of oratory (*eloquentia*) spreading from the Piraeus to the whole of Asia, and being corrupted there, such that the *salubritas Atticae dictionis* was lost. The description is primarily about the corruption of oratory, but Cicero comes close to saying that Attic speech/language was corrupted. See further Leeman, Pinkster and Wisse (1996: 189) on Cic. *De orat.* 3.42.
46 On the continuing *auctoritas* of Athens, despite the decline of Greece, see Cic. *Flac.* 62, with Leeman, Pinkster and Wisse (1996: 189).
47 With *superabit* here compare the use of *uincat* in the same passage, as quoted above, 4.1, p. 124.
48 There is a comparable passage alluding to the superiority of Attic Greek at *Sest.* 110: see Kaster (2006: 340).

One can find many speakers, not lacking in linguistic understanding, whose style may be said to be pedantic rather than Latin. Think of the old Athenian woman who addressed the very eloquent Theophrastus as 'Stranger,' because she noticed a peculiarity in one word; and when she was asked how she caught him out, she said it was because he spoke too good Attic (Russell).

This version is different, and Quintilian is unlikely to have been drawing directly on Cicero. The point is that Theophrastus' Greek was too 'good'. He had learnt Attic to such perfection that he sounded pedantic. The excessive correctness of outsiders' speech is often remarked on in many cultures. If Quintilian has preserved the original point of the story, Cicero has possibly altered it to suit his purposes, that is to provide a Greek parallel for the idea that city Latin was superior and a model to be aspired to. Theophrastus is presented as one who regarded the Athenian sound as an ideal and was therefore upset when he was caught out falling short of that ideal.

On this evidence it would not do to argue that Cicero was seeking to impose on Rome a linguistic situation really obtaining at Athens. On the contrary, he might even have been imposing on Athens a situation (vaguely conceived of as lasting from about the fourth century to the present time) that he found at Rome. Athens might have had a distinctive koine in his day, but it would not follow that Rome at the same time could not have had a distinctive form of Latin. The evidence of Plautus and Lucilius puts the remarks of Cicero into perspective. Both writers had a concept of the superiority of urban Latin (or of the inferiority of rustic Latin: see further below). Cicero was reflecting a Roman (or outsiders') attitude to the Latin of the city vis-à-vis that of provincial Italy, and was not simply under Greek inspiration setting up on his own initiative Roman Latin as superior. It is, however, worth stressing Cicero's vagueness about the Roman sound. He inserts the phrase *ut opinor* in the anecdote about Theophrastus at the very point where he asserts the existence of the *urbanorum sonus*, and this uncertainty also comes out at *Brut*. 169–70, discussed immediately below.

4.3   *Some further Ciceronian evidence*

Since Cicero felt able to criticise the speech of an educated friend who originated not far from his own home town, it may be deduced that he did not feel himself to be vulnerable to such criticism, and that he had eliminated any regional features from his own speech. He was sneered at as non-Roman (see Sall. *Cat*. 31.7 *M. Tullius, inquilinus ciuis urbis Romae*, 'M. Tullius, a lodger-citizen of the city of Rome', ps.-Sall. *In Cic*. 1 *reperticius*

ac paulo ante insitus huic urbi ciuis, 'a newly discovered citizen, recently implanted in this city'), but not as non-Roman in speech, and the silence suggests that he was not open to such a charge. Implicit in the remarks about the inferiority of the speech of the brothers from Sora and other anecdotes is not really a Roman sense of superiority, but the provincial sense of linguistic inferiority. It is the provincial Cicero who recommends that provincials get rid of their provincial accents.

The case referred to at 4.1 is not the only assertion of the superiority of the urban accent in Cicero. At *Brut.* 169–70 there is a review of provincial oratory, at the end of which Cicero tells Brutus that the orators he has listed lacked one thing, *urbanitas*: 170 *praeter unum, quod non est eorum urbanitate quadam quasi colorata oratio* ('except for one thing, that their speech is not, as it were, coloured by an urbanity'). When asked about the meaning of the word *urbanitas*, Cicero first replies that he does not know; he only knows that there is such a thing: 170 *et Brutus: qui est, inquit, iste tandem urbanitatis color? nescio, inquam; tantum esse quendam scio.*[49] He then says that Brutus will understand when he goes to Cisalpine Gaul. There he will hear words not current at Rome, which however can easily be 'unlearned'. But there is something more important: there is a particular sound to city speech, and, by implication, to that of Cisalpine Gaul (*Brut.* 171):

id tu, Brute, iam intelleges, cum in Galliam ueneris; audies tu quidem[50] etiam uerba quaedam non trita Romae, sed haec mutari dediscique possunt; illud est maius, quod in uocibus nostrorum oratorum retinnit quiddam et resonat urbanius. nec hoc in oratoribus modo apparet sed etiam in ceteris.

That, Brutus, you will understand when you have arrived in Gaul. Though you will also hear certain words not current at Rome, these can be exchanged and unlearned. What is more important, in the voices of our orators there is a certain ring and resonance of urbanity. And this is not only evident in orators but also in everyone else.

The defining characteristics of regional speech are thus twofold, the use of words not current at Rome,[51] and an accent that is not urbane. Of these two features sound is presented as the more important. The Roman sound is to be found not only in the educated (i.e. orators) but in everyone else (by

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[49] There is a wide-ranging discussion of *urbanitas* by De Saint-Denis (1939); see e.g. 19.
[50] I prefer *tu quidem* to the transmitted *tum quidem*. *Tu quidem* is a common collocation with a concessive force (see translation).
[51] On the nature of the words that Cicero must have had in mind see Adams (2003a: 442–3). He was thinking mainly of loan-words from Gaulish that had entered local Latin. See also Müller (2001: 269, 270 n. 8).

implication the less well educated). This is a notion that is also expressed at *De orat.* 3.43 (see 4.1 above) in the discussion of Q. Valerius of Sora.

Cisalpine Gaul, then, was a place where provincial speech might be heard. Accordingly I move on to a certain Tinga (see also below, 5 on *Patauinitas* in Livy). The case belongs only marginally here, but is worth mentioning. T. Tinga (or Tinca) of Placentia in Cisalpine Gaul was a contemporary of Hortensius who had moved from the north to Rome.[52]

There are two pieces of evidence about Tinga, the first at *Brut.* 172.[53] He once engaged in a contest of wit with Q. Granius the *praeco*. Tinga was funny enough, but he was overwhelmed by Granius' 'native Roman flavour': *sed Tincam non minus multa ridicule dicentem Granius obruebat* nescio quo sapore uernaculo ('but Tinca, despite saying much that was funny, was nevertheless overwhelmed by Granius with his vernacular flavour'). On one level Cicero means that one component of *urbanitas* was a style of humour (see below). But as a parallel to the incident he cites the case of Theophrastus, who gave away his provincial origins as soon as he opened his mouth (see above, 4.2). The anecdote about Tinga comes immediately after a generalisation that there is a distinctive sound of the city. The provincialism of the man is at issue, and there is an indirect hint that his accent would have put him at a disadvantage in such a contest. The whole passage of the *Brutus* concerns the lack of 'urban colour' in the speech of provincials, and *sapor uernaculus* may embrace in this context the manner of speech as well as its content. Further light is thrown on the passage by *Fam.* 9.15.2 *ego autem . . . mirifice capior facetiis, maxime nostratibus, praesertim cum eas uideam primum* oblitas Latio, tum cum in urbem nostram est infusa peregrinitas, *nunc uero etiam bracatis et Transalpinis nationibus, ut nullum ueteris leporis uestigium appareat* ('For my part, . . . I am marvellously fond of pleasantries, our native brand most of all, especially in view of its present decline; for adulterated as it had already become by Latium after the influx of the foreign element into our city, it is now with the accession of the trousered tribes from over the Alps so overwhelmed (?) that no trace of the old gay charm is any more to be found', Shackleton Bailey, Loeb). Cicero states that he is captivated by native Roman wit, which has now all but vanished. It was overlaid by 'Latium' and Celtic immigrants, at the time when *peregrinitas* flowed into the city. Whatever else might be referred to under the category *peregrinitas*, in this context the word embraces Latin speakers from Latium. But Cicero's concern here is with the swamping of

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[52] For the spelling of the name see Badian (1967: 227); on the man, see Sumner (1973: 102). The name is presumably the same as that of the fish (*tinca* 'tench') (see V.3.5).

[53] See e.g. Ramage (1961: 488).

the Roman sense of humour by the influx of foreigners, whereas in some other places it is the accent of these outsiders that offends him. His notion of Romanness is based on more than mere accent, and thus the anecdote about Tinga is not on its own unambiguously to be taken as referring to speech.

The second item of evidence about Tinga is without specific context, but it must refer to his provincialism of speech. Quintilian (1.5.12) says that Hortensius found fault with Tinga for committing two barbarisms in the same word (*precula* for *pergula*):

nam duos in uno nomine faciebat barbarismos Tinga Placentinus, si reprehendenti Hortensio credimus, underlinepreculam pro pergula dicens, et immutatione, cum C pro G uteretur, et transmutatione, cum R praeponeret antecedenti.

Tinga of Placentia (if we are to believe Hortensius' criticisms) made two Barbarisms in one word, saying *precula* instead of *pergula* ('market stall'), substituting *c* for *g* and transposing *r* and *e* (Russell).

The metathesis is unlikely to have been a provincialism per se,[54] though it might well have been taken as such by a Roman critic looking for fault in an outsider. In this word metathesis happens to be reflected in the dialect of the Abruzzi,[55] but it is impossible to know whether the innovation belongs to the Roman or to the Romance period. Variation between voiced and voiceless stops is said to have been not unusual in north Italy,[56] but the evidence is poor and does not concern me here. The authenticity of the charge does not matter. It is enough to note, first, that in view of the man's reputation for lack of *sapor uernaculus* any charge of linguistic barbarism is likely to have been related to his place of origin, and, second, that such a charge implies a recognition of the existence of regional variations, even if the details of the variations may have been exaggerated or misunderstood.

On one occasion Cicero went further afield in his comments on regional Latin. A dismissal of a form of Spanish Latin turns up in the speech *Pro Archia* (62 BC). Cicero says (26) that Q. Metellus Pius, a friend of Archias who had fought against Sertorius in Spain, was so keen to have his exploits extolled in verse that he was prepared to have his ears assaulted by the 'thick and foreign sounds of the poets of Corduba':

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[54] For metatheses in Latin see Lindsay (1894: 97), Leumann (1977: 101), Sommer and Pfister (1977: 162–3), Consentius, *GL* V.392.22–4, with Kohlstedt (1917: 86); see Whatmough (1933: 113–14) on alleged metatheses in 'north Italic'.

[55] See Giammarco (1968–79): III, 1595).

[56] See Whatmough (1931: 152). Lindsay (1894: 76) takes the substitution as a provincialism.

qui praesertim usque eo de suis rebus scribi cuperet ut etiam Cordubae natis poetis
<u>pingue quiddam sonantibus atque peregrinum</u> tamen auris suas dederet.

who particularly wanted his exploits to be written about, to such an extent that he
even surrendered his ears to poets born at Corduba, despite their thick and foreign
sound.[57]

Corduba, capital of Baetica, had long been a centre of Latin culture (on its
foundation see below, VI.1), and a feature of the local Latin was mentioned
by Varro (see below, 6.5; for the Latin of Baetica, see IV.1.3.6, IV.2, IV.2.1,
IV.2.2). It was to produce both Senecas and Lucan. Its poets must have
belonged to the educated elite of the town, but Cicero was prepared to
disparage them. Whether he had a knowledge of the local accent is open
to question. Since the poets of Corduba would have spoken Latin as their
first language, *peregrinus* could obviously be applied to provincial Latin, as
distinct from Latin spoken by foreigners as their second language.

I turn to some other Ciceronian evidence. Two orators referred to in the
Brutus for their 'small-town' style of speech were the brothers Caepasii (*Brut.*
242 *oppidano quodam et incondito genere dicendi*).[58] Nothing is known of
their place of origin, and no details are given, but the criticism was probably
intended in much the same sense as that of the brothers from Sora. The
definition of *oppidanus* given by the *OLD* s.v. 1 is: 'Belonging to, or typical
of, a country town, provincial, local (often opp. Roman).'

There is another side to the coin. The attitudes of a Cicero cannot
be taken as those of the whole educated class, and there are conflicting
views attested. There were those who esteemed rural speech, presumably
because rural simplicity was equated with moral virtue and with the ways
of the ancients. We hear of some persons in the republican period who
cultivated rustic speech because of its archaic character.[59] So Cicero says of
L. Cotta (*Brut.* 137): *sed de industria cum uerbis tum ipso sono quasi subrustico
persequebatur atque imitabatur antiquitatem* ('but both in words and in a
sort of slightly rustic sound of voice he deliberately cultivated and imitated
antiquity').[60] Strictly it is 'antiquity' that is imitated; but a rustic accent
was assumed by Cotta to sound old-fashioned. The words referred to here
cannot in the context be taken to mean dialect terms; Cicero might simply
have had in mind old-fashioned words not necessarily current anywhere.

Cicero also mentions the cultivation of a rustic accent at *De orat.* 3.42,
and Cotta is again referred to:

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[57] See also Müller (2001: 223 n. 6, 269). The phraseology here is similar to that at *De orat.* 3.44 (*in
quo . . . nihil sonare aut olere peregrinum*).
[58] See Ramage (1961: 488), Müller (2001: 225–6).   [59] See Marouzeau (1949: 10).
[60] On L. Cotta (tr. 103) see Douglas (1966: 111).

est autem uitium, quod non nulli de industria consectantur: rustica uox et agrestis quosdam delectat, quo magis antiquitatem, si ita sonet, eorum sermo retinere uideatur; ut tuus, Catule, sodalis, L. Cotta, gaudere mihi uidetur grauitate linguae sonoque uocis agresti et illud, quod loquitur, priscum uisum iri putat, si plane fuerit rusticanum.

There is a vice which some cultivate deliberately: certain people are delighted by a rustic, even yokel-like, voice, with the aim that their speech may seem to retain more of a flavour of antiquity if it sounds that way. For example, Catulus, your comrade L. Cotta seems to me to delight in a heaviness of tongue and a yokel's sound of voice and he thinks that what he says will seem old-fashioned if it is countrified.

The polemical nature of these remarks is obvious, particularly from the first sentence: it is a 'vice', and it is 'deliberately' cultivated (*de industria consectantur*; see also *Brut.* 137 above). Significant too is the appearance of the word *agrestis* here, which has a different implication from *rusticus*: see below, 4.4. Later in the same passage some phonetic details are given (3.46):

qua re Cotta noster, cuius tu illa lata, Sulpici, non numquam imitaris, ut iota litteram tollas et e plenissimum dicas, non mihi oratores antiquos, sed messores uidetur imitari.

Therefore our friend Cotta, whose broad sounds, Sulpicius, you sometimes copy in getting rid of *i* and saying a very full *e*, seems to me to imitate not ancient orators but reapers.[61]

Two points are made here. I start with the two vowels. There are at least three ways of explaining the 'replacement of *i* by a very full *e*'.

First, it was seen in the previous chapter (II.9, pp. 70–1, with references in the footnotes to Wachter 1987) that in early Latin inscriptions *e* (representing a short vowel) is often written for short *i* in a variety of environments (*tempestatebus*, *filea*, *Falesce* etc.). But this, it seems, is an early phenomenon reflecting a similarity in the articulation of the two vowels.[62] To Quintilian (1.4.17) such spellings as *Menerua*, *leber* and *magester* belonged to the past.[63] A passage of Varro (*Rust.* 1.2.14; quoted below, this section) refers to a rustic form *ue(h)a* for *uia*, but this cannot safely be explained as a reflection of the old indeterminacy of short *i* and *e*.[64]

[61] For some remarks about Cotta see Ramage (1961: 484–5), Müller (2001: 31–2).
[62] In Greek transliterations *epsilon* is sometimes used to represent short *i* (e.g. Λεπεδος): see Allen 1965: 49.
[63] See Russell (2001: I, 113 n. 34) on the implied open pronunciation of short *i* in these words.
[64] The form is problematic (see e.g. Coleman 1990: 7). *Veha* might have been influenced by a popular connection with *uehere*. The *e* is in effect in hiatus, but in contrast to cases such as *conea*, *filea* etc. (see II.9) it would be under the accent. I can see no compelling reason to associate the *e* with the

Second, the Romance languages show that CL long *e* and short *i* merged as a close *e*, and this merger (it seems) is reflected in imperial inscriptions and writing tablets in the use of *e* (representing [ẹ]) instead of *i* (representing short *i*) in words such as *menus* (for *minus*) and particularly in final syllables (e.g. *dabes* for *dabis*).[65] This is the explanation of Cicero's remark adopted by Kramer (1976: 22). But we do not know when this merger took place (see above, II.8), or when the indeterminacy of short *i* and short *e* referred to as the first point above resolved itself.

Third, we saw evidence in the last chapter (II.6; see also below, 5, pp. 150–1 on two spellings allegedly found in the manuscripts of Livy) in inscriptions for a variant development (manifesting itself as an *e*-spelling presumably representing a long close *e*, [ẹ̄]) of the original *ei* diphthong or of its usual outcome long *i*. This development is well represented in the early period, but we have the evidence of Varro that in the late Republic it was associated with *rustici*: *Rust.* 1.2.14 *a quo rustici etiam nunc quoque uiam ueham appellant propter uecturas et uellam, non uillam, quo uehunt et unde uehunt* ('for this reason rustics even now as well call a road *ueha* on account of hauling, and they use *uella* not *uilla* of the place to and from which they haul'), 1.48.2 *spica[m] autem, quam rustici, ut acceperunt antiquitus, uocant specam, a spe uidetur nominata* ('but the ear of corn, which rustics call *speca*, using the form handed down from antiquity, seems to have been named from "hope"').[66] Given that Cicero also was talking of rustics (*messores*) it seems possible that he too had this type of pronunciation in mind.[67] It may be added that the substitution (*e* instead of *i* from original *ei*) is attested as late as the Pompeian inscriptions (*CIL* IV.3152a *amecis*)[68] and possibly at Vindolanda.[69] The *e* of the *messores* is *plenissimum* (for *plenus* of sound, taken to mean something like 'sonorous', see *OLD* s.v. 12a), and this

[65] close *e* that was to develop (in Romance: see the next point in the text) from the merger of short *i* and long *e* (see the discussion of Müller 2001: 33–4).

[65] For recent material from Vindolanda see Adams (2003b: 533–5), and see further below, X.5.1.2.4.

[66] On the origin of the first word (reflecting an etymon with *ei* diphthong) see Müller (2001: 30 n. 2). Does *spica* derive from a form with an original *ei*? That seems to be the assumption of Leumann (1977: 64) and Sommer and Pfister (1977: 58), but the matter is not clear-cut. The derivation of *spica* from *spes*, influenced by the rustic *speca*, recurs at *Ling.* 5.37 (see Kent 1958 ad loc.).

[67] So Sturtevant (1940: 115), Allen (1965: 55), Leumann (1977: 64), Coleman (1990: 6), Müller (2001: 31). There is some additional bibliography cited by Leeman, Pinkster and Wisse (1996: 192), who consider the meaning of the remark controversial.

[68] Cf. too *dede* = *dedi* in one of the Murecine tablets (first century AD) from the archive of C. Novius Eunus (*TPSulp.* 51.13; see Adams 1990a: 231 and below, VII.5).

[69] See Adams (2003b: 535). There came a time when such *e*-forms were treated as archaisms in the written language (see below, 5 on *sibe* and *quase* in Livy and others), and it is sometimes impossible to say whether such a spelling represents a phonetic reality or old-fashioned orthography. A letter of the Augustan period published at *P. Oxy.* 44.3208 has the old formula *diuom atque hominum fidem* (for which see Plaut. *Aul.* 300) with the first word (originally *deiuom*) spelt with *e* in the first

adjective, though impressionistic,[70] would probably be more appropriately applied to a long than to a short vowel (see the next paragraph). I take it that Cicero meant that a feature of rustic speech was a pronunciation of the original *ei* diphthong, the outcome of which in urban Latin was by this time long *i*, as a long close *e*.

The second phonetic detail given at *De orat.* 3.46 above is that Cotta had 'broad' sounds (*illa lata*). The reference is to the vowel system. A result clause introduced by *ut* follows which explains *lata* from the replacement of *iota* by a 'very full' *e*. This is not the only place where terminology of this sort is used.[71] At *Brutus* 259 Cotta is described as 'broadening letters' (*littera* is used indifferently in Latin of a letter or phoneme) and thereby avoiding any semblance of 'Greek enunciation': *Cotta, qui se ualde dilatandis litteris a similitudine Graecae locutionis abstraxerat sonabatque contrarium Catulo, subagreste quiddam planeque subrusticum* ('Cotta who by broadening sounds markedly had removed himself from any semblance of Greek enunciation, and had a somewhat yokelish and downright rustic sound which contrasted with that of Catulus'; on *subagreste* here, see below, 4.4). Again, at *De orat.* 2.91 Fufius is described as imitating C. Fimbria, but as achieving not his *nerui in dicendo* but only a *uerborum latitudo*: *ut ille, qui nunc etiam, amissa uoce, furit in re publica, Fufius, neruos in dicendo C. Fimbriae, quos tamen habuit ille, non adsequitur, oris prauitatem et uerborum latitudinem imitatur* ('just as that fellow Fufius, who even now is raging in politics though he has lost his voice, fails to achieve the energy in speaking which C. Fimbria in spite of everything did have, but imitates his distorted utterance and broadness of words').[72] At Gell. 4.17.8 (*ea syllaba productius latiusque paulo pronuntiata*, 'a syllable pronounced longer and a little more broadly') 'broadness' is associated (but not equated) with lengthening of a syllable; it is *productius* that refers specifically to length. The terminology may be Greek-inspired, as Quintilian (1.5.32) mentions a fault of speech πλατειασμς, without giving details. Whatever 'broadness' might have been, it seems to have been heard in vowels (or syllables) that were long, and it also presented a contrast with Greek pronunciation.[73] The degree of openness might have been an issue. In the short vowel system Greeks used *epsilon* to render short *i* in Latin words (see above, n. 62), and that might suggest that the Greek

syllable. Given the antiquity of the formula, the archaic genitive plural in *-om* in the same word and the fact that the letter has some other old or pretentious spellings it is likely that the writer wrote the *e*-form because he considered it to be old (see also VII.5).

[70] Quintilian 1.11.6 is not particularly informative.
[71] See also the note of Leeman, Pinkster and Wisse (1996: 192).
[72] See also Ramage (1961: 486), Leeman, Pinkster and Nelson (1985: 302).
[73] For some speculations about the significance of this phrase see Adams (2003a: 109–10).

short *e* was closer than the Latin short *e* (or, put differently, that the Latin short *i* was more open than the Greek short *i*). A 'Greek affectation' of Latin speakers might have consisted in articulating Latin vowels more closely than usual. By contrast a Latin speaker who made them markedly open ('broad') would be avoiding any hint of Greek-influenced pronunciation, and might also have made himself sound rustic.

In one of these passages (*De orat.* 3.46) Cicero gives more circumstantial detail than usual, but the evidence is somewhat undermined by the fact that Cotta is several times said to have been imitating antiquity. It is Cicero who maintains that he merely achieved features of the speech of *messores*. Was Cicero right? Did Cotta really go to rustics for his model of ancient speech? Might he not, for instance, have used spellings of the type *e* for original *ei* as found in old texts as the justification for features of his vowel system? It would, however, be perverse to take the passage as referring to anything other than pronunciation.

Cicero also refers to the suppression of final *-s* after a short vowel and before a consonant (*Orat.* 161):

quin etiam, quod iam subrusticum uidetur, olim autem politius, eorum uerborum, quorum eaedem erant postremae duae litterae, quae sunt in optimus, postremam litteram detrahebant, nisi uocalis insequebatur. ita non erat ea offensio in uersibus quam nunc fugiunt poetae noui. sic enim loquebamur: 'qui est omnibu' princeps', non 'omnibus princeps', et 'uita illa dignu' locoque', non 'dignus'.

Furthermore – something that now seems somewhat rustic but was once considered refined – they dropped the last letter of words ending in the same two letters as *optimus*, unless a vowel followed. Thus in verse that feature was not objectionable which today the 'new poets' shun. We used to say . . .

The suppression was once refined, but now has a rustic feel to it. The remarks about the fading of the phenomenon from verse during the Republic are generally correct, but it should be added that in early inscriptions as well final *-s* is often omitted (see above, II.18 with n. 319; also II.5, p. 51).[74] There seems to have been a movement to give *s* its full phonetic value in final position during the later Republic, perhaps led by the literate classes under the influence of spelling. But not all members of the educated

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[74] On final *-s* see Lindsay (1894: 108), Allen (1965: 36–7), Sommer and Pfister (1977: 221–2), Leumann (1977: 226–8) (both comprehensive discussions of early verse and of inscriptions), Väänänen (1981: 67–8), Coleman (1990: 16, 1999: 33–4), Müller (2001: 40–1). There is an account of the phenomenon in republican verse (Ennius, Plautus, Lucilius, Lucretius, Cicero and Catullus) by Skutsch (1985: 56). Suppression is common (after short vowels and before consonants) in Ennius, Lucilius and Plautus (in iambic and trochaic lines in the last foot, but the Plautine situation is hard to interpret [see Coleman 1999: 33–4]), but much rarer in Lucretius and largely avoided by Catullus (except at 116.8, but there before another *s*, on which phenomenon see Quint. 9.4.37).

class gave in to this attempt at language standardisation (on the occasional resistance by educated eccentrics to the rules of the grammarians, see I.4, pp. 16–17 on Augustus and IV.4.2 on Augustine). According to Quintilian (9.4.38) Servius Sulpicius (presumably the lawyer who was consul in 51 BC)[75] dropped final -*s* whenever it was followed by a consonant (which was the practice of early Latin verse: see above). He was criticised by an unknown character Luranius, but defended by Messala, who wrote a book on the letter *s* (for which see Quint. 1.7.23). The passage (9.4.38) is as follows: *quae fuit causa et Seruio Sulpicio subtrahendae s litterae quotiens ultima esset aliaque consonante susciperetur, quod reprehendit Luranius. Messala defendit* ('[t]his is why[76] Servius Sulpicius dropped the final s whenever it was followed by another consonant. Luranius critized him for this, but Messala stood up for him', Russell). Quintilian goes on to say that Messala found evidence for this omission in Lucilius.

If Cicero was right in implying that the suppression was still ongoing among rustics in the late Republic (see further below), certainly by the early centuries AD in substandard documents from far-flung places there is very little evidence for omission except before a following *s* (for which phenomenon see n. 74),[77] and that would suggest that by the Empire the restoration of -*s* had spread to non-educated (presumably including rustic) varieties of the language. On one interpretation, then, of Cicero's remark the efforts of purists to restore -*s* in speech on the basis of its presence in writing would have been more successful at first in the city, and would have led indirectly to a regional variation between the city and the country in the short term, until the country caught up with the city at some time during the Empire. This would be a case of an innovation starting in a city and spreading to its environs, a pattern often identified in dialect studies (see I.5). But can Cicero's words be pushed so far? He simply says that suppression 'seems somewhat rustic'. Is it justifiable to conclude from a passing remark that he was making a considered observation about rustic speech? He might have been dismissing a mannerism still heard even in the city (as the passage of Quintilian shows) as slightly 'barbarous'.

I mention finally two passages of Cicero, one of which is a discussion of Lucilius whereas in the other he expresses attitudes in his own person. According to *Fin*. 1.7 Lucilius (594 Marx) said that, because he feared the

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[75] See Russell (2001: IV, 181 n. 28).

[76] Quintilian has just said (37) that *s* is harsh if followed by an *x* or, worse, another *s*. Servius Sulpicius went further than those who merely dropped the sound before another *s* (such as Catullus: see above, n. 74).

[77] See e.g. Adams (1994: 106–7, 2003b: 538 with n. 39).

judgment of the Scipios, he wrote rather for Tarentines, the inhabitants of Consentia and the Sicilians: *nec uero ut noster Lucilius recusabo quominus omnes mea legant. utinam esset ille Persius. Scipio uero et Rutilius multo etiam magis: quorum ille iudicium reformidans Tarentinis ait se et Consentinis et Siculis scribere* ('nor indeed, like our Lucilius, will I refuse to have my works read by everyone. Would that the famous Persius were still alive, and much more so indeed Scipio and Rutilius. In fear of their judgment Lucilius says that he is writing for the people of Tarentum, Consentia and for Sicilians'). For Persius ('just about the most learned of all our people') see Cic. *De orat.* 2.25. P. Rutilius Rufus was a friend of P. Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus and the author of a historical work. Scipio was perceived as highly cultivated. Petersmann (1999: 297) summarises Lucilius as saying that, 'as he was afraid of the judgement of the Scipiones, he was writing for the people of the southern provinces'. Petersmann adds that Lucilius said this on purpose since he was born in that part of Italy.

I do not see that as the point. Lucilius was born at Suessa Aurunca, a Latin colony founded as early as 313 BC in the border region of Latium and Campania, a long way north of the places named in the fragment. What unites the three places is that they were all Greek-speaking. Tarentum was an early Spartan foundation. Consentia was a city of the Bruttii, an Oscan area in which bilingualism in Oscan and Greek is attested to by Ennius: Paul. Fest. p. 31.25 Lindsay *bilingues Bruttaces Ennius dixit quod Brutti et Osce et Graece loqui soliti sint* ('Ennius said "bilingual Bruttaces" because the Brutti were accustomed to speak both Oscan and Greek'). Sicily had long been Greek-speaking. Lucilius is not stating that he is writing for the likes of the inhabitants of the Latin colony Suessa Aurunca, but for Greeks who would scarcely know Latin, if at all. The point is well made by Marx (1904–5: II, 222), citing Madvig (on the passage of Cicero): 'Consentinos Tarentinos Siculos semigraecos uel Graecos positos esse pro hominibus sermonis Latini parum gnaris recte adnotat Maduigius' ('Madvig rightly notes that the Consentini, Tarentini and Siculi, semi-Greeks or Greeks, were mentioned as scarcely knowing Latin'). Lucilius' statement is an exaggeration with humorous intent: he will avoid criticism by addressing (in Latin) those who do not know Latin. The passage on this interpretation is not relevant to regional Latin because the opposition implied is between Latin and Greek rather than city Latin and regional Latin. It is however of interest as presenting Rome as a cultural centre inhabited by urbane critics.

One might be tempted to modify the above interpretation of Lucilius' meaning in the light of another passage of Cicero: *Div. Caec.* 39 *in quo si te multum natura adiuuaret, si optimis a pueritia disciplinis atque artibus studuisses et in his elaborasses, si* litteras Graecas Athenis non Lilybaei, Latinas

Romae non in Sicilia didicisses, tamen esset magnum tantam causam . . . et diligentia consequi et memoria complecti et oratione expromere et uoce ac uiribus sustinere ('even if you were assisted greatly in this matter by natural gifts, even if from boyhood you had given yourself over to the best disciplines and technical skills and had exerted yourself in these accomplishments, even if you had learnt Greek letters at Athens rather than at Lilybaeum and Latin letters at Rome and not in Sicily, even so it would be a big thing . . . to find the diligence to master such a major case, the memory to embrace it, the eloquence to expound it, and the voice and strength to sustain it'). Caecilius would find the case difficult to cope with even if he had learnt Greek letters at Athens rather than Lilybaeum, and Latin letters at Rome rather than in Sicily. This passage is not about language in the narrow sense,[78] but literary culture, both Greek and Latin. Caecilius' Greek culture is deficient, in that it is of Sicilian rather than Athenian origin, and his Latin culture is similarly deficient, in that it was acquired outside Rome. Sicily is culturally inferior in both respects. The existence of at least some Latin learning in Sicily is implicit in this remark,[79] though of an inferior kind, and one might therefore argue that Lucilius (above) meant that his (bad) Latin writing was intended for the (bad) Latin speakers of the Greek south rather than for urbane figures such as Persius, Rutilius and Scipio. I prefer to interpret the joke of Lucilius as it was interpreted in the previous paragraph, but would allow that there is some uncertainty, given that we do not have the full context of the Lucilius passage.

It is the second passage that is of the greater interest. It is not strictly about regional Latin, but language use is part of the practice of *litterae Latinae*. There is certainly a hint that the best Latin was heard at Rome. Cicero is defining Roman culture (in which I include language) by contrasting with it that of a provincial region. Rome is put on a par with Athens as a cultural centre, and that is a comparison that came up earlier (4.2).

4.4   rusticus *and* agrestis

Usually when Cicero talks of the country accent in comparisons with the urban he uses the adjective *rusticus* or derivatives, but at *De orat.* 3.42 (cf. also *Brut.* 259, quoted below) he twice switches to *agrestis* in reference to the affected countrified pronunciation of L. Cotta (see above, 4.3). The

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[78] Despite Balsdon (1979: 116): 'Of Caecilius' many disqualifications for acting as the prosecutor of Verres, according to Cicero, one was the fact that he had learnt his Latin in Sicily, not in Rome, and therefore he had an imperfect knowledge of the language' (my emphasis). The assertion underlined cannot be justified from Cicero's words.

[79] On the linguistic situation in Roman Sicily see Wilson (1990: 313–20).

choice of word is significant. Though there was a degree of overlap between *rusticus* and *agrestis* the two words were capable of conveying markedly different tones. *Rusticus* could be a term of praise, whereas *agrestis* tends to be disparaging, implying lack of education and culture. The terms are explicitly contrasted by Cicero himself at *S. Rosc.* 75: *in urbe luxuries creatur, ex luxuria exsistat auaritia necesse est, ex auaritia erumpat audacia, inde omnia scelera ac maleficia gignuntur; uita autem haec rustica quam tu agrestem uocas parsimoniae, diligentiae, iustitiae magistra est* ('in the city luxury is generated, and inevitably from luxury avarice emerges and from avarice recklessness bursts forth; thence every crime and wrongdoing is born. But this rural life, which you call the life of the yokel, is the mistress of parsimony, diligence and justice'). Cicero defends his client throughout the speech as a simple countryman of honest ways, and here *uita rustica* is an emotive expression implying that the man possessed various virtues that are the opposite of luxury; for similar uses of *rusticus* in the speech cf. 18, 20, 48, 51, 143. But the prosecutor Erucius had clearly sought to disparage Roscius' way of life, describing it rather as the *uita agrestis*, and Cicero corrects his choice of word.[80] *Agrestis* regularly expresses a quality the opposite of that expressed by *doctus* (*Cael.* 54, *Part. or.* 90, *Leg.* 1.41) or *humanus* (*Red. sen.* 13, *De orat.* 1.33, *Part. or.* 90, *Orat.* 172, *Leg.* 2.36), or is used by implication of the ill-educated (e.g. *Mur.* 61, *Phil.* 8.9). Erucius' (implied) use of the phrase *uita agrestis* is illuminated by *De orat.* 1.33 *ut uero iam ad illa summa ueniamus, quae uis alia potuit aut dispersos homines unum in locum congregare aut a fera agrestique uita ad hunc humanum cultum ciuilemque deducere?* ('but to come now to those main points, what other force could either have brought together in one place scattered mankind or led them from the wild rustic way of life to this humane and civilised condition of the citizen?'). The *uita agrestis* is wild and opposed to the civilised ways of a humane citizen body (cf. also *Leg.* 2.36).

Rusticus by contrast is constantly used neutrally (note e.g. *De orat.* 2.96 and 3.155, where *rustici* is subject of the verb *dico* and used of rural turns of phrase) or with a favourable tone, in reference to solid country virtues. A noteworthy expression is *rustici Romani*, which is an expression of approval. Note e.g. *Sen.* 24 *possum nominare ex agro Sabino rusticos Romanos, uicinos et familiares meos, quibus absentibus numquam fere ulla in agro maiora opera fiunt* ('I can name from the Sabine territory rustic Romans, neighbours and friends of mine, who are practically never absent when any of the more

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[80] See Landgraf (1914: 158) for a brief but telling comment on the word. See also the discussion of Müller (2001: 79–80).

important tasks in the field are being carried out', of old farmers not giving up their honest toil) (cf. *Sest.* 97, where *rustici Romani* are numbered among the *optimi*, *Fam.* 16.21.7, *Att.* 9.13.4, Varro *Rust.* 2.pr.1). 'Rustic' may imply simplicity (see *Off.* 3.77, where the contrast is with philosophers), but also modesty (see *Fam.* 5.12.1) and other virtues. Those who are excessively urbane may be contrasted unfavourably with *rustici* (see *Att.* 2.15.3).

It follows that if *agrestis* is applied to speech it has the potential to imply 'ill-educated', and thus may designate a social rather than a regional dialect. Varro, whose attitude to regional varieties of Latin, we have suggested, was non-judgmental (see further below, 6.12), uses *rusticus* when making comments on regional usage (*Ling.* 6.68, 7.96, *Rust.* 1.2.14, 1.48.2), and Cicero too for the most part avoids *agrestis* in this context. It is worth noting the structure of the juxtaposition found in Cicero's characterisation of the speech of L. Cotta at *Brut.* 259 (see above, 4.3, p. 139): *subagreste quiddam planeque subrusticum*. Both adjectives are toned down by the prefix *sub-*, but whereas *subagreste* is further toned down by *quiddam* ('somewhat in the manner of a yokel'), *subrusticum* is emphasised ('plainly rural'). Cotta's affected speech was certainly rural, and even up to a point that of an uneducated yokel.

4.5   Cicero: some conclusions

Almost twenty passages of Cicero have been discussed in the previous sections. Most of the passages have to do generally with a city sound as opposed to a rustic, and *sonus* and derivatives recur (*De orat.* 3.43 *sono*, 44 *sonare* [*peregrinum*], *Brut.* 172 *sonus*, 171 *resonat* [*urbanius*], *Arch.* 26 *sonantibus* [*pingue quiddam . . . atque peregrinum*], *Brut.* 137 *sono* [*subrustico*], *De orat.* 3.42 *sonet*, *sonoque uocis agresti*). *Vox* is another recurrent term (*De orat.* 3.42, 43, 44, *Brut.* 171). There are several passages in which the pleasantness (of the city sound) or the harshness (of the rural) are referred to (*De orat.* 3.43 *lenitate uocis*, 3.44 *rusticam asperitatem*, 3.42 *suauitatem*). The vagueness of Cicero's idea of *urbanitas* was seen (4.3) at *Brut.* 171: when asked what constitutes the 'colour of urbanity' he admits that he does not know; it is something he is aware of but cannot define. Faced with evidence of this quality one might be tempted to argue that Cicero's claims were lacking in substance and that he was trying to create an impression that there was something special about city speech. The alternative explanation of his vagueness, surely the correct one, is that he was conscious of a city accent with subtle features that only a phonetician could describe accurately. This might have been a form of speech set apart from rural varieties not by

phonemic differences, but by mannerisms in the articulation of vowels and consonants, as for example in the relative openness/closeness of vowel sounds forming the same vowel system in city and country alike, or in the relative length of long vowels participating in the same contrasts long versus short in both the city and country. If for argument's sake country vowels were more open than those of the city or long vowels more protracted, the vowel systems of the two 'areas' might still have been structurally the same. Cicero's discussion of a named individual Q. Valerius and his sound makes it likely that a real difference of accent was at issue.

The vague remarks noted above might be thought to be redeemed by those which give more detail, such as comments about the *e plenissimum* of *messores* (*De orat.* 3.46) and the rustic omission of final *-s* after a short vowel (*Orat.* 161). These perhaps hint at genuine dialectal differences between country and city. It is possible that in some areas the original *ei* diphthong had developed to a phoneme (long close *e* [ē]) not possessed by the city in the Ciceronian period. If the country speech of such *messores* also had a long mid (inherited) *e* of the type found in the city, and a long *i* deriving from inherited long *i*, then their vowel system would have differed structurally from that of speakers in the city. That there is substance behind Cicero's vagueness is also suggested (see above, 2) by the circumstantial details given by other writers (Plautus, Lucilius and Varro) contrasting city speech and rustic. I mention also the reference at *Brut.* 171 to 'words' as distinctive of a provincial region (Cisalpine Gaul), and these will have been dialect terms.

But the interpretation even of Cicero's more specific remarks is not straightforward. Some of his apparent allusions to rusticity may merely reflect a feeling that a particular usage was unacceptable, and therefore to be categorised as outlandish. When he says that omission of final *-s* 'seems' *subrusticum*, he might have had in mind city speakers who went on suppressing *-s* in certain positions against the current educated fashion. The phrase does not prove that he had any knowledge of the treatment of final *-s* in rural areas. There is an instance of *agrestis* at *De orat.* 3.227, not yet cited, which prompts further caution in the interpretation of such words. A speaker (Crassus) says that raising the voice gradually is *suaue*, whereas shouting from the outset is *agreste*: *hinc gradatim ascendere uocem [utile] et suaue est (nam a principio clamare agreste quiddam est)*. The word cannot in such a context be taken literally as referring to a speech habit particular to *agrestes*. It means something like 'boorish'.

Cicero's concept of regional diversity is rudimentary. At the centre of his linguistic world stands Rome, which probably had a distinctive accent. That was what he was really interested in, rather than in the details of regional

speech. Everything outside is indifferentiatedly 'rustic' or 'foreign', but there are hints, as we have just seen, that such terminology could be applied to practices of which he did not approve, whatever their provenance. Parts of Italy are occasionally mentioned by name (Sora and Cisalpine Gaul), but linguistic differentiations are never made. The poets of Corduba, with their sound that is *pingue* (*Arch.* 26), display a 'foreignness' that seems to set them apart even from speakers who have a 'rustic harshness', but it would not do to insist that Cicero clearly distinguished the foreignness of Spanish Latin from the mere rusticity of Italian. The word *peregrinus*, as we saw, could be applied to the natives of quite nearby regions.

5 ASINIUS POLLIO AND THE *PATAVINITAS* OF LIVY

The best known evidence to do with Cisalpine Gaul (for which see above, 4.3) is Asinius Pollio's claim that there was a *Patauinitas* in Livy,[81] who was born and grew up in Patavium (Padua). The accusation is mentioned twice by Quintilian. I take the two comments in turn.[82]

At 1.5.56 Quintilian makes a comparison between Pollio's criticism of Livy and Lucilius' attack on Vettius for his use of Praenestine words: *nam ut eorum sermone utentem Vettium Lucilius insectatur, quem ad modum Pollio reprendit in Liuio Patauinitatem* ('Lucilius attacks Vettius for using Praenestine words,[83] as Pollio criticizes "Patavinity" in Livy', Russell; on the interpretation of the first part of this passage see above, 3). The comparison is a loose one. As far as we can tell Livy did not use 'Paduan words', at least in writing.[84] Did Quintilian mean simply that he too in a general sense was attacked for provincialism, or was he unsure of the exact nature of the charge (see further below)?

Quintilian's second comment is in a more complicated context. The remark itself (8.1.3 *et in Tito Liuio, mirae facundiae uiro, putat inesse Pollio Asinius quandam Patauinitatem*, '[a]gain Asinius Pollio thinks there is a certain "Patavinity" in Livy, who was a man of marvellous eloquence', Russell) is straightforward enough. But it follows a generalisation (8.1.2,

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[81] For some bibliography on the issue see Flobert (1981) *passim*, Horsfall (1997: 71 n. 2).

[82] See also Flobert (1981: 197–8) on the contexts of the two passages.

[83] Note that Quintilian has *sermo* not *uerba*, but Russell's translation is justified because immediately before the passage quoted Quintilian writes *taceo de Tuscis et Sabinis et Praenestinis quoque*, where *uerba* is to be understood from the previous two sentences with the three adjectives.

[84] As Flobert (1981: 199) points out, we have only a fraction of the work, and it is not impossible that he admitted 'Cisalpine' words in a lost book dealing with wars in the region. But, he rightly adds, 'dans ce cas, les grammairiens anciens, friands de monstres, les auraient immanquablement relevés, non moins que Pollion et Quintilien'.

quoted above, 4.2, p. 131) that some speakers are more pedantic than cor-
rect (*multos . . . inuenias quos curiose potius loqui dixeris quam Latine*). This
generalisation is illustrated first by the story about Theophrastus discussed
above (4.2), who revealed himself in Quintilian's version to be an outsider
by his excessively good Attic. Then Quintilian immediately tacks on Pollio's
comment, linked to the story about Theophrastus by *et*. The point at first
sight seems to be that Livy was a pedantic outsider, more 'correct' than the
Romans and thus provincial. This is the way in which the passage is taken
(tentatively) by Russell (2001: I, 150–1): 'Q.'s version . . . of the story of
Theophrastus, who was perceived to be a foreigner because his Attic was
too good, suggests that some sort of pedantic precision may be meant.'[85]
But it is not necessarily correct to attach Quintilian's remark too closely to
the story about Theophrastus. Quintilian certainly makes a generalisation
about pedantry and illustrates his point with the story about Theophrastus.
But there is a further generalisation that precedes the one just mentioned,
and another again that follows the remark about Livy. First, Quintilian
warns the reader to avoid 'foreign and external words' (2 *hic non alienum
est admonere ut sint quam minime peregrina et externa*, 'here it is relevant
to warn that there should be as few non-Roman or foreign words as pos-
sible', Russell).[86] Then, immediately after the mention of *Patauinitas*, he
concludes (starting with a 'wherefore') that words and accent must 'smell of
the city': 3 *quare, si potest fieri, et uerba omnia et uox huius alumnum urbis
oleant, ut oratio Romana plane uideatur, non ciuitate donata* ('[i]f possible,
then, let all our words and our pronunciation have a whiff of city breeding,
so that our speech seems to be native Roman, not simply naturalized', Rus-
sell). With the mention of 'words' we seem to be back to a context similar
to the first one in which *Patauinitas* came up. The structure of the passage
may be as follows. First Quintilian makes the point that foreign words
must be avoided. He moves on to a first illustration of the point, with the
story of Theophrastus, under the heading of non-native pedantry. He then
progresses to a second case of foreignness, Livy's *Patauinitas*, which, in the
final sentence, is loosely associated with 'words', and 'voice' in general. On
this interpretation the anecdote about Livy is an illustration of the open-
ing generalisation, not of the second one about pedantry. Nevertheless,
the interpretation of the argument is difficult because of an incoherence.
Quintilian slips from the topic of words into 'pedantry', which need not

[85] Cicero's remark (*Att.* 2.15.3) that he would rather have the company of rustics than of *perur-
bani* ('hyper-sophisticates', Shackleton Bailey) such as Sebosus and Arrius has nothing to do with
language.

[86] With *peregrina et externa* it is necessary to understand *uerba*, as the preceding discussion makes clear.

have been confined to word choice; indeed it was the accent of Theophrastus that gave him away. Then he reverts to words, but tacks on 'voice', which had not been mentioned explicitly earlier.

Attempts have been made to define in precise linguistic terms (going beyond mere 'words') what *Patauinitas* might have been (see below). Such an approach may be misguided, because Pollio (quite apart from Quintilian) need have had no clear idea himself. As we saw (4.3), when Cicero at *Brut.* 170 was asked what was the essence of the city accent (*urbanitas*) he replied that he did not know (*nescio*). His assertions about *urbanitas* are impressionistic. Pollio is known to have written pamphlets or books on linguistic matters. Note e.g. Suet. *Gramm.* 10.1 *de eodem Asinius Pollio, in libro quo Sallusti scripta reprehendit ut nimia priscorum uerborum adfectatione oblita, ita tradit* ('concerning the same man, Asinius Pollio reports as follows in the book in which he finds fault with the writings of Sallust as defiled by an excessive affectation for using old words').[87] Various specific linguistic criticisms that he made of others are recorded. He found fault with Sallust for using *transgredi* when he should have used *transfretare* (Gell. 10.26).[88] He criticised Caesar's *commentarii* for being carelessly written (Suet. *Caes.* 56.4). A remark about the use of *rebus agentibus* by Labienus is recorded by Quintilian himself (9.3.13). A fragment of Pollio at Charisius p. 124.4–5 Barwick from a work *In Valerium lib. I* insisted on the use of *pugillares* as both masculine and plural. In contrast to these detailed anecdotes Quintilian is so vague about what constitutes *Patauinitas* (note the use of *quandam*) that he is unlikely to have had in front of him a pamphlet by Pollio explaining the defects of Livy, especially since he is elsewhere prepared to mention specifics. There are also the problematic contexts in which Quintilian mentions the charge. Did he mean that Livy was pedantic or not (see above)? And why did he mention *Patauinitas* in the context of 'words' in the first passage, when foreignness of vocabulary is not a feature of Livy? He seems to be uncertain about what was meant. *Patauinitas* looks like an abusive charge, made in speech rather than in writing.[89] Like much Roman abuse, it need not have been supported by any detail.

According to Quintilian (1.7.24), Asconius Pedianus said that Livy wrote *sibe* and *quase* rather than *sibi* and *quasi*: *'sibe' et 'quase' scriptum in multorum libris est, sed an hoc uoluerint auctores nescio: T. Liuium ita his usum ex Pediano comperi, qui et ipse eum sequebatur. haec nos i littera finimus* ('*Sibe* and *quase* are found in texts of many writers, but whether

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[87] See Kaster (1995: 140–1) ad loc.   [88] See Flobert (1981: 196).
[89] So André (1949: 89–93, especially 93); the point is made strongly by Whatmough (1933: 99).

the authors intended them, or not, I do not know; I learn the fact that Livy used these forms from Pedianus, who himself followed the example. We spell these words with a final *i*', Russell). Since Asconius is believed by some to have come from Padua,[90] Whatmough (1933: 99–100) fastened on to the details given by Quintilian as providing evidence for a specific provincialism shared by the two supposed Paduans.[91] He was even able to provide parallels (or so he thought) from local inscriptions. The discussion has unsatisfactory features, and must be discussed in detail.[92]

It should first be noted exactly what Quintilian tells us about Asconius, whom he probably knew and with whom he might have discussed the matter.[93] He does not say that Asconius, as a Paduan, said *sibe* and *quase*. What he does say is that Asconius, having observed these spellings in the writings of Livy, decided to follow his lead (in his own writing). Clearly Asconius adopted the spellings influenced by the *auctoritas* of a revered author. He no doubt used them as orthographic archaisms, as probably did Livy himself. The *e*-spelling for original *ei* was discussed in detail in the previous chapter (II.6). The phoneme that it represented might have had provincial associations in the late Republic (see above, 4.3 on the *e plenissimum* of *messores* mentioned by Cicero, *De orat.* 3.46), but the spelling was scattered widely and was definitely not specifically Paduan. It also occurred at Rome (see II.6.2) in (e.g.) one of the Scipionic *elogia* and in various official Roman texts such as the *S. C. de Bacchanalibus*, where Livy would have seen it. One cannot be certain what Livy's motives were in writing *sibe* and *quase* (if indeed he did: note Quintilian's uncertainty about the status of such spellings in manuscripts), but it is likely that any such forms in his work were orthographically inspired rather than a reflection of the way he spoke. According to Quintilian such spellings were found in the manuscripts of many writers. He has no sense that they are regionalisms.

Whatmough's efforts to demonstrate from local inscriptions that a regionalism was at issue are not convincing. He did not look for comparable forms elsewhere than in the north of Italy. He did not take account of chronology and allow that a spelling such as *sibe* might have had

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[90] See Colson (1924: 99) on Quint. 1.7.24 for the evidence, which is decidedly weak. The fact that Asconius speaks in one place of *Liuius noster* does not suggest at all that 'he was a native of Padua'. Cicero at *Fin.* 1.7 (see above, 4.3, p. 142) refers to *noster Lucilius*, but Cicero was not a native of Suessa Aurunca.

[91] Cf. Horsfall (1997: 72), stating that (the passage about *sibe* and *quase*) 'has in all probability some bearing on the question' (of *Patauinitas*).

[92] Flobert (1981: 200) also expresses scepticism about the relevance of these spellings.

[93] See Colson (1924) ad loc.

different motivations at different times. Finally, he did not distinguish clearly enough between writing and speech.

Whatmough (1933: 100) says that *sibe* occurs at Padua, as indeed it does (*CIL* V.2960). This case may be used as an illustration of how unsatisfactory it may be to argue directly from spelling to speech, as if every misspelling had a straightforward phonetic motivation. A form such as *sibe* (or *quase*) could have a number of determinants. Originally the word had a diphthong in the second syllable. *Sibei* developed to *sibi* (with long *i* in the second syllable). Then the final vowel was shortened by iambic shortening, though re-lengthening was always an option for poets as a metrical convenience. The second syllable was already scanned as short in early drama.[94] The form with *e* could represent the variant treatment (long close *e* instead of long *i*) which is well attested for *ei* (see above); or it could stand for a short *e* following iambic shortening of the long close *e*. Another possibility, already hinted at above, is that by the Augustan period the spelling might have been used as an item of archaic orthography by some who pronounced the word in the normal way with a short *i* in the second syllable but were familiar with spellings in early inscriptions (on this point see above, n. 69).

Where imperial inscriptions are concerned another factor must be taken into account. CL long *e* and short *i* fell together in most parts of the Romance world as a close *e*, and possible signs of that VL merger show up in inscriptions and writing tablets from all over the Empire in the replacement of original short *i* with *e* (of the type *menus* for *minus*) (see above, 4.3, p. 138). Whatmough's inscriptional example of *sibe* from Padua need not necessarily be explained from the sporadic early republican representations of original *ei* by *e* (referred to in the previous paragraph). It may alternatively reflect the development of the short final *i* (which resulted from iambic shortening) in *sibi* to close *e* when the VL vowel merger just mentioned took place. Comparable misspellings in this type of word are common all over the place in the imperial period.[95] The inscription cited by Whatmough (*CIL* V.2960) runs (in part) as follows: *C. Gauio C. l. Iucundo contubernal. suo et sibe Octauia Methe* . . . The honorand is a freedman, and the female dedicator has a Greek cognomen. She was one of those many Greek freedwomen during the Empire who retained their original Greek names as cognomina alongside the Latin nomina acquired on manumission. It is not plausible to suggest that such an inscription might contain a Paduan regionalism. The

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[94] See Leumann (1977: 62).
[95] See e.g. Adams (1977a: 8) for Egyptian examples (in Claudius Terentianus), Dessau *ILS* III.2.814 (inscriptional examples of *tibe* and *ube*). Note too *ube* at *Tab. Vind.* III.642 and in a Pompeian legal document in the name of Diognetus (see Adams 1990a: 231 n. 7).

writer or engraver of the inscription misspelt the word exactly as it might have been misspelt by a scribe in Egypt or Britain in the early centuries of the Empire. Perhaps the vowel system was already undergoing a change across the Empire and original short *i* was now heard as a close *e*. Alternatively some writers, as suggested above, in the Empire might have been familiar with old spellings such as *sibe* and *ube*. In adopting them they would have been aspiring to 'correctness' rather than spelling phonetically. I incline to this second explanation.

I conclude that the anecdote about Asconius cannot be related to the charge of *Patauinitas*, and that the attempt to find Paduan parallels for *sibe* and *quase* in inscriptions is misguided.[96] Leaving aside the fact that *sibe* and *quase*, however they are viewed, were not Paduan regionalisms and were not so presented by either Asconius or Quintilian, it is unlikely that Asinius would have had in mind anything so specific as spelling. Disparaging charges of linguistic provincialism at this period are vague and have to do with accent (pronunciation) or the lexicon. Nor can I agree with Syme (1939: 485–6) that Asinius would not have made the charge against Livy that he had a provincial accent, given that he was himself a provincial. A similar argument is advanced by Flobert (1981: 199).[97] Charges of this sort, weak though they might seem to us, were commonplace, and typically made by provincials against other provincials (thus Plautus, Lucilius and Cicero). Natives of Cisalpine Gaul attracted such remarks, as we saw in the cases of Tinga (4.3, pp. 134–5) and the 'words not current at Rome' (4.3, p. 133).

Any suggestion that *Patauinitas* had a non-linguistic meaning (as for example that it referred to some moral characteristic of the Paduans) is also unconvincing.[98] *Patauinitas* was coined on the analogy of *Latinitas* 'correct Latin', and it cannot but imply deviation from correctness. It occurs in linguistic contexts in Quintilian.

An interesting recent discussion of the problem of *Patauinitas* is to be found in Flobert (1981). He notes (199–200) that it was typically orators who were disparaged for their accents, adding (200): 'Pour donner un peu de crédit à une imputation phonétique, il faudrait attribuer à Tite-Live une activité oratoire.' But there is no such oratorical activity recorded for Livy (and therefore he could not have been disparaged for his accent). But

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[96] Whatmough's later note (1943) does not contribute to the problem of *Patauinitas*.

[97] 'Pollion a-t-il pu exécuter ainsi Tite-Live à cause de sa prononciation padouane? Ce serait une critique bien mesquine et de peu de conséquence; d'ailleurs qui, à Rome, n'avait pas un accent local?'

[98] See e.g. Ridley (1990).

Flobert's point is not convincing. Tinga had a contest of wit (an informal exchange of some sort) with the auctioneer Granius; oratory is not at issue in this story. There is no suggestion that the 'words not current at Rome' in Cisalpine Gaul will be heard in oratory. Cicero (*Brut*. 171; see above, 4.3, p. 133) says that 'not only orators' at Rome but 'everyone else' spoke with a certain accent. Informal speech comes into the discussion of regionalisms in the early period.

Flobert tries to link Quintilian's charge of *macrologia* against Livy (Quint. 8.3.53, citing the expression *retro domum, unde uenerant, abierunt*) to the anecdote about Livy's *Patauinitas*, suggesting an absence of 'chic romain' (see 193), but any such connection is far from certain. It is true that there need be no substance to a charge of linguistic provincialism, and that there is no reason why a long-winded person should not be described as 'typically Paduan'. Latte (1940: 59–60), as Flobert points out, shows that a 'fault' could be attributed in abusive utterances to an area or person from that area even if it were a feature of all varieties of the language. But there is no positive evidence to suggest that *macrologia* was what Pollio was getting at. We just happen to have Quintilian's remark about Livy's *macrologia*, made in another context.

Pollio probably made a vague charge of provincialism against Livy without going into detail, and Quintilian was not sure exactly what was meant.

6 VARRO

Varro was not given to polemic when noting regional usages, and his material is more interesting than that of Cicero. His own *patria* is traditionally thought (on the evidence of Symmachus, *Epist*. 1.2.21) to have been Reate in the Sabine territory, 45 miles north-east of Rome. He often referred to the place, and knew about the Sabine language and local customs.

Much of the evidence Varro provides has to do with named places, and this will be set out below region by region. I begin, however, with some observations he makes about rustic usages not pinned down to particular localities. Several of them are attributed to characters in Atellan farce.

6.1   Varro, 'rustics' and Atellan farce

The fabula Atellana, originally a form of popular drama in Oscan associated by tradition with the Oscan town of Atella (south of Rome in Campania, between Capua and Naples), was being presented in Latin guise by the later Republic, and Latin fragments, either anonymous or bearing the names of

Pomponius and Novius, throw some light on the mixed linguistic character of the genre. There were 'Oscan characters' in the Latin versions (*Oscae personae*, in the words of Diomedes *GL* I.490.20), and Varro gives us information about one of their linguistic usages (*Ling.* 7.29): they called the stock character Pappus, an old man, *Casnar* in several plays (using an Oscan word).[99] No deductions could be made from this item about the Latin of native speakers of Oscan at this time, as the usage was probably confined (in Latin) to stage performances. But there are three items in Varro relating to farce that are pertinent to the present subject. Twice he tells us about the linguistic practices of a group of characters in the plays, so-called 'rustics', and in a third passage attributes a usage of rustics to a farce. The exact identity of the rustic characters is uncertain (but see further below), but it is obvious (from one of the *testimonia* in particular) that they were Latin-speaking, and that they were recognisable on linguistic grounds as outsiders to Rome: I take it that in the use of the word *rustici* there is an implied contrast with *urbani*.

Such rustics, according to Varro (*Ling.* 7.96), were given a dialectal monophthong in pronouncing an alternative name of the character Pappus/Casnar:

in pluribus uerbis A ante E alii ponunt, alii non . . . ac rustici Pappum Mesium, non Maesium.

In many words some place A before the E, whereas others do not . . . and rustics call Pappus *Mesius* not *Maesius* (see Ribbeck 1873, *inc. nom. rel.* VIII).

It appears that the rustics used a monophthong that was distinctive of unspecified rural areas (see above, II.11 on the distribution of *e* for original *ai* in Italy).[100] However, the monophthongisation of *ai* to *e* was not a

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[99] The word *casnar*, which occurs in a Paelignian inscription (Vetter 1953, 214, Rix 2002: 73, Pg 10), meant the same as Lat. *senex*. The passage of Varro is difficult to interpret, and I draw here on my article Adams (2004) without going into the problems.

[100] It is only fair to stress the problems raised by this passage. The contrast *Mesium/Maesium* is achieved only by emendation. **maís** was an Oscan personal name (see e.g. Rix 2002: 141), and *Maesius* [*sic*; with Latinisation of spelling], according to Paul. Fest. p. 121.4 Lindsay, an Oscan word for the month of May (*Maesius lingua Osca mensis Maius*). But what is the word *M(a)esius* in Varro? Rowell (1952: 278) asserts that '*maesius*, a well-attested Oscan word which was used in regard to age in the sense of Latin *maior*, . . . must have been applied by farmers, probably from the Sabine country, . . . to the "old man" of the farces, with the pronunciation *mesius*' (see also Petersmann 1989: 150). But the clause which follows *maesius* in this remark contains misinformation (see Untermann 2000: 443 s.v. *mais* = 'more' [= Lat. *plus*] on the uncertain relationship of **maís** and *Maesius* to *mais*). Krömer moreover (*TLL* X.1.257.14f.) implies uncertainty whether the word in Varro is in fact a personal name, and Rowell himself oscillates between a lower-case and capital *m*. It is, however, possible that a name of Oscan origin was put into the mouths of certain characters of provincial background in farce, and very likely that it had a (Latin) regional monophthong in the first syllable. See further Poccetti (1997: 781–3).

feature of Oscan itself (see II.21, p. 110).[101] Whoever the rustics were, they would not seem to have been presented as straightforwardly Oscan. Alternatively it is possible that in the Latin of areas originally Oscan-speaking monophthongisation of *ai* had occurred independently of the treatment of the original diphthong in the substrate (on which point see further below).

Second, *rustici* in farce are said to have used *pellicula* 'piece of skin' in the sense of *scortum* (*Ling.* 7.84):

in Atellanis licet animaduertere rusticos dicere se adduxisse pro scorto pelliculam.

In Atellan farces you may observe that rustics say they have brought home a *pellicula* instead of a *scortum* (Ribbeck 1873, *inc. nom. rel.* IX).

This fragment establishes that the rustics were using Latin. *Pellicula* seems to be reflected with this meaning in Spanish (*pelleja*),[102] and that is evidence, if not for the location of Varro's rustics (who were Italians), at least for the plausibility of the observation about the semantic development of the word in a non-Roman setting.[103]

The third passage is of particular interest. A distinction is made between rustic and urban usage at *Ling.* 6.67–8:

fremere, gemere, clamare, crepare ab similitudine uocis sonitus dicta; . . . (68) uicina horum quiritare, iubilare. quiritare dicitur is qui Quiritum fidem clamans inplorat. Quirites a Curensibus; ab his cum Tatio rege in societatem uenerunt ciuitatis. ut quiritare urbanorum, sic iubilare rusticorum: itaque hos imitans Aprissius ait: io Bucco! – quis me iubilat? – uicinus tuus antiquus.

fremere 'to roar,' *gemere* 'to groan,' *clamare* 'to shout,' *crepare* 'to rattle' are said from the likeness of the sound of the word to that which it denotes . . . Close to these are *quiritare* 'to shriek,' *iubilare* 'to call [joyfully][104].' He is said *quiritare*, who shouts and implores the protection of the *Quirites*. The *Quirites* were named from the *Curenses* 'men of Cures'; from that place they came with King Tatius to receive a share in the Roman state. As *quiritare* is a word of city people, so *iubilare* is a word of the countrymen; thus in imitation of them Aprissius says: 'Oho, Fat-Face! – Who is calling me? – Your neighbour of long standing' (Kent, Loeb).

Varro's etymology of *quirito* (< *Quirites*) is not universally accepted,[105] but the verb was certainly current at Rome. The *OLD* defines the meaning as to 'cry out in protest at some illegal action, etc., make a public outcry', and illustrates it from literary texts. Similarly the verbal noun *quiritatio*

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[101] See Buck (1904: 43–4).
[102] See *REW* 6376, *FEW* VIII.164, Corominas and Pascual (1980–91: IV, 537 with n. 1).
[103] On *pellicula* see also Adams (1983: 323).   [104] The adverb is not appropriate. See further below.
[105] But see *OLD* s.v., Walde and Hofmann (1938–54: II, 409). Ernout and Meillet (1959) s.v. and Bloch and von Wartburg (1968: 169) s.v. *crier* see the verb as onomatopoeic. Kent (1958: I, 234 n.) says that it is a frequentative of *queror*.

means '[t]he action of crying out in protest publicly' (Livy 33.28.3). I am not concerned with *quiritare*, though it was to be reflected in Romance languages in the sense 'shout'.[106]

Iubilo, 'let out whoops; . . . to invoke with shouts'(*OLD*), is the relevant word here. It is described by Varro as typical of *rustici* rather than of *urbani*. Festus similarly (p. 92.23 Lindsay) defines the verb as *rustica uoce inclamare*. It has a restricted distribution and use in the earlier period that bear out Varro's comment. Nothing is known about Aprissius, but he was a writer of the Atellana.[107] Bucco, who is addressed in the fragment, was one of the Oscan characters of Atellan farce, along with Maccus, Dossennus and Pappus (see above).[108] He replies to the address by saying 'who is shouting to/calling me?' (*quis me iubilat?*). The choice of verb represents linguistic characterisation, in that the verb had a rustic flavour. Since it is an Oscan character who uses a term classified as rustic, it becomes distinctly possible that the rustics of farce were indeed the so-called Oscan characters, in which case the tentative explanation of the monophthong in *Mesius* suggested above would be correct: it might be seen as a Latin dialectal feature having nothing to do with substrate influence. It should not be assumed that the Latin spoken in Oscan areas in the Republic was completely dominated by Oscan.

Unlike *quiritare*, *iubilo* does not turn up in literary language except in special contexts. Two interesting passages are Augustine *In Psalm.* 99.4, *CC* 39, 1394 (*maxime iubilant qui aliquid in agris operantur*, 'those people particularly "whoop" who are engaged on some job in the fields') and Aurelius ap. Fronto p. 62.17 van den Hout (*uuis metendis operam dedimus et consudauimus et iubilauimus*, 'we devoted ourselves to grape-gathering, and worked up a sweat and uttered shouts'), where the word is used of the cries of those working in the fields or vineyards. Also of note is the noun *iubilum*, which Aurelius ap. Fronto p. 61.22 uses of the cries of a hunter or vintager (who disturbs his attempts at writing): *uenatoris plane aut uindemiatoris studiolum, qui iubilis suis cubiculum meum perstrepunt* ('the literary effort, you might say, of the [types of] hunter or vintager who fill my bedroom with their whoops'). An example of the noun at Silius Italicus 14.475 is 'applied to rustic singing' (*OLD* s.v.), and another instance, at Calp. *Ecl.* 1.30, is qualified by the adjective *montana*.[109] It is

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[106] See Bloch and von Wartburg (1968: 169), *REW* 6967.
[107] See Ribbeck (1873: 273).   [108] See also Blänsdorf (1997: 152–3).
[109] On which see Sedgwick (1947: 48): 'The purpose of both *iubila* and yodelling was obviously to carry the voice long distances over mountains . . . , and appears to have been used to call the cattle in' (citing also Calp. 7.3). Sedgwick's whole note is useful.

obvious that both words were associated with the countryside, and that Varro's characterisation of the verb must be right.

In Christian texts *iubilare* became common in the sense 'shout for joy' (*TLL* VII.2.587.70ff.), in which meaning it had been contaminated with *iubeleus* (see *TLL* 587.32–4).

In the Romance languages the word is reflected in Sardinian dialects in its early rustic sense 'shout, call (to)' (also 'rebuke, reprimand'),[110] and has entered the Romance scholarly literature as being an archaic item in Sardo-Romance.[111] Sardinia was occupied by the Romans in the third century BC, and is thought to preserve usages that were current in Latin at that time. The problem of Sardinian archaisms will come up later (VI.2.12). There are other reflexes in Romance (Rheto-Romance, Old French, and Jewish Spanish and Catalan: see *REW* 4597, *TLL* VII.2.587.52–6),[112] but these seem to carry on the later Christian meaning or variants thereon.[113] In Old French, for example, *jubler* means 'se livrer à des transports de joie', and *jubiler* 'chanter avec jubilation'.[114] It is not unlikely that the rustic use of *iubilare* = 'shout' found its way to Sardinia in the Republic.

There were at least two types of drama in the Republic (palliata, as represented by the passages of Plautus discussed above, 3, and Atellana) which brought on stage at Rome characters whose speech marked them out as non-Roman. The evidence of these *testimonia* is mainly lexical, but not entirely: cf. Varro's comment on *Mesius*. I turn now to some remarks about rustic usage that have nothing to do with farce.

Triones was used in astronomy of the constellations Great and Little Bear (see *OLD* s.v.), but Varro also preserves a use of the word that he attributes to *bubulci*. The usage is a technical term of a professional group, but since that group operated in the countryside it can be treated as a regionalism of a special type (*Ling.* 7.74):

triones enim et boues appellantur a bubulcis etiam nunc, maxime cum arant terram.

for indeed oxen are called *triones* by the ploughmen even now, especially when they are ploughing the land (Kent, Loeb).

The sense of the word is thus 'oxen, particularly as used for ploughing', and Varro goes on to derive the term from *terra* via *terriones*, which meant,

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[110] See Wagner (1960–4: I, 710) s.v. *yubilare*, noting this point. It is even possible that the example in Aprissius is close to the sense 'rebuke', since that is one of the senses of *inclamare* (*OLD* s.v. 3), which is used to gloss the verb in the epitome of Festus (p. 92.23 Lindsay); the address in the play is clearly offensive.

[111] See Jones (1988: 346).   [112] See too Müller (2001: 221 n. 4).

[113] See the remarks of Blondheim (1923: 359–60), particularly on Jewish varieties of Romance.

[114] See *FEW* V.52–3.

we are told, 'those who ploughed the land'. The word is usually associated with *tero*.[115] The first example attested, at Naevius *Trag.* 62, brings out the rustic flavour of the term: *trionum hic [est] moderator rusticus* ('here (is?) a peasant driver of ploughing oxen'). For another possible regional term in Naevius, see below, 6.8 on *lepista*. Gellius (2.21.8) gives one additional piece of information. He says that he agrees with Varro and L. Aelius (Stilo) about the derivation of the word (which he calls 'rustic') from *terriones*.[116] Stilo and Varro had the same linguistic interests.

These are not the only discussions of general rustic usages in Varro. Others have been dealt with already. On *ueha* for *uia* (*Rust.* 1.2.14) see II.9, III.4.3, p. 137 with n. 64, and on *uella* (*Rust.* 1.2.14) and *speca* (*Rust.* 1.48.2) see above III.4.3, p. 138 with n. 66.

I turn now to Varro's more explicit metalinguistic comments.

6.2   Formiae and Fundi (Latium)

In a fragment recorded by Charisius Varro said that the people of Formiae and Fundi, both towns of Latium (Adiectum) linked by the Via Appia, used *quando* for *cum* (Charis. p. 143.4–9 Barwick):

quando particulam pro cum ponere Formianos et Fundanos ait [ut] Varro aliique multi faciunt, nec sine exemplo. nam Plautus in Menaechmis [547] ita ait, 'non habeo. at tu quando habebis, tum dato.' uitium tamen esse non dubium est.

Varro says that the people of Formiae and Fundi use the particle *quando* for *cum*, and many others do so, and the usage is not without example. For instance, Plautus in the *Menaechmi* says: 'I do not have it. :: When you do have it give it to me.' Nevertheless there is no doubt that it is a fault.[117]

The example quoted from Plautus shows that it was the temporal relative use that was referred to. This use of *quando* ('at which time, when') is attested in republican Latin (see *OLD* s.v. 2), but is largely excluded from educated prose of the late Republic;[118] note that Charisius calls it a *uitium*. It was eventually (unlike *cum*) to survive in the Romance languages (e.g. Italian *quando*, French *quand*), and so at some later point must have established itself in everyday speech. Varro does not have this usage himself (the construction and meaning are unclear at *Men.* 231), and there are no examples in Caesar or the Caesarian corpus or Sallust, and few in Cicero (see further

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[115] See *OLD* s.v., and also the bibliography at Müller (2001: 48 n. 39).

[116] See Müller (2001: 48).

[117] This is fragment 101 of Goetz and Schoell (1910). The fragment as they print it runs from *quando* to *Varro*.

[118] See Hofmann and Szantyr (1965: 607) on the colloquial character of the temporal use.

below). I am concerned here only with the temporal relative use; as an interrogative, indefinite or causal conjunction the word is common in classical Latin. Several cases of this temporal *quando* in Cicero are in distinctive contexts. The sole example in the speeches (*Leg. agr.* 2.41 *auctoritatem senatus exstare hereditatis aditae sentio tum, quando Alexa mortuo legatos Tyrum misimus*, 'I know that there exists a decree of the senate saying that the inheritance was entered upon when, after the death of Alexas, we sent legates to Tyre') is in an allusion to a senatorial decree. An example in Livy is even more explicitly taken from a decree (25.12.12 *censuere patres . . . quando ludi facti essent . . . duas hostias maiores dandas*, 'the fathers decreed that . . . when the games had been held . . . two full-grown victims should be offered'). At Cic. *Off.* 2.75 (*'utinam' inquit C. Pontius Samnis 'ad illa tempora me fortuna reseruauisset et tum essem natus, quando Romani dona accipere coepissent'*, 'C. Pontius the Samnite said: "if only fortune had withheld me for those days, and I had been born at the time when Romans had begun to receive bribes"') it is in an utterance put into the mouth of 'the Samnite C. Pontius'. This is either the victor of the Caudine Forks (321 BC) or his father of the same name.[119] These are all archaising contexts,[120] and it seems likely that temporal *quando* was associated by educated Romans of the time with an earlier period; it is found in a fragment (11 (12) Morel) of Livius Andronicus' translation of the *Odyssey*, and continued in poetic use. Given this old-fashioned flavour, it might have struck Varro as worthy of mention that he had heard the usage in the mouths of ordinary speakers in some towns of Latium.

Confirmation of the currency at a low social level of *quando* 'when' outside Rome in the later Republic has now come from an unexpected source. A terracotta tile from Samnium (Pietrabbondante) found in the 1970s has a pair of bilingual inscriptions, one in Oscan, the other in Latin, dated to about 100 BC, written almost certainly by slaves (La Regina 1976: 286–7, Poccetti 1979, 21, Rix 2002: 86, Sa 35):[121]

(a) **hn. sattiieís. detfri seganatted. plavtad**
(= *H(erenni) Sattii Detfri / signauit planta*)
(b) Herenneis. Amica signauit. qando ponebamus. tegila.

[119] See Dyck (1996: 467).
[120] Note Hofmann and Szantyr (1965: 607) 'in altertümeldner Diktion wie off. 2, 75'. An example in Cicero's letters cited by the *OLD* s.v. 2 as temporal is not straightforwardly such: *Att.* 6.4.2 *tu quando Romam saluus (ut spero) uenisti, uidebis, ut soles* . . . ('Now that you are safely back, I hope, in Rome, would you please attend in your usual way to . . .', Shackleton Bailey). This is close to the causal use.
[121] See also Prosdocimi (2000: 113–14), Adams (2003a: 124).

Notable here is the substandard spelling of *quando* (which perhaps suggests [k] for original [kʷ] in anticipation of its Romance outcomes), and the fact that the writer of the Latin inscription used an Oscan inflection in the first name.[122] The text is the work not of a member of the educated class but of an Oscan speaker who had also learnt Latin.

There is another Italian, as distinct from Roman, example of the temporal meaning in an inscription from Falerii Novi dating from some time in the second century BC (see above, II.18).

It now becomes likely that Varro's observation was correct. In the last century BC there was a distinction between Rome and certain nearby regions in the employment of *quando*. At Rome the temporal use of the word was archaising and poetic, whereas in parts of Latium, the Faliscan territory and Samnium it was alive at mundane social levels. We do not know what was happening at these same social levels in Rome itself.

Claudius Terentianus (*P. Mich.* VIII.471.27) has the usage in a letter: *illa die qu[a]ndo tam magna lites factam est.* There is no instance of temporal *cum* in his letters. This example may be seen as a hint of the currency that the usage later achieved in imperial colloquial Latin in anticipation of its survival in Romance.

6.3   Latium again

Latium comes up also at *Ling.* 5.21, but the text is uncertain. I print first the text and translation of Kent (1958):

hinc fines agrorum termini, quod eae partes propter limitare iter maxime teruntur; itaque hoc cum I in Latio aliquot locis dicitur, ut apud Accium, non terminus, sed ter<i>men.

From this the boundaries of the fields are called *termini*, because those parts *teruntur* 'are trodden' most, on account of the boundary-lane. Therefore this word is pronounced with I in some places in Latium, not *terminus*, but *terimen*, and this form is found in Accius.

The *i* of *terimen* has been added by the editor, and that is not the only change that this text incorporates: *I* is an emendation for *is*. Various solutions have been adopted. The text of Spengel and Spengel (1885) from *itaque* is as follows: *itaque hoc cum I in Latio aliquot locis dicitur, ut apud Accium non terminus sed Termen.* A note in the apparatus reads (rather obscurely) '*intelligo dictum esse* teriminus *pro* terminus'. Goetz and Schoell (1910)

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[122] See e.g. Adams (2003a: 124).

mark a lacuna after the transmitted *is*: *itaque hoc cum is . . . (in Latio aliquot locis dicitur, ut apud Accium, non terminus, sed termen . . .)*. The text of Collart (1954a) is different again: *itaque hoc cum IS in Latio aliquot locis dicitur, ut apud Accium, non terminus, sed termen*. Collart translates: 'A cet égard, on emploie le mot avec la désinence -IS dans quelques coins de Latium; il s'agit alors, comme chez Accius (6), non pas de *terminus* mais de *termen*.' This is the reading of the manuscript F. In his commentary (p. 160) Collart explains -IS as the genitive singular ending, used to suggest *termen*.

The form *terimen* has not found favour with scholars, and with good reason, given that it has no manuscript support and depends as well on a second emendation to the text (of *is* to *I*). It is not registered in the *OLD*, in Perrot's extensive discussion (1961) of words with the suffix -*men*, or in Leumann (1977; see 371).[123] *Termen* (unlike *terimen*) is well attested (see below),[124] and it seems preferable to preserve the opposition *non terminus sed termen* in the final clause, whatever one does with *cum is*; on the possible relationship between *terminus* and *termen*, see the note of the *OLD* on the former: 'cf. TERMEN; perh. formed from its pl. *termina* on anal. of *loca*: *locus*.' Apart from the example of *termen* in Accius to which Varro refers (= Ribbeck 1873: 226, *ex incertis fabulis* XXXVII; Ribbeck accepts *terimen*),[125] the form occurs in the early period in the *Sententia Minuciorum* (*CIL* I².584 = *ILS* 5946 = *ILLRP* 517) of the late second century BC. This text concerns a controversy between the *Genuates* and *Langenses Viturii* in northern Italy (Liguria), and was set up near Genua. There are twenty-four examples of *terminus* in the text, most of them in the singular in the formula *ibi terminus stat*. There is an example of the plural *terminos* in the preamble (as distinct from the decision proper). When the formula *ibi terminus stat* is converted into the plural, it becomes (once)[126] *ibi termina duo stant*. There is just one other case of the plural *termini*, in the expression *ex eis terminis*, which follows *ibi termina duo stant*. There is some evidence here that *terminus* (sing.) and *termina* (plur.) complemented each other, but *termini* was clearly in rivalry with *termina* in the plural. There is another provincial example of *termina* on a lead tablet from Gaul (Le Mas-Marcou, Le Monastère, Aveyron) containing writing partly in Gaulish

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[123] An Oscan cognate **teremenniú** (CA A.15, B.31), a nominative/accusative neuter plural, does have anaptyxis between *r* and *m* (see Perrot 1961: 22–3, Untermann 2000: 745–6), but one should not suggest Oscan influence in Latium without good reason.

[124] On *termen* in late Latin see the remarks of B. Löfstedt (1961: 88 n. 2).

[125] The term is not found in later (literary) poetry, perhaps because it was felt to be a provincialism (see Lennartz 2003: 117). There is an example in a Spanish epigraphic poem (*termine*, *CE* 1553.2).

[126] Not twice, as Leumann (1977: 371) says.

and partly in Latin.[127] The Latin part has the expression *denuntio tibi ne accedas termina mea*.

Termini was the regular plural in classical Latin (e.g. Cic. *Quinct.* 35, *Cat.* 4.21, *Sest.* 67, *Balb.* 39, *Mil.* 74, etc.), and *termina* might possibly on the (limited) evidence available have been domiciled outside the city (cf. Perrot 1961: 121 '[à] la vie rurale se relient encore *termen . . .*'). Whatever text is to be adopted of the passage of Varro, he made a comment about usage in parts of Latium.

This is a suitable place to mention an inscription from Noricum (Freisach) which has the form *termunibus*: *CIL* III.5036 *Termunibus Auc(ustis) sacr(um). Q. Calpurnius Phoebianus c(onductor) f(errariarum) N(oricarum) et Quintus Calpurnius Phoebianus iunior et Charitonianus fili restituerunt curante C. Iul(io) Hermete proc(uratore)*. This is taken by the *OLD* to be a form of *termen*, the meaning of which word is said to be either 'boundary stone' or 'the deity presiding over it'. In the inscription the latter meaning would be appropriate. One would have to assume a bizarre misspelling *u* for short *i*, which would not be easy to explain. Untermann (2000: 746) offers another explanation. He suggests the possibility that *termunibus* is identical with Venetic **termon** (Pa 14; cf. Vi 2 **termonios**), possibly a divine name. In final syllable long *o* passed to long *u* in Gaulish (thus *termun and thence *termunibus* [?]).[128] The word may have found its way into Gaulish and thence into local varieties of Latin. But there are many uncertainties, and it is unsafe to argue that the inscription has a regionalism, as distinct from a strange misspelling of *terminibus*.

At *Ling.* 5.97 Varro makes a contrast between Rome and rural Latium: *quod illic fedus, in Latio rure hedus, qui in urbe ut in multis A addito haedus*. This passage, about the monophthongisation of *ae* (see II.11) recalls 7.96 (on *Mesius*), discussed at 6.1 above.

6.4   Tusculum (Latium) and Falerii

Varro at *Ling.* 6.14 gives information about the names of certain days of the month as used at the town of Tusculum in Latium:

Quinquatrus: hic dies unus ab nominis errore obseruatur proinde ut sint quinque; dictus, ut ab Tusculanis post diem sextum Idus similiter uocatur Sexatrus et post diem septimum Septimatrus, sic hic, quod erat post diem quintum Idus, Quinquatrus.

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[127] For the text and discussion see Lambert (2002: 266–9, L-99).
[128] See Lambert (1995: 41).

The *Quinquatrus*: this day, though a single day, is observed from a misunderstanding of the name as if it were a period of five days. Just as in the same way the sixth day after the Ides is called the *Sexatrus* by the people of Tusculum and the seventh day after the Ides the *Septimatrus*, so here the term *Quinquatrus* was used because it was the fifth day after the Ides.

At Rome *Quinquatrus* was applied to the five-day period (19–23 March) of the festival of Minerva.[129] Originally, Varro says, the word was used of the fifth day after the Ides (which in March would be the 15th). He is able to cite the parallel terms *Sexatrus* and *Septimatrus* from Tusculum. In the period covered by the *OLD* these latter two words are attested only here and in a lexicographical note in Festus, and they were obviously not in use at Rome.

Varro's remark is supplemented by an item in Festus (p. 306.2–6 Lindsay). He too refers to practice at Tusculum, and adds that *Triatrus* also was in use there. *Triatrus* is cited only from this passage by the *OLD*. Festus then goes beyond Tusculum and reports that *Decimatrus* was used by the Faliscans (i.e. at Falerii). There was a whole set of such words living on in provincial towns but not current at Rome. The passage of Festus overlaps with that of Varro but is independent of it, giving more extensive information. It runs:

forma autem uocabuli eius exemplo multorum populorum Italicorum enuntiata est, quod post diem quintum iduum est is dies festus, ut aput Tusculanos Triatrus, et Sexatrus, et Septematrus, et Faliscos Decimatrus.

The form of that word [i.e. *Quinquatrus*] has been revealed by the practice of many Italian peoples, namely that that festal day is five days after the Ides, just as among the Tusculans *Triatrus*, *Sexatrus* and *Septematrus* are in use, and (among) the Faliscans, *Decimatrus*.

Of note here is the allusion to the practice of 'many' *populi Italici*. Varro and Festus have not necessarily revealed the full distribution of these various words in provincial Italy. The scholarly motives of Festus' source (Verrius Flaccus) are here apparent. He was not so much looking for provincial curiosities as setting out to explain an odd Roman term, drawing analogies from local towns. *Decimatrus* is cited only from this text by the *TLL* and *OLD*. The use of *Italici* in the context of regional Italian usage recalls Quintilian's *Italica (uerba)* (1.5.56: see IV.1.2.4).

The distinction between Roman and provincial Italian usage in this case arises because an old meaning of one word and the use of certain other words

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[129] See the note of Flobert (1985: 84).

were lost at Rome but preserved in the provinces (for this phenomenon see XI.4.3 and also the next section).

6.5   *Lanuvium, the rest of Latium, Falerii and Corduba*

Cenaculum (mainly plural) usually refers to the upper stages of a house. In various places known to Varro the etymological sense 'dining room' was maintained in the singular (*Ling.* 5.162):

ubi cenabant cenaculum uocitabant, ut etiam nunc Lanuui apud aedem Iunonis et in cetero Latio ac Faleri<i>s et Cordubae dicuntur.

They used to call the place where they dined *cenaculum*, as even now these places are called at Lanuvium in the temple of Juno and in the rest of Latium and at Falerii and at Corduba.[130]

The passage shows Varro's interest in regional usages. The information about Corduba can be compared with Cicero's assertion about the accent of the poets there (see above, 4.3). There is a perception that usage in the city had changed (cf. too Porph. on Hor. *Ars* 52), and that the older state of affairs was preserved in pockets outside Rome. The history of *quando* (6.2) and of *Quinquatrus* (6.4) runs parallel to that of *cenaculum* (practice in Rome had changed). See also above, II.19 on a use of *natio* in a Praenestine inscription.

   The persistence of the etymological sense in the provinces (if not precisely in the places mentioned by Varro) seems to be confirmed by Old Picard *chenaille* 'salle à manger' (*FEW* II.1.577, AD 1295), though we cannot be certain that this meaning reflects continuity from a much earlier period.[131] The word might have been reassigned its etymological meaning at a fairly late date. For the normal Latin meaning cf. Old French *ceignail* 'grenier, attic' (*FEW* loc. cit., thirteenth century). The word survives only in the north of France (*REW* 1807).

6.6   *Reate*

At *Rust.* 1.14 Varro describes the types of enclosures constructed for the protection of farms. One type is a mound (*agger*) with trench (1.14.3), another a mound without a trench. In the region of Reate the latter mounds are called locally 'walls' (1.14.3):

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[130] See e.g. Collart (1954a: 248), *OLD* s.v. 1, Müller (2001: 266).
[131] Nevertheless it has been argued that the extreme northern part of France preserves old Latin usages (see Schmitt 1974a: 250, 1974b: 44, 51–2, and below, V.1. n. 2).

ad viam salariam in agro Crustumino uidere licet locis aliquot coniunctos aggeres cum fossis, ne flumen agris noceat. aggeres faciunt sine fossa: eos quidam uocant muros, ut in agro Reatino.

At several places on the Via Salaria in the region of Crustumerium one may see mounds combined with ditches to stop the river from harming the fields. Mounds they (also) make without a ditch. These some people call 'walls', as in the district of Reate.

The passage is quoted by the *TLL* at VIII.1687.36ff. with the rubric 'de aggeribus'. Tacitus *Ann.* 2.20.2 (*quis impugnandus agger, ut si murum suc-cederent, grauibus superne ictibus conflictabantur*, 'those who had to assault the mound were struck by heavy blows from above, as if they were scaling a wall'), quoted at the same place, is not the same, as the mound is merely compared to a wall. This is a case of a mundane word given a special meaning in a locality. The implication is that the usage was not confined to Reate, but it is interesting that that is the place which Varro chose to name. In the next chapter (IV.1.3.1) we will see another localised substitute for *agger* (*arula* 'little altar'), in use in Campania.

   Varro *Rust.* 3.1.6 records a word *tebae*, indicating a long hill, from the Sabine territory near Reate:

nam lingua prisca et in Graecia Aeolis Boeoti sine afflatu uocant collis tebas, et in Sabinis, quo e Graecia uenerunt Pelasgi, etiam nunc ita dicunt, cuius uestigium in agro Sabino via salaria non longe a Reate miliarius cliuus cum appellatur tebae.

For the old language, and the Aeolians of Boeotia in Greece as well, call hills *tebae*, without the aspirate;[132] and among the Sabines, whither the Pelasgians came from Greece, even now they use the same word; there is a trace of it in the Sabine territory on the Via Salaria, not far from Reate, since a slope of a mile in length is called *tebae*.[133]

It has been suggested that the word may be related to the obscure dialect term *tifata* (Paul. Fest. p. 503.14 Lindsay *tifata iliceta* [groves of holm-oaks]. *Romae autem Tifata Curia. Tifata etiam locus iuxta Capuam*).[134] Varro's attempt to connect the word with Greece can be disregarded, but he is likely to be right about the hill called *tebae* in the Sabine country. Again the Via Salaria comes up. Often, but not always, Varro's references to 'Sabine' refer to an Italic language (see above, II.8, and below, 6.12, and, by contrast, 6.8),[135] but *tebae* looks like a current term of the local Latin.

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[132] Varro is relating the word to the name of Thebes, *Thebae*.
[133] On the problematic origin of the term see Walde and Hofmann (1938–54: II, 653).
[134] See Ernout and Meillet (1959) s.vv.
[135] See Collart (1954b: 233–43) on 'Sabinisms' discussed by Varro and on the limitations of his remarks.

Varro occasionally comments on the regional use of personal names, and an odd item at *Ling.* 6.5 has to do with Reate: . . . *qui eo tempore erant nati, ut Luci<i> prima luce in Reatino* (' . . . those who had been born at that time of day, just like the *Lucii*, [those born] at first light, in the territory of Reate'). The etymology of the praenomen Lucius (also attested in Faliscan and Oscan) given here, which recurs at *Ling.* 9.60 and also at Paul. Fest. pp. 106.21, 135.27 Lindsay, is correct.[136] The name was not restricted to any particular region, and it is strange that Varro assigns the practice of so naming those born at dawn to the territory of Reate. One possible explanation is that he had encountered the custom as a living one at Reate; there is no expressed verb in the *ut*-clause to locate the custom in time.

6.7   Amiternum (Sabine territory)

The passage just discussed follows another observation about a praenomen in the Sabine territory (at Amiternum): *Ling.* 6.5 *secundum hoc dicitur crepusculum a crepero: id uocabulum sumpserunt a Sabinis, unde ueniunt Crepusci nominati Amiterno, qui eo tempore erant nati* ('[i]n line with this, *crepusculum* "dusk" is derived from *creperum* "obscure"; this word they took from the Sabines, among whom originate those named *Crepusci* at Amiternum; they had been born at that time of day'). The praenomen is not otherwise known,[137] and it is likely to have been localised. If it was still current it was presumably used by Latin speakers, but the reference may be to the past.

6.8   The Sabine territory in general

There is some information in Varro about the term *lepista* (*lepesta*). The word was possibly a borrowing from Greek, whether from λεπαστή (a limpet-shaped drinking vessel, < λεπάς 'limpet') or from δέπας, δέπασ-τρον (beaker, goblet) with a 'dialect' change of *d* to *l*.[138] It indicated a wine vessel with Sabine associations. Note first Varro *Ling.* 5.123:

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[136] See Flobert (1985: 65).   [137] See Flobert (1985: 64). Note too Collart (1954b: 235).
[138] So Ernout (1909a: 191). I use the word 'dialect' here loosely. On the occasional change *d* > *l* in Latin (e.g. *lingua* from *dingua*, *lacrima* from *dacrima*) see e.g. Leumann (1977: 155–6), Coleman (1990: 3–4), Meiser (1998: 100). It has traditionally been put down to Sabine influence, but the details are not clear. If so such forms would represent borrowings into Latin, not necessarily features of a dialect of Latin.

uas uinarium grandius sinum ab sinu . . .; item dicta<e> [f]lepestae, quae etiam nunc in diebus sacris Sabinis uasa uinaria in mensa deorum sunt posita.

The *sinum* is a wine-jar of a larger sort, called from *sinus* 'belly' . . . Likewise there are those called *lepestae*, the kind of wine-jars that are even now, on the days of the Sabine festivals, placed on the table of the gods (Kent, Loeb).

Varro offers a Greek etymology and concludes: *quare uel inde radices in agrum Sabinum et Romanum sunt profectae* ('for which reason the source of the name quite certainly set out from there into the Sabine and Roman territory', Kent).[139] Another observation by Varro, from the *De uita populi Romani* book I, is quoted by Nonius pp. 877–8 Lindsay:

lepistae etiamnunc Sabinorum fanis pauperioribus plerisque aut fictiles sunt aut aeneae.

Lepistae even now in many poorer shrines of the Sabines are of earthenware or bronze.

The Varronian *testimonia* agree in connecting the vessel-type with the Sabines. The vessel was in use at Sabine festivals, or in Sabine shrines. For 'Sabine shrines' see also *Ling.* 6.57, discussed immediately below, a passage which indicates that Latin was in use there. These remarks suggest that Varro had local knowledge. He also implies that the name *lepista* had spread to 'Roman territory', which need only mean that it had been taken up by (local) Latin. But in this case there is an additional piece of literary evidence. The word also occurs in a fragment of Naevius' *Bellum Punicum* (54 Strzelecki): *ferunt pulcras creterras, aureas lepistas* ('they bear beautiful bowls and golden wine vessels'). Naevius was of Italic stock, from the region of Capua, and it is possible that he had imported a regional word into his epic.[140]

   Ling. 6.57, just referred to, runs as follows:

hinc dicuntur eloqui ac reloqui in fanis Sabinis, e cella dei <qui> quid loquuntur.

Hence those who say something from the chamber of the god are said to 'speak forth' and to 'speak back' in Sabine shrines.

The text printed here is that of Flobert (1985), who in his note remarks (136): 'Il semble s'agir d'oracles locaux'. There are textual uncertainties, and *eloqui* and *reloqui* have sometimes been taken not as infinitives but as nominative plurals of adjectives.[141] The *OLD* has an entry for the adjective

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[139] For the metaphor of 'taking root' see below, 6.12.
[140] The passage may have to do with the gifts given by Aeneas to Dido (see Marmorale 1950: 244). If so the word would not have been incorporated to impart a local Italian colour.
[141] See the note of Flobert (1985: 136).

reloquus, defined as 'speaking in reply', but not for *eloquus*; the text printed in the citation begins *hinc dicuntur eloquium ac reloqui*. Despite these difficulties two things are clear. *Reloqui*, whether verb or adjective, is a unique item assigned to the Sabine territory, and it is Latin. Varro must here have been referring to the Latin used at the shrines. Whether one would be justified in calling the term a 'regionalism' is, however, a moot point. It is a religious technical term, and at best a 'religious regionalism' (for which entity see II.5, p. 49).

6.9 Cisalpine Gaul

At *Rust.* 1.8.3 Varro mentions a tree name in use among the people of Mediolanum:

quartum arbusta, ubi traduces possint fieri uitium, ut Mediolanenses faciunt in arboribus quas uocant opulos.

For the fourth you must have an arbustum, where trellises can be made of the vines, as the people of Mediolanum do on the trees which they call *opuli* (Hooper and Ash, Loeb).

The *OLD* s.v. *opulus* gives the meaning '[a] small tree used for training vines, perh. a kind of maple'.

   In the passage of Varro the reading is as given, but the word is also restored in various other places for the transmitted *populus* (see *TLL* IX.2.840.13ff.). Two of these cases locate the tree in the Transpadane region: Plin. *Nat.* 14.12 *rumpotinus uocatur et alio nomine opulus arbor Italiae Padum transgressis* ('there is an Italian tree called by those across the Po *rumpotinus* and also by another name *opulus*'), 17.201 *Transpadana Italia . . . cornu, opulo, tilia, acere, orno, carpino, quercu arbustat agros* ('Transpadane Italy . . . plants vineyards with cornel, *opulus*, lime, maple, ash, hornbeam and oak').

   This term survives in Italian ((*l*)*oppio*)[142] and northern Italian and Rhetian dialects,[143] and Varro's information about the *Mediolanenses* looks right. André (1985a: 180) observes that the word is without etymology, and suggests that it was 'probablement terme de substrat de l'Italie du Nord'.[144] If Pliny (*Nat.* 14.12, quoted above) is to be believed, *rumpotinus*

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[142] It means 'field maple'.

[143] For details see e.g. *REW* 6078, *TLL* IX.2.840.11f., Battisti and Alessio (1950–7: III, 2269, IV, 2663 s.vv. *loppio, oppio*), André (1985a: 180), but the various listings of reflexes do not exactly correspond and one awaits definitive information from *LEI*.

[144] But note Delamarre (2003: 243): 'La celticité du mot est mal assurée.'

(fem.) was an alternative name for the *opulus*, and this word, which occurs in adjectival form in Columella (5.7.1 *est et alterum genus arbusti Gallici, quod uocatur <r>umpotinum*, 'there is also a second form of Gallic vine-supporting plantation, which is called *rumpotinum*'), must also have come from a substrate language (note *Gallici*). The *OLD* observes on *rumpus* (a 'horizontally trained vine-shoot'), which must form part of the root of *rumpotinus*, that it is 'perh. Ligurian'. This is another word with Italian dialect reflexes (*REW* 7443); note the way in which Varro expresses himself in the same passage as that cited at the start of this section: *Rust.* 1.8.4 *quos traduces quidam rumpos appellant. Rumpus* was not in general currency, but used by some. It can only have been a Cisalpine dialect word for the usual Latin *tradux* ('side-branch of a vine trained across the space between trees in a vineyard', *OLD*).

   Whatever the sources of these various words, there is possibly evidence here for local tree names in the Cisalpine region current in different local varieties of Latin. But Pliny in the first passage (14.12) perhaps got things slightly wrong. *Rumpotinus* (fem.) might have designated not a species of tree (identical to the *opulus*), but any vine-supporting tree (including the *opulus*).[145] If so, though *opulus* would have been a regional word, it need not have been a dialect variant for *rumpotinus* in the area. Of greater interest is the equation of *rumpus* with *tradux*.

   Varro also notes the term *legarica* as a 'Gallic' equivalent to the usual *legumina* (*Rust.* 1.32.2):

ceteraque, quae alii legumina, alii, ut Gallicani quidam, legarica appellant

and the rest, which some call legumes, others, such as certain Gauls, *legarica*.[146]

For the meaning of *Gallicanus* see *OLD* s.v. '[o]f or belonging to the province of Gaul (spec. of *Gallia Cisalpina* or *Narbonensis*)'. The word is not otherwise attested and has no outcome in the Romance languages. It remains obscure, but Varro's testimony about its geographical restriction is not to be dismissed. But was the word in use in Latin or Celtic (see the last footnote)? André (1985b: 191) cites an example of *legarium* = 'légume' from a medieval cartulary (AD 1070), which I have not been able to locate.

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[145] See André (1958: 77) ad loc. Columella (5.7.1), quoted only in part in the text, seems to take this view.

[146] See also Sittl (1882: 59), André (1985b: 191), Müller (2001: 270 n. 8). André presumably took the word to be Gaulish, since he included it in a list of Gaulish plant names, but he offered no etymology.

6.10   Campania

An early comment on Campanian usage (there are others later: see IV.1.3.1) is found at Varro *Ling.* 5.137:

hae (falces) in Campania seculae a secando.

These (sickles) in Campania (are called) *seculae* from *secare*.

Secula is attested only here, but Varro's remark may be correct. The relationship of this word to Italian *segolo* 'bill-hook', attested according to Battisti and Alessio (1950–7: V, 3443) in the fourteenth century, is uncertain.[147] If *segolo* and *secula* are the same term there has been a problematic change of gender. An alternative possibility is that *segolo* is an independent deverbative from *segare*.[148]

6.11   Praeneste

At *Ling.* 6.4 Varro notes that he had come across the form *medidies* for *meridies* at Praeneste: *meridies ab eo quod medius dies. D antiqui, non R in hoc dicebant, ut Praeneste incisum in solario uidi* ('*Meridies* "noon," from the fact that it is the *medius* "middle" of the *dies* "day." The ancients said D in this word, and not R, as I have seen at Praeneste, cut on a sun-dial', Kent, Loeb). This passage does not belong in a discussion of regional variation (though it has been used thus),[149] because the point that Varro is making is that *medidies* was an old (i.e. the original) form. He is not saying that it was confined (in the early period) to any one place. The sundial was old, and preserved an item belonging to an earlier stage of the language. The passage reveals Varro's method of working. He was familiar with local towns, and on the lookout in his travels for linguistic curiosities.

6.12   Conclusions

All the linguistic comments of Varro discussed above are neutral in tone. He used *peregrinus* unemotively of words of foreign origin, as at *Ling.* 5.77 *aquatilium uocabula animalium partim sunt uernacula, partim peregrina*

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[147] Battisti and Alessio also refer to a term *segola* from Pisa, which they equate with *sega* 'saw'. The status of this information is uncertain. See further *REW* 7771 for *segolo*. If *segolo* reflects *secula*, it implies a long *e* in the Latin word: cf. *tegula*, *regula* for this ablaut-grade, and see e.g. Ernout and Meillet (1959: 608); also Ernout (1909a: 227).

[148] See Battisti and Alessio (1950–7: V, 3443).   [149] See Ernout (1909a: 33).

('the names of aquatic animals are partly native, partly foreign'), 100 *ferarum uocabula item partim peregrina, ut panthera, leo* ('the names of wild animals are partly foreign, as "panther" and "lion"'), 103 *quae in hortis nascuntur, alia peregrinis uocabulis, ut Graecis ocimum, menta . . .* ('of things which grow in gardens, some have foreign names, such as the Greek ones "basil" and "mint"'). By contrast for Cicero (see above, 4.1, 4.3) *peregrinitas* could be a term of disparagement (e.g. *Fam.* 9.15.2: see 4.3).

Varro had an interest in linguistic diversity, and not only in Latin. He is also a source of information (or of assertions) about Sicilian Greek. It is to him that we owe the knowledge that the Plautine word *epityrum* (or rather the confection designated by the word) was of Sicilian origin (*Ling.* 7.86; cf. Plaut. *Mil.* 24). Cf. 5.101 (also *Rust.* 3.12.6) *lepus, quod Sicu . . . dicunt* λέποριν.[150] *a Roma quod orti Siculi, ut annales ueteres nostri dicunt, fortasse hinc illuc tulerunt et hic reliquerunt id nomen* ('*lepus* is so called because the Sicilians . . . say λέπορις. Because the Sicilians originated from Rome, as our old annals say, perhaps they took that word from here to there as well as leaving it here'; cf. 5.120, 151, 173, 179).

He comments too on the 'Sabine' language (*Ling.* 5.66, where he cites a source, Aelius Stilo, 73, 74, 97, 107, 159, 6.5, 13, 28, 7.28). Usually he is referring to an Italic language and not to a dialect of Latin (but see above, 6.8) that might have been influenced by another form of Italic (see particularly 5.97, quoted above, II.11, on the word *fedus* = Lat. *haedus*, and also *fircus* = *hircus*). At one point he implies a view about the relationship of Sabine to Oscan: *Ling.* 7.28 *secundo eius origo* [of the word *cascus*] *Sabina, quae usque radices in Oscam linguam egit* ('secondly, it has its origin from the Sabine language, which ran its roots back into Oscan', Kent, Loeb). Language relationships come up also at *Ling.* 5.74. Varro discusses various words that had supposedly been borrowed by Latin from the Sabine language, and then uses a metaphor to describe the process whereby a word may be found in 'both languages'. The word 'has roots' in both languages like a tree that has grown on a boundary and spreads in the fields on both sides: *e quis nonnulla nomina in utraque lingua habent radices, ut arbores quae in confinio natae in utroque agro serpunt.* The expression *utraque lingua* is normally a collective for Greek and Latin.[151] Varro here displays a neutral concept of languages in contact and the possibility of lexical sharing at their geographical margins. The metaphor appealed to Varro, as he used it in a different connection at *Ling.* 5.13.

[150] λέπορις is cited by LSJ only from Varro.
[151] But see Adams (2003a: 10 n. 31, 269) for extensions of the phrase.

The information derivable from Varro about the regional diversity of Latin mainly has to do with Italy, and particularly with parts near Rome (Latium, the Sabine territory) or further to the north. When he spoke of rustics he had in mind country districts by comparison with Rome, and hence again nearby parts. What were the sources of his knowledge?

First, he several times notes non-standard usages heard in the mouths of rustics in Atellan farce (above, 6.1). He also (*Ling.* 7.29) mentions an Oscan word *Casnar* sometimes used by 'Oscans' in farce, and these were probably the same characters as those whom he elsewhere calls 'rustics' (see above, 6.1, p. 156). This last passage hints at a different regional feature of the speech of certain characters in farce, namely code-switching into Oscan or (alternatively) the use of Oscan loan-words in Latin.[152]

Second, he might have had some written sources. We noted above (this section) a case (*Ling.* 5.66) in which he acknowledged Aelius Stilo. He had been a pupil of Stilo.

But many observations were Varro's own. When he speaks of a use of *tebae* (above, 6.6) in a precisely located part of the Sabine territory (near Reate) or of a use of *muri* in the same region (6.6) he must have been drawing on local knowledge, probably acquired in his own *patria*, and it is likely that much of the detail he presents from Latium and other parts of Italy was picked up from first-hand observation. He hints at this in his remark about the form of the word *meridies* that he had seen himself on a sundial at Praeneste (6.11). He had fought on the side of Pompey in Spain in 49, and that is when he might have picked up information about a Spanish usage (6.5).[153]

About twenty pieces of evidence provided by Varro have been discussed in this section. It is revealing to classify them, as bringing out the difference

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[152] See Adams (2004).

[153] See also *Rust.* 3.12.5–6, where he distinguishes various types of hare (*lepus*). His third type is found in Spain, and is called there *cuniculus*: 6 *tertii generis est, quod in Hispania nascitur, similis nostro lepori ex quadam parte, sed humile, quem cuniculum appellant* ('belonging to the third type is that which is born in Spain. It is like our hare in some ways, but is not tall. They call it the *cuniculus*'). This information was taken over by Pliny (*Nat.* 8.217). The animal was not the hare (though some Romans thought that it was, and that it was describable by *lepus*), but the rabbit (see Toynbee 1973: 202–3 on the Romans and the rabbit). In the Romance languages the word is reflected in Ibero-Romance (Spanish *conejo*, Portuguese *coelho*, Catalan *conill*), in northern Italy and in Gallo-Romance (*FEW* II.2.1540). Wartburg (*FEW* loc. cit.) argued from the distribution of the reflexes of the word that it must have originated in a language spoken in the Iberian peninsula and the Alps. It was the animal that was of regional origin, but if the Romans were unable to distinguish the rabbit from their own *lepus* they also in effect treated the word as a regional name.

of his approach from that of Cicero. Varro never talks in general terms about the sound (accent) of Roman Latin. His interest lay in the diversity of Italian provincial Latin, not in the superiority of Roman. The points he makes are specific. Several times he gives details about the phonetics of rustic speech (or that specifically of Latium): see his remarks about *uella* (above, 4.3), *speca* (4.3), *ueha* (II.9, III.4.3), *Mesius* (6.1), *hedus* (II.11, III.6.3, p. 162). What makes his lexical comments remarkable is that they are rarely merely about the use of substrate or foreign words in particular regions. A few items fall into this class (*tebae* 6.6, *opuli* 6.9, *rumpus* 6.9, probably *cuniculus* 6.12 n. 153), but he also notes mundane words used in unusual meanings in specified places (*quando* 6.2, *cenaculum* 6.5, *muri* 6.6, *pellicula* 6.1), and words that were not of foreign origin used only in rural regions (*termen* (?) 6.3, *Sexatrus* 6.4, *Septimatrus* 6.4, *secula* 6.10, *iubilo* 6.1, *triones* 6.1). These last two categories consist of genuine dialect words, and the evidence is the more important in that named places are assigned to some of the usages.

Lanuvium, Praeneste, Reate, Amiternum, Falerii and Tusculum, all places from which Varro notes regionalisms, roughly speaking form a circle around Rome (see maps 2a, 2b). Less specific allusions to 'rural Latium' (II.11, III.6.3, p. 162) or the 'rest of Latium' (6.5) must refer to places falling within the circle. What are we to deduce from the neat pattern of the towns named? First, Varro is likely to have picked up his information as he travelled about in areas accessible from Rome. Second, the number of comments about usages in the environs of Rome suggests that in the late Republic there were dialect differences perceptible in the rural periphery. As the political influence of Rome spread in Italy in the last years of the Republic and under the Empire one would conjecture that linguistic Romanisation as well spread from the centre. The evidence (in the form of *testimonia*) for regional variations in the circle loosely defined above would be expected to decline. That is what happens (see particularly XI.2). Varro does sometimes venture further afield in his observations, to Campania, for example, and Cisalpine Gaul. The relative infrequency of such remarks does not mean that these were areas in which regional features were less prominent, but only that he was less familiar with their peculiarities. Campania is mentioned only once in the material collected above. However, it seems likely that the rustic usages in farce are from Campania, the region in which the Atellana originated. But here Varro's source was not his own observation but the stage performances of the Latinised farces heard at Rome.

Nigidius was a late republican scholar (praetor in 58 BC) who wrote a work *Commentarii grammatici*, which is cited by Gellius (13.6.3) on the aspirate:

rusticus fit sermo, inquit, si adspires perperam.

Speech becomes rustic, he says, if you aspirate wrongly.

The allusion is as much to the hypercorrect use of an aspirate as to its omission,[154] as illustrated in Catullus' poem (84) about Arrius. Though the word *rusticus* is used here, it need be no more than a way of disparaging substandard speech of whatever geographical origin. Fordyce (1961: 374) comments aptly on Catullus 84 as follows: 'Theories which refer Arrius' mispronunciations to Etruscan origin . . . or to his having Venetic as his mother tongue . . . are unconvincing and unnecessary. The status of the aspirate in Rome itself, from such evidence as we have, appears to have been not very different from its status in modern England, where most dialects (including that of the metropolis) have lost initial *h*- but educated speech has preserved it.'

There are other *testimonia* that have to do with the republican period, but not all of them are equally interesting. I include in the following some problematic items.

8.1   Some words for 'testicles' (?)

A striking assertion about Italian regional variation in the republican period is to be found in Paul the Deacon's excerpts of Festus (p. 157. 12–14 Lindsay):

sunt qui nefrendes testiculos dici putent, quos Lanuuini appellant nebrundines, Graeci νεφρούς, Praenestini nefrones.

There are some who think that the testicles are called *nefrendes* ('kidneys'), which the people of Lanuvium call *nebrundines*, Greeks νεφροί and the Praenestines *nefrones*.[155]

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[154] For other *testimonia* to do with aspiration see Kramer (1976: 48–57). See also Leumann (1977: 173–4).

[155] On the passage see Palmer (1954: 61). Cf. the fragmentary text of Festus, p. 156.33 Lindsay.

I take it that the source was ascribing an unusual meaning ('testicles') to a word he knew in the sense 'kidneys', and not asserting that all the words listed meant 'testicles'. The authority of at least the first part of the passage is open to question.[156] Cf. Fest. p. 342.35–344.1 *rienes quos nunc uocamus, antiqui nefrundines appellabant, quia Graeci* νεφρούς *eos uocant* ('the parts which we now call kidneys the ancients called *nefrundines* because the Greeks call them νεφροί').[157] The two passages raise various difficulties, but the comparison of usage at Lanuvium with that at Praeneste at least betrays a concept of lexical variation within Italy. We saw above (3) that Aelius Stilo was born at Lanuvium and that he (almost certainly: see the next section) commented on Praenestine usage, and it is possible that he was the ultimate source of the first passage. The anachronistic use of the present tense *appellant* in the first passage should be noted. The reference can only be to practice in the distant past (as distinct from that in the Augustan period when the source of Festus, Verrius Flaccus, was writing), but commentators on early linguistic features had a habit of writing in this way (note, for example, the use of the present *appellat* at Fest. p. 410.29 Lindsay, of Plautus' use of a word, and see below, 8.2, 8.5, 8.6, 8.15). The other passage says more precisely *antiqui appellabant*.

8.2   tongitio

Paul's epitome of Festus also has the item (p. 489.5–6 Lindsay):

tongere nosse est, nam Praenestini tongitionem dicunt notionem. Ennius 'alii rhetorica tongent'.

tongere is 'to know', for the Praenestines call 'knowing' *tongitio*. Ennius says 'others know rhetorical teachings'.

The corresponding part of Festus, though very fragmentary, does give some extra detail: p. 488.7–10 Lindsay < . . . *tongere Aelius Sti>lo ait noscere esse, <quod Praenestini tongi>tionem dicant pro no<tionem . . .>*. Verrius Flaccus' source, probably Stilo, was cited in the original text. Remarks such as these are difficult to interpret. First, since Ennius, from a part of Italy far removed from Praeneste, has *tongere* (*Var.* 28), words of this root (attested in Oscan as well)[158] might once have been widespread in Latin. Second, are we entitled to take the present tenses *dicunt* and *dicant* at their face value,

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[156] Cf. Walde and Hofmann (1938–54: II, 156).
[157] For phonological details see Leumann (1977: 166, 169). See also Ernout (1909a: 201).
[158] See Untermann (2000: 733–4) s.v. **tanginúd**.

as suggesting that Stilo had heard *tongitio* himself at Praeneste? It is just as likely that he was using the present tense in a generalising way (see above, 8.1),[159] and that his knowledge of the Praenestine term came from the past, from some inscription or text. If the presents have their face value, *tongitio* was a Praenestine regionalism of Stilo's day (perhaps late in the second century BC). If Stilo were talking of the past, *tongitio* need not have been a regionalism at all, because it might have been more widespread in distant antiquity than the chance survival of a Praenestine example suggested. We will also see below (8.6) that Macrobius uses the present tense when he must have been talking about the past.

Stilo has come up several times in this chapter (see 6.1 on *triones*, 8.1, 6.12). He was a source of both Verrius Flaccus and Varro, and must have been a commentator on regional usage.

8.3   strebula

Festus states that *strebula*, a word used by Plautus (the 'thigh-meat of an ox; haunch', *OLD*), was Umbrian (p. 410.28 Lindsay: *strebula Vmbrico nomine Plautus appellat coxendices hostiarum, quas . . .* , 'Plautus uses the Umbrian word *strebula* of the hips of victims, which . . .'). *Strebula* may not be Umbrian. Varro (*Ling.* 7.67), citing a line from the *Cesistio* of Plautus, quotes an authority Opillus on the meaning of the word (which he gives in the form *stribula*), and says that it is Greek. He does not mention a Greek word, but might have been thinking of στρεβλός 'twisted', an etymology allowed as possible by the *OLD*.[160] It is not clear why Verrius Flaccus (Festus' source) thought the word was Umbrian, but a general motivation may be detected. Plautus was considered to be an Umbrian, and grammarians show a keenness to find local usages in the works of poets (see the next item, and IV.3.3.1 on Servius and Virgil). On this interpretation the remark in Servius tells us nothing about regional variation as such, but does display a concept that writers might betray their origins by elements of their lexicon. It is an implicit recognition of the existence of regional diversity.

8.4   ploxenum

Catullus at 97.6 has the word *ploxenum*, possibly meaning 'carriage body' (or 'container on a carriage'). Cf. Fest. p. 260.1–3 Lindsay *ploxinum*

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[159] This point is not kept in mind by Ernout (1909a: 33–4), and the *testimonia* he cites are thus of variable value.

[160] Cf. also Walde and Hofmann (1938–54: II, 601), Ernout and Meillet (1959) s.v. *strebula*.

appellari ait Catullus capsum in cisio capsa<m>ue ('Catullus calls the *capsus* or *capsa* on a carriage *ploxinum*'). Quintilian (1.5.8) chose to interpret this (by implication) as Gaulish, and as picked up by Catullus in his *patria*: *sicut Catullus 'ploxenum' circa Padum inuenit.*

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8.5 struppus

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στρόφος was borrowed into Latin at an early period (first example in Livius Andronicus) in the form *struppus* (the Romance reflexes derive from *stroppus*, with short *o*). It displays two distinct senses (see the *OLD* s.v.),[161] 'twisted cord', 'kind of chaplet or headband'. The first meaning (found in Livius Andronicus and reflected in Romance) does not concern us. The second meaning had no currency at the time of Pliny the Elder, who (*Nat.* 21.3) attributes it to the *antiqui*. It is the subject of a long discussion in Festus p. 410.6–17 Lindsay:

struppus est, ut Ateius Philologus existimat, quod Graece στρόφιον uocatur, et quod sacerdotes pro insigni habent in capite. quidam coronam esse dicunt, aut quod pro corona insigne in caput inponatur, quale sit strophium. itaque apud Faliscos †idem† festum esse, qui uocetur Struppearia, quia coronati ambulent; et a Tusculanis, quod in puluinari inponatur Castoris, struppum uocari.

Struppus, Ateius Philologus thinks, is the thing which in Greek is called στρόφιον, and which priests have on their heads as a symbol of distinction. Some say that it is a chaplet, or the symbol of distinction put on the head instead of a chaplet, of the kind that a *strophium* ['head-band'] is. And so (they say) among the Faliscans . . . there is a festival day which is called the *Struppearia*, because they parade about with chaplets, and *struppus*, it is said, is the name given by the people of Tusculum to the thing which is placed on the cushioned couch of Castor.

The speculations in the Ciceronian period (Ateius was a leading scholar of the day) about this religious use of *struppus* cohere with the remark of Pliny that the word had been used by the ancients. No one was quite certain what it had meant. The passage might be taken to mean that the word was still in use (in the late Republic, if the source of the whole passage is Ateius) at Tusculum as a religious technical term, and that a derivative was in use at Falerii. The implication (of the passage of Pliny) would seem to be that *struppus* had once been current at Rome as well in the language of religion. The religious regionalism at Tusculum would thus lie in the retention by the town of a term that had fallen out of use at Rome (cf. above, 6.2 on *quando*). But again we run up against the question whether the scholars quoted were talking about the present.

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[161] See also the discussion of Biville (1990: 176–8).

8.6   manus (-is)

The original meaning of *manus* (*-is*) ('good'; > *immanis*) was well known in the grammatical tradition (see Varro *Ling.* 6.4 *bonum antiqui dicebant manum*, 'the ancients used to say *manus* for *bonus*'; comparable remarks are in Paul. Festus, pp. 112.24, 151.6 Lindsay). There is a curious remark at Macrobius *Sat.* 1.3.13–14 *nam et Lanuuini 'mane' pro 'bono' dicunt: sicut apud nos quoque contrarium est 'immane', ut 'immanis belua' uel 'immane facinus' et hoc genus cetera pro 'non bono'* ('the Lanuvini say *mane* for *bono*, just as among us too there is its opposite *immane*, as in *immanis belua* or *immane facinus* and in other expressions of this kind where it means "not good"'). It is inconceivable that this use of *manus*, which left no traces in the Romance languages, was still current at the time of Macrobius. The present tense *dicunt* must be anachronistic. Presumably Macrobius had found such a remark about Lanuvium, which was several times the subject of linguistic observations in the earlier period (see 6.5, 8.1), in a republican or Augustan lexicographer and imported it into his dialogue either without bothering about the tense, or adopting the lexicographer's use of the present, or making the assumption that the usage still continued at Lanuvium.

8.7   Maius

There is another item in Macrobius which may fall into the same class: *Sat.* 1.12.17 *sunt qui hunc mensem ad nostros fastos <u>a Tusculanis</u> transisse commemorent, apud quos <u>nunc quoque</u> uocatur deus Maius, qui est Iuppiter, a magnitudine scilicet ac maiestate dictus* ('there are some who say that this month [May] passed into our *fasti* from the people of Tusculum, where even now there is a god called Maius who is Jupiter, named no doubt from his magnitude and majesty'). In this case the speaker states that the Tusculan name of Jupiter, Maius, was 'even now' in use.

8.8   samentum

I include here a remark in a letter of Marcus Aurelius to Fronto of AD 144–5 (p. 174 Haines, p. 60.10 van den Hout). Though it is of imperial date, it purports to concern a much earlier period. Marcus reports a visit to Anagnia, the chief town of the Hernici. On the gate there was an inscription *flamen sume samentum* ('priest, take your *samentum*'). Not knowing the last word Marcus consulted a local: *rogaui aliquem ex popularibus, quid illud uerbum esset. ait lingua Hernica pelliculam de hostia, quam in apicem suum*

flamen, cum in urbem introeat, inponit ('I asked one of the townsmen what the last word meant. He said it was Hernican for the pelt of the victim, which the priest draws over his peaked cap on entering the city', Haines, Loeb). Nothing is known about the origin of the word or about the accuracy of the local tradition. If the tradition were true the Italic word (of religious significance: compare *lepista* 6.8 and *struppus* 8.5 above) had passed into the local Latin at the time when the region was Latinised, given that the inscription is otherwise in Latin. Local communities tend to hold on to their original language in the domain of religion when a language shift takes place,[162] or at least on to the technical terms of that religion. This form of conservatism might have led to the transfer of non-Latin words into the local variety of the new language.

Marcus' observation of what might have been a regionalism in an old inscription recalls Varro's remark about an old spelling he had seen on a sundial at Praeneste (above, 6.11).

8.9   cascus

According to Varro (*Ling.* 7.28) *cascus* 'old' was a Sabine word:[163] *primum cascum significat uetus; secundo eius origo Sabina, quae usque radices in Oscam linguam egit* ('[f]irst, *cascum* means "old"; secondly, it has its origin from the Sabine language, which ran its roots back into Oscan', Kent, Loeb). The word occurs in the *Annales* of Ennius (22 Skutsch, quoted by Varro, same passage): *quam Prisci, casci populi, tenuere Latini* ('which the early inhabitants of Latium, ancient peoples, held').[164] It had no currency by the time of Varro, who devotes much space to establishing its meaning and reveals its recherché character. Elsewhere he puts it into the category of 'old usage' (*Ling.* 10.73). After Ennius it occurs in a fragment (quoted by Varro in the same passage) of the archaising *carmen Priami*,[165] taken perhaps from Ennius, and as a name in epigrams, quoted again by Varro, attributed to Papinius (?) and Manilius (?).[166] Cicero comments on the word in the Ennian line at *Tusc.* 1.27.

A Sabine word has no place in the discussion of the regional diversification of Latin unless it can be shown to have entered a regional variety of Latin. *Cascus* had entered Latin, and the question arises how it came to be used by the Oscan-speaking Ennius. Was he drawing on an

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[162] See Adams (2003a: 823) s.v. 'religion' ('prompting conservative language choice').
[163] It is of the same root as Oscan *casnar* (see Untermann 2000: 374).
[164] On the punctuation see Skutsch (1985: 181).   [165] See Courtney (1993: 44).
[166] See Courtney (1993: 109–11) on the interpretation of the word in these passages.

Italic-influenced dialect of Latin? There are various routes by which it might have found its way into his poem. It might once have been in use in Latin but have become obsolete. On this view (apparently that of Skutsch 1985: 182) Ennius would have adopted it as an archaism. Second, it might at the time of Ennius have been current in a branch or branches of Italic and been borrowed off-the-cuff by Ennius himself, in keeping with his own Italic origins. On this view it would have been an ad hoc loan-word, not a genuine Latin regionalism. The third possibility is that Ennius knew it from a regional form of Latin into which it had come from an Italic language. Only if this could be established could we be sure that it was a Latin dialect word.

8.10   trebla

There are no gounds for taking[167] *treblae* at Cato *Agr.* 135.1 as a regional word: *Venafro: palas. Suessae et in Lucanis: plostra, treblae. Albae, Romae: dolia, labra.* Quoted out of context the words from *Suessae* to *treblae* might be thought to imply that *treblae* was a term of Suessa and Lucania. On such reasoning one would have to take *palae* as a regionalism of Venafrum and *dolia* and *labra* as terms of Rome and Alba. The word is obscure, and might be a locatival place name, particularly since if it were a common noun it ought to have been in the accusative, like *palas* and other words in parts of the passage not quoted. As the passage is quoted by Ernout (1909a: 239) *albae* is taken as an adjective agreeing with *treblae*.

8.11   ungulus

According to Festus (p. 514.28 Lindsay) *ungulus* was an Oscan word for *anulus* 'ring': *ungulus Oscorum lingua anulus*. There then follow three citations, the first from what is taken to be a fragment of the Atellana (*inc. nom. rel.* VI), the second and third from Pacuvius (215, 64). The *testimonium* is taken at its face value by Ernout (1909a: 243), who notes that the only known author to have used the word was Pacuvius, 'lui-même originaire du sud de l'Italie'. Again it is not justifiable to be overpositive about the character of the word. The *OLD* tentatively takes it to be composed of *uncus* + *-ulus* (with influence of *ungula*). Ernout and Meillet (1959) assert without good reason: 'Sans doute mot introduit à Rome par la comédie et qui n'a pas subsisté.'

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[167] With Ernout (1909a: 239), tentatively.

8.12   tesqua/tesca

Another word about which the caution of the *OLD* seems justified is *tesqua* (*tesca*),[168] which occurs at Hor. *Epist.* 1.14.19 and is discussed by Varro (*Ling.* 7.8, 7.10) and the ps.-Acron scholia to the passage of Horace. I merely quote the comment of the *OLD* s.v. *tesquum*: 'An augural term of uncertain sense, assoc. w. *templum* and perh. synonymous; by non-technical writers interpreted as a tract of wild or desolate land.' This latter meaning has led some to think that it was a rural word (see Kiessling and Heinze on the passage of Horace).

8.13   flagra

Another possible provincial religious usage, attributed to Praeneste, occurs in glosses: e.g. *CGL* V.516.33 *tenias: uite sacerdotum apud Praenestinos flagra*.[169] *Taeniae* (bands) is defined as *uittae sacerdotum* (woollen bands worn by priests) and then a Praenestine equivalent, *flagra*, is added. This is presumably the same word as *flagrum* in a different meaning.

8.14   o *for* au

Festus at p. 196.27–8 Lindsay says that *orum* was once rustic usage for *aurum*: *orata genus piscis appellatur a colore auri, quod rustici orum dicebant, ut auriculas, oriculas* ('the type of fish *orata* is so named from the colour of gold [*aurum*], which rustics used to call *orum*, as in the case of the pair *auriculae, oriculae*'). I quote this item here rather than in the next chapter because the reference is to the past, and the source was probably the Augustan Verrius Flaccus.

There must have been rural varieties of speech not far from Rome (perhaps in Latium) in which the monophthong long *o* was heard for the original diphthong,[170] because various words of rustic flavour regularly have the *o*-spelling even in city Latin, into which they must have been borrowed from the countryside (e.g. *plostrum, olla, colis*).[171] But it is impossible to set up a straightforward distinction in this respect between urban and rural Latin in, say, the late Republic. The evidence suggests that the *o*-forms were acceptable in colloquial or informal usage even in the speech of the educated urban classes, particularly in certain lexical items. In the late Republic the anonymous author *ad Herennium* includes the form *oricula*

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[168] Contrast Ernout (1909a: 236–7).   [169] See further *TLL* VI.1.848.48ff.
[170] So in Umbrian *au* became a long *o* (Buck 1904: 46).
[171] For discussions of the matter see e.g. Väänänen (1966: 30–1, 1981: 39), Leumann (1977: 71–2).

in a specimen of the simple style (4.14), and the same form occurs in a proverbial expression at Cic. *Q. fr.* 2.14(13).4 (cf. too Catull. 25.2). Moreover unlike *ae*, *au* was tenacious, and even survived in extensive areas of the Romance world.[172]

8.15   Appendix: 'dialect' words and a problem of interpretation

Dialect words cited from the Republic often raise a problem of interpretation, which has come up in relation to Sabine. If a word is described by a source as in use among an Italian people, was it current in their Latin or had it merely once been current in the Italic of their area? A case in point is the Marsian word for 'rocks', *herna*: see Paul. Fest. p. 89.24 Lindsay *Hernici dicti a saxis, quae Marsi herna dicunt* ('the Hernici are so named from rocks, which the Marsi call *herna*'). The territory of the Hernici (later to be incorporated in Latium) was adjacent to that of the Marsi. Servius on *Aen.* 7.684 has a note *Sabinorum lingua saxa hernae uocantur* ('in the language of the Sabines rocks are called *hernae*').[173] Of note, incidentally, in the Servian remark is the present tense *uocantur*: whether *herna* were Marsian Latin or Marsian (Italic), the term would not have been current at the time of Servius, and we see again the generalising present (see 8.1, 8.2, 8.5, 8.6). Virgil was able to make an etymological pun on the origin of the name *Hernici* in his catalogue of Italian forces in book 7: 684 *hunc legio late comitatur agrestis: / quique . . . / . . . roscida riuis / Hernica saxa colunt* ('[h]im a spreading division of countrymen accompanies, men who live . . . in Hernican crags dewy with streams', Horsfall).[174] There is no evidence that the word was in use in a variety of Latin, though it might conceivably have been at an early period in the Latinisation of the Hernici (or Marsi). Of interest here is Virgil's knowledge of the linguistic heritage of Italy. He not infrequently makes such puns based on languages other than Latin,[175] a fact which creates a presumption that his work included dialect words detectable by readers with a knowledge of the Italian regions (see VII.3).

9   SOME CONCLUSIONS

9.1   The existence of regional variety

Has a convincing case been made in this chapter and the last that Latin in the last few centuries of the Republic was not uniform? A sceptical position

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[172] See e.g. Väänänen (1981: 39).   [173] See Horsfall (2000: 446) on 684.
[174] See Horsfall's note ad loc. (2000: 446).
[175] See Horsfall (2000: 538), index s.v. 'gloss, non-Greek, likely, or alleged'; also O'Hara (1996: 91–2).

might be that Cicero (in particular) had constructed an ideal of Roman linguistic *urbanitas* without definable features as a parallel for the Greek of Athens, which he took to be better than other varieties of Greek. But we have far more *testimonia* than those provided by Cicero. There is good evidence that the language showed regional diversity in the later Republic, most notably in Italy itself across territories not far from Rome. I begin by going over some features of the data that point to the authenticity of the model presented by Cicero and others.

Cicero names real people, such as the Valerii from Sora, who are described as his friends and neighbours. In the *Brutus* Cicero himself is the speaker when they come up. In the *De oratore*, the dramatic date of which was 91 BC, Q. Valerius is named by L. Licinius Crassus. The two dialogues (dated to the 40s and 50s respectively) were admittedly written after the deaths of the Valerii, and Cicero might have said whatever he pleased about them. But it is hard to believe that he would have been disparaging of persons who had been on good terms with him and would still have been remembered by others at Rome, if there were not some substance to his remarks about their speech. The interest of his verdict lies in the fact that, though they were educated, they are presented as having substandard regional accents.

Cicero sometimes went beyond vague remarks about the sound of city versus rural speech (see 4.5 for further details). His allusion to an *e plenissimum* is taken to refer to a rustic outcome (long close *e* [ē]) of the original *ei* diphthong, and if that is accepted the testimony of Cicero ties in with that of Varro, who twice attributes *e*-pronunciations of this type to rustics (*uella*, *speca*); possibly with that of Plautus, who has a rustic character misunderstand *eiram* as *eram*; and to some extent with the evidence of inscriptions, in which *e* for *ei* is well represented outside Rome, if not exclusively there. Even if one has reservations about other phonetic remarks of Cicero's (on the rusticity of the omission of *-s*, and the harshness of rustic speech), there is circumstantial detail to be found in other republican commentators, the accuracy of which cannot be doubted. Varro tells us precisely about the distribution of *hedus* versus *haedus*, and the non-urban character of the former is confirmed not only by Lucilius' joke about the *pretor rusticus* Cecilius (II.11, 11.2) and Varro's information about the name of a rustic character (Mesius) in farce, but also by the distribution of *e*-spellings for original *ai* in republican inscriptions.

Specific places are named as showing regional features in the Republic (see the next section). Again, such evidence carries weight because it is circumstantial.

Not dissimilar to jokes on stage about provincial speech is personal invective directed at provincials for their regional language. The most famous charge of this sort is that against Livy for *Patauinitas*. Lucilius' sneer at the *pretor* Cecilius is of the same type. Those employing such abuse need not be precise to achieve their end, but the abuse would not have point if there was not a conception that the language did have regional varieties, and that some of these were superior to others. An Australian might be disparaged for having an Australian accent versus a British, or for speaking in an uneducated way, but not for having an Adelaide as distinct from Melbourne accent, and that is because Australian English is without regional dialects (see I.6). If Livy could be rebuked for *Patauinitas* the implication is that provincialism of speech existed.

Finally, not all commentators on regional variation in Latin were polemical.

I come now to the nature of the diversity and the factors determining it.

9.2   Places named

A feature of the material collected in this chapter is the frequency with which usages are attributed to named places not far from Rome.

Praeneste generates most comment, in Plautus, Lucilius, Aelius Stilo, Varro and Festus (see above, 3, 6.11, 8.1, 8.2). Falerii is several times mentioned (6.4, 6.5, 8.5), and inscriptional evidence gives support to metalinguistic. Lanuvium in the Alban hills is another place that recurs (6.5, 8.1), a fact which may reflect the influence in the scholarly tradition of Aelius Stilo, a native of the town.

Lanuvium was in Latium, and Latium and specific places therein are often singled out for distinctive usages. Varro used the expression *in Latio rure* in making a distinction between Latium and Rome (see 6.3, p. 162, II.11). He also has *in cetero Latio* (6.5) and the slightly more precise *in Latio aliquot locis* (6.3). Other places mentioned are Formiae, Fundi (6.2) and Tusculum (6.4, several *testimonia*, 8.5, 8.7). A passage of Paul's Festus was discussed at 8.1, in which usage at Lanuvium is contrasted with that at Praeneste. This is the first of numerous contrastive observations that will come up (see IV.1.3.3, 1.3.4, XI.2).

The usage noted at Formiae and Fundi by Varro (the temporal relative use of *quando*) has turned up in a republican inscription from Samnium, to the east of Latium Adiectum, and in another at Falerii Novi. Inscriptional and metalinguistic evidence from Latium are in agreement in at least one other respect. We noted in the last section that the literary *testimonia* to do with *ai > e* are confirmed by inscriptions. Also, the 'Praenestine' opening

in hiatus referred to by Plautus is attested in an inscription of Praeneste (see II.9).

Other places named are the Sabine territory (6.8), particularly Reate (6.6), Campania (6.10) and Cisalpine Gaul, including Patavium (5), Mediolanum (6.9) and Placentia (4.3, p. 134). Spain (Baetica) also appears several times (4.3, p. 136, 6.5, 6.12 n. 153).

Sometimes non-Roman usages are attributed not to specific places but to characters of non-urban type, namely *rustici* (4.3, p. 138, 6.1), *messores* (4.3, pp. 137–8) and *bubulci* (6.1).

The geographical detail of these republican *testimonia* is impressive. Before Roman influence (such as that of grammarians and the language standardisation movement) established itself there were distinctions between Rome and Latium.

9.3   *General regional features identified by the sources*

In the first chapter I defined dialect terms (in what was called the strong sense) as words or word meanings confined to particular places for which there were substitutes in use either in the standard language or in other regions. The republican *testimonia* collected in this chapter throw up a number of terms of this type. Plautus (above, 3) mentions *conea* (= *ciconia*), *rabonem* (= *arrabonem*) and *tam modo* (= *modo*). *Iubilare* (6.1) might have been replaced in different contexts by various terms, such as *clamare* or *quiritare* (an equivalence implied by Varro himself, this word being urban rather than rural). *Pellicula* (6.1) is equivalent to *scortum* and *meretrix*, and *triones* (6.1) could be rendered by a circumlocution. The same is true of *Quinquatrus* and various associated words (6.4). *Quando* (6.2) is equivalent to *cum*, *termen* (6.3) to *terminus*, *cenaculum* in the sense noted (6.5) to *triclinium*, *cenatio* and *cenatorium*,[176] *murus* (6.6) to *agger* and *secula* (6.10) to *falx*. Various regional equivalents of *rienes* are recorded (8.1). There is information to be gleaned about some of these usages from other sources, such as inscriptions (in the case of *quando*) or the Romance languages (the survival of *iubilare* in the rustic sense in Sardinian may be taken as confirming the currency of the usage in the early Republic).

The use of *sonus* and variants by Cicero in referring to the speech of Romans as contrasted with outsiders must refer to variations of accent as that term was defined in the first chapter (I.2). Such phonetic and phonemic variations were noticed by observers, and up to a point can be confirmed to have existed from inscriptions. Whatever is to be made of the earlier

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[176] See Collart (1954a: 248).

inscriptional distribution of *e* for original *ei*, by the first century BC when Varro and Cicero (?) remarked on the phoneme behind the spelling it is unlikely to have been heard in city speech.

I have found no *testimonia* to do with syntax or morphology (unless one classifies the use of *quando* referred to under syntax), but that is in line with the interests of commentators, who identified features of the lexicon and pronunciation but disregarded syntax. Even grammarians had little interest in syntax (Gellius, not strictly a grammarian, is something of an exception) until Priscian. But the combination of lexical and phonetic data constitutes enough evidence to justify the use of the term 'dialectal' in reference to republican variations.

9.4   Determinants of variation

An aim of this book is to identify causes of regional diversity in Latin, and also to consider whether there are stages in the regional history of the language. Factors leading to diversity were discussed in the first chapter (I.11), and in the last chapter (II.21, pp. 112–13) I took the question up again in the light of the inscriptional evidence collected there. I now widen the discussion slightly to incorporate the material in this chapter.

The dialect terms and phonetic variations noted particularly by Varro outside Rome in the first century BC must reflect the last phase of an old linguistic state of affairs in Latium. The Latin-speaking settlements in Latium were originally scattered and isolated, and had not always been overshadowed by one dominant city. Nor, until about the end of the third century BC, can there have been much literacy or education that might have led to language standardisation. Dialectal variation might have been in part a consequence of isolation.

A linguistic change may take place in one area and not another, with the result that a dialect distinction is established (see I.11). Some evidence for the phenomenon was seen in this chapter. In several cases it was the city that innovated. The restoration of final *-s* took place in the city during the late Republic but may have spread from there (4.3, pp. 140–1). *Cenaculum* changed meaning at Rome but not, it seems, in some places outside (6.5). Again, urban Latin dropped the temporal relative use of *quando* except as a poeticism or archaism (6.2), but the meaning survived in mundane use in towns of Latium and beyond. In this case it seems that rural practice later influenced Rome and regions further afield. This use of *quando* survives in the Romance languages, including standard Italian, and its demise in the city must have been temporary. Another innovation of the city was to

change the meaning of *Quinquatrus* (6.4) and, possibly, to drop entirely some related words. There is good evidence that these changes did not occur in some towns of Latium.

It was not only Rome that innovated. We saw a new use of *pellicula* = 'prostitute' (6.1) attributed to rustics but not attested at Rome, and *muri* underwent a specialisation in a rural district (see 6.6). Today linguistic inventions such as new vogue terms or expressions spread across vast distances through electronic means. The innovations of isolated rural communities, whether originating in slang (thus the use of *pellicula*) or in quasi-professional registers (thus the use of *triones* among *bubulci*, 6.1), may take some time to reach the notice of outsiders (if they do so at all), who will take them as regional curiosities.

A change destined to affect a language in all its regional varieties may occur faster in some areas than others (II.21, pp. 110, 112). The monophthongisation of *ai/ae* was resisted for some time in the city.

Finally, there is substrate influence (see II.21, p. 113). Very little of that has come up in this chapter. One or two of the regional words mentioned here (*tebae*, *opulus*) had probably entered Latin from other languages. But *opulus* is problematic as evidence. If the tree so designated was confined to one area, the regionalism was a consequence of the character of the local flora (and would thus be no better than a weak regionalism: but see I.11, [1]). We are told that *rumpotinus* meant the same thing, and the two words might have been current in different places, but Pliny is not necessarily to be trusted (6.9). A further reservation about the significance of substrate influence was raised by the case of *Mesius* (6.1). The name was in use in the Oscan genre Atellan farce, but with a non-Oscan monophthong. Regional features of the Latin spoken in an area with a substrate language (such as Oscan) need not have been determined by the substrate.

9.5   What dialects were there?

This question was also put at the end of the last chapter (II.21, p. 112). The references to Falerii in the *testimonia* collected in this chapter support the evidence of the inscriptions discussed in the last as suggesting that the new town, though subject to the influence of Rome, maintained a distinctive variety of the language until late in the Republic. So much comment is made about Latium that there is some justification for setting up in a loose sense a 'dialect of Latium', but the reality may be that there was variation within Latium itself (e.g. at Praeneste).

Explicit evidence: the Empire

During the Empire Latin became widely established in the western provinces and Africa. Observers went on noting regional features, but there is a difference of focus, in that, whereas republican commentators rarely looked far beyond Rome, the practice of Gauls, Spaniards and Africans now attracted interest. Provincials themselves were conscious of linguistic features that distinguished them from others. From the first century AD onwards for several centuries we have the views of outsiders looking to Rome or Italy from a distance, and assessing their Latin alongside that of the imperial centre. The imperial *testimonia* are probably less familiar than the republican, but there is an abundance of evidence. The material is arranged geographically here, with sections on Italy, Spain, Gaul and Africa. Where possible I assess the accuracy of metalinguistic comments using various criteria.

I ITALY

A contrast was seen in the last chapter between the attitudes of Cicero and of Varro to variations within Italy. For Cicero Roman Latin was superior to other varieties. Varro was interested in identifying variations without asserting the superiority of a Roman accent. There are neutral observations from the Empire too, but rhetorical dismissals of regional Latin persisted. It must be asked whether as the Empire advanced 'Romanness' of Latin continued to be idealised in the same form, or whether there are new attitudes to be seen (see 1.2.3–4, 1.2.12, 3.1).

1.2 Romanness and related ideas

Rome maintained a linguistic centrality in the eyes of the provincial educated class. Roman Latin was treated as an ideal standard, and there is evidence that the standard was imitated by outsiders. If the term 'linguistic Romanisation' were used, it would refer in this context to the desire of

educated native speakers of Latin in the provinces to reproduce the features of Roman Latin in such a form that they would not be taken as provincials. They sometimes showed an awareness that they could not succeed in their aim, and it is this awareness that lies behind some *testimonia*. At a lower social level things were different. Ordinary Celts in Gaul switching to Latin would have had no concept that there was something special about the Latin of Rome. They were nevertheless being 'Romanised', in the sense that they were switching voluntarily to Latin.

The *testimonia* dealing with Romanness of Latin as an ideal sometimes have a linguistic element, but praise of the 'Roman tongue' (along with admission of provincial inadequacy) degenerated into a topos, and commentators often had in mind not speech but the literary language, rhetorical ability and culture. I discuss numerous *testimonia*, distinguishing these different categories. In a later section (1.2.11) I ask whether those suggesting the superiority of Roman Latin were aware of real regional differences or merely paying lip service to a convention. Another question concerns the meaning of the expression *lingua Romana* (and variants), which usually refers to Latin in general. The imperial *testimonia* turn up some more specific uses of *Romanus* with complements such as *lingua*, alluding to Rome itself. Certain items of evidence that might seem relevant have to be excluded (1.2.6, 1.2.10).

I have referred to the attitudes of outsiders to Roman Latin, but there is another side to the coin. What were the attitudes of Romans themselves to provincial speech? This question will also be addressed (see 5.1 for a summary).

1.2.1 Martial

A passage to do with Roman speech (as well as with Spanish) is at Mart. 12.21:

> Municipem rigidi quis te, Marcella, Salonis
>   et genitam nostris quis putet esse locis?
> tam rarum, tam dulce sapis. Palatia dicent,
>   audierint si te uel semel, esse suam;
> nulla nec in media certabit nata Subura
>   nec Capitolini collis alumna tibi;
> nec cito prodibit[1] peregrini gloria partus
>   Romanam deceat quam magis esse nurum.
> tu desiderium dominae mihi mitius urbis
>   esse iubes: Romam tu mihi sola facis.

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[1] So Shackleton Bailey (1973: 292) for the transmitted *ridebit*.

Who would think you, Marcella, to be a native of stiff Salo, who would think you born in the same place as me? So exquisite and sweet is your taste. The Palatine will say, if only once it hears you, that you are its own. No woman born in the middle of the Subura or a nursling of the Capitoline Hill will compete with you. Nor will there appear in a hurry a glorious foreign offspring who would more fittingly be a Roman bride. You instruct me to make my longing for the mistress City milder: you alone bring Rome before me.

Marcella[2] comes from the same place in Spain (by the river Salo, mod. Jalons, a tributary of the Ebro, i.e. Bilbilis: see map 1) as Martial, but one would never know this. She could be taken as a native of the Palatine. The writing is allusive, but when Martial says that the Palatine will think she is its own if once it hears her (*audierint*) he can only be referring to her speech, which, to judge from the previous line, must be highly cultivated. There is a significance to the areas of the city in the poem. The Palatine was a grand residential area populated by the upper classes, whereas the Subura was known for traders and prostitutes. The Capitoline was a religious centre. Marcella is therefore indistinguishable from a cultured upper-class Roman, and women from less exclusive parts of the city cannot compete with her. By 'compete' Martial means, at least in part, 'compete in the sounds of their speech'. For similar, but more explicit, phraseology see Cic. *De orat.* 3.43, where it is said that any Roman would 'easily conquer' (*facile uincat*) the provincial in smoothness of voice and articulation (see III.4.1, 4.2 n. 47). But if Marcella does not sound like a lower-class Roman (lines 5–6), neither does she sound Spanish (1–2). Social and regional dialects are hard to disentangle in this poem. Women of different social levels from different parts of the city can be distinguished by their speech, but equally a woman with 'Palatine' speech would normally be distinguishable from a Spaniard of (it is implied) a comparable social class.[3] There is also an implication that the upper-class provincial will still attempt to suppress his regional accent (see above, III.4.1), since Marcella is eulogised for doing just that. The ability to sound Palatine is linked to good taste in general (see 3): Roman speech is treated as a cultural attainment, parallel to other such attainments. Provincials were usually considered to be distinguishable not only by their speech but also by other forms of behaviour (see above, III.2, and below, 5.1).

Martial has delivered a eulogy of a sort that would not be considered appropriate in some other cultures. It is unlikely that a poetic tribute would

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[2] For Marcella see also 12.31. She was perhaps the patroness of Martial (see Friedländer 1886: I, 11).

[3] Spain and other provinces at this time may not have had a social class of the same level as Martial's Roman 'Palatine' class, but Spain certainly had a highly educated class (as evidenced by the numbers of early imperial writers of literary works who were of Spanish origin), and the cultivated Marcella must have belonged to that.

be offered (except in jest)[4] to an Australian who spoke with an Oxford accent. The fact might be remarked, but would not be a subject for literary panegyric. It might even be a cause of disapproval. Today it is politically correct in Britain to esteem regional diversity. In the Roman Empire there was no move by provincials or liberally minded Romans to argue that provincial varieties of speech had their own merits (though we will shortly see signs of a change of attitude to Italian varieties spoken outside Rome). Martial does not say that Marcella's speech has its own local charm and is more attractive than Roman speech, but that it is more Roman than (upper-class) Roman.

It is difficult to imagine Martial writing in this way if educated Spaniards were not normally easy to distinguish from Romans by their accents, even if he is not to be taken too seriously. We will see later in the chapter further evidence for local features of Spanish Latin (2). What stands out is that it is the outsider, the Spaniard Martial, who upholds Romanness of Latin as something desirable and praiseworthy. Neither in the Republic nor under the Empire is there much sign of native Romans discoursing overtly on the superiority of their accent, though we do occasionally get hints of their condescending attitude to provincial speech (see below, 2.1, 5.1). Rome elicited a sense of linguistic insecurity even among educated provincials, and it had the power to do so over many centuries.

1.2.2 Panegyrici Latini

Romanness of Latin comes up in the 'Panegyric of Constantine Augustus' (*Pan. Lat.* 12.1.2), which was probably delivered at Trier in about 313.[5] The eleven orators of the *Panegyrici Latini* other than Pliny all seem to have been natives of Gaul.[6] The passage is part of a *captatio beneuolentiae*:

neque enim ignoro quanto inferiora nostra sint ingenia Romanis, siquidem Latine et diserte loqui illis ingeneratum est, nobis elaboratum et, si quid forte commode dicimus, ex illo fonte et capite [et] facundiae imitatio nostra deriuat.

Nor am I unaware how inferior our talent is to that of the Romans, since it comes naturally to them to speak correct and eloquent Latin, whereas in us it is contrived, and if we do happen to say something in the appropriate way, ours is an imitation that derives from that font and source of eloquence.

The educated Gaul presents himself as trying to imitate the speech of educated Romans. He claims to see Roman Latin as naturally correct (*Latine* = 'in correct Latin').

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[4] One might be tempted to construe the poem of Martial as a subtle rebuke, an interpretation which would not be plausible, given the probable identity of the referent. But even if it were taken in this way, Spanish speech would have to have differed from Roman to give the poem any point.

[5] See Nixon and Rodgers (1994: 289, 290).   [6] See Nixon and Rodgers (1994: 4).

A similar theme surfaces in another, later, panegyric by a Gaul. The Gallic orator Latinus Pacatus Drepanius in 389 delivered a panegyric of the emperor Theodosius before the senate in Rome.[7] Pacatus came from Nitiobroges on the lower Garonne.[8] He was a friend of Ausonius, who often mentions him, and is likely to have been educated in Bordeaux.[9] The preface of the speech (2.1.3) contains an apology for the 'rough Transalpine language' which he is going to use before the senate. Pacatus knew the passage of the earlier panegyric just cited, and expanded on it:[10]

huc accedit auditor senatus, cui cum difficile sit pro amore quo in te praeditus est de te satis fieri, tum difficilius pro ingenita atque hereditaria orandi facultate non esse fastidio rudem hunc et incultum Transalpini sermonis horrorem.

Moreover my audience is the senate. Given the love which they feel for you [Theodosius] it is in any case difficult to satisfy them when speaking about you, but it is even more difficult, given their innate and inherited facility for speaking, not to induce in them scorn for this rough and uncultivated uncouthness of my Transalpine speech.

The reaction which Pacatus claims to expect is scorn (*fastidio*). The passage does not reveal anything specific about either educated Gallic Latin or educated Roman Latin. A topos may even come to mean the opposite of what it appears to mean.[11] Those apologising for their 'bad accents' might have been tacitly proud that their speech was the educated standard. But the passage does convey metalinguistic information. Either Pacatus spoke with a Gallic (Aquitanian?) accent and was conscious of it, or, if he was being ironical and did not betray his origins by his speech, then he was playing on the senate's expectation that a Gaul of his class would usually have had a Gallic accent. Language attitudes are on display, and these must have been rooted in diversity. Again an outsider pays lip service to the superiority of Roman Latin.

1.2.3 Augustine

In a remarkable passage Augustine admits to an unease about his Latin felt in the presence of Italians. There seems to have been a shift of terminology

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[7] On the date see Nixon and Rodgers (1994: 443).
[8] See *PLRE* I.272, Matthews (1971: 1078).
[9] See Nixon and Rodgers (1994: 437–8).   [10] See Nixon and Rodgers (1994: 294 n. 3).
[11] One such topos of slightly different type is found in an African writer, Fronto. At I, p. 136 Haines = p. 24.10–13 van den Hout, Fronto, addressing the mother of Marcus Aurelius in Greek, excuses tongue in cheek any barbarism he might commit (in Greek). It was clearly conventional for provincials at this time to joke about their supposed linguistic inadequacies. On the passage see Champlin (1980: 7; also 16).

here, in that 'Roman' is replaced by 'Italian'. This, as we will see (1.2.4), is not the earliest occurrence of *Italus* or a derivative in such a context. In this case, however, the change of terminology is not all that it might seem:

De ordine 2.17.45 si enim dicam te facile ad eum sermonem peruenturam, qui locutionis et linguae uitio careat, profecto mentiar. me enim ipsum, cui magna necessitas fuit ista perdiscere, adhuc in multis uerborum sonis Itali exagitant et a me uicissim, quod ad ipsum sonum attinet, reprehenduntur. aliud est enim esse arte, aliud gente securum.

Should I say that you will easily attain a state of language free from faults of expression and pronunciation, I would certainly lie. For I myself, upon whom there has been a great compulsion to learn these things thoroughly, am still criticised by the Italians in the matter of many sounds within words, and they in their turn are criticised by me in the matter of sound. It is one thing to be secure in one's training, another in one's birth.

The *De ordine* is dated to late 386.[12] It was almost exactly contemporary with the speech of Pacatus delivered in the senate discussed at 1.2.2. The African Augustine expresses very similar attitudes to those of the Gaul Pacatus. The *De ordine* was written at Augustine's retreat near Lake Como, Cassiacum. Since 384 he had been professor of rhetoric at Mediolanum.[13] At this point he addresses his mother Monica (45, *ne te, quaeso, mater*, . . .), who is present during the discussion recorded in the second book (2.1.1 *nobiscum erat etiam mater nostra*).

Italians were still (*adhuc*) able to find fault with Augustine's pronunciation. By implication his speech had changed, presumably because he was trying to emulate those around him: he even refers to the 'necessity' of getting things right. The final sentence quoted is an acknowledgment that education (*arte*) cannot obliterate from speech the marks of one's birth. Monica will not be able to achieve a Latinity free from fault (*uitium*, a word that will recur in this chapter as a designation of non-standard speech). Here 'Italian' Latin is treated as more 'correct' than provincial (cf. the first panegyric at 1.2.2 above). It is of interest that Augustine states that he for his part found fault with the Italians. This remark makes it obvious that real distinctions of accent ('sounds': see III.4.5) were perceptible between Augustine and his Italian acquaintances, and that they argued the point about what pronunciations were best. Augustine, intuitively grasping the arbitrariness of evaluating one pronunciation more highly than another, was not prepared to concede entirely the superiority of the Italian sounds, but despite this he betrays a linguistic insecurity. The Italians would have

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[12] See Brown (1967: 74).   [13] See Brown (1967: 69) on his appointment.

been his cultured acquaintances at Mediolanum, such as Ambrose, Zeno-bius, Romanianus, Hermogenianus and Manlius Theodorus.[14] Augustine's insecurity is reflected in the next sentence: *soloecismos autem quos dicimus fortasse quisque doctus diligenter in oratione mea reperiet* ('perhaps any care-fully instructed person will find in my speech so-called "solecisms"'), though he does go on to say that even Cicero was not free from fault.

The learned Augustine was conscious of his provincial speech in Medi-olanum, and he was attributing to the Latin spoken around him high pres-tige. Here, as will be seen later in the cases of Trier (1.2.9) and Aquitaine (3.1), we appear to find in the late Empire a regional centre removed from Rome acquiring a reputation for cultured Latinity. Several centuries ear-lier in the late Republic it would have been unthinkable that the Latin of Mediolanum should be treated as prestigious. Mediolanum was in Cisalpine Gaul, an area represented in the late Republic and early Empire as marked by substandard regional speech. It was not far from Placentia, the home of Tinga (see III.4.3). When in the earlier period its speech does provoke comment, it is for the persistence there of a substratum word (see above, III.6.9). However, Mediolanum of the late fourth century was a different place from that of the late Republic. It was the seat of the imperial court, and outsiders moved there from far afield, including Rome itself. Ambrose, for example, had been educated at Rome. It is of a certain interest that 'Italian' is now used instead of 'Roman' to characterise the type of language and culture admired by an outsider, but Augustine should not be taken as meaning that Mediolanum had its own dialect which he esteemed. He was using the term to embrace a circle of men of mixed origins. The passage is important mainly for revealing that even an educated African of the period could be recognised as such by his speech. There is also a hint that, just as Cicero, from Arpinum, thought that Roman Latin was better than that from outside, so in the late Empire outsiders still esteemed the Latin spoken at the seat of Empire, wherever its speakers might have originated.

1.2.4 Quintilian and Statius

Although one should not attach much significance to Augustine's use of *Itali*, there are hints of a change of attitude to Italian Latin under the Empire. The new attitude seems to come up in several places. Note first Quintilian 1.5.55: *uerba aut Latina aut peregrina sunt . . . taceo de Tuscis et Sabinis et Praenestinis quoque . . . licet omnia Italica pro Romanis habeam*

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[14] See Brown (1967: 88–90; also 70–1) on this circle, and particularly the comment (88), 'Augustine had every reason to feel out of his depth in Mediolanum. Even his African accent was noticeable.'

('words are either Latin or foreign . . . I say nothing of Tuscan, Sabine and even Praenestine words . . . Surely I can treat all Italian words as Roman'). Citing the attacks of Lucilius on Vettius and Pollio on Livy (see above, III.3), he suggests that it is permissible for him to regard 'Italian' words as 'Roman'. This does not mean that Italian provincial Latin did not exist; the wording implies that it did. What seems to be new is Quintilian's attitude to such varieties; they are put on a par with, or to be included within, Roman Latin.[15] But Quintilian's remark should not be pushed too far. He is talking only about loan-words (*uerba* is understood with *Tuscis* etc.), is somewhat hesitant in making his claim, and the examples he cites come from the past.

Moreover he is not consistent. At 8.1.3 he recommends that speech should be redolent of the city: *quare, si fieri potest, et uerba omnia et uox huius alumnum urbis oleant, ut oratio Romana plane uideatur, non ciuitate donata* ('If possible, then, let all our words and our pronunciation have a whiff of city breeding, so that our speech seems to be native Roman, not simply naturalized', Russell, Loeb). The wording and attitude here are suggestive of Cicero, and it is certain that Quintilian was thinking of some of the passages discussed in the last chapter (see III.4). Quintilian's attitudes were perhaps more tolerant than those of Cicero (as 1.5.55 above suggests), but he was not able to free himself from Cicero's linguistic judgments.

For Italian, as distinct from Roman, as by implication a new standard, there is the evidence of Statius: *Silv.* 4.5.45–6 <u>non sermo Poenus</u>, *non habitus tibi, / externa non mens*: <u>*Italus*</u>, <u>*Italus*</u> ('Your speech is not Punic, nor your bearing; your outlook is not foreign: Italian you are, Italian', Coleman 1988). Here a certain Septimius Severus,[16] an African, is complimented by Statius for his complete Romanisation, even in speech. I take *sermo Poenus* here as referring not to the language Punic, but to an African accent in Latin.[17] Severus is praised not for the specific Romanness of his speech and other attributes, but for Italianness.

This undifferentiated use of *Italus*, implying either that the writer did not perceive marked regional differences in Italy, or that he disregarded them and evaluated Italian varieties equally, can be paralleled in other passages that will be quoted in later sections. Consentius (below, 1.2.12.1) attributed a phonetic feature to *Itali* in general (if the text printed is accepted). Nonius Marcellus (p. 208 Lindsay) said of a lexical usage, *ut nunc Itali dicunt*.

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[15] Cf. Ramage (1963: 412).

[16] He is sometimes taken to be the grandfather of the future emperor of the same name, but that is disputed (see Birley 1988: 220).

[17] I follow Coleman (1988: 169). Cf. Champlin (1980: 16) with bibliography.

Charisius' source Julius Romanus (p. 279 Barwick: see 1.3.1) used the inclusive phrase *nostri per Campaniam*, thereby expressing solidarity with Campanians as fellow Italians. Columella (5.5.16: see 1.3.4) contrasted *nostri agricolae* with *Galli*, giving the sense 'our fellow Italian (farmers)' to *nostri*. In another passage (p. 114 Barwick: see 1.3.1) Charisius referred to *rustici in Italia*, as if there were no differentiation of rustic speech in the peninsula.

1.2.5   A passage of the Younger Pliny

There is a famous anecdote about the historian Tacitus in a letter of Pliny:

Epist. 9.23.2 numquam tamen maiorem cepi uoluptatem, quam nuper ex sermone Corneli Taciti. narrabat sedisse secum circensibus proximis equitem Romanum. hunc post uarios eruditosque sermones requisisse: 'Italicus es an prouincialis?' se respondisse: 'nosti me, et quidem ex studiis.' ad hoc illum: 'Tacitus es an Plinius?'

Yet I have never had greater pleasure than I recently got from an anecdote told by Cornelius Tacitus. He reported that at the last circus games a Roman knight sat with him. After a varied and learned conversation the man asked: 'Are you Italian or provincial?' Tacitus replied: 'You know me, and indeed from your oratorical studies.' To this the other responded: 'Are you Tacitus or Pliny?'[18]

The knight would not have asked his first question if he were not having difficulty placing Tacitus. *Italicus* could include Romans, but it was wider in scope, and was capable of embracing the inhabitants of the whole of Italy. The word might also be contrasted with *Romanus*, implying 'Italian from outside Rome' (see Quint. 1.5.55, discussed in the previous section).[19] The knight's choice of *Italicus* is cautious. He does not rule out the possibility that Tacitus may be Roman, but the use of *Italicus* suggests that he thinks not. That he then goes on to ask whether Tacitus is provincial demonstrates that he did not believe him to be Roman. A stranger would not ask an educated man at Rome if he were provincial without good reason.

There are different ways of interpreting this story. It may on one view be irrelevant to the question whether regional accents existed at this social level. Perhaps in conversation the provinces or regional Italy had come up,[20] and the knight had been led to think that Tacitus was not a Roman by birth because of some attitude that he had expressed or expertise that he had displayed. Alternatively he may have detected an accent that he recognised as non-Roman, but not easy to place. We cannot know the truth, but the

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[18] The passage is discussed by Syme (1958: 619) as part of his argument that Tacitus was of Narbonese origin. See also Sherwin-White (1966: 506).
[19] See Adams (2003a: 651–8).   [20] I am grateful to John Briscoe for this suggestion.

anecdote would certainly be nicely pointed if Tacitus' accent was at issue. The contrast between Italian and provincial is of interest, however one interprets the anecdote. This is recognition of a distinction that comes up often (as in the passage of Quintilian discussed in the last section, and in the 'three zones' of Latin mentioned in the last chapter, III.4.1). Also suggestive is the man's second question, 'are you Tacitus or Pliny?' Pliny was not Roman himself, but from Comum in the Transpadana, and Cisalpine Gaul was noted from republican times for its regional Latin. I mention this item to present the full picture, but its uncertainties are such that it cannot unequivocally be used as evidence that educated native speakers of Latin who were non-Roman might be picked up as such from their accents.

1.2.6 Apuleius

I mention here a use of *sermo Romanus/Romana lingua* in Apuleius, but only because it should be excluded from the discussion of a possible Roman form of Latin under the Empire, and because it provides a contrast with similar terminology discussed in the next two sections. At *Met.* 11.28 the narrator states that, as a consequence of his stay abroad (in Rome), he was able to make money from pleading as a lawyer in the 'Roman language': *quae res summum peregrinationi meae tribuebat solacium nec minus etiam uictum uberiorem subministrabat – quidni? – spiritu fauentis Euentus quaesticulo forensi nutrito per patrocinia sermonis Romani* ('This circumstance contributed the greatest comfort to my sojourn in Rome, and it also provided a more generous livelihood, naturally, since I was borne on by the breeze of favourable fortune and made some small profit in the forum through advocate's speeches in the Latin language', Griffiths 1975). There is an implied contrast here between his native Greekness (see *Met.* 1.1 on his acquired Latin) and his use of Latin during a *peregrinatio*. *Sermo Romanus* means the language of Rome (Latin, as distinct from Greek) not the Latin of Rome: there is no suggestion of a Roman dialect. There is a similar usage at *Florida* 18. There Apuleius refers to a dialogue which he has written in the two languages (Greek and Latin are several times contrasted) between Severus and Persius. The part in the language of Rome has been given to Severus, that in the language of Athens to Persius: 18.43 *paulatimque illis Seuerum adiungo, cui interim Romanae linguae partes dedi. nam et Persius, quamuis et ipse optime possit, tamen hodie uobis atticissabit* ('and gradually I add Severus to them, and to him for the time being I gave the role of speaking the language of Rome. For Persius, although he too can speak Latin very well, today will express himself to you in the language of

Athens'). The circumlocutions are references to the two languages which have already been contrasted, and not to particular dialects.

The use of *sermo Romanus*/*Romana lingua* here contrasts with the use of the same terminology in Consentius (see below, 3.2), and with a use of *sermo Romanus*, different again, in Sidonius (see 1.2.7) and of *os Romanum* in Macrobius (1.2.8). Such expressions (like comparable expressions with *Latinus* rather than *Romanus*) were variable in implication, their senses modulated by the context.[21]

1.2.7   Sidonius Apollinaris

A letter of Sidonius (*Epist.* 4.17.1–2) addressed to Arbogastes, governor of Trier (Augusta Treverorum, the chief city of north-east Gaul and a seat of the imperial court: see map 1) contains an extensive and old-fashioned eulogy of the Latinity of the addressee, who had just sent Sidonius a highly literary letter. Sidonius was himself a Gaul, born at Lugdunum in the first half of the fifth century. Arbogastes' letter was marked by *urbanitas*, and though written by the Moselle was in the language of the Tiber. 'Roman' *sermo* still survives, and in this context Sidonius clearly means the *sermo* of the city of Rome (note the reference to the Tiber), though the regular meaning of the phrase *lingua Romana* (and variants) is the 'Latin language' (but see above, 1.2.6 and the cross references):[22]

tertia urbanitas, qua te ineptire facetissime allegas et Quirinalis impletus fonte facundiae potor Mosellae Tiberim ructas, sic barbarorum familiaris, quod tamen nescius barbarismorum, par ducibus antiquis lingua manuque, sed quorum dextera solebat non stilum minus tractare quam gladium. (2) quocirca sermonis pompa Romani, si qua adhuc uspiam est, Belgicis olim siue Rhenanis abolita terris in te resedit, quo uel incolumi uel perorante, etsi apud limitem [ipsum] Latina iura ceciderunt, uerba non titubant.

In the third place comes your urbanity which leads you to make a most amusing profession of clumsiness when as a matter of fact you have drunk deep from the spring of Roman eloquence and, dwelling by the Moselle, you speak the true Latin of the Tiber: you are intimate with the barbarians but are innocent of barbarisms, and are equal in tongue, as also in strength of arm, to the leaders of old, I mean

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[21] See in general Flobert (1988), Kramer (1998), Adams (2003c: 194–6), but these works do not present the full picture, as they do not discuss the unusual examples in Consentius.

[22] See the bibliography cited in n. 21 above. I wrote recently (Adams (2003c: 191) that 'there is no clear-cut example of a narrow use of *lingua Romana* signifying a Roman dialect or variety of Latin'. I was not aware of the passages of Sidonius and Macrobius (1.2.8) at the time, but the assertion is only superficially undermined by Sidonius' use of *sermo Romanus* and Macrobius' of *os Romanum*. Sidonius was not talking about speech, but about the elegance of a piece of writing, using anachronistic terminology (*urbanitas*) of Ciceronian inspiration. So too Macrobius was referring exclusively to writing.

those who were wont to handle the pen no less than the sword. (2) Thus the splendour of the Roman speech, if it still exists anywhere, has survived in you, though it has long been wiped out from the Belgian and Rhenic lands: with you and your eloquence surviving, even though Roman law has ceased at our border, the Roman speech does not falter (Anderson, Loeb).

The passage is about written Latin, not speech, and is less interesting than those discussed above. Sidonius really means that Arbogastes has had a literary education and is as skilled at writing as the old Romans, but he generalises somewhat and in effect sets up a distinction between Roman and provincial Latin. Strictly, however, the Roman Latin he has in mind is that of the past, and the passage does not reveal anything about dialects in the fifth century.

We have the views of Sidonius in this letter, but Arbogastes himself had obviously stressed the provincialism of his Latin in the letter he wrote to Sidonius.

1.2.8 *Macrobius*

The origin of Macrobius is not known, but he was non-Roman and possibly African. In the preface to the *Saturnalia* (11–12), addressing his son, he alludes to his birth 'under a different sky', and apologises in advance if he lacks the elegance of the *os Romanum*, which, like *sermo Romanus* in the previous passage, must refer specifically to the Latin of Rome:

nihil enim huic operi insertum puto aut cognitu inutile aut difficile perceptu, sed omnia quibus sit ingenium tuum uegetius, memoria adminiculatior, oratio sollertior, sermo incorruptior, nisi sicubi nos sub alio ortos caelo Latinae linguae uena non adiuuet. (12) quod ab his, si tamen quibusdam forte non nunquam tempus uoluntasque erit ista cognoscere, petitum impetratumque uolumus ut aequi bonique consulant, si in nostro sermone natiua <u>Romani oris</u> elegantia desideretur.

For I think that nothing has been put in this work which is either useless to know or difficult to understand, but everything is intended to enliven your intellect, strengthen your memory, make your delivery more resourceful and your speech more correct, except in so far as I may be let down from time to time, as one born under a different sky, by the stock of my Latin. (12) If by chance there do turn out to be some with the time and the will to make the acquaintance occasionally of these themes of mine, them I would ask, and hope to persuade, that they should look on this work fairly and indulgently, should the natural elegance of Roman speech be lacking in my language.

Again the reference is to (correct) writing, not to speech, and the passage is a topos about the superiority of Roman culture and the supposed inadequacy of provincial. For *os* + adjective used in reference to regional

language, see below, 2.1 on *Hispanum os*. For the idea that Roman elegance comes 'naturally' (*natiua*) see the Gallic panegyrics (1.2.2).

1.2.9   Ausonius

At XVI.381–3 Green (*Mosella*) Ausonius addresses the river and praises its distinctions:

> salue, magne parens frugumque uirumque, Mosella!
> te clari proceres, te bello exercita pubes,
> aemula te Latiae decorat facundia linguae.

Hail Moselle, great parent of crops and men. You are adorned by famous nobles, by youth trained in war, by eloquence that rivals the tongue of Latium.

The 'eloquence that rivals the tongue of Latium' is more likely to refer to literary language and rhetorical accomplishments than to anything as mundane as accent. *Lingua Latia* is a variant on *lingua Romana* and *os Romanum* as seen in the previous sections. The standard of comparison remains Rome, even when provincial eloquence is praised. Ausonius was at the imperial court at Trier,[23] and that is the location of the Latin that rivals that of Latium (contrast 1.2.7 above). So Mediolanum, also an imperial seat, was treated by Augustine as a place of superior Latinity (1.2.3).

1.2.10   Consentius

Several times in the grammarian Consentius the expressions *Romana lingua* and *Romanus sermo* are used of an esteemed variety of the language that on the face of it might be the Latin of Rome. I discuss and rule out this possibility below (3.2).

1.2.11   Some conclusions

All the writers discussed above who referred to the superiority of Roman Latin, or at least treated it as the standard of comparison, were outsiders (Spaniards, Gauls or Africans; Statius was from Naples) rather than Romans. But there is one difference between the imperial and the republican *testimonia* concerning this Romanness of language. Various republican writers (Plautus, Lucilius and Cicero) accorded prestige to Roman Latin by disparaging, in implicit or even explicit comparison with the Roman ideal, varieties of Latin spoken outside the city in Italy, as for example at Praeneste, Sora or in unspecified rustic places. Under the Empire it is the

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[23] See Green (1991: xxviii).

Latin of more distant provinces (Spain, Gaul and Africa in the *testimonia* discussed above) that is compared unfavourably (usually by provincials themselves) with the Latin of Rome. Varieties of Italian Latin are no longer disparaged, and indeed 'Italianness' can even be treated as an ideal comparable to Romanness (see 1.2.3–4). The change of emphasis could be due to several factors. It might, first, reflect the chance survival of so many texts written by Gauls, Spaniards and Africans, which are bound occasionally to betray their writers' linguistic attitudes. Second, it is possible that among the educated class during the Empire a more liberal and inclusive attitude to Italian varieties had developed following the political unification of Italy. There is a hint of such a change in Quintilian and Statius (1.2.4).

While the *testimonia* generally defer to Roman Latin as the model, there is a change of attitude in one of them (1.2.9). Eloquence in the region of the Moselle matches that of Rome. By the late Empire there were centres of culture away from Rome, particularly in Gaul (see below, 3.1).

An obvious question is raised by the material discussed so far. Was it a mere topos for provincials to assert the inferiority of their Latin compared with that of Romans, or were there differences of substance between provincial and Roman Latin during the later period (see above, 1.2)? If a provincial addressing Romans maintains that his speech is crude, we cannot deduce that his accent differed from that of his addressees. He may be affecting a linguistic modesty to win the favour of the audience. But the passage of Augustine is different. Augustine was addressing (albeit in a dialogue for publication) a fellow provincial with whom he was on intimate terms (his mother), and false modesty would have been out of place. He gives details about the disparagement he received from the Italians, and specifies that he and they held different opinions about certain sounds. He refers to the 'necessity' of learning things properly. He could not have written in this way if real differences of pronunciation were not perceived on both sides. There is further evidence to be presented later in this chapter (4) for distinctive phonetic features of African Latin. The utterances of grammarians on this subject are usually hard to understand, but grammarians must have been conscious of the otherness of African Latin to write as they did. The passage addressed to Monica shows that Augustine was recognisable as an outsider and that his aim was to emulate the speech of educated Italians, something which he thought it impossible to achieve perfectly. It follows that, though there may be an element of the conventional in most of the assertions quoted (cf. particularly the passage of Sulpicius Severus discussed below, 3.1, where a comparable remark is picked up by another speaker as being an insincere topos; note too 1.2.7), the speech of educated Romans and

provincials continued to be distinct over many centuries, with the Roman variety esteemed.

It is not always easy (see 1.2.1) to be certain whether a writer is referring to a regional dialect or a social dialect when he expresses admiration for Romanness of language. Was Martial comparing like with like when he contrasted (by implication) the Latin spoken near the Salo with that spoken on the Palatine? He might have had in mind (despite the arguments advanced earlier, at 1.2.1) run-of-the-mill Spanish Latin on the one hand, and the educated speech of upper-class Romans on the other. The passage of Augustine again provides evidence of superior quality. Augustine and his Italian friends belonged to the same, highly educated, class, and the differences they were conscious of between African and Italian sounds were related to the geographical origin of the speakers rather than to their social class.

In the first three passages (above, 1.2.1–3) the Latin speech of provincials was at issue. Statius (1.2.4) and possibly Pliny (1.2.5) also refer to speech. But Sidonius (1.2.7) and Macrobius (1.2.8) were commenting only on the written word. Both refer to an ideal of Romanness, but it is manifested in written form only, and falling short of that ideal would be a cultural shortcoming not necessarily related to local varieties of the language.

I stress finally the diversity of meaning of the phrases *lingua Romana*/*sermo Romanus* (and one or two variants). We have seen evidence of this already, but a different meaning again will come up later (3.2).

1.2.12   The other side of the coin

Linguistic insecurity may manifest itself in conflicting ways. The point could be illustrated from the inconsistent attitudes to Greek discernible among Romans over a long period.[24] Provincial outsiders under the Empire such as Augustine might have felt uneasy about their Latin in comparison with that of Romans or Italians, but such unease did not always show up simply in acknowledgments of their inferiority. Augustine attempted to turn the tables on his detractors by finding fault with their speech, even though he tells his mother that the complete elimination of 'faults' is impossible for a provincial. If Italy was considered (reluctantly or otherwise) by many outsiders to be the centre of Latin culture, one should not be surprised to find these outsiders on the one hand admiring 'correctness' that upheld the reputed Italian (particularly Roman) cultural superiority,

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[24] See e.g. Adams (2003a: 540–1), and the references to 'insecurity' in the index to the same work, p. 807 s.v. 'attitudes, linguistic'.

but on the other hand looking for substandard usages that might undermine the reputation. I illustrate this second tendency from two passages of the grammarian (?) Consentius. Also relevant is a passage of the rhetorician Consultus Fortunatianus (1.3.4).

1.2.12.1   Consentius on Italians (?)

Consentius (of the fifth century?) has a section about *gentilia uitia*, 'vices' (of speech), peculiar to certain peoples, *gentes*. The text as printed by Keil (*GL* V.395) was changed by Niedermann (1937) following a reading in a Basel manuscript which was not available to Keil, who based himself on a single *codex Monacensis*. I print Niedermann's text (17.1–6):

sed et in aliis litteris sunt gentilia quaedam quorundam uitia. ecce ut <in t> Itali ita pingue nescio quid sonant, ut cum dicunt *etiam*, nihil de media syllaba infringant. Graeci contra, ubi non debent infringere, de sono eius litterae infringunt, ut, cum dicunt *optimus*, mediam syllabam ita sonent, quasi post *t z* Graecum admisceant.

But also in other letters [i.e. phonemes] there are certain national vices perpetrated by some people. For example, the Italians in the case of *t* produce such a full sound that when they say *etiam* they make no modification of the middle syllable.[25] Greeks by contrast, when they should not make a modification, modify the sound of that letter (*t*) so that, when they say *optimus*, they pronounce the middle syllable just as if they were blending in a Greek *z* after the *t*.[26]

Niedermann took *Itali* from B, whereas M instead of *ut Itali* has *ut in tali uerbo*. Keil emended to *ecce in littera t aliqui ita pingue*. The interpretation of the passage remains problematic and significant emendation has been resorted to by both Keil and Niedermann to introduce some sort of sense.[27]

   Whatever modification *infringant* might refer to, Italians are described as not perpetrating it (note the strong *nihil*). They therefore must have pronounced the word as trisyllabic (with or without a glide, *etijam* or *etiam*).[28] But that pronunciation seems to be presented by Consentius as a vice (note the opening sentence; but see further below). This view is in

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[25] *Frango* (see *OLD* s.v. 6b) and *infringo* could be used of the second of two consecutive consonants modifying the first (so *OLD*; see also Russell 2001: I, 109 n. 15 on Quint. 1.4.11). This, however, is an excessively restrictive definition of the use of the verb. At 12.10.29 Quintilian speaks of the letter *f* in the word *frangit* itself 'fracturing' a consonant (*quotiens aliquam consonantium frangit, ut in hoc ipso 'frangit'*, 'when *f* "fractures" a consonant, as it does in the word *frangit* itself), and that consonant can only be the adjacent *r*, which follows rather than precedes the consonant responsible for the fracturing. The passage of Consentius is different again. Consentius has in mind palatalisations of the type *tj > tz*. For a discussion of the sense of *infringo* see Vainio (1999: 99).

[26] *Optimus* does not concern me here, but see the discussion of the text by Vainio (1999: 101–2) (*z Graecum* or *y Graecum*?).

[27] See the discussion of Vainio (1999: 98–102).   [28] See Vainio (1999: 100).

line with that of other grammarians (most notably Pompeius *GL* V.286.6–33),[29] who regard the spelling pronunciation of words such as *etiam* and *Titius* as wrong. If to Consentius both the trisyllabic pronunciation and the insertion of *z* were wrong, one must ask what pronunciation he considered to be right, and the only possibility would seem to be that with yodisation of the second vowel such that the word were disyllabic (*etjam*).[30] Were 'Italians' really noted for giving full value to the vowel in the combinations *ti, di* (followed by another vowel)?[31] It is not at all unlikely that there were careful speakers who avoided yodisation and palatalisation in these environments, and that Consentius (himself possibly a Gaul)[32] had heard some of them in Italy, presumably among the educated classes. But it would be hard to believe that these speakers were located only in Italy, or that this was a genuine regional feature. To judge by the discussions of grammarians there was some controversy about how *ti* + vowel was to be 'correctly' treated, and there were probably variations to be heard related to the education, social class and linguistic attitudes of speakers, and not merely to their places of origin. It must also be stressed that the text is uncertain, and the correctness of *Itali* not guaranteed. An alternative interpretation of the passage is also possible. Perhaps it is only Greeks who are portrayed as having a vice, with Italian usage by contrast mentioned only as the correct standard. If *Itali* is accepted, and if the first interpretation above is adopted, are we to detect in Consentius' remark the complex attitude of the provincial to the speech of Rome and Italy? Commentators on Latin usage were often not objective observers, but motivated by ideology of one sort or another. Not every assertion can be taken at its face value, particularly since, whatever their own prejudices, commentators did not necessarily have an extensive knowledge of the speech of different regions and social classes.

When Consentius (above) described what Greeks did, he was talking about speakers of Latin as a second language. When he referred to Italians (if indeed he did), he was talking about native speakers of Latin. He was not comparing like with like.

1.2.12.2   Consentius on the Roman plebs
In introducing his discussion of barbarisms Consentius makes the unusual claim that he will take his examples not from written texts, in the manner

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[29] For a clear text with translation see Kramer (1976: 70); also Wright (1982: 60).
[30] See Vainio (1999: 99).
[31] Note the conflicting testimony of Isidore *Etym.* 20.9.14 *solent Itali dicere ozie pro hodie* (see Kramer 1976: 72).
[32] See Kaster (1988: 396–7).

of his grammatical predecessors, but from spoken colloquial Latin (*GL* V.391.25–33. = Niedermann 1937: 10.17–11.1):[33]

nunc iam quibus modis barbarismus fiat tempestiuius proferemus, in quo equidem non imitabor eos scriptores, qui exempla huius modi uitiorum de auctoritate lectionum dare uoluerunt . . . nos exempla huius modi dabimus, quae in usu cotidie loquentium animaduertere possumus, si paulo ea curiosius audiamus.

Now I shall set forth more opportunely the forms that barbarism may take. I will not imitate those writers who have wanted to give examples of such faults which have the authority of coming from their reading matter. . . . I will give the type of examples which we can observe in everyday speech if we listen for them with a little more attention than usual.

He was true to his word.[34] Indeed in one place he comments on a 'vice' of the Roman plebs (*GL* V.392.14–17 = Niedermann 1937: 11.24–6):

per immutationem fiunt barbarismi sic: litterae, ut si quis dicat *bobis* pro *uobis*, *peres* pro *pedes*,[35] *stetim* pro *statim*, quod uitium plebem Romanam quadam deliciosa nouitatis affectione corrumpit.

Barbarisms by substitution take place as follows: by substitution of a letter, as for example if someone were to say *bobis* for *uobis*, *peres* for *pedes* or *stetim* for *statim*, a vice which corrupts the Roman plebs with their indulgent aspiration for novelty.

It is possible that the topic of the relative clause is specifically the form *stetim*, but it seems more likely that *uitium* refers back to the general phenomenon of *immutatio litterae*. No normal phonetic development can be invoked to explain *stetim*. Leumann (1977: 501)[36] suggests that the perfect form *steti* may have influenced the word. A notable phrase in this discussion is *deliciosa nouitatis affectione*. The Roman plebs had a wanton taste for novelty. This passage is as much about social dialect as about regionalisms, but it also conveys a negative attitude to Romans that no doubt encouraged

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[33] For discussion of this passage see Vainio (1999: 71–2); also (1999: 74).

[34] See Abbott (1909: 233), Vainio (1999: 74).

[35] On this form and for parallel misspellings see Jeanneret (1918: 34–5), Svennung (1932: 87), Battisti (1949: 55, 57, 157), Leumann (1977: 155), Sommer and Pfister (1977: 138); also Dessau *ILS* II.2.832, index (*aruorsum*, *arfuerunt*). Abbott (1909: 242) says that *pere* is perpetuated in Neapolitan dialect, and Jeanneret (1918: 34) assigns it to southern Italian dialects and Sicily. A more authoritative account of rhotacism of /d/ in Italian dialects can be found in Rohlfs (1966: 204, 294–5). He describes it as characteristic of parts of Sicily, Lucania, Campania and Calabria, and, in intervocalic position, the popular dialect of e.g. Florence, Pisa and Pistoia, for certain words. But it is not clear whether the phenomenon is of fairly recent origin in Italian dialects, or a continuation of the development reflected in the Latin misspellings. Unfortunately Consentius does not make it clear whether he had heard *peres* in a particular area. I am grateful to Martin Maiden for advice on this matter.

[36] See also Vainio (1999: 115), citing a few items of bibliography.

the writer to seek out vices in them that he might have found in others as
well if he had chosen to look.

   There is a relevant passage in the rhetorician Consultus Fortunatianus,
which will be discussed later (1.3.4).

1.3   Specific usages from parts of Italy

I turn to *testimonia* concerning specific regionalisms in parts of Italy. Much
of the evidence comes from Columella and Pliny, both of whom had a habit
of commenting on local practices and terminology, and not merely, as we
will see, in Italy. A more shadowy figure with an interest in local forms of
Latin was a grammarian Julius Romanus who was extensively quoted by
Charisius.

1.3.1   Columella, Pliny and Julius Romanus on Campania and some other parts of Italy

An observation by Columella at 2.10.18 may serve to introduce a class
of evidence. I refer to remarks about the peasant usage of Campania, a
topic which came up in the last chapter in relation to Varro's observation
about the use of *secula* (III.6.10): *putre solum, quod Campani pullum uocant,
plerumque desiderant* ('they generally need friable soil,[37] which the Cam-
panians call *pullum*'). *Pullus* was normally a colour term ('drab-coloured,
sombre' or the like), but it had another use, of the 'friable soil characteristic
of the Volcanic districts of Italy' (*OLD* s.v. c). Such friable soil was typically
black in colour (see below and n. 38). This use is attributed by Columella
to Campania, not only in the passage just cited but also at 1. praef. 24,
from which it emerges that *pullus* of soil had not entirely lost its connec-
tion with colour: *atque in aliis regionibus nigra terra, quam pullam uocant,
ut in Campania, est laudabilis* ('and in other regions black soil, which they
call *pulla*, for example in Campania, is commendable'). Pliny (*Nat.* 17.25)
makes a similar remark: *nec pulla, qualem habet Campania, ubique optima
uitibus* ('nor is *pulla*, such as Campania has, everywhere best for vines').
As early as Cato the usage is indirectly linked with Campania: *Agr.* 135.2
aratra in terram ualidam Romanica bona erunt, in terram pullam Campanica
('Roman ploughs will be good for heavy soil, Campanian for friable'). There
is an implication that such soil would be encountered in Campania. Cato's

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[37] See Mynors (1990: 128) on *Georg.* 2.203–4 for this use of *putris*. The word is also used thus by
Columella at 5.4.2 *quae (pastinatio) tamen ipsa paene superuacua est his locis quibus solum putre et
per se resolutum est* ('nevertheless this [digging and levelling] is itself almost superfluous in places in
which the soil is friable and crumbles of its own accord').

remark at 151.2 (*serito in loco ubi terra tenerrima erit, quam pullam uocant*, 'plant in a place where the soil shall be very friable, the so-called *pulla*') also suggests that there was something unusual about the usage: as in some of the above passages *pullus* is relegated to a relative clause and a mundane term is used in the main clause. Cf. Col. 3.11.6 *si facilis est humus et modice resoluta, quam dicimus pullam uocitari* ('if the soil is readily workable and moderately loose in texture, which I say is called *pulla*'). As is often the case, agricultural writers are more concerned with the material itself, but in passing they offer information about the terminology used to describe it.

Pullus survives in this sense in only one area of the Romance-speaking world, in the south of Italy (Calabria) (*puḍḍu*).[38] It was an authentic regional usage at the time of Columella, and it lived on in much the same southern area into the modern period. This is a striking case of linguistic continuity between antiquity and modern times. The usage was not so technical that it could not be replaced by near equivalents. In the material just cited it is equated with *putris*, *tenerrimus* and *modice resolutus*. The localised usage in this case is to be put down to special local conditions. A local soil had a colour for which the colour term *pullus* was an appropriate designation, and the colour term as a result shifted its meaning to designate the physical characteristic of the soil.

There are further *testimonia* about Campania. Note Pliny *Nat.* 17.77: *sulco, qui nouenarius dicitur, altitudine pedum III, pari latitudine et eo amplius circa positas pedes terni undique e solido adaggerantur. arulas id uocant in Campania* ('they [elms] are set[39] in a ditch called *nouenarius* [= having a cross section of nine square feet], three feet deep and three feet across, or more. Around them, when they have been planted, mounds three feet high are piled up on all sides of solid earth. These they call *arulae* in Campania'). This seems to be the only attested case of *arula* ('little altar') with such a meaning. It signified a mound (around the base of an elm). Regional technical terms to do with land measurement, description, and uses for agricultural purposes are often noted in technical writers (see XI.3.6.3).[40] These were sometimes loan-words from local languages which conferred a local flavour on the Latin of the area.[41] In this case again

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[38] See Rohlfs (1932–9: II, 170), giving the senses 'soffice, molle, grasso', and deriving the usage from Lat. *pullus* 'molle'; cf. Rohlfs (1977: 552), *REW* 6829 (specifying that the Calabrian term is used 'von der Erde'). On the sense of *pullus* see also André (1949b: 71): the word indicates 'une terre où entrent des matières végétales en décomposition, un terreau. C'était une locution des paysans campaniens. . . . Cette terre est noire.'

[39] By this I translate *positas*, which is rendered twice in this translation.

[40] See also Adams (2003a: 450) with cross references.

[41] See Adams (2003a: 450, 456, 457).

the regional term had an ordinary Latin equivalent (*agger*). A substitute for *agger* in use at Reate (*murus*) was noted in the previous chapter (III.6.6). We know the term of the standard language, and dialect terms in use in two different places, though these may not have been interchangeable.

Arula in this new sense was a metaphor. Cicero for one had been well aware that peasants were given to coining colourful metaphors.[42] Here we see another way in which a dialect term may originate. Speech of all types is incorrigibly metaphorical, but not all metaphors spread across a whole community. Some may be restricted to technical registers. Others, coined in a region and catching on there, may not travel beyond the area in which they were invented. Varieties of rural speech in the Roman Empire must have abounded in localised metaphorical usages. Another example will be seen below (*mergus*: see 1.3.4).

For a more unusual type of comment on a Campanian expression, see Plin. *Nat.* 25.98: *piscatores Campaniae radicem eam, quae rotunda est, uenenum terrae uocant, coramque nobis contusam mixta calce in mare sparsere. aduolant pisces cupiditate mira* ('Campanian fishermen call the root[43] which is round "poison of the earth" , and in my presence they crushed it mixed with lime and scattered it over the sea. Fish flew to it with remarkable zeal'). Pliny had heard the Campanian fishermen's expression himself (*coramque nobis*). This is a term from a special register, but it was also connected with a region.

Another allusion to Campanian usage is found in the grammarian Charisius: p. 278.24–279.2 Barwick *primo pedatu Cato senex, '. . . primo pedatu et secundo'*, *ut Maximus notat; hodieque nostri per Campaniam sic locuntur* ('*primo pedatu* was used by old Cato [in a fragment of the *Origines*], ". . . by the first and second approach" , as Maximus notes; today our people throughout Campania say this'). There is uncertainty about the source of the remark. The passage is in a part of Charisius taken from a lost writer C. Iulius Romanus discoursing on adverbs.[44] The date of Romanus is uncertain but lies somewhere between the beginning of the third century and the middle of the fourth.[45] The Maximus referred to is Statilius Maximus, another lost writer, who is often quoted by Romanus as preserved in Charisius.[46] The date of Statilius was probably no later than the early

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[42] See *De orat.* 3.155 *nam gemmare uitis, luxuriem esse in herbis, laetas segetes etiam rustici dicunt* ('even rustics say that vines "put forth jewels" , that there is "luxury" in the plants, that the crops are "happy"'; cf. *Orat.* 81). Cicero was probably wrong in implying that these usages were metaphorical developments of the standard urban use of the various terms; the agricultural meanings were the original ones. Nevertheless he conveys a view of peasant usage. See further Müller (2001: 46).

[43] A type of aristolochia.   [44] For details of the passage see Kaster (1988: 424).

[45] For a full discussion of the matter see now Kaster (1988: 424–5).

[46] On Statilius see Zetzel (1974).

third century and no earlier than the beginning of the second.[47] The question arises whether Maximus or Romanus was responsible for the remark about Campania beginning at *hodieque*.[48] I quote Zetzel (1974: 121 n. 18), with whom I agree: 'It should be noted here that Tolkiehn, *RE* 10 (1917) 788f., is surely wrong to ascribe the reference to Campania to Statilius rather than to Romanus.' Romanus elsewhere shows an interest in regional usages (see below); and the verb *notat* is typical of Romanus' citations of Statilius.[49] It seems likely that Romanus added a comment of his own to the remark of Statilius.[50] Statilius was citing an earlier writer, whereas Romanus refers to a usage of his own time (for this habit of his see below on *commodo*).

The reference to Campania obviously cannot be taken as evidence that Romanus was a Campanian;[51] otherwise we might argue that Varro, Columella and Pliny were Campanians. But Kaster (1988: 425) was probably right to suggest that the remark implies that Romanus was an Italian: note the inclusive *nostri*.

Pedatus always occurs with ordinals. It was possibly a military term in origin,[52] perhaps signifying the various waves of an attack (= *impetus*, *accessio*: see the definition of the *TLL*, X.1.965.26; from *pes*, perhaps through an intermediary **pedare*, for which cf. the compound *repedare*: so *TLL* 965.16f.). This possibility has some support from a use of *tertio pedatu* at Plaut. *Cist.* 526. There the speaker threatens incoherently that he will make an assault (on a woman, her daughter, himself and her whole household) in three stages, the first marked by *hodie*, the second by *poste . . . cras* and the third (a climax, in that 'everyone' is under threat) by *tertio pedatu*: *nisi ego teque tuamque filiam . . . hodie optruncauero, poste autem cum primo luci cras nisi ambo occidero, . . . nisi pedatu tertio omnis ecflixero*. According to the *OLD* s.v. *pedatus* might have indicated '[o]ne of three formal stages in presenting an ultimatum or sim.'. This interpretation, which does not seem appropriate to the Plautine passage, may be based partly on the fragment of Cato's *Origines* (28) quoted by Nonius p. 89 Lindsay (*igitur tertio pedato bellum nobis facere*, 'therefore to make war on us at the third ultimatum [?]'), from which it may be deduced that a *pedatus* did not necessarily constitute an act of war, and partly on Nonius' definition of the word in the same passage: p. 89 *'pedato' positum pro <u>repetitu uel accessu</u>, quasi per pedem, sicuti nunc uulgo dicitur, 'tertio pedato'* ('*pedato* is said for

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[47] So Zetzel (1974: 109).
[48] At *TLL* X.1.965.23 the passage of Charisius is cited with the comment *ex Palaemone*. It is unclear why this suggestion is made.
[49] See Zetzel (1974: 110; also 112).   [50] This would also seem to be the view of Kaster (1988: 425).
[51] See, similarly, Strzelecki (1967).   [52] See Heraeus (1902: 263); also *TLL* X.1.965.26f.

"demanding back" or "approach", as if on foot, as in the current popular phrase, "at the third approach"'). Could *repetitus*, lit. 'act of demanding back', refer to an ultimatum? The word does not appear in the *OLD* or Lewis and Short, and one can only guess what Nonius might have had in mind. An alternative would be to take *pedatus* as meaning less specifically something like 'approach' (in which case the *pedatus* might, but need not, have entailed an attack). Nonius' use of *accessu* favours this view, but he does seem to have given the word alternative meanings. If *primo* (etc.) *pedatu* was still in use in Campania in the third century (note that the passage of Nonius just cited refers to a current [*uulgo*] use of the phrase *tertio pedatu*), it is unlikely to have retained any military sense. It had probably been gen-eralised[53] to mean, say, 'the first (etc.) time'. Perhaps the word was brought to Campania by military settlers and then underwent a semantic change. If so its history would illustrate another factor in the emergence of dialect usages. A word may be transported by migration or colonisation to a new environment and take on a new meaning there detached from its original setting.

This is an appropriate place to mention two other references to Italian usages in Charisius, though these do not have to do with Campania. The first is again from Romanus, p. 251.5–10 Barwick. I quote the text of Schenkeveld (2004: 92), which has some significant emendations:

par est, ut in multis generibus istius modi dictionis, *commodo commode*que, ut Plautus in Friuolaria *commodo dictitemus*, *commode* Titinius.[54] non quia negem ultra Aufinum[55] interque Vestinos sed et Teatinis et Marrucinis esse moris *e* litteram relegare, *o* uidelicet pro eadem littera claudentibus dictionem.

It is 'equal', as in many kinds of word of the type of *commodo* and *commode*, as Plautus in the *Friuolaria* says *commodo dictitemus*, and Titinius *commode*. Not that I would deny that it is customary beyond Aufinum and among the Vestini and also for the Teatini and Marrucini to banish the letter *e*, in that they close the word with *o* instead of that letter [i.e. *e*, just mentioned].

The section is about adverbs ending in *-e* and/or *-o*. Sometimes only *-o* is found (e.g. *liquido*), sometimes only *-e* (e.g. *rarissime*), sometimes the two are in complementary distribution (?), and sometimes they are equivalents,

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[53] See Heraeus loc. cit., and also id. (1904: 429), *TLL* X.1.965.27.

[54] These two words are inserted by Schenkeveld from p. 255.10–11 Barwick. See Schenkeveld (2004: 121).

[55] This is an emendation by Schenkeveld (anticipated by Mommsen) for *Sassinum* or *Safinum*. Aufinum is in the territory of the Vestini (see map 2a), which is appropriate for the context. If *Sassinum* were a mistake for *Sarsinam* the sense would be far less satisfactory, because Sarsina was a long way from the other places mentioned, in Umbria. See Schenkeveld (2004: 122).

i.e. 'equal',[56] as in *commodo* and *commode*, and 'in many kinds of words of this type'. The usual adverb from *commodus* is *commode* (common), but Romanus was able to establish an equivalence by citing the rare term *commodo* from Plautus alongside (it seems: see n. 54) *commode* from Titinius. Romanus then seems to say that in certain places among the Vestini and Marrucini (Teate, mod. Chieti, was in the territory of the Marrucini) the usual equivalence of the type *commodo = commode* is not found, because the form with *-e* had been dropped in favour of that with *-o*. In effect he is stating that the less usual form was the norm in those places. That would mean, if the assertion is correct, that the *-o* form was a dialect word in the various places. I take it that the reference in *dictionem* is to *commodo* alone, and not to a group of words in which the *-o* form had prevailed in the places mentioned.

Further light is thrown on this passage by a partial repetition a few pages later: p. 255.9–11 Barwick *similiter et commodo dixerunt, ut Plautus in Friuolaria. commode Titinius in Iurisperita* ('similarly they also said *commodo*, as Plautus in the *Friuolaria*. *Commode* was used by Titinius in the *Iurisperita*'). Charisius/Romanus has just illustrated an unusual use of *cotidio* for *cotidie*. That *commodo* had once been used for *commode* is offered as a parallel. The crucial element of this passage is the past tense *dixerunt*: the equivalence of *commodo* and *commode* (with Plautus using one and Titinius the other) lay in the past. The first passage, at p. 251 above, as it was printed by Barwick (without the reference to Titinius) is elliptical, in that it is not at first made explicit that Romanus was deliberately illustrating the interchangeability of *commodo* and *commode* from an early period. But this point needs to be grasped if the next sentence on p. 251 (lines 11–12), that following the allusion to the Vestini et al., is to be understood; for that reason Schenkeveld's insertion of the reference to Titinius rings true. The passage (251.11–12) runs as follows: *itaque ueteres nec haec seu facultas siue ratio seu quidquid est elegantiarum potuit euadere* ('and so this facility [of using the two forms as synonyms] or system or whatever form of elegance it is was not able to survive beyond the ancients'; for this use of *euado* see *OLD* s.v.). The line of argument from *par est* (251.5) onwards is thus: (1) the ancients were able to use *commodo* as well as *commode* (Plautus has the first and Titinius the second); (2) *commodo* did survive, but only in certain regions, and in those regions there was no interchangeability of *commodo* and *commode* because there *commodo* banished *commode* entirely;

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[56] On this fourfold division see Schenkeveld (2004: 120). The significance of the third category and its relationship to the fourth are unclear.

(3) therefore the interchangeability did not survive beyond the ancients. On this interpretation Romanus in referring to the Vestini and others must have been talking about his own time.[57]

On this evidence Julius Romanus was a writer with an ear for Italian regionalisms. His remarks, unlike those of some other commentators on Italy, are not based on agricultural technical terms. His second comment (that on *commodo*) unusually concerns a regionalism definable in morphological terms. Moreover he was referring to the usage of his own day. The allusion to the Marrucini and Vestini might seem at first sight to have a republican flavour to it, and thus to recall the comments about republican usage seen in the last chapter which are expressed in such a way as to imply that the writer was talking about the Empire (see III.8.1 with cross references). In the present passage the logic of the argument requires us to assume that Romanus was making an observation about the present. The emergence of the dialect term in this case has to do partly with the date at which Latin spread to the area. The Marrucini and closely associated Vestini originally spoke an Italic language of Oscan type. They were allies of the Romans from before 300 BC, and from about that time must have been exposed to Latin. *Commodo* was in use in early Latin but no longer by the classical period. At the time when the Marrucini and Vestini first began to pick up Latin *commodo* must still have been current. It fell out of use in mainstream Latin but fared better in remote central eastern Italy. A parallel of sorts was seen in the history of *quando* (III.6.2). One of its uses became archaic at Rome in the later Republic but survived outside the city.

Italian regional usage comes up also at Charisius p. 114.7 Barwick: *deminutione autem panis* <u>*pastillus*</u> *dicitur,* <u>*ut hodieque in Italia rusticos dicere animaduertimus*</u> ('but by a diminutive formation *panis* is called *pastillus*, something we observe rustics in Italy saying today'). The phraseology is similar to that at p. 279.1 above (note *hodieque*), though this passage is not in one of those parts of Charisius definitely taken from Romanus (for which see Kaster 1988: 424). *Pastillus* is a common term, but not in the original sense (of a small loaf) that it seems to have here. Usually

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[57] I note in passing that the next sentence on p. 251 as it is printed by Barwick (12ff.) is nonsensical. Again there is a repetition on p. 255 which illuminates the earlier passage. At 255.7–9 the abnormal use of *cotidio* for *cotidie* is illustrated from Q. Caepio (*cum ab isto uiderem cotidio consiliis hostes adiuuari*, 'when I saw that by him daily the enemy were being helped with plans'). As the same quotation is printed by Barwick at 251.14–15 *cotidie* is used instead of *cotidio* (*cum ab isto uiderem, inquit, cotidie hostis adiuuari*). This text, quite apart from being inconsistent with that on p. 255, makes nonsense of the next sentence (251.15 *quae quidem ego reprehendenda non iudico*, 'this I for my part do not judge to be blameworthy'). It was only the abnormal form *cotidio* that some might have considered blameworthy: *cotidie* was standard. Schenkeveld (2004: 92) correctly prints *cotidio*.

the word is metaphorical (of things resembling a small loaf in shape), and it is mainly found in medical writers of types of medicament (*TLL* X.1.632.45ff.). The only examples in the literal meaning quoted by the *TLL*, 632.16ff., with the exception of a problematic case in the title of *Anth. Lat.* 231,[58] are from grammatical works which comment on the word, as distinct from embedding it in discourse. Festus p. 298.5–6 Lindsay refers to a technical religious use (*pastillum est in sacris libi genus rutundi*), and Paul. Fest. p. 249.3 (*pastillus forma parui panis utique deminutiuum est a pane*) gives the etymology and primary meaning.[59] Charisius alone provides evidence for an everyday use of *pastillus* in this sense, in unspecified country regions, and he may be correct.

The term entered Byzantine Greek as a loan-word (see Kahane and Kahane 1969–76: I.5.559, citing πάστελλος from Sophronios [seventh century], *PG* 87.3, 3657), but the meaning is given as 'Gebäck', pastry (cf. παστελλοπούλης 'Verkäufer von Süssigkeiten', seller of sweets: Kahane and Kahane loc. cit.), and it is not clear that this sense is closely related to the earlier Italian peasant usage. Blaise (1975: 660) gives the senses 'pâte, pâté' for *pastellus/pastillus* in medieval Latin, and it would appear to be this (late?) sense that entered Byzantine Greek.

1.3.2 Columella again: Italy

Columella makes a generalisation about dialect variation in Italy within a semantic field, that embracing the naming of grape varieties (3.2.30):

quippe uniuersae regiones regionumque paene singulae partes habent propria uitium genera, quae consuetudine sua denominant; <u>quaedam etiam stirpes cum locis uocabula mutauerunt</u>, quaedam propter mutationem locorum, sicut supra diximus, etiam a qualitate sua decesserunt, ita ut dinosci non possint, <u>ideoque in hac ipsa Italia</u>, ne[c] dicam in tam diffuso terrarum orbe, <u>uicinae nationes nominibus earum discrepant uariantque uocabula</u>.

Whole regions and practically every single part of regions have their own types of vines, which they name after their own fashion. <u>Some plants have even changed name as they have changed location</u>. Some, because of change of location, as we said above, have also changed their nature, such that they cannot be recognised. <u>And for that reason in this place Italy itself</u>, not to mention in such a diffuse world, <u>neighbouring peoples disagree in their names for vines, and they vary the terms</u>.

The first section highlighted states that the same vines may have different names in different places, though Columella sees this phenomenon not

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[58] See Heraeus (1937: 104).

[59] See also the fragment of Varro's *De uita populi Romani* cited by Nonius p. 88 Lindsay, in which *pastillos* and *panes* are juxtaposed, with a comment.

solely as dialectal variation but partly as a reflection of the fact that vines when moved from one place to another may change their nature (and thus inspire new names). The remaining parts highlighted make the generalisation that in Italy even neighbouring regions may have their own vine names.

This type of dialect variation continues in modern Italy. For example the *Nebbiolo* has several other names used locally within Piedmont: *Spanna* (in north-eastern Piedmont), *Picutener* and *Picotendro* (in north-western Piedmont), and *Pugnet*. *Chiavennasca* is the name for *Nebbiolo* in the Valtellina of northern Lombardy. There are many other such variants all over Italy, though sometimes the differing terms may reflect subtle distinctions in the grape varieties.[60]

Columella writes primarily as an agriculturalist rather than as a linguist, and he seeks a natural explanation for the variability of grape names, but at the end of the passage he lapses into a generalisation which is in effect a piece of dialect geography.

In another place Columella comments on a lexical item from Altinum: 6.24.5 *melius etiam in hos usus Altinae uaccae parantur, quas eius regionis incolae ceuas appellant* ('but for these purposes it is better to acquire the cows of Altinum, which the inhabitants of the region call *ceuae*'). Altinum was near Venice; the word may be Venetic in origin.[61]

The Marsi attracted some notice. A term from this region was *consiligo*: Col. 6.5.3 *praesens etiam remedium cognouimus radiculae, quam pastores consiliginem uocant: ea Marsis montibus plurima nascitur* ('an efficacious remedy we have also found to consist of the root which shepherds call *consiligo*. This grows in abundance in the Marsian mountains'), Plin. *Nat.* 25.86 *nostra aetas meminit herbam in Marsis repertam. nascitur et in Aequicolis circa uicum Neruesiae; uocatur consiligo* ('there is remembered today a plant found[62] in the territory of the Marsi. It grows also in the territory of the Aequi around the village of Nervesia; it is called *consiligo*'). Columella and Pliny agree in locating the plant in the territory of the Marsi. Pliny adds further information, stating that it also grows in the territory of the Aequi at Nervesia. The village has not been identified (it does not appear in the *Barrington Atlas*). *Aequiculi* is the name of a town of the Aequi, but the presence of *in* here suggests that Pliny was not referring to that but using *Aequiculi* as a synonym of *Aequi* (cf. Ovid *Fast.* 3.93). The Aequi were

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[60] I owe this information to Robert Hastings.
[61] See Walde and Hofmann (1938–54: I, 209). The word is not in Delamarre (2003), and does not seem to be Celtic.
[62] Or 'the discovery of a plant . . .'

immediate neighbours of the Marsi, to the west. It is obvious that Pliny was not here using Columella, or Columella alone, as his source, as he provides circumstantial information about an unidentified place which is not in Columella. He seems to have been using an additional source showing an interest in an out-of-the-way plant or plant name.

As Columella and Pliny express themselves *consiligo* was a particular plant found in the mountains of the Marsi and parts of the territory of the Aequi. But André (1954a: 179–81) has argued that *consiligo* designated a type of hellebore which had other names. It was not on this view the plant that was particular to the Marsi, but the name. Among other evidence André notes that Pelagonius' *radicem consiliginis* at 205.3 is rendered into Greek in the translation preserved in the Greek hippiatric corpus (*CHG* I, p. 143.15) as ἐλλεβόρου ῥίζαν τοῦ μέλανος.[63] Ancient encyclopaedic writers were not reliable in identifying plants. It would not be surprising if a dialect term *consiligo* were simply assumed by outsiders to refer to a plant that they otherwise did not know. *Consiligo* looks like an Italian term (but of unknown etymology; it has a familiar Latin suffix) preserved in a few remote places as the learned borrowing *elleborus* became current in mainstream Latin.[64] This example highlights one of the ways in which dialectal variation may be established. When a borrowing spreads in the recipient language it may fail to reach outlying regions, where an older term may retain its currency. Even if the older term had once been more widely used, it is converted into a regionalism by the encroachment of the borrowing on its former territory.

In one case above Columella gave an example of a dialect word (probably a loan-word) used in a restricted region for a type of cow (*ceua*). *Vacca*, qualified (or not) by an adjective (see the passage), might have been used for the same referent in standard Latin. In the passage about vines Columella comes near to expressing a concept of dialectal variation, though in looking for a reason for the variation he at first suggests that changes in the nature of a vine as it changes locality might be decisive: thus linguistic variation is secondary to physical variation in the referent. In the final sentence, however, he speaks merely of 'disagreement' among neighbouring peoples about the naming of vines, and seems to have a more general concept of haphazard lexical *variatio*. What is most striking about the few specific

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[63] Pelagonius 205 is taken from a lost Latin veterinary writer, probably of quite early date (on which writer see Adams 1995b: 5–6). Pelagonius was not therefore using the word, which had probably long since fallen out of use, in his own right, though it is possible that the term had caught on among *ueterinarii*, as Columella (7.5.14) tells us that they used it.

[64] See the remarks of André (1954a: 180–1).

examples of local terms that he cites is that in one case (see 1.3.1) the evidence of the Romance languages centuries later confirms that he was right.

1.3.3   Pliny

At *Nat*. 26.42 Pliny contrasts a usage of the Veneti with the equivalent used by the Gauls: *alus autem, quam Galli sic uocant, Veneti* <u>*cotoneam*</u> ('*alus*, called thus by the Gauls, but *cotonea* by the Veneti'). *Alus* is also described as Gaulish (or as in use among the Gauls?) by Marcellus *Med*. 31.29: *symphyti radix, quae herba gallice halus dicitur*. The plant *alus* (usually *alum*) (Gk. σύμφυτον) is comfrey (French *grande consoude*).[65] The Gaulish origin of the term is usually accepted,[66] but it had probably entered Latin (see Plin. *Nat*. 27.41). It is the second part of Pliny's comment that is of interest here. The origin of *cotonea* is obscure, but it is stated to be an equivalent of *alus* used by Veneti.[67] The remark has no obvious Romance significance, but it at least contains a recognition that different peoples may have different names for the same thing. The structure of Pliny's observation, with the practice of two peoples contrasted, is of a familiar type among such *testimonia* (see above, III.8.1 for a contrast between Lanuvium and Praeneste). I return to such contrastive remarks below (1.3.4). *Cotonea* might possibly have been of Venetic origin (though it does not seem to be mentioned in the literature on Venetic), but at this date Pliny must have been referring to the Latin usage of the Veneti. If we accept that *cotonea* was a loan-word in the Latin of the region, it represents a common type of dialect term. Words from defunct local languages, particularly those designating flora and fauna (see XI.5.1), sometimes lingered on in the Latin of the region where the other language had once been spoken.

Porca is well attested in Latin with the meaning 'ridge of soil between two furrows, balk' (*OLD* s.v. 1; but contrast Fest. p. 244.6 Lindsay, not cited by the *OLD*, where the sense seems rather to be 'furrow', not 'ridge': *porcae appellantur rari sulci, qui ducuntur aquae deriuandae gratia*, 'spaced furrows, which are run to draw off water, are called *porcae*').[68] The use of this term in Baetica is discussed below, 2.2. A derivative of the diminutive of *porca*, *porculetum* (suffix *-etum*), was, according to Pliny, an Italian regionalism from the territory of the Umbri and Marsi: *Nat*. 17.171 *interesse medio*

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[65] See André (1985a: 12).
[66] See André (1985b: 181), Meid (1996: 25–9), Delamarre (2003: 40, listing possible etymologies).
[67] See André (1985a: 77).
[68] A man-made ridge will usually stand alongside a furrow, and vice versa. The semantic confusion implied by the passage of Festus is to be expected.

temperamento inter binas uites oportet pedes quinos, minimum autem laeto solo pedes quaternos, tenui plurimum octonos – Vmbri et Marsi ad uicenos intermittunt arationis gratia in his quae uocant porculeta ('it is necessary to leave a space between every two vines of five feet in a medium soil, of four feet at least in a rich soil, and of eight feet at most in a thin soil – Umbrians and Marsi leave a space of up to 20 feet for ploughing in those [vineyards] which they call "ridged fields"'). The sense of *porculetum* was 'area of land divided into *porc(ul)ae*' (see *OLD* s.v. '[a] "ridged" field; (applied to a vineyard in which the intervals between rows are ploughed for other crops)').[69] The Umbri and the Marsi had their own distinctive type of vineyard, and the local term was coined to describe the type of cultivation. The regional usage is thus secondary to the regional form of cultivation. There was a diversity of agricultural practices even within Italy itself, and that diversity generated a diversity of terminology as well. Agriculture was a particular source of (weak) regional usages.

Pliny (*Nat*. 15.13) offers information about a 'Sabine' term: *Sergia (olea), quam Sabini <u>regiam</u> uocant*. The Sergian was a variety of olive tree (*Sergiana* as well as *Sergia* was used of it). Nothing is known about the alternative name *regia* used by the Sabines. It does not survive in Romance. The reference must have been to Latin speakers in the Sabine territory, not to speakers of Sabine. For Latin as used in the Sabine territory in the time of Varro, see *Ling*. 6.57, and above, III.6.8.

Pliny attributes to the Taurini (from the region of Turin) a term *asia*, which is said to be a synonym of *secale* 'rye': *Nat*. 18.141 *secale Taurini sub Alpibus asiam uocant*. The origin of *asia* is unknown, but one possibility suggested is that it was Ligurian.[70] But *asiam* follows a word ending in *-s*, and the emendation *sasiam* has been proposed. *Sasia* might be Celtic (cf. Welsh *haidd*, Breton *heiz*; but the Celtic word means 'barley').[71] This is another regionalism which looks like a loan-word from a local language.

Pliny (*Nat*. 10.11) reports a 'Tuscan' word for a type of eagle or bird of prey, giving an alternative word with the same meaning: *quidam adiciunt genus aquilae quam barbatam uocant, Tusci uero ossifragam* ('some people

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[69] Coleman (1990: 5) gives *porculeta* the sense 'ploughed strips between vine-rows', but that is not quite accurate. *Porculeta* is cited among words 'reported in ancient authors as of Italic but non-Latin origin'. That is not really how the word is presented by Pliny. The date is imperial, and Italic languages are not at issue. Pliny was not primarily talking about language (we have however seen cases of the present tense in linguistic discussions which are really to do with the usage of the past) but about agricultural practices, and he must have had in mind the present.

[70] See André (1985b: 182).

[71] See André (1985b: 182), Lambert (1995: 11–12). On the Welsh term, see *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru* 1814, < I.E. *sasio-*.

add a type of eagle which they call the bearded eagle but the Tuscans the ossifrage'). The identification of the bird is uncertain (the *OLD* says 'prob. the lammergeyer or bearded vulture').[72] The word (which also occurs in the masculine: see Plin. *Nat.* 30.63) is reflected in Gallo-Romance (*FEW* VII.434–5, André 1967: 115), though there according to André it has a different meaning. Capponi (1979: 370) says that it is preserved in Spain and Sardinia (though Wagner 1960–4 does not record it for the latter). There are considerable uncertainties, and the status of Pliny's information about Tuscans cannot be determined, though the remark has a general interest because it is contrastive. *Ossifraga* turns up (in the form *orsifragis*, if the text is to be trusted) in the *Laterculus* of Polemius Silvius (p. 543.15–16), a work which is full of Gallic Latin.

Cicindela, either a glow-worm or a small lamp, is described by Pliny in the first sense as a 'rustic' word: *Nat.* 18.250 *atque etiam in eodem aruo signum illius maturitati et horum sationi commune lucentes uespere per arua cicindelae – ita appellant rustici stellantes uolatus, Graeci uero lampyridas – incredibili benignitate naturae* ('moreover in the same field there is a single indication both of the maturity of the former [barley] and of the time for sowing the latter [types of millet], namely the shining of glow-worms [*cicindelae*] in the evening through the fields. This is what rustics call the star-like flights, whereas the Greeks call them *lampyrides*. Such is the incredible benevolence of nature'). It is of interest that in this meaning the word is reported as surviving only in Venetian dialects (*REW* 1904, 2).

The most significant items in this section are *cotonea*, *regia* and *(s)asia*, in that all had alternatives that might have been used in mainstream Latin.

1.3.4   Contrastive observations

In a passage cited in the previous section Pliny contrasted the names used by the Galli and Veneti for a certain plant. Such remarks, which make explicit the writer's sense that technical terminology varies from region to region, are not uncommon. Columella's observation about the variability of terms designating grape varieties belongs in this category, though he did not link terms to peoples.

He was more specific at 5.5.16: *nonnullos tamen in uineis characatis animaduerti, et maxime heluennaci generis, prolixos palmites quasi propagines summo solo adobruere, dein rursus ad harundines erigere et in fructum summittere. quos nostri agricolae mergos, Galli candosoccos uocant* ('I have, however,

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[72] See further André (1967: 115), Capponi (1979: 370).

noticed that some people when dealing with "staked" vines, especially those of the helvennacan kind, bury the sprawling shoots, as though they were layers, under the surface of the soil, and then again erect them on reeds and let them grow for fruit-bearing. These our husbandmen call *mergi* ("divers"), while the Gauls call them *candosocci* ("layers")', Forster and Heffner, Loeb).

The reference is to shoots (*palmites*) of vines which are buried and then erected on reeds: see *TLL* VIII.837.12ff. ('sarmentum vitis, quod deorsum incurvatum, in terram mergitur'). The word *mergus* is the same as the bird-name, = 'diver'. *Nostri agricolae* must refer to Italians, whose usage is contrasted with that of Gauls. *Candosoccus* may be a Gaulish word, but it is not mentioned by Delamarre (2003).[73] *Mergus* remarkably lives on in this sense in Italian (*mergo*: *REW* 5528, 2, giving this one reflex with this meaning, but with a few possible derivatives elsewhere; cf. *FEW* VI.2–3.31 'Die bei Columella für lt. MĔRGUS belegte bed. "rebsenker" lebt in it. *mergo* weiter'). *Mergus* is another rural metaphor (cf. *arula*, above, 1.2.1).

For other contrasts between Gallic and Italian usage, see Plin. *Nat.* 25.68 *hoc centaurium nostri fel terrae uocant propter amaritudinem summam, Galli exacum, quoniam omnia mala medicamenta potum e corpore exigat per aluum* ('this type of centaury our people call "gall of the earth" because of its great bitterness, and the Gauls call it *exacum*, since if drunk it drives all evil medicaments from the body via the bowels'),[74] *Nat.* 25.84 *Vettones in Hispania* [sc. *inuenerunt*] *eam quae uettonica dicitur in Gallia, in Italia autem serratula* ('The Vettones in Spain [discovered] that plant which is called *uettonica* in Gaul, but in Italy *serratula*').[75] *Serratula*, a diminutive from *serrata* 'toothed like a saw, serrated', is hardly attested in Latin and does not survive in Romance.[76] It must have been an ephemeral, perhaps local, term that Pliny had picked up somewhere.

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[73] But for a suggested Celtic etymology see André (1985b: 187).

[74] On the Gaulish word (bizarrely given a Latin etymology by Pliny), which does not strictly concern us here, see André (1985b: 189), Delamarre (2003: 169). The authenticity of the Latin phrase is confirmed by Scribonius Largus (227), and it also appears a few times in late Latin (*TLL* VI.1.425.44ff., André 1985a: 102). It was probably more widespread than Pliny would seem to be allowing. André (1974) on the passage of Pliny cites Gallo-Romance parallels (Old French *fiel de terre*, Languedoc *fel de terro*). The phrase was used a number of times by the Gallic writer Marcellus (*Med.* 8.112, 16.30, 20.82, 23.41, 25.35, 31.6). The last of these passages was taken from Scribonius Largus 227, but sources are not cited for the other passages, and Marcellus' word choice may reflect currency of the term in Gaul. It is possible that the contrast Pliny was making was between Latin (in general) and Gaulish rather than between Italy (specifically) and Gaul.

[75] On the problem of the first name see André (1985b: 197).

[76] See André (1985a: 236). There is an example at *CGL* III.576.41. That in ps.-Anton. Musa *Herb. bet.* 179 is from Pliny.

I include here the most remarkable contrastive observation extant, made by the rhetorician Consultus Fortunatianus,[77] though it is not of exactly the same type as the other *testimonia* cited in this section (*Ars rhet.* 3.4 *RLM* p. 123):

gentilia uerba quae sunt? quae propria sunt quorundam gentium, sicut Hispani non *cubitum* uocant, sed Graeco nomine *ancona*, et Galli *facundos* pro *facetis*, et Romani uernaculi plurima ex neutris masculino genere potius enuntiant, ut *hunc theatrum* et *hunc prodigium*.

What are 'national' words? These are words that are particular to certain nations, just as the Spaniards do not call (the elbow) *cubitus* but, using the Greek word, (call it) ἀγκών, and the Gauls (say) *facundi* (usually = 'eloquent men') for *faceti* ('witty men'), and native Romans utter many neuters in the masculine gender, as for example *hunc theatrum* and *hunc prodigium*.[78]

For the use of *Romani* here specifically of (the speech of) inhabitants of Rome, see above, 1.2.7, 1.2.8.

Whereas the writers cited earlier compared the terms used by different peoples for specific objects, Fortunatianus does not here compare like with like but notes usages (supposedly) peculiar to different regions. Whatever the accuracy of the examples given (see below), he had a clear idea of regional variation in Latin, and his geographical divisions correspond to the regions of modern Spanish, French and Italian.[79] The passage is more interesting for the concept it expresses than for the lexical details it offers.

The illustrations quoted are all odd. Despite the deduction that one might have been tempted to make from the first example, *cubitus* does in fact survive in Spanish (*codo*) as well as much of the rest of the Romance world (*REW* 2354) in the sense 'elbow', whereas *ancon* lives on nowhere with this literal meaning. Was the writer perhaps thinking of a metaphorical use of the words? In Spanish (and Portuguese) the form *ancón* (as distinct from the late Greek form *ancona*)[80] is reflected with the metaphorical meaning 'bay, cove'.[81] Already in Greek ἀγκών has this meaning,[82] and it is just such a metaphor that lies behind the place name *Ancona*, as is recognised by

[77] Probably fifth century: see Liebermann (1997); see further the discussion of Calboli Montefusco (1979): 3–7).

[78] Quoted by Vainio (1999: 93).   [79] So Vainio (1999: 93 n. 45).

[80] For details see *REW* 443a; *ancon* and *ancona* are treated separately.

[81] See Corominas and Pascual (1980–91: I, 253); also Taylor (1958) s.v. *anco*, 'any elbow, angle or bend, esp. in the coastline', Machado (1967: I, 246), Taillardat (1999: 254).

[82] See Taillardat (1999: 253–4), citing the *Scholia uetera* to Ar. *Ach.* 96, as well as various toponyms, namely Ἀγκών of the harbour (λιμήν) at the mouth of the Iris where it enters the Euxine sea, and Ἀγκών (Lat. *Ancon*, *Ancona*) of the Italian port Ancona. See too Shipp (1979: 27), stating that the Romance meaning is 'weakly attested in Greek'.

Pliny (*Nat.* 3.111) and Pomponius Mela (2.64). Against this metaphorical interpretation stands the fact that *cubitus* is not genuinely attested in Latin in the meaning 'bay',[83] and it would not make much sense if Fortunatianus were taken to mean that *cubitus* 'bay' was called by the Spaniards *ancon*. It is just possible that Fortunatianus knew of the metaphorical use of *ancon* from Spain, but expressed himself badly in appearing to equate it with *cubitus*. A decisive explanation of the remark is lacking. The sense of the Iberian reflexes of ἀγκών presumably goes back to a time when the usage was borrowed from Greek sailors.[84] It is hard to believe that the word entered Spanish Latin (as implied by Fortunatianus) in the literal meaning 'elbow' and then independently acquired there a metaphorical sense.

The use of *facundus* with a meaning similar to that of *facetus* cannot be tied down to Gaul. The word is cited only once with approximately this sense (*TLL* VI.1.161.66), but in a verse inscription from Africa (*CE* 1329.3 = *CIL* VIII.403 *fuit enim forma certior moresque facundi*, 'for her beauty was unmistakable and her ways amusing'). It is not impossible that *facundi* is a mistake for *iucundi* (see the editors of *CE*). If *facundus* (= *facetus*) is right, it would fall into the category of what may be called 'malapropisms'. Often a word is confused with a quite different word that happens to have a similar form (so in current English the use of 'testament' for 'testimony').[85] Some malapropisms hardened into standard usage and survived in Romance,[86] but *facundus* does not have Romance reflexes in any sense.

Finally, the transfer of neuters to the masculine was not particular to Italy or Rome. The person responsible for these observations (whether Fortunatianus or a source) must have had an impression that the use of the masculine for the neuter was especially common in Rome. That would suggest that he was an outsider to Rome himself and was moved to make

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[83] In the passages of Pliny and Mela just referred to *cubitus* is used in reference to a bay, but in both cases it is an ad hoc usage introduced to explain the etymology of *Ancona*: Plin. *Nat.* 3.111 *ab iisdem colonia Ancona adposita promunturio Cunero in ipso flectentis se orae cubito* ('Ancona, a colony established by the same people on the promontory of Cunerus right at the elbow of the shore where it bends around'), Mela 2.64 *et illa (Ancona) in angusto illorum duorum promunturiorum ex diuerso coeuntium inflexi cubiti imagine sedens, et ideo a Grais dicta Ancona* ('and the first [Ancona], sitting at the narrow point of those two promontories where they come together from opposite directions in the likeness of a bent elbow, and for that reason called by the Greeks "Ancona"'). The *TLL* under the heading 'in imagine de promunturiis' (IV.1275.33ff.) also cites Plin. *Nat.* 2.115 (*montium uero flexus crebrique uertices et conflexa cubito aut confracta in umeros iuga*, 'the windings of mountains and their massed peaks and ridges bent in an elbow or broken into shoulders'), but the passage has nothing to do with promontories or bays.

[84] See Taillardat (1999: 254).

[85] For Latin see Adams (1976: 25) with the bibliography cited in the notes. See also V.4.1 on *limitaris* = *liminaris*.

[86] Material can be tracked down from the last footnote.

an implicit comparison with practice in his own *patria*. We have already seen evidence that oddities of Roman usage struck outsiders, and noted a tendency among them to look for Roman 'vices' (1.2.12.2).

All of Fortunatianus' examples are dubious, and serve to stress the caution with which one must proceed in assessing ancient assertions of this kind.

Already in the first century (in Columella and Pliny) there was a concept that extensive areas ('nations', 'countries' in the modern sense) might differ in their lexical choice. It might be objected that Columella and Pliny were contrasting Gaulish with Latin rather than describing regional variation in Latin itself, but it is likely that at least some of the Gallic terms were known to Latin-speaking commentators only through the medium of Latin. By the fifth century Fortunatianus already recognises what looks like the start of a proto-Romance diversification, but the examples he chooses, though not substrate terms, are problematic. One must also allow the possibility that linguistic commentators were merely influenced by the provincial organisation of the Roman Empire. Those hearing a regionalism in part of Gaul might have been content to assign it in general terms to Gaul itself (see below, XI.5.2).

For another contrast between the usage of Gauls and Italians, see below, 3.3.2 on *cauannus* and *uluccus*.

1.3.5   *Further evidence to do with Italy*

Jerome *In Ezech*. 47D (*PL* 25) comments on the Hebrew word *chasamim* as follows: *Aquilae autem prima editio et Symmachus* ζέας *siue* ζειάς *interpretati sunt: quas nos uel <u>far</u> uel gentili Italiae Pannoniaeque sermone <u>spicam</u> <u>speltamque</u> dicimus* ('the first edition of Aquila and Symmachus translated it as ζέαι or ζειαί, which we call either *far* or, in the speech of Italy and Pannonia, *spica* and *spelta*'). The phrase *gentili Italiae Pannoniaeque sermone* is mistranslated by Jasny (1944: 137) as 'in the language of the educated Italians and Pannonians'. *Gentilis* means 'native' (*OLD* s.v. 2b), and the phrase can only refer to the form of Latin spoken in Italy and Pannonia (cf. *gentilia uerba* in the passage of Fortunatianus cited in the previous section, and *gentilia uitia* in the passage of Consentius discussed at 1.2.12.1). As the passage stands *far* is equated with *spica* and *spelta*, and *far* is not restricted to a particular area but *spica* and *spelta* are. Jerome has thus offered a comment on what he took to be regional usage. Jerome undoubtedly knew Pannonia,[87] and there can be no doubt that he had heard the Germanic

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[87] He was born at Stridon, which was once close to the border of Dalmatia and Pannonia (*Vir. ill.* 135, and see Kelly 1975: 3).

word *spelta* there.[88] But whether it was genuinely restricted to the areas specified is open to doubt (it survives not only as Italian *spelta*, but also in Gallo-Romance and Ibero-Romance),[89] and there is also controversy about the accuracy of the equation of *far* with *spelta*.[90] *Far* strictly was emmer, Triticum dicoccum.[91] Whether *spelta* was spelt in the technical sense (Triticum spelta),[92] or a regional synonym of *far*, is not completely clear.[93] The problem, as Jasny (1944: 139) puts it in another connection, is that the 'history of grain is full of wrong designations of grains and one more error does not make much difference'. It is enough to say that Jerome thought of the term as a regionalism and as equivalent to the much more widely used *far*. *Spelta* does not occur until the Prices Edict of Diocletian (1.7, 8), where it is taken by Jasny (1944: 138) to mean 'emmer'. Amid various speculations about the use of *spelta* in the Edict (*far* is oddly absent), Jasny (1944: 140) raises the possibility that 'the person (or persons) who prepared the section of the Edict on grain may have come from the present southwestern Germany or Pannonia and used the names of hulled wheat familiar to him'.

Porphyrio has a note on *rubus* at Hor. *Carm.* 1.23.6–7: *SEV VIRIDES RVBVM DIMOVERE LACERTAE rubus sentes sunt morae agrestes. sic denique et a rusticis hodieque in Italia appellantur*. Here is another comment on Italian peasant usage, expressed in a familiar form (note *hodieque*, and see above, 1.3.1). The first part of the note is difficult to interpret, and the text may be corrupt. I take it that there is a pause after *rubus*, which might be marked by a colon. Is *morae* genitive singular or nominative plural? *Mora* (for which see *TLL* VIII.1472.31ff.) is a late, overtly feminine equivalent of *morus*, *-i* (fem.), = 'black mulberry tree'.[94] But *morus* (*mora*) was also used of the Rubus fruticosus (bramble).[95] The *TLL*

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[88] See André (1985a: 244) on the origin of the word.   [89] See *REW* 8139.

[90] See the rather incoherent discussion of Jasny (1944: 134–41). See also André (1985a: 244) s.v. *spelta*, claiming confusion on Jerome's part. See further below, n. 93.

[91] See Mynors (1990: 16) on *Georg.* 1.73, Jasny (1944: 121), Moritz (1958: xxii), André (1961: 53).

[92] On emmer and spelt see in general Jasny (1944: 19).

[93] André (1985a: 244) takes it to mean 'spelt' (*épeautre*, Triticum spelta), but he had evidently changed his mind since 1961 (53–4), for then he had denied that *spelta* in Diocletian's Prices Edict (for which see the text further on) was Triticum spelta, stating (1961: 54) that *spelta* was the popular name for *far*, and noting (n. 25) that the *spelta munda* of the Edict 'convient très bien pour le blé vêtu qu'est le *far*'. In the second edition of this work of 1961 (i.e. 1981: 51 with n. 23) André implicitly corrected himself by equating the *spelta* of the Edict with Triticum spelta, and dropping (see 1981: 52 n. 25) the remark just quoted from n. 25 of the earlier edition. See too Lauffer (1971: 214), with some additional bibliography, defining *spelta* as spelt.

[94] Maltby (2003: 268) in stating that the feminine form is not reported in the *TLL* has not distinguished between the tree/bush and the berry.

[95] See André (1985a: 164) s.v. *morus*.

(VIII.1472.41) takes *agrestes* with *morae*, on which view the sense is 'the bushes are wild *morae*'. *Sentis*, which is often in the plural, can designate '[a]ny thorny bush or shrub' (*OLD*), but it too could be used specifically of the Rubus fruticosus.[96] An alternative interpretation of the clause would thus be: '*rubus*: (these) are *sentes*, that is wild *morae*'. In referring to *rustici in Italia* Porphyrio was probably right, because *rubus* is reflected in Italy (*rogo*), as well as Logudorese (*rú*) and other Sardinian dialects[97] and Rumanian (*rug*).[98] The basic sense of *rubus* was 'bramble' (Rubus fruticosus, French *ronce commune*).[99] It would seem that to Porphyrio *mora* and *sentis* were more familiar terms than *rubus*.

The African Nonius Marcellus has the following item (p. 208 Lindsay): *NVBERE ueteres non solum mulieres sed etiam uiros dicebant, ita ut nunc Itali dicunt* ('the ancients used to say that not only women but also men "marry", as is said now by Italians'). Nonius quotes an example of *nubere* applied to men from Novius, and the *OLD* s.v. 3 another from Valerius Maximus (4.6.ext. 3). Lewis and Short (1879) s.v. B.1 cite various later examples, from Tertullian, Jerome and the Vulgate. The evidence as it stands (without an article in the *TLL*) does not seem to support Nonius' remark, if he meant that the usage was peculiar to Italy. Perhaps he had heard an Italian use the term thus but had not noticed the usage in Africa.

1.3.6   Names of winds

Not all the material falling into this category comes from Italy, but I treat the subject thematically rather than geographically.

Different localities may have their own terms for winds regarded locally as distinctive.[100] The standard language will almost invariably have a term that could be applied to such a wind, but the local term characterises the region as well as the wind, and takes on the status of a dialect word. The Gallic philosopher Favorinus as summarised by Gellius remarked aptly on the character of such words: Gell. 2.22.19 *sunt porro alia quaedam nomina quasi peculiarium uentorum, quae incolae in suis quisque regionibus fecerunt aut ex locorum uocabulis, in quibus colunt, <aut> ex alia qua causa, quae ad faciendum uocabulum acciderat* ('there are moreover some other names of winds which are special in some way. These have been coined by locals in their particular regions either from words local to the places where they live, or from some other factor that had chanced to produce the word'). He is given a similar generalisation a few lines later: 25 *praeter hos autem,*

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[96] See André (1985a: 235).   [97] See Wagner (1960–4: II, 372).
[98] See *REW* 7414.   [99] See André (1985a: 220).
[100] A discussion of the wind names of Gallo-Romance is to be found in Alleyne (1961).

quos dixi, sunt alii plurifariam uenti commenticii et suae quisque regionis indigenae ('apart from the ones I have mentioned, there are other winds in various places with designations and each of them with its own particular locality'). When Quintilian remarks that one cause of obscurity in communication may be words familiar only in certain regions (or professions), an example he chooses is the regional name of a wind: 8.2.13 *fallunt etiam uerba uel regionibus quibusdam magis familiaria uel artium propria, ut 'atabulus uentus'* ('words more familiar in certain districts or peculiar to certain professions are also misleading, such as the wind *atabulus*'). Favorinus illustrates his second generalisation above by the same *atabulus*, the name of a wind in Apulia: cf. Plin. *Nat.* 17.232 *uel flatus alicuius regionis proprius, ut est in Apulia atabulus* ('or a wind particular to some region, such as the *atabulus* in Apulia'). The word was possibly of African origin, the name of an Ethiopian tribe (Plin. *Nat.* 6.189), in which case the wind would have derived its name from a region thought to be its source. Horace, as a native of Apulia, admitted the word once in the *Satires* (1.5.78). It was obviously recognised by Latin speakers that different regions might have local names for the winds that blew there, names that were different from the standard Latin designations, and comments on regional names are not uncommon. Horace's use of *atabulus* in an appropriate context underlines his origin.

Favorinus supports his first generalisation by referring to the Gallic wind name *circius*: Gell. 2.22.20 *nostri namque Galli uentum ex sua terra flantem, quem saeuissimum patiuntur, 'circium' appellant a turbine, opinor, eius ac uertigine* ('our countrymen the Gauls call the wind that blows from their land, the cruellest that they suffer, *circius*, in my opinion from its eddying and swirling motion'). Pliny attributes the wind to Narbonese Gaul: *Nat.* 2.121 (cf. 17.21, 17.49) *item in Narbonensi prouincia clarissimus uentorum est circius* ('likewise in the province Narbonensis the most famous of the winds is the *circius*'). Seneca speaks less precisely of 'Gaul': *Nat.* 5.17.5 *atabulus Apuliam infestat, Calabriam iapyx, Athenas sciron, Pamphyliam crageus, Galliam circius* ('the *atabulus* harasses Apulia, . . . the *circius* Gaul').

Circius is attested, as we shall shortly see, for Spain as well as Gaul, and was to survive in restricted but significant parts of the Romance world. It designated a wind that blew from between the north and the west, and was thus much the same in direction as the *corus* (*caurus*). Vegetius (*Mil.* 4.38.12) and others (see the next paragraph) equated it with the θρασκίας,[101] the north-north-west wind: *septentrionalem uero cardinem sortitus est aparcias*

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[101] See the material at *TLL* III.1101.61–5; also Campanile (1974: 240). See too the passage of Agathemerus cited in the text.

siue septentrio; cui adhaeret a dextra thrascias siue circius, a sinistra boreas, id est aquilo ('the northern point is allocated to the *aparcias* [Greek name] or *septentrio* [Latin]; contiguous with this on the right is the *thrascias* or *circius* and on the left the *boreas* or *aquilo*'). I begin with the origin of the word.

It has been suggested that *circius* was of Greek origin.[102] Certainly it is attested in Greek. A fragment of the imperial geographer Agathemerus (for the text see *GGM* II.471–87 and particularly Diller 1975: 60–6, the edition used here), which is a quotation of Timosthenes of Rhodes (third century BC),[103] an admiral of Ptolemy II, at 2.7 equates the κίρκιος (described as a localised term) with θρασκίας in the manner seen above in Vegetius: Τιμοσθένης δὲ ὁ γράψας τοὺς περίπλους δώδεκά φησι προστιθεὶς . . . μέσον δὲ ἀπαρκτίου καὶ ἀργέστου θρασκίαν ἤτοι κίρκιον ὑπὸ τῶν περιοίκων <ὀνομαζόμενον> ('[b]ut Timosthenes, who wrote the circumnavigations, says there are twelve [winds], adding . . . *thrascias* or *kirkios* (as called by the local people) between *aparctias* and *argestes*', Diller 1975). Who the 'local people' were is not specified (the participle is a conjecture, and more may be missing from the text). However, a little later in the same passage Timosthenes is quoted as saying that 'nations dwell on the borders of the earth . . .: towards *argestes* Iberia, now Hispania, towards *thrascias* Celts and their neighbours', Diller). A possibility is that 'Celts' were the locals referred to. If the word were of Greek origin it would have passed from the Greek of the Massiliote colonies of the coast of Gallia Narbonensis into the local Latin.[104] This distribution for a Greek term of Narbonese origin can be paralleled, as von Wartburg's paper (1952) has shown.[105]

But there are difficulties in attempting to establish a Greek origin for *circius*.[106] The fact that a word is attested in Greek texts does not mean that it is of Greek origin. What would be the Greek etymology of the term? Chantraine (1999) does not mention it. The name (in the slightly different form κιρκίας,[107] with a suffix found in other Greek wind names) occurs a few times in Greek texts in the Aristotelian tradition, but not assigned to Gaul. In the ps.-Aristotelian *Ventorum situs* the wind is assigned to Italy and Sicily (973b.20 ἐν δὲ Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ Σικελίᾳ Κιρκίας διὰ τὸ πνεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ Κιρκαίου, 'in Italy and Sicily the Circias [is so called] because it blows from the Kirkaion [Akron] [Mount Circeo, on the coast of Latium]'), and

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[102] See *FEW* II.701; also von Wartburg (1952: 9). See too Bertoldi (1952: 34).
[103] See Diller (1975: 72).   [104] See Bertoldi (1952: 34).
[105] See von Wartburg (1952: 6) on στρόφος, and below, V.2.1 on *canastrum*.
[106] See the discussion of Campanile (1974).   [107] *Circias* may be found in Latin at Vitr. 1.6.10.

at Theophrastus *Vent.* 62 to Sicily.[108] The word was associated imprecisely by Greeks with parts of the western world, but it does not seem to have been current in mainstream Greek; perhaps it had been merely heard of from the west.

At this point it is appropriate to introduce another Latin example of *circius*. Gellius (2.22.28), commenting on the remark attributed to Favorinus about the Gallic wind *circius*, quotes a passage from the *Origines* of Cato (93 Peter):

sed, quod ait uentum, qui ex terra Gallia flaret, *circium* appellari, M. Cato in libris Originum eum uentum *cercium* dicit, non *circium*. nam cum de Hispanis scriberet, qui citra Hiberum colunt, uerba haec posuit: *set in his regionibus ferrareae, argentifodinae pulcherrimae, mons ex sale mero magnus: quantum demas, tantum adcrescit. uentus cercius, cum loquare, buccam implet, armatum hominem, plaustrum oneratum percellit.*

But as for his (Favorinus') statement that the wind which blew from the land of Gaul was called *circius*, Marcus Cato in the books of the *Origines* calls that wind *cercius*, not *circius*. For when he was writing of the Spaniards who dwell on this side of the Ebro, he used these words: '[B]ut in these regions there are very fine smithies and silver mines, and a large mountain made of pure salt: as much as you remove from it so much grows again. When you speak, the wind *cercius* puffs out your cheeks.[109] It overturns an armed man or a loaded wagon.'[110]

Cato here locates the wind (*cercius*) in Spain. His remarks and those of the writers cited above referring to the wind in Gaul are strikingly confirmed by the Romance languages. *Circius/cercius* has Romance reflexes precisely in those regions where it was in use in antiquity, namely the former Narbonensis and parts of the Iberian peninsula:[111] Languedoc *cyerce*, Hérault *sers*, Old Provençal *cers*, Spanish *cierzo*, Catalan *cers*, *ces*. Cato's alternative form *cercius* has regional significance: it lies behind Spanish *cierzo*.[112] Here is evidence for continuity of usage between the Republic and the modern period in a circumscribed area.

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[108] The text of Wimmer (1862: 115) does not have the word (οἱ (δὲ) περὶ Σικελίαν δερκίαν), but the change of a single letter is highly plausible. For discussion see Campanile (1974: 238–40). See also Fleury (1990: 180).

[109] For *bucca* 'cheek' used in the singular where English would employ the plural, see Juv. 3.262.

[110] There is a very similar passage at Apul. *Mund.* 14, which I assume comes from Gellius. The *De mundo* may be a late work falsely attributed to Apuleius, or, if genuine, later than the *Attic Nights* (see Holford-Strevens 2003: 23).

[111] See the remarks of von Wartburg (1952: 9), Ernout and Meillet (1959) s.v.

[112] See *REW* 1945, *FEW* II.1.701, Corominas (1967: 149), Corominas and Pascual (1980–91: II, 71–2) s.v. *cierzo*. Some inconsistency is found in this literature. *FEW* ascribes the Spanish word to *cercius* but Catalan *cers*, *ces* to *circius*. Not so *REW*, which ascribes the Provençal, Catalan and Spanish reflexes to *cercius*.

The attestation of the term in part of Gaul and in the Iberian peninsula is suggestive of a Celtic origin, as Campanile (1974: 242–4) argued. Several pieces of evidence can be added in support of this view. First, the names *Cercius*, *Cercia*, *Circia* are attested in a few inscriptions from Baetica (*CIL* II.1788, 2268).[113] Second, a Gaulish potter's name *Circos* has now turned up in the graffiti of La Graufesenque (text 89.3: Marichal 1988: 194). This has been connected with the Celtic root seen in Welsh *cyrch* (meaning, among other things, 'attack, assault, incursion'),[114] and it has been suggested that the name means something like 'impetuous, violent'.[115] The phonetics of the variation between *circius* and *cercius* are unclear. Campanile (1974: 243) cites some evidence for a Celtic alternation between short *i* and *e* taken from Jackson (1953: 279–80), but the phonetic environment in which this (British) variation occurs is not the same as that in the present case. Lambert (1995: 41) notes in Gaulish an opening of short *i* to *e* in final or unstressed syllables. But where would the accent have been in *circius*? Little is known about the accent of Gaulish.[116] There is some slight evidence for an accent on either the antepenultimate or penultimate syllable of certain place names, but the reason for the variation is unclear.

On this view the regionalism, like many others, would be a borrowing from a local language into Latin. It would illustrate the first part of Favorinus' first generalisation quoted above.

Another wind in Apulia was named *Volturnus*, after the mountain *Voltur* near Venusia. Note Livy 22.46.9 *uentus – Volturnum regionis incolae uocant – aduersus Romanis coortus multo puluere in ipsa ora uoluendo prospectum ademit* ('a wind, called by the inhabitants of that region *Volturnus*, rising against the Romans stirred up a great deal of dust in their faces and deprived them of a view'). This passage comes from the account of the battle of Cannae (in Apulia). Cf. in the same account 22.43.10 *Hannibal castra posuerat auersa a Volturno uento* ('Hannibal had pitched his camp such that it was turned away from the wind Volturnus').

But it was not only in Apulia that there was a wind of this name. Note Col. 5.5.15:

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[113] See Bertoldi (1950: 207; cf. 63–5).

[114] For the Welsh word see *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru* 806.

[115] See Delamarre (2003: 117) s.vv. *circos*, *circios*. Campanile (1974: 244) had already seen in *circius* a derivative in *-ios* of the term **kirkos* surviving as Welsh *cyrch*. See also Holford-Strevens (2003: 249 with n. 44). Contrast the more sceptical treatment of Evans (1967: 440).

[116] See Lambert (1995: 46).

M. quidem Columella patruus meus, uir illustribus disciplinis eruditus, ac diligentissimus agricola Baeticae prouinciae, sub ortu Caniculae palmeis tegetibus uineas adumbrabat, quoniam plerumque dicti sideris tempore quaedam partes eius regionis sic infestantur euro, quem incolae Volturnum appellant . . .

Indeed my paternal uncle Marcus Columella, a man learned in the distinguished disciplines and a most diligent farmer in the province of Baetica, towards the rising of the Dog Star would shade his vines with palm mats, because generally at the time of the said constellation some parts of that locality are so harassed by the *eurus*, which the locals call *Volturnus* . . .

Here the *Volturnus*, which is equated with the *eurus* (the east or southeast wind),[117] is located in Baetica in Spain. The name must have been transported to Spain by southern Italian colonists.[118] The accuracy of Columella's statement is confirmed by the Romance languages, in which *Volturnus* survives only in Catalan (*botorn*, *butorn*), Spanish (*bochorno*) and Gascony.[119] This item is of general significance, because it shows that a term may become a regionalism far from its place of origin as a result of migration. A word may be transported by migrants from one place to another, and if it catches on in the second it may come to distinguish the speech of the area from that of neighbouring parts.[120] Another feature of this piece of evidence is that it reveals again a continuity of usage between the relatively early Roman period (in Spain) and the modern period (in the same area).

Isidore gives an alternative Spanish name for *circius*, which seems again to illustrate the way in which a wind may be named from its source: *Etym.* 13.11.12 *circius dictus eo quod coro sit iunctus. hunc Hispani <u>gallicum</u> uocant propter quod eis a parte Galliciae flat* ('the *circius* is so called from the fact that it is adjacent to the *corus* [north-west wind]. This the Spanish call the *gallicus* because it blows on them from the direction of Gallicia').[121] Cf. Vitr. 1.6.10 *circa septentrionem thracias et gallicus* ('around the north wind the *thracias* and *gallicus* [are located]'). Fleury (1990: 180) says that *gallicus* is only attested in Vitruvius. The accuracy of Isidore's remark cannot be determined.

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[117] For the same equation see Sen. *Nat.* 5.16.4 *eurus exit, quem nostri uocauere Volturnum* (here *nostri* refers to Romans as distinct from Greeks, and implies a knowledge of the word within Italy beyond Apulia).

[118] On such colonisation see the bibliographical note in Baldinger (1972: 327).

[119] See *REW* 9468, Corominas and Pascual (1980–91: I, 607), Coromines (1980–2001: II, 180), *FEW* XIV.647–8. See also Bertoldi (1952: 43–6).

[120] For this phenomenon see below, XI.4.5; also e.g. see the discussion by Rohlfs (1954a: 77) of the transportation of Lat. *iumentum* 'mare' from northern France to the south of Italy, and below, V.3.3 on *lacrimusa*, with n. 91.

[121] One wonders whether *Galliciae* (so Lindsay) is right: perhaps *Galliae*?

1.3.7   Conclusions

Many of the usages discussed above are attributed to Italian peoples who originally spoke languages (in most cases Italic or Celtic) other than Latin (Campani 1.3.1, Marrucini 1.3.1, Vestini 1.3.1, Galli 1.2.2, 1.3.3, 1.3.4, 1.3.6, Aequi 1.3.2, Umbri 1.3.3, Marsi 1.3.2, 1.3.3, Veneti 1.3.2, 1.3.3, Sabini 1.3.3, Apuli 1.3.6, Tusci 1.3.3). Missing from the list are inhabitants of Latium, who in the Republic, we saw, had attracted comment for non-urban accent(s) and unusual lexical items. By the Empire there may have been standardisation within reach of Rome, whereas regional features were still to be found at a further remove.

   The most obvious factor contributing to the distinctiveness of the Latin of the above peoples would be their retention in the acquired language of words from the earlier language. Words falling into this category are *ceua* (1.3.2), *cotonea* (1.3.3), *candosoccus* (1.3.4) and *circius* (1.3.6). But that is not the whole story, as other regional oddities are identified in words of Latin origin (*arula*, *pullus*, *pedatus*, *commodo*, *consiligo* [?], *porculetum* [?]). Various observations may be made about these terms.

   First, in places removed from the centre specialised uses of Latin words developed in response to local conditions (1.3.1 *pullus*). Second, a local usage sometimes reflects the state of the Latin language at the time when the area first shifted to Latin (see on *commodo* 1.3.1). Third, a new term spreading from the centre may not reach all outlying regions. *Consiligo* (1.3.2) had not been replaced by the loan-word *elleborus* in the territory of the Marsi by the first century AD; it was, however, interpreted by outsiders as designating a different plant. Fourth, a term carried to a provincial region by settlers may take on a life of its own in the new environment. This may have been the case with *pedatus* (1.3.1). Fifth, a term transported by migrants to a new region may contribute to a distinction between the lexicon of that region and of its neighbours (1.3.6 *Volturnus*). Sixth, inventive metaphors or slang terms may be coined in one place and not spread beyond there (1.3.1 *arula*).

   The evidence suggests that rural inhabitants of eastern areas of central and northern Italy in particular (the Marsi, Vestini, Aequi, Umbri, Veneti, Galli) had dialect terms in their Latin during the Empire. Campania too probably had regional features.

   The grammarian Julius Romanus emerges as an idiosyncratic observer of regional Latin within Italy.

   We have been able to confirm the accuracy of a number of *testimonia* from the evidence of the Romance languages: see 1.3.1, p. 207 (*pullus*), 1.3.3 (*cicindela*), 1.3.4 (*mergus*), 1.3.6 (*circius/cercius*, *Volturnus*).

2 SPAIN

Spanish Latin has already come up several times. In the last chapter we saw that Cicero (III.4.3) and Varro (III.6.5) remarked on Latin at Corduba. At 1.2.1 Martial's eulogy of a Spanish woman Marcella was discussed. This passage and that of Cicero suggest that there was an identifiable Spanish accent, and both imply (the first from the viewpoint of a Spaniard, the second from that of an outsider) that it was desirable that such an accent should be suppressed (see also the next section). The rhetorician Fortunatianus distinguished Spanish Latin from Gallic and Roman, using dubious lexical examples (1.3.4). Rather different is Columella 5.5.15 (see 1.3.6). There Columella comments on a term in use in Baetica. The observation is typical of him. We have already illustrated his interest in Italian regionalisms. He was himself a native of Baetica, and several times notes usages of the region. Baetica had had a long connection with the Romans. It was part of the province called by them Hispania Ulterior from 197 BC. From 27 BC Hispania Baetica was divided for judicial purposes into four *conuentus*, centred at Gades, Corduba, Astigi and Hispalis (see *OCD*³). Gades (Cadiz) was the birthplace of Columella (see below, 2.2). As for the Spanish accent, it continued to attract attention well into the Empire, though details are never given. I first deal with accent, and then cite some observations by Columella, Pliny and Isidore. Isidore's remarks are of less interest than those of the other two, because he is so late that the proto-Romance diversification must have been well developed.

2.1   Spanish accent

Hadrian, another who was connected with Baetica,[122] as quaestor in 101 read out in the senate a speech of the emperor. He provoked laughter because of his provincial accent (*agrestius pronuntians*). As a result, according to the *Historia Augusta*, he set out to eliminate this accent: *SHA, Hadr.* 3.1 *quaesturam gessit Traiano quater et Articuleio consulibus, in qua cum orationem imperatoris in senatu agrestius pronuntians risus esset, usque ad summam peritiam et facundiam Latinis operam dedit* ('he held the quaestorship in the fourth consulship of Trajan and that of Articuleius. While holding this office he delivered a speech of the emperor in the senate in a rustic

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[122] His father was from Italica in Baetica (*SHA, Hadr.* 1.2) and his mother from Gades. At *Hadr.* 1.3 it is stated that he was born at Rome, but he spent some time in Italica in 90 (see *Hadr.* 2.1 and 19.1, and Birley 1997: 19, 23–5).

accent and provoked laughter. He therefore devoted his attention to Latin studies until he achieved extreme skill and eloquence'). If the story is to be believed we have for once an expression of the (upper-class) Roman attitude to provincial speech (derision, a thing which, as we saw, Pacatus claimed to expect when he addressed the senate some time later; see also below on Messala and Porcius Latro).[123] There is the usual idea that a provincial would have to suppress his accent if he wanted to get on, but in this anecdote it is not an Italian regional accent that has to be modified (as usually during the Republic), but an accent from a more distant province (see 2). There is a similarity between this story and an anecdote about the embarrassment of the African emperor Septimius Severus caused by his sister's broken Latin (see below, 4.1).[124] A person in a position of authority should speak standard Latin (and be of a family which collectively spoke the standard).

The Spanish declaimer M. Porcius Latro, a contemporary of the elder Seneca, was unable to unlearn, according to Seneca, his rustic Spanish ways: *Contr.* 1.praef.16 *nulla umquam illi cura uocis exercendae fuit; illum fortem et agrestem et Hispanae consuetudinis morem non poterat dediscere* ('he never took any trouble to exercise his voice. He could not unlearn that firm, rustic, Spanish manner'). This could be taken more vaguely as a comment on character, but following the reference to his voice and containing the key-word *agrestem* (see above on Hadrian, and also III.4.4) the judgment probably includes an allusion to the Spanish accent. For *consuetudo* of linguistic usage, manner of speech, see *OLD* s.v. 2b. Notable in this passage is again a hint that a provincial would attempt to shed his provincial accent.

There is another anecdote about Latro in Seneca that is more revealing (*Contr.* 2.4.8):

fuit autem Messala exactissimi ingenii quidem in omni studiorum parte, sed Latini utique sermonis obseruator diligentissimus; itaque cum audisset Latronem declamantem, dixit: *sua lingua disertus est*. ingenium illi concessit, sermonem obiecit. non tulit hanc contumeliam Latro.

[123] Birley (1997: 46) (approved by Holford-Strevens 2003: 14 n. 16) expresses surprise that Hadrian should have been described as having a rustic accent, and says that he is unlikely to have picked up a Spanish accent during his short stay in Italica. He suggests instead that Hadrian might have acquired a substandard accent from soldiers when he was in the army. It is a mistake to take the *Historia Augusta* too seriously. On a matter such as this the *SHA* is at best to be interpreted as expressing a linguistic attitude, not as providing accurate linguistic information. All that the author needed to inspire a claim that Hadrian had a Spanish accent was the knowledge that his parents were Spanish and that he had spent at least some time in Spain himself.

[124] See Adams (2003a: 289).

Messala was of the nicest judgment in every branch of studies, but above all he was a most exacting stickler for correct Latinity. And so, when he had heard Latro declaiming, he remarked: 'He is eloquent – in his own language.' He granted him talent, but found fault with his speech. Latro could not bear this insult.

The reference must be to Latro's Spanish accent (on *sermonem* see above, III.3). Two things stand out here. First, it is a Roman, Messala, who finds fault with regional speech. Usually, as we have seen, provincials themselves disparage provincial accents (but contrast the story about Hadrian above), but that is no reason to assume that Romans were tolerant in such matters. It may be a matter of chance that we have more remarks by provincials than Romans extant. Second, it is of interest to hear that Latro took the criticism hard. The implication is that, as a provincial, he was sensitive about his speech, and hopeful of being taken as a Roman. One thinks of Cicero's version of a story about Theophrastus, who was upset to be taken as a stranger to Athens from his speech (see III.4.2).

Latro was not the only Spanish *rhetor* who retained a Spanish accent. Gellius (19.9.2) tells of a dinner party, no doubt at Rome, attended by the Spaniard Antonius Julianus,[125] who had a *Hispanum os*: 19.9.2 *uenerat tum nobiscum ad eandem cenam Antonius Iulianus rhetor, docendis publice iuuenibus magister,* <u>*Hispano ore*</u> *florentisque homo facundiae et rerum litterarumque ueterum peritus* ('there had come with us on that occasion to the same dinner the *rhetor* Antonius Julianus, a professional teacher of young men, a man with a Spanish accent, of brilliant eloquence and learned in ancient history and literature').[126] Later in the story (7) Julianus is criticised by some Greeks as *barbarum et agrestem*, a phrase followed immediately by the relative clause *qui ortus terra Hispania foret*. Whatever else the Greeks meant, they must have been referring to the regional character of his speech.

For the use of *os* (*Hispanum*) in reference to regional speech, see above, 1.2.8 (on *os Romanum*).

2.2 *Spanish* testimonia*: Columella*

The Latin word for the John Dory was *faber*,[127] a term that is not common (*TLL* VI.1.11.29ff.), presumably because the fish was little known at Rome. Columella (8.16.9) tells us that in his native Cadiz the old word *zaeus* was used instead: *non enim omni mari potest omnis esse, . . . ut Atlantico* <u>*faber*</u>, *qui generosissimis piscibus adnumeratur* <u>*in nostro Gadium municipio eumque*</u>

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125 On this man see Holford-Strevens (2003: 86–7).
126 On this anecdote see Adams (2003a: 16).   127 See De Saint-Denis (1947: 120).

prisca consuetudine zaeum appellamus ('for every fish cannot exist in every sea, . . . as the *faber* in the Atlantic, which is numbered among the most noble fish in my native town of Gades; that we call by ancient custom the *zaeus*').[128] The word, whatever its origin, is also attested in Greek (Hesychius ζαιός· εἶδος ἰχθύος).[129] The word may have been introduced to the area by Greek settlers in southern Spain and then taken into Latin. Columella's wording (note *appellamus*) shows that the word was current in the local Latin. This is another case of a loan-word giving local colour to regional Latin.

Varro (*Rust.* 1.10.2) knew the word *acnua* as 'Latin' (*actus quadratus, qui et latus est pedes CXX et longus totidem; is modus acnua Latine appellatur*, 'the square *actus*, which is 120 feet wide and the same in length; this measure is called in Latin *acnua*'). Its origin is uncertain.[130] According to Columella the term was in use among the peasants of Baetica: 5.1.5 *hoc duplicatum facit iugerum, et ab eo, quod erat iunctum, nomen iugeri usurpauit. sed hunc actum prouinciae Baeticae rustici agnuam uocant. itemque XXX pedum latitudinem et CLXXX longitudinem porcam dicunt* ('When doubled this[131] [the *actus quadratus*] forms a *iugerum*, and it has taken the name *iugerum* from the fact that it was formed by joining. This *actus* the rustics of Baetica call *agnua*; they also call a breadth of 30 feet and a length of 180 feet a *porca*'). Columella, from Baetica himself, is likely to have been right that the word was in local use. It turns up in a Spanish inscription from Aurgi in Tarraconensis (*CIL* II.3361 . . . *thermas aqua perducta cum siluis agnuar. trecentarum pecunia impensaque sua omni d.d.*). Regional terms probably entered the technical language of the land surveyors, and Varro might have known it from there without being aware of its regional character. There is an example at Isid. *Etym.* 15.15.5 again attributed to the peasants of Baetica (and no doubt deriving from Columella), and further instances in the *gromatici* (see *TLL* s.v.).

Columella above mentions another word to do with land measurement current in Baetica, *porca*. The word is of Indo-European origin, with cognates in (e.g.) Old High German (*furuh*) and Anglo-Saxon (*furh*).[132] We saw above (1.3.3) that its usual meaning was 'ridge of soil between two furrows, balk' (*OLD*). It was the meaning of the term which was distinctive

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[128] See too Plin. *Nat.* 9.68, 32.148.
[129] See Thompson (1947: 73–4). Ernout and Meillet (1959) and the *OLD* appear to take the word as of Greek origin. Chantraine (1999: 396) gives no etymology.
[130] See Walde and Hofmann (1938–54: I, 9).
[131] *Hoc* is a generic neuter referring to a masculine noun.
[132] See Walde and Hofmann (1938–54: II, 340). *Porcus* is said to be a 'rooting animal', and *porca* originally may have meant 'rooting up' or the like.

of Baetica rather than the term itself. It is only from Baetica as reported by Columella that we know of the word as a unit of land measurement (*OLD* s.v. 2). This is the sort of oddity that might have struck someone who travelled around the Empire. *Porca* survives in Italian, Catalan and Spanish (*REW* 6657); note e.g. Italian *porca* 'ridge between two furrows', Spanish *porca*, similar.

2.3   *Spanish* testimonia*: Pliny*

Another who knew Spain at first hand was the Elder Pliny. At *Nat.* 33.66–78 he goes into considerable detail about mining, and the passage is full of observations about local technical terms, a number of them probably of Hispanic origin.[133] Pliny would not have learnt about them directly from a Spanish language. He does not make it explicit that he is dealing with Spain, but it emerges from the context that Spanish mines are his subject. He refers to Spain in 33.67 and 76; that he was writing particularly about the north-west is suggested by 78: *uicena milia pondo ad hunc modum annis singulis Asturiam atque Callaeciam et Lusitaniam praestare quidam prodiderunt, ita ut plurimum Asturia gignat* ('some have reported that Asturia and Callaecia and Lusitania provide 20,000 pounds [of gold] in this way yearly, with Asturia producing most'). The conventional view is that the passage concerns Spanish mining.[134]

   I set out the evidence below:

67 aurum qui quaerunt, ante omnia *segutilum* tollunt; ita uocatur indicium
(the earth that indicates the presence of gold).

67 cum ita inuentum est in summo caespite, *talutium* uocant
(gold found on the surface).

68 quod puteis foditur, *canalicium* uocant, alii *canaliense*
(gold mined in shafts).

69 farinam a pila *scudem* uocant
(the flour that results from pounding).

69 argentum, quod exit a fornace, *sudorem*
(the white metal sublimed from the hearth is called 'sweat').

69 quae e camino iactatur spurcitia in omni metallo *scoria* appellatur
(the refuse cast out of the furnace).

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[133] I have discussed the passage and these terms at Adams (2003a: 450–4), but some of the information given there from standard Romance etymological dictionaries must be revised in the light of the detailed study of Oroz (1996).

[134] See e.g. Domergue (1972–4, 1990: 482), Healy (1999: 91).

69 catini fiunt ex *tasconio*, hoc est terra alba similis argillae
(a white earth like clay from from which hearths are made).

70 *arrugias* id genus uocant
(galleries dug into mountains).

72 est namque terra e quodam argillae genere glarea mixta – *gangadiam* uocant –
prope inexpugnabilis
(earth consisting of gravel mixed with clay).

74 *corrugos* uocant, a conriuatione credo
(pipe-lines to wash fallen material).

75 id genus terrae *urium* uocant
(a kind of clay).

76 fossae, per quas profluat, cauantur – *agogas* uocant
(trenches to carry off the stream to wash the material).

77 *palagas*, alii *palacurnas*, iidem quod minutum est *balucem* uocant
(names for types of nuggets and gold-dust).

There are sixteen technical terms here. One (*scoria*) and possibly two (cf. *agoga*) are Greek (i.e. Greco-Latin).[135] *Sudor*, *canalicium* and *canaliense* are Latin. The remaining eleven terms are of non-Latin origin, and some must be Hispanic in some sense, though not much agreement has been reached about their origins.[136]

The accuracy of Pliny's information seems to be confirmed in some cases by the Romance languages, but the evidence is not straightforward, and an authoritative reassessment of the etymologies and possible reflexes of the whole set of terms is a desideratum.[137] *Corrugus* survives according to the etymological dictionaries only in the Iberian peninsula, in Burgos (*cuerrego*) and Portuguese (*corrego*), = 'ravine, gully'.[138] A masculine correspondent of *arrugia* is found in both Spanish and Portuguese (*arroyo*, *arroio*, 'stream');[139] the feminine form has northern Italian reflexes, the relationship between

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[135] *Agoga* looks to be Greek (ἀγωγή), but the possibility that it is Hispanic cannot be ruled out (see Bertoldi 1937: 142).

[136] See now the article of Oroz (1996).

[137] Oroz (1996) destroys many of the claims that have been made about these terms.

[138] See *REW* 2260b; also Corominas and Pascual (1980–91: II, 276–7) s.v. *cuérrago*, describing the word as pre-Roman (277 col. b), and ruling out any connection with Lat. *ruga*. A Latin etymology proposed by Oroz (1996: 212) is not convincing.

[139] See *REW* 678, Corominas and Pascual (1980–91: I, 359), Machado (1967: I, 321); Corominas (1967) s.v. describes the word as a 'Vocablo hispánico prerromano'. Corominas and Pascual (1980–91: I, 359, col. b) express doubts about any connection of *arrugia* with the Indo-European root seen in Gk. ὀρυγή, ὀρυχή etc., a view discussed also by Domergue (1990: 483, 485–7). It is of interest that the only examples in extant Latin of *arrugia* apart from that in Pliny are in the African medical writer Cassius Felix (so *TLL* s.v.). On this correspondence see below, VIII.4.7.3.

the two groups being unclear.[140] *Balux* (*-ucem*) is said to survive only in Spanish (*baluz*),[141] but this claim is questionable; the 'Spanish' term may be confined to translations of Pliny.[142] In antiquity the word certainly had a Spanish connection, as can be seen from a passage of the Spaniard Martial, 12.57.9 *balucis malleator Hispanae*.[143] *Segutilum* is another word said to be reflected only in Spanish,[144] but its modern credentials have been questioned for the same reason.[145] For *tasconium* see Corominas and Pascual (1980–91: V, 438), Bertoldi (1931b: 100–2), Oroz (1996: 210–11); its origin remains uncertain. *Talut(i)um* is reflected only in French (Old French *talu*, French *talus* 'bank, slope'), from where it is said to have been borrowed by Spanish (*talud*) and Portuguese (*talude*).[146] The word is thought to be Celtic.[147] But its meaning in Pliny is difficult to relate to that of the supposed reflexes, and doubts linger about the origin of the term and its history.

Most of these words could not have been easily rendered into standard Latin (though circumlocutions might have been used), but they would have given the local Latin an exotic flavour to any outsider hearing them. These are regional terms reflecting local specificities (see I.11, XI.4.8), a category of (weak) regionalism which has often attracted attention in dialect studies.

Pliny's accuracy in reporting local usages (and building practices) is nicely illustrated by his remark (35.169) *quid? non in Africa Hispaniaque e terra parietes quos appellant formaceos, quoniam in forma circumdatis II utrimque tabulis inferciuntur uerius quam struuntur* ('are there not in Africa and Spain walls made of earth which they call "framed walls", because they are stuffed in a frame formed by two boards, one on each side, rather than built'). See also Isid. *Etym*. 15.9.5, drawing on Pliny, but citing the alternative forms *formatum* and *formacium* as terms for this type of wall. *Formaceus* alluded to the mould (*forma*) into which mud was poured and left to dry (see *TLL* VI.1.1084.46–50, citing Varro *Rust*. 1.14.4, the above passage of Pliny and Pallad. 1.34.4). The word survives only in Ibero-Romance, with meanings easily derivable from its etymological sense: Spanish *hormazo* 'heap of stones', *hormaza* 'brick wall'.[148] The feminine alongside the masculine in

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[140] See *REW* 678.   [141] See *REW* 920.   [142] See Oroz (1996: 212).

[143] On *balux* (and also *palacurna*) see Breyer (1993: 406).

[144] *segullo*: *REW* 7790.   [145] See Oroz (1996: 209–10).

[146] So *REW* 8545b. See also *FEW* XIII.68–71.

[147] See *REW*, *FEW*, last footnote, Tobler and Lommatzsch (1925–: X, 68), and above all Delamarre (2003: 288–9).

[148] See Sofer (1930: 164 with n. 3), Maltby (2002: 347), *REW* 3442 for these meanings. Note Corominas and Pascual (1980–91: III, 393) s.v. *hormazo*, 'tapia o pared de tierra', 'mud wall or wall of earth'.

Ibero-Romance is explained from a change of gender, masculine to feminine, undergone by *paries* in late Hispanic Latin.[149] Given the virtual confirmation of Pliny's remark by the Hispanic words he was no doubt right about the practice and usage as African as well, and the item thus serves as evidence for African Latin.

2.4   *Spanish* testimonia*: Isidore*

Isidore, bishop of Seville in the early seventh century and at the chronological extreme of this book, gives some information about a metaphorical use of *ciconia* 'stork' in Spain: *Etym.* 20.15.3 *telonem hortulani uocant lignum longum quo auriunt aquas . . . hoc instrumentum Hispani ciconiam dicunt, propter quod imitetur eiusdem nominis auem, leuantes aqua ac deponentes rostrum, dum clangit.*[150] *Hispani* use the word to indicate a wooden pole used to draw water (from wells). The device is a familiar one. It is called, for example, *zhuravl'* in Russian, = 'crane'; cf. also Bulgarian *geran*, <Gk. γέρανος.[151] Beside a well a post is fixed in the ground. This supports a long arm (the pole, or swing beam), from one end of which hangs a chain and bucket which is lowered into the well to draw the water. At the other end of the arm there is a weight to balance the bucket of water and to ease its drawing. When the weighted end of the arm is lowered to the ground and the other end holds the chain and bucket suspended above the well, the device seen in profile resembles a crane or stork. The fixed post represents

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[149] See Corominas and Pascual (1980–91: III, 393).

[150] I have printed the text of Lindsay but it is problematic: '*telo* is the name given by gardeners to the long piece of wood with which they draw forth water . . . This implement Spaniards call a "stork", because it imitates the bird of the same name, as they raise the bill from the water and lower it in, while it screeches'. The participial expression from *leuantes* to *rostrum* is difficult. One might have expected it (given the presence of the animal term *rostrum*) to agree with the juxtaposed *auem*, but the change of number would seem to rule that out as the text stands, particularly since there is a return to the singular in *clangit*. As the text is printed the participles can only be taken to agree with *Hispani*, and *rostrum* must be metaphorical, of the bucket or container of the *ciconia* lowered into the water. But this is unconvincing, for various reasons. It would be far more satisfactory to have *rostrum* referring to the bill of the bird, since it is in the clause juxtaposed with *auem*, than to a part of the hoist. Such a use of *rostrum* is not registered. *Dum clangit* is an even greater difficulty in Lindsay's text. The verb describes the sound made by the bird, but it is separated from *auem* by a clause supposedly referring to the hoist. There would thus be a chaotic switching backwards and forwards between the bird and the hoist. An alternative would be to emend the participles to the accusative singular. The sense would then be: 'because it imitates the bird of the same name, which raises its bill from the water and lowers it in while screeching'. Another problem lies in *telonem*, a word apparently not otherwise attested. An obvious change here would be to *temonem*, since *temo* means 'pole' (but strictly of a chariot, cart, plough). The Greek word κήλων has the meaning required ('swing beam'), and it is possible that *telo* is a corruption of that. But the most plausible change would be to *tollenonem*. For *tolleno* see below.

[151] I am grateful to Prof. Alexei Solopov and Dr Iveta Adams for information on these points.

the legs, the chain and bucket the bill, and the swing beam, with its acute angle, the line from the end of the tail up along the back to the head.

The same sense of *ciconia* is registered in a gloss (*CGL* II.349.1 κηλώνιον φρίατος *ciconia telleno*; κηλώνειον = 'swing beam' [cf. κήλων, n. 150] and φρέαρ = 'tank'; *telleno* is a misspelling for *tolleno*, standard Latin for 'swing beam').[152] According to Maltby (2002: 349) this 'use of the word for a type of pump lives on in Spanish and Portuguese as well as in Sicilian'. But as we have just seen, *ciconia* does not mean 'pump' but 'swing beam'. Spanish *cigüeña* means 'stork', but also 'crank, handle, winch, capstan'.[153] A derivative *cigoñal* is cited by Corominas (1967: 149) and Corominas and Pascual (1980–91: II, 75) with the sense given to *ciconia* by Isidore (beam to draw water from wells). But although one cannot doubt the accuracy of the information Isidore provides about a technical metaphor he had heard in Spain, the usage is not genuinely a regionalism peculiar to that area. *FEW* II.1.665b.α notes various reflexes with much the same meaning in Gallo-Romance, such as Jewish French *cigogne* 'outil pour tirer l'eau du puits', Old Provençal *cegonha* 'bascule d'un puits', and there are various other Romance dialects in which similar usages are to be found (see *REW* 1906, *FEW* II.1.666, col. b). Isidore's remark belongs to a recognisable category. Those observing a usage in one part of the Roman world need not have known whether it was current elsewhere (see below, 3.3.3, and in general, I.1).

Columella's observation (3.13.11) *id genus mensurae ciconiam uocant rustici* (apparently referring to a 'T-shaped instrument for measuring the depth of a furrow', *OLD*) perhaps has a better claim to be classified as a comment on a localised usage, but he does not say where the *rustici* were located. It has been suggested that the 'Praenestine' *conea* (above, III.3) in Plautus was intended to refer not to the bird but to a rustic instrument.[154]

Another noteworthy item in Isidore is at *Etym.*17.10.11: *lactuca agrestis est quam sarraliam* [*serraliam* Lindsay] *nominamus, quod dorsum eius in modum serrae est* ('there is a wild lettuce which we call *sarralia*, because its back is in the form of a saw'). The first person plural may be significant. The spelling was changed by Lindsay to bring the form into line with the etymology, but the change is not necessary.[155] The word denoted a type of wild lettuce, identified by André (1985a: 227) s.v. *sarracia* as 'Scarole (*Lactuca scariola* L.), plante à nervure centrale garnie d'épines sur la face

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[152] For the gloss see Sofer (1930: 128).
[153] So *Collins Spanish > English English > Spanish Dictionary*, 5th edn (Glasgow and New York, 1997).
[154] See Peruzzi (1976: 49).   [155] See Maltby (2002: 350).

inférieure.'[156] It is reflected exclusively in Ibero-Romance (Catalan *ser-ralla*, Spanish *cerraja*, *sarraja*, Portuguese *serralha*: *REW* 7865, Sofer 1930: 156–7). Both the *serr-* and *sarr-* forms survive.[157] The word is probably a derivative of *serra* 'saw', as Isidore proposes, with the *e* showing some tendency to opening before *r*.[158] Various glosses record the same term, though with a different suffix: *CGL* III.567.16 *lactuca agrestis i. sarracla*, III.540.36 *lactuca siluatica id est sarracla*.

Isidore gives the term *ciculus* as a word used by the *Hispani* for *tucus*: 12.7.67 *tucos, quos Hispani ciculos uocant*; cf. 12.8.10 *cicades ex ciculorum nascuntur sputo* ('cicadas are born from the spit of *ciculi*'). *Tucus* must be an onomatopoeic word meaning 'cuckoo', though it does not survive in Romance and virtually nothing is known about it.[159] The usual word for 'cuckoo' was *cuculus*, a term which was always in use and is widely represented in the Romance languages. It is possible that *ciculus* was a dissimilated local variant,[160] but there is no evidence from the Romance languages to back up Isidore's remark. It is odd to have a term otherwise unattested used as if it were the standard designation. One possible solution might be to reverse *tucos* and *ciculos* (*ciculos, quos Hispani tucos uocant*), a suggestion not without appeal,[161] but it is impossible to determine what lies behind Isidore's assertion.

3   GAUL

Gallic Latin has come up several times already in this chapter (see 1.2.3 on a topos in various panegyrics, 1.3.3 on a contrast between the Galli and Veneti, 1.3.4 for various other contrastive comments in which terms of Galli are compared with those of other peoples, 1.3.6 on *circius*). Several usages attributed to Gaul were also discussed in the last chapter. Here I deal with some more *testimonia* of the Empire.

3.1   *Aquitania: a new twist to an old topos*

The *Dialogi* of Sulpicius Severus contain a variant on a topos already seen. Sulpicius, who was born *c.* 360 and was a contemporary of Pacatus

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[156] Cf. Sofer (1930: 156).   [157] See André (1985a: 227).
[158] See Ernout and Meillet (1959: 619) s.v. *serra*, André (1985a: 227). Machado (1967: II, 1979), however, thinks that Portuguese *serralha* may reflect an Hispanic word.
[159] See André (1967: 156–7); also Sofer (1930: 12–13).
[160] See André (1967: 56); also (1986: 276 n. 571).
[161] See Sofer (1930: 13), but cf. André (1967: 56).

(see above, 1.2.2), was a native of Aquitaine and of noble birth (see *PLRE* II.1006). He was a close acquaintance of Paulinus of Nola, who came of a noble family of Bordeaux and was a pupil of Ausonius (*PLRE* I.681–2). Sulpicius lived in Narbonensis at Primuliacum. At *Dial.* 1.27.2, p. 179.16 Gallus, about to speak before Sulpicius and the other participant Postumianus, begins, like Pacatus, with a variation on the normal disingenuous apology for lack of eloquence. He expresses the fear that, as a *homo Gallus* about to address Aquitaines, his *sermo rusticior* may offend their ears:

'sed dum cogito me hominem Gallum inter Aquitanos uerba facturum, uereor ne offendat uestras nimium urbanas aures sermo rusticior. audietis me tamen ut Gurdonicum hominem, nihil cum fuco aut cothurno loquentem. nam si mihi tribuistis Martini me esse discipulum, illud etiam concedite, ut mihi liceat exemplo illius inanes sermonum faleras et uerborum ornamenta contemnere.' 'tu uero,' inquit Postumianus, 'uel Celtice aut, si mauis, Gallice loquere dummodo Martinum loquaris . . . ceterum cum sis scholasticus, hoc ipsum quasi scholasticus artificiose facis, ut excuses inperitiam, quia exuberas eloquentia.'

'But as I reflect that I am a Gaul about to speak among Aquitaines, I have a fear that my rustic speech may offend your ultra-urbane ears. Nevertheless you will give me a hearing as a stupid (?)[162] fellow, one who speaks without embellishment or solemnity. For if you have granted me that I am a pupil of Martin, concede also that, following his example, I may be permitted to scorn empty linguistic decoration and verbal adornment.' 'By all means speak Gaulish,' said Postumianus, 'or, if you prefer, "Gallic",[163] provided only that you speak of Martin. . . . However, since you are a product of the schools, you are acting with a scholastic artistry in apologising for your ineptitude, because you abound in eloquence.'

Gallus is using a topos here, as the next speaker remarks: the learned man prefaces a speech with a claim that his language is anything but learned. But the topos has a different form from that seen in almost all the passages collected at 1.2 above. Here it is not Roman speech that is the standard of comparison, but the speech of Aquitania. There is a contrast implied between ordinary Gallic Latin, which is a *sermo rusticior*, and that

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[162] *Gurdonicus* is of uncertain etymology and meaning (so *TLL* s.v., Ernout and Meillet 1959 s.v.). *Gurdus*, a Spanish word meaning *stolidus* according to Quint. 1.5.57, may not be of the same root, though Walde and Hofmann (1938–54: I, 627) take *gurdonicus* as derived therefrom (comparing *mulionicus*).

[163] It would not be convincing to take *Celtice* as referring to anything other than the language Gaulish. For the 'Gauls' as Celts at this period, see Ammianus as quoted in the next footnote. *Gallice* must refer to 'Gallic Latin', but the speaker is probably also making a joke based on the name of his addressee (Gallus): 'speak Gaulish or, if you prefer, Gallic Latin in your own manner'. See too Adams (2003a: 690 n. 8) with bibliography (dealing too with the question of the survival of Gaulish); also Schmidt (1983: 1010).

of the Aquitaines.[164] In the late fourth century Aquitaine was the seat of a learned literary society which inspired Ausonius' work on the *professores* of Bordeaux.[165] It is the cultured speech of this group that Gallus, with an insincerity picked up by Postumianus, claims to be unable to match. Gallus' remark is not exclusively a comment on the regional diversification of Gallic Latin. He is also alluding to the variations which occur across social classes (for the confusion of regional and social dialects see above, 1.2.1). Gallus seems to present himself as less educated than his Aquitanian interlocutors, but also rustic.

Gallus is not meant to be taken seriously, but there is a linguistic attitude expressed. Aquitaine is portrayed as the location of a prestigious variety of Latin, standing in contrast to varieties spoken in rural areas of Gaul. This contrast is given more concrete expression later in the work, where, referring to a three-legged stool on which Martinus is sitting, Gallus gives two names for the object, one used by rustic Gauls, the other by his scholastic interlocutors:

Dial. 2.1.3–4, p. 181.2 sicut quendam nuper, testor Deum, non sine pudore uidi sublimi solio et quasi regio tribunali celsa sede residentem, sedentem uero Martinum in sellula rusticana, ut sunt istae in usibus seruulorum, quas nos rustici Galli *tripeccias*, uos scholastici aut certe tu, qui de Graecia uenis, *tripodas* nuncupatis.

Just as recently, not without embarrassment, I saw a certain fellow (God be my witness) sitting back on a lofty throne as if on a royal platform on an elevated chair, whereas Martin was sitting on a little rustic chair, like those used by mere slaves, called by us rustic Gauls *tripecciae*, but by you scholastic fellows – or at least by you who come from Greece – tripods.

Aquitaine, unlike rustic areas, is home to a scholastic Latinity marked here by the use of a Greek loan-word (< τρίπους). By contrast simple Gauls stick to a native Latin term. I have retained the spelling *tripeccias* printed by Halm (*CSEL* 1), but the usual form given is **tripetia* (a derivative of *tripes*),[166] which is reflected in Portuguese (*REW* 8912.2)[167] but otherwise unattested in Latin. *Tripetia* must once have been more widespread in Latin than its attestation and Romance outcome suggest. There is the possible

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[164] For a geographical distinction between the Gauls and the Aquitaines see Amm. 15.11.2 (the Gauls, who are described as Celts, are separated from the Aquitaines by the Garonne).

[165] See e.g. Green (1991: 328–63). On Gaul, including Aquitaine, at this period see e.g. Amm. 15.11; also 15.12.2 (on dress).

[166] See Ernout and Meillet (1959: 502) s.v. *pes*. *Tripes* (first in Horace) is a Latinisation of τρίπους.

[167] The form given by *REW* is *trepeça*, but see Machado (1967: III, 2252) s.v. *tripeça* (*s*. XIII), deriving the term from *tripeccia* or *tripetia* (a seat with three feet). *REW* 8912 compares **quattuorpedia* 'four-legged animal', which is extensively reflected in Romance (*REW* 6947).

evidence of the Welsh term *trybedd* ('tripod' of various sorts),[168] which is derived by *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru* (3635) from late Latin *triped-*, and is one of those numerous Latin borrowings into Welsh which throw light on spoken Latin of the Roman Empire (see below, IX.4). The word also occurs in Middle Cornish as *tribet*, Late Cornish as *trebath* and Breton as *trebez*. *Trybedd* shows lenition (of *p* to *b* and *d* to *dd*). Since the lenition to *dd* must necessarily have occurred before the loss of the final syllable, and since there is evidence for such loss as under way in the fifth and sixth centuries and complete by the seventh, it is reasonable to suppose that the Latin term was borrowed by Brittonic during the Roman period in Britain, at roughly the time when *tripetia* was noted by Sulpicius. Thus the Latin term seems to have been current at the western fringes of the Empire, in Gaul, Portugal and Britain. There is, however, a lingering doubt about the precise Latin source of the Welsh word. It may be derived either from *tripetia/tripedia*, or from *tripes*, *tripedis*. *Tripes* in Latin tends to be used adjectivally and of tables.[169] Sulpicius' unequivocally popular term *tripetia* is a good candidate as etymon, but it cannot be put more strongly than that. The Greek equivalent to which Gallus refers does not survive in Romance. As in the earlier passage, Gallus' remark is at the same time a comment on regional and on social variation.

Since the passage was written not by the 'rustic' Gallus but by the aristocratic Aquitanian Sulpicius Severus, it really tells us what educated Aquitanians thought about Gallic Latin spoken beyond their region, not what rustics thought about Aquitanian Latin. There was an awareness in late fourth-century Bordeaux that the Latin spoken in the countryside was different, and a feeling that Bordelais Latin was superior in some sense. A second passage seen earlier in which a variety of Latin other than Roman was portrayed as superior was that of Augustine (1.2.3), but the Italians mentioned there were not necessarily native Milanese but from different parts of Italy, including Rome itself. A third was that of Ausonius (1.2.9), in which the Latin of Trier on the Moselle is said to rival that of Latium. It was noted that both Trier and Milan were seats of the imperial court. Their political status inspired a sense that their Latin was superior.

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[168] According to Ernout and Meillet (1959: 502) *triped-/tripetia* was borrowed not only by Welsh (*trybedd*) but also Old English (*thripil*; usually with an *e* in the second syllable). The Old English connection is dubious. Semantically the OE term is difficult to relate to the Latin. The Harley Latin–Old English glossary cites the word as a gloss on (among other things) *eculeus* and *genus tormenti instar equi* (see Oliphant 1966: 147). It is also unclear how the second part of *thripel* could be related to *pet-/ped-*. The Welsh term is dealt with in the text. I am grateful to Prof. John Hines for much helpful information about the Old English and Celtic words.

[169] See e.g. Hor. *Sat.* 1.3.13, Juv. 7.11 with Courtney (1980) ad loc., Amm. 29.1.28, with 29 *mensula*.

The linguistic attitudes found in fourth-century Gaul as depicted by Sulpicius Severus are a recreation of those found half a millennium earlier in Latium. In the Republic Rome was perceived by some as the home of an urbane Latin which contrasted with rural varieties regarded as inferior. By the fourth century the Romanisation of Gaul had advanced so far that a new cultural centre had emerged, whose inhabitants had the same feeling of linguistic superiority as that displayed by certain late-republican inhabitants of Rome.

But the opening of the speech of another Gaul, Pacatus, discussed at 1.2.2 above, adds another dimension to the story. On home territory Aquitanians might regard their Latin as superior, but Pacatus, speaking at Rome, still concedes the highest prestige to Roman Latin, either because he believed this to be the case, or because the standing of Rome was still such that it was appropriate for a provincial to make an admission of his linguistic inferiority.

3.2   Some phonetic evidence

Testimonia usually have to do vaguely with 'sound' or lexical features of a region. There is an exceptional passage of Consentius which contains phonetic observations. Consentius notes a 'vice' in the Gallic pronunciation of *i* (*GL* V.394.11–22 = Niedermann 1937:15). The passage, which mentions Greeks and Romans as well as Gauls, must be quoted in full:[170]

iotacismum dicunt uitium, quod per *i* litteram uel pinguius uel exilius prolatam fit. Galli hac pinguius utuntur, ut cum dicunt *ite*, non expresse ipsam proferentes, sed inter *e* et *i* pinguiorem sonum nescio quem ponentes. Graeci exilius hanc proferunt, adeo expressioni eius tenui studentes, ut, si dicant *ius*, aliquantum de priori littera sic proferant, ut uideatur disyllabum esse factum. Romanae linguae in hoc haec erit moderatio, ut exilis sonus eius sit, ubi ab ea uerbum incipit, ut *ire*, pinguior, ubi in ea desinit, ut *habui*, *tenui*; medium quiddam inter *e* et *i* habet, ubi in medio sermone est, ut *hominem*. mihi tamen uidetur, quando producta est, uel acutior uel plenior esse, quando breuis est, medium sonum exhibere, sicut eadem exempla, quae posita sunt, possunt declarare.

They use 'iotacism' of the vice which comes about when the letter *i* is pronounced either more richly or thinly (than the norm).[171] Gauls employ the letter more richly, as for example when they say *ite*: they do not pronounce the letter precisely, but utter some richer sound between *e* and *i*. Greeks pronounce the letter more thinly, so striving after a thin pronunciation that, if they say *ius*, they pronounce

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[170] I print the text of Niedermann.
[171] On the variable meaning of 'iotacism' in grammarians, see Holtz (1981: 160).

a considerable part of the first[172] letter in such a way that (the word) seems to have become disyllabic.[173] In this matter you will find the following form of moderation in 'Roman' language, that when a word begins with the letter, as in *ire*,[174] the sound of the letter is thin, but when a word ends with the letter, as in *habui* and *tenui*, the sound of the letter is richer. It has a sound midway between *e* and *i* when it is in the middle of a word, as in *hominem*. But it seems to me that when the letter is lengthened it is either sharper or fuller, but that when it is short it presents an intermediate sound, as the same examples which have been set out can demonstrate.

This passage is difficult (perhaps impossible) to interpret satisfactorily,[175] not least because of the terminology. The meanings of *pinguis*, *exilis*, *tenuis* and *plenus* are problematic. Vainio (1999: 116), however, takes *exilis* to mean 'close' (of *i*), *pinguior* 'more open', and this interpretation certainly fits the context: it is when *i* approaches *e* in sound that Consentius calls it *pinguis*. The adjective is a difficult one when applied to sound (*TLL* X.1.2167.35ff. 'de sono, voce, pronuntiatione' offers no distinctions of meaning), but I feel that Vainio is right on this point.[176] Obscurity, as we will soon see, is also caused by the writer's chaotic switches between long and short *i* and also *yod*, without much attempt to specify what he is talking about. I offer a few observations.

First, there is a comparison between Gauls, Greeks and 'Roman language' in the treatment of varieties of *i*. In this context *Romanae linguae* might seem to refer specifically to the 'Latin of Rome', and not, as is usual, the Latin language in general (see 1.2.6), but I do not believe that to be the case.[177] A variant on *Romana lingua* found elsewhere in Consentius, *Romanus sermo*, is revealing: it occurs at p. 15.3 Niedermann (1937) in a context in which it can only mean 'correct, standard Latin': *ergo fient*

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[172] For *prior* in this sense (= *primus*) see *OLD* s.v. 6c.

[173] On this passage see Vainio (1999: 103), Adams (2003a: 435), though uncertainties remain. What is the point of *aliquantum*? Vainio's summary is as follows: '[T]hey [Greeks] pronounce a certain part of *i* in initial position too closely, so that they seem to make a double sound of it (vowel + semivowel instead of a semivowel). As a result a monosyllabic word *ius* /jūs/ becomes disyllabic /ijūs/.' There is no need to assume the presence of the glide: Consentius might have meant that a short *i* was followed by long *u* (see Adams 2003a: 435).

[174] So Niedermann, following the Basel manuscript and *Anec. Paris.*, but *ite* (M) is surely right, given that it occurs earlier in the passage.

[175] See Kohlstedt (1917: 46–51), Vainio (1999: 116–17).

[176] Wright (1982: 57) might seem to be taking exactly the opposite view to that of Vainio, in that, arguing backwards from Spanish, he says that in *ite* 'it seems likely that [Consentius] is referring to a closed [i]'. But the *ite* he is referring to is the second one in Keil's text (where Niedermann 1937 prints instead *ire*), and at that point Consentius is indeed talking about a close sound (*exilis sonus*) as heard, not in Gallic speech (where the corresponding sound is *pinguius*), but in correct 'Roman' language.

[177] Vainio (1999: 116, 121) in my opinion gives the correct rendering.

*barbarismi huius modi, cum aut pinguius aliquid aut exilius sonabit quam
ratio Romani sermonis exposcit* ('therefore barbarisms of this type will occur
when some sound will be either richer or thinner than the theory of
"Roman" language demands', i.e. the theory of 'correct Latinity', indicated
at an earlier period by *Latinitas* and variants).[178] Significant here is the
presence of *ratio* 'reason', which was one of Quintilian's criteria for deter-
mining correct speech.[179] 'Correct language' is a concept that can readily
be understood if expressed in the genitive dependent on the abstract *ratio*,
but a concrete term meaning specifically the 'language of the city of Rome'
would not be meaningful in such a context; the 'theory lying behind/reason
determining correct usage' is one thing, but what might the 'theory lying
behind/reason determining the language of the city of Rome' be? Also note-
worthy is *exposcit*. 'Correct Latin' (*Latinitas*, *Latine loqui*) was an ideal to
be aspired to; the criteria (including 'reason') by which its features were
determined might 'demand' that this or that be said if correctness was to
be achieved. This is prescriptive writing, not descriptive. Similarly a little
later Consentius illustrates the 'vice of labdacism' (for which see below, 4.3)
from the Latin of Greeks (p. 16.5–10 Niedermann 1937), and then states
what should be said: p. 16.14–15 *Romana lingua emendationem habet in
hoc quoque distinctione. nam alicubi pinguius, alicubi exilius debet proferri*
('in this matter too "Roman" language makes a correction by means of a
distinction. For in some places the sound should be richer and in others
thinner'). Specific examples follow. Again 'Roman' language is a norm of
correctness (note *emendationem*) which is to be aspired to (note *debet* with
proferri). 'Roman' Latin is opposed to Greeks' Latin in this last passage,
the latter that of non-native speakers getting a sound wrong, the former
representing correctness. In the first passage quoted in this section there
is rather a threefold distinction, between non-native speakers (Greeks),
fringe speakers of Latin (Gauls), and standard Latin. It has been remarked
by Vainio (1999: 33) that as the Empire expanded, 'the concept of barbarity
which the Romans had adopted from the Greeks changed . . . Instead of
counting themselves as barbarians, the Romans formed a tripartite division:
barbarians, Romans, and Greeks. The same applied to languages' (cf. 113,
citing Quint. 5.10.24, where there is a distinction *in barbaro, Romano,
Graeco*, but not of language). Consentius' classification of varieties of Latin is

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[178] Kramer (1998: 75–6) discusses a few examples of *Romana lingua* and the like (the noun varies)
which denote Latin as compared with Greek, but he does not deal with Consentius and the rather
different use of *Romana lingua* there.

[179] See Quint. 1.6.1, and the whole discussion from 3–38 (with the headings of Russell 2001). See
also Vainio (1999: 17–18, 49–53).

tripartite, if not corresponding precisely to that of Vainio. Alongside Gauls as what I have called 'fringe speakers of Latin' he also places Africans (see below, 4.2).

It is not difficult to see how such a use of *Romana lingua* might have originated. Those (particularly distant outsiders such as Gauls) who esteemed the Latin of Rome over several centuries as the most correct form (see *Pan. Lat.* 12.1.2, discussed above, 1.2.2, where it is stated that it comes naturally to Romans to speak correct Latin) must have widened the use of *Romana lingua* so that it denoted, first, 'correct Latin as spoken typically in the city', and then 'correct Latin as a theoretical concept'.[180] But it should be noted that in every case discussed in this section *Romanus/Romana* precedes the noun, and that is significant. In theory *sermo Romanus* might still have meant to Consentius, quite neutrally, 'the language of Rome'. Placement of the adjective in the emphatic position seems to make it more emotive, '*Roman* language', as something eliciting strong approval, i.e. 'correct language'.[181] In effect, as was noted above, Consentius has used *Romana lingua* as *Latinitas* was used earlier.[182]

Second, whatever one is to make of *pinguius* as it is applied to Gauls, Consentius says clearly enough that the original long *i* of *ite* as pronounced by Gauls had a sound intermediate between *e* and *i*. I will come back to this remark below.

Third, when (short) *i* is in the middle of a word (e.g. *hominem*) in 'Roman' language, it is midway between *e* and *i*. This is one assertion that is capable of (tentative) interpretation. Consentius may be referring to the tendency of original short *i* to merge with original long *e* as a form of *e* (close *e*). In this word in the Romance languages the medial vowel was lost by syncope, but Consentius must have been referring to an earlier stage, and in any case he is talking about 'correct' Latin, in which the vowel might have been maintained by careful speakers.[183] In the final sentence of the passage quoted he makes a generalisation, that short *i* has an intermediate sound. He contrasts it with the 'sharper' and 'fuller' sound of long *i*, implying a difference of quality between long and short *i* which seems to be of the sort that shows up in the development to the Romance languages: long *i* was retained as an *i*, whereas short *i* became a type of *e*. The outcome of

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[180] I missed these passages of Consentius in Adams (2003c: 194–6).
[181] Whereas when Apuleius placed *Romanus/Romana* before the same nouns he was making a contrast with Greek, and that contrast explains the emphatic placement (see above, 1.2.6).
[182] The point is also made by Vainio (1999: 121).
[183] Wright (1982: 57) says that Consentius was talking about a 'tendency to a centralized schwa', but such a sound would not be well characterised by Consentius' *medium quiddam inter e et i*.

short *i* was thus more open than that of long *i*, and Consentius has probably characterised the difference in this way. It is of some interest that Consentius attributes the intermediate sound in medial position in *hominem* to *Romana lingua*, that is correct speech. Grammarians were sometimes presented as 'guardians of language', but in this case Consentius was accepting as correct a development of the language instead of attempting to maintain artificially the original short *i*. The question to what extent grammarians tried to preserve against inexorable trends archaic features of the language, and to what extent they were receptive to developments as establishing a new correctness, is an interesting one that will come up again (see below, 4.2 for a passage of Augustine which makes it clear that grammarians were trying to preserve differences of vowel length that had been lost in ordinary African speech).[184]

I assume that when Consentius tells us about the sound of the second vowel in *hominem* he is no longer comparing Gallic Latin with 'correct' Latin. The vowel merger referred to above occurred in Gaul as well as most other parts of the Empire, and it would be surprising if Consentius were to find Gallic Latin different in this respect from other varieties.[185] The passage has several changes of subject. All that we are told about Gaul is that a long *i* in initial position had a distinctive sound, and nothing is said or implied about the treatment of short *i* in medial position in that region. The comparison between Gallic Latin and the *Romana lingua* is made in the sentence *Romanae linguae . . . tenui* (see the next paragraph but one), and then Consentius moves on to another subject.

Fourth, whereas the Gauls pronounce (a type of) *i* more richly than usual, and the Greeks (another type of) *i* more thinly, 'Roman' language exercises a type of moderation, which consists of giving the letter different values in different environments. The original long *i* was, according to Consentius, different in correct Latin according to whether it began or ended a word (*ire/ite* versus *habui/tenui*). In initial position it was close (*exilis*: see above on the interpretation of this term), which suggests that it maintained its original quality. In final position it was more open (*pinguior*). One possibility is that long *i* in final syllable was subject to shortening, in keeping with a tendency throughout the history of Latin for vowels in final syllable to be weakened in various ways. Short *i* was indeed more open than long *i*, and, as we have seen, it merged with long *e* as a close *e*. Again we would see a grammarian accepting the correctness of a change

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[184] See in general Wright (1982: 54–61), Herman (1991: 35–7).
[185] It will be seen below (X.5.1.2.4) that the front vowel merger may have occurred earlier in Gaul than elsewhere.

that had taken place in the language. Or was Consentius referring to a long close *e* [ẹ̄], of the type that might be represented by spellings of the type *futue* (= *futui*, < *futuei*)[186] and *dede* = *dedi* (see below, VII.5)? That seems unlikely, given the very late date of the text. The long close *e* was, as far as one can tell, an early phenomenon in speech, though spellings of the type that it had generated lingered on as orthographic archaisms (see III.4.3 n. 69, III.5).

Fifth, Consentius makes a contrast between long *i* in initial position in Gaul (in *ite*) and long *i* in the same position in 'Roman' language (in *ire* or, if one prefers Keil's text, *ite* again). In Gaul the vowel is 'rich' (*pinguius*, *pinguiorem sonum*), and intermediate between *e* and *i*, and therefore, as we have seen, more open than usual. In 'Roman' it is the opposite, namely an *exilis sonus*. It does not matter that Consentius' terminology is difficult to understand, or that there is an element of speculation in suggesting the distinction 'open–close'. He was surely trying to describe a regional feature of a phonetic kind in Gallic Latin. Most of the evidence for dialectalisation that can be mustered is lexical (but see Augustine's remarks about African and Italian sounds, 1.2.3), and it is welcome to have an indication that phonetic differences were to be heard. Consentius' description of what he heard might be wrong or inadequate, but he must have heard something to justify such an explicit comparison between Gaul and 'Roman'.

Finally, Greeks, by making *ius* disyllabic, must have been giving full vocalic value to the initial element, as distinct from pronouncing it in the normal Latin way as *yod*. See further above, n. 173.

If the long *i* of *ite* were intermediate between *i* and *e* in Gallic Latin, one might expect some orthographic confusion, with *e* sometimes written for long *i*. It is not difficult to find the spelling *e* for long *i* in inscriptions and elsewhere, but examples do not fall into a single category and do not have a single explanation.[187] There is no trace in the Romance languages of the tendency noted by Consentius,[188] nor is there any sign in Gallic inscriptions of misspellings that might be related to Consentius' phenomenon. Sommer and Pfister (1977: 58), having referred to Consentius' remark, cite *CIL* III.781.9 *oreginem*, V.1676 *peregreno* and XIV.1011 *felius*, but these inscriptions are from Moesia Inferior, Aquileia and Ostia respectively. A trifling number of misspellings of this type is uninformative about the state

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[186] Wright (1982: 57) suggests that in *habui* and *tenui* the final vowel was a close *e*. For the verb form cited in the text see *CIL* IV.1516 with Väänänen (1966: 23).

[187] See e.g. Dessau *ILS* III.2.814 (unclassified examples), B. Löfstedt (1961: 66–9) (various categories identified), Väänänen (1966: 22–3).

[188] See e.g. Kohlstedt (1917: 49).

of the language anywhere; they might be slips or misreadings. Consentius had picked up some oddity, but whatever it might have been it was of no long-term significance in the area. I note in passing that it could have had no connection with a possible Celtic substratum. In Gaulish original long *e* changed to long *i* rather than the reverse.[189]

I conclude that the vowel system of Gallic Latin in the fourth century was distinguishable in vague terms from that of standard Latin, but that the evidence presented by Consentius is obscure. I turn now to some lexical items.

3.3   Some lexical evidence

3.3.1   comminus

On Virg. *Georg.* 1.104 (*quid dicam, iacto qui semine comminus arua / insequitur*)[190] Servius oddly[191] takes *comminus* as referring to time rather than place (*statim, sine intermissione*), and DServ then adds: *qui significatus frequentissimus est in Cisalpina Gallia; uulgo enim dicunt 'uado ad eum, sed comminus'; unde Vergilius magis patriam consuetudinem uidetur secutus* ('this meaning is very frequent in Cisalpine Gaul; for they have a common expression "I will go to him, and indeed at once";[192] therefore Virgil seems rather to have followed the usage of his birthplace'). Servius' interpretation is no doubt wrong.[193] If the commentator genuinely knew of such a usage from Cisalpine Gaul (and the 'vulgar' expression *uado ad eum . . .* looks appropriate for the later period, with its typical, proto-Romance use of *uado = eo*, here apparently in the colloquial present tense for future; the grammarian Pompeius in quotations of ordinary usage also uses *uado* thus, as e.g. at *GL* V.252.21 *non debeo dicere 'ad Karthaginem uado'*), it would have been anachronistic to attempt to find it centuries earlier in Virgil.[194] There is at least a recognition here that commonplace words might have unusual meanings in particular regions. This is not the only place where the commentary finds a provincialism in Virgil. On *Aen.* 7.705, commenting on a use of the word *raucus*, Servius asserts: *sciendum tamen Vergilium secundum morem prouinciae locutum, in qua bene canentes cycni rauciores uocantur* ('but it

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See Lambert (1995: 41).
190 'Why should I mention the man who, when the seed has been sown, assails the soil at close quarters'. See Mynors (1990: 23) on 105.
191 The word is used by Mynors (1990: 23) on 104–5.
192 On this use of *sed* see Adams (1995b: 616–20).
193 See the note of Mynors (1990: 22–3).
194 The attestations of *comminus* with a temporal meaning discovered by the *TLL* (III.1895.67ff.) are few.

must be realised that Virgil spoke according to the practice of the province, in which swans singing well are described as *rauciores*').[195] *Raucus* in the passage of Virgil means something like 'noisy' (*uolucrum raucarum . . . nubem*, 'a cloud of noisy birds').[196] *Raucus* is well represented in Gallo-Romance (see *FEW* X.128–30), but not, it seems, in the sense that Servius thought he had discovered in Virgil. The linguistic details of Servius' note may be unconvincing, but the passage is interesting as displaying a grammarian's concept that the language might show regional variations. We saw in the last chapter (III.1) that Quintilian made some generalisations about regional diversity. Consentius devoted much space to the distinctive usages of *nationes* (see above, 1.2.12.1, 1.2.12.2, 3.2, and below, 4.2, 4.3). In this chapter it has been shown (1.3.1) that Julius Romanus had an interest in regional diversity within Italy. In the works of provincial poets it was probably considered amusing to look for linguistic signs of the authors' origins. Quintilian (see III.8.4) once asserted that a word confined to Catullus (*ploxenum*) had been picked up by the poet 'around the Po'.

3.3.2 Words for 'owl'

Eucherius (mid-fifth century), who was bishop of Lyons, comments at *Instr.* 2, p. 155.25 on a word for 'owl': *sunt qui ululas putent aues esse nocturnas ab ululatu uocis quem efferunt, quas uulgo <u>cauannos</u> dicunt* ('there are those who think that owls, popularly called *cauanni*, are nocturnal birds named from the cry that they produce'). With this should be compared the note of the Berne scholia on Virg. *Ecl.* 8.55:[197] *ululae: aues de ululatu dictae, cuius deminutiuum est uluccus, sicut Itali dicunt; quam auem Galli <u>cauannum</u> nuncupant* ('*ululae*: birds named from their cry, the diminutive of which [word] is *uluccus*, as the Italians say; this bird the Gauls name *cauannus*'). It is to be assumed that both writers had heard *cauannus* in Gallic Latin, as distinct from Celtic. *Cauannus* was a Celtic word (cf. e.g. Welsh *cwan*) = 'owl'.[198] It is extensively reflected in Gallo-Romance (e.g. Old Picard *coan*, *c*. 1180, Middle French *chouan*, Ronsard, Old Jewish French *javan*),[199] but scarcely found outside this region (Comelico *cavanel*: see map 6).[200]

   It will be seen that the scholiast cites an Italian word for 'owl', *ul(l)uccus*. The word is reflected in northern and central Italian dialects.[201] This is

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[195] See Uhl (1998: 586). [196] See Horsfall (2000: 462) on 705.
[197] For the *Scholia Bernensia* see Hagen (1867).
[198] See Delamarre (2003: 111). Delamarre also cites the place name *Chavenay* < **Cauano-ialon* 'clairière de la chouette'. From a root **kau-* 'shout, cry'.
[199] See *FEW* II.1.548. [200] *FEW* II.1.550.
[201] See *REW* 9038a, André (1967: 161–2) and particularly Capponi (1979: 509).

a striking contrastive observation comparing Gallic and Italian usage (see above, 1.3.4 for similar remarks),[202] in that the Romance evidence shows that the distinction made by the scholiast is correct.[203] Both words are regional, one of them another retention from the earlier language.[204]

Languages tend to have a variety of dialect words for flora and fauna (see the next section). That is implicit in Columella's generalisation about the diversity of words in Italy for grape varieties (1.3.2). Fish names also vary from region to region (see V.3.5, 5.1, and also 2.2. above). On this topic see in general XI.5.1.

3.3.3   Another bird name

Pliny *Nat.* 10.116 gives a bird name from Arles: *est* [sc. *auis*] *quae boum mugitus imitetur, in Arelatensi agro taurus appellata, alioquin parua est* ('there is a bird which imitates the lowing of bulls, though it is comparatively small,[205] called the "bull" in the territory of Arles'). The bird is identifiable as a bittern (Botaurus stellaris), called in French *butor étoilé* or *héron butor*[206] and in Italian *tarabuso*.[207] In Italian dialects it is still called by names based on *bos* and *taurus* (like *tarabuso*).[208] A synonym was *butio*;[209] cf. also *asterias*[210] and *erodio*.[211] André (1967: 151) notes that the bird is known today in the Camargue, and that its characteristic cry inspires various names in French dialects similar to *taurus* at Arles (*bœuf d'eau, bœuf de marais, taureau de rivière*). *Taurus* also occurs in the *Laterculus* of Polemius Silvius (p. 543.18). The *Laterculus* is a list of animal, fish and bird names, written by a Gaul and dedicated to Eucherius. Some of its terms are taken from earlier sources, others from Gallic Latin.[212] *Taurus*

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[202] André (1967: 161) prints the text of the Berne scholia with *Galli* substituted for *Itali*. This is no mere misprint, as he goes on (162) to suggest that *uluccus* must have been eliminated by *cauannus* in France. Hagen (1867) gives no textual variant against *Itali*, and in any case the repetition of *Galli* would be difficult to understand. Capponi (1979: 142) prints the correct text. André (1967:162), in attempting to establish that *uluccus* was once current in Gaul, cites Blanchet (1949) concerning the legend *VLLVCCI* found on some Gaulish coinage attributed to the Senones. But a glance at Blanchet's article shows that the matter is more complicated than André makes out. The bird depicted is not an owl, and *VLLVCCI* is not the only form that the legend has. The coins should be excluded from the present discussion.

[203] On the problematic origins of the *Scholia Bernensia* see Daintree and Geymonat (1988: 711–20).

[204] Other words for types of owl are *bubo*, *bufo*, *gufo*, *noctua*, *strix* and *ulula* (see André 1967 s.vv.).

[205] I here interpret somewhat in translating. The bird referred to (see below) is not small, but the point is that it is small for a creature that can sound like a bull. See Capponi (1979); André (1967: 151) is not so convincing on this point.

[206] See André (1967: 151).   [207] See Capponi (1979: 480).   [208] See Capponi (1979: 481).

[209] See André (1967: 46–7), Capponi (1979: 124). This may survive as part of *tarabuso* and in other forms (see André 1967: 47).

[210] André (1967: 34), Capponi (1979: 101).   [211] André (1967: 69–70), Capponi (1979: 228).

[212] See Thomas (1906).

might have come from either. The work will be dealt with in the next chapter (V.3.3).

Pliny or his source had no doubt heard *taurus* in the region of Arles, but the designation and variants on it will not have been restricted to there. Pliny need not have known that. Ancient observers might note oddities in particular places (see 2.4), but they did not have access to surveys showing the distribution of usages across the extent of the Empire.

3.3.4 marcus

Columella attributes to the inhabitants of the Gauls a use of *marcus* designating a large variety of helvennacan vine:

3.2.25 tertium gradum facit earum Celsus, quae fecunditate sola commendatur, ut tres heluennacae, quarum duae maiores nequiquam minori bonitate et abundantia musti pares habentur: earum altera, quam Galliarum incolae *marcum* uocant, mediocris uini est, et altera, quam *longam* appellant, eandemque *canam*, sordidi uini nec tam largi quam ex numero uuarum prima specie promittit. (26) minima et optima e tribus facillime folio dinoscitur.

Celsus makes a third class of those vines which are commended for fruitfulness alone, such as the three helvennacans, of which the two larger are in vain[213] considered equal to the smaller in the quality and quantity of their must. One of them, which people who live in the Gauls call *marcus*, produces ordinary wine; and the other, which they designate as the 'long vine' and also the 'white vine,' yields a wine of low grade and of no such quantity as the number of its clusters promises at first glance. The smallest and best of the three is very readily recognised by its leaf (Forster and Heffner, Loeb, with minor modifications).

The word is attested elsewhere in Latin only at Plin. *Nat.* 14.32, in a passage taken from Columella. It is probably Gaulish.[214] It leaves extensive remains in Gallo-Romance, but nowhere else (see *FEW* VI.1.316). There are, first, derivatives of the base-form with meanings associated with the vine, as Middle French *marquot* 'sarment de vigne servant à provigner' (*FEW*). Second, the base-form itself survives in a large part of Gallo-Romance, particularly the south, in the more general sense 'main branch, largest branch', *Hauptast*, as Old Provençal *marc*, 'maîtresse branche d'un arbre' (*FEW* for details). The Romance forms do not preserve exactly the meaning reported by Columella, but a connection may be seen between the senses 'largest branch' of a tree, plant, and 'largest type' of a vine. The word seems to have undergone an extension of meaning between Columella and

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[213] *Nequiquam* should perhaps be changed to *nequaquam* 'by no means'.
[214] See Walde and Hofmann (1938–54: II, 38).

Romance. A term reported as Gallic by Columella continued in use in just this one region. *Marcus* seems to be another word taken over into a regional form of Latin from an earlier language.

Columella also attributes the designations 'long' (*longa*) and 'white' (*cana*) (of vines) to Gallic Latin.

3.3.5   candetum

Note Col. 5.1.6 *at Galli* candetum *appellant in areis urbanis spatium* centum *pedum, in agrestibus autem pedum CL, quod aratores candetum nominant* ('but the Gauls use *candetum* of an area of 100 feet in urban spaces, but of 150 feet in rural, which ploughmen call a *candetum*').[215]

This is a precise definition of different senses of *candetum* in parts of Gaul (though the word has no Romance outcome), and is a testimony to the interest of Columella in terminology to do with land measurement and the like. The term is of Gaulish origin, with a metathesis of two consonants that results in a Latinisation of the ending (*cantedon > *candetum*, = 'area of 100 square feet').[216] The Latinate form perhaps suggests that the word had entered Gallic Latin and been heard there by Columella.

3.3.6   Beccus

According to Suetonius *Vit.* 18 Antonius Primus, who was of Gallic origin, had the cognomen *Beccus*, meaning 'beak (of a cock)', during his child-hood (at Toulouse): *nec fefellit coniectura eorum qui . . . non aliud portendi praedixerant quam uenturum in alicuius Gallicani hominis potestatem, si-quidem ab Antonio Primo aduersarum partium duce oppressus est, cui Tolosae nato cognomen in pueritia Becco fuerat: id ualet gallinacei rostrum* ('nor was the prophecy mistaken of those who . . . had predicted that the only thing portended was that he would come into the power of some Gallic person, since he was crushed by Antonius Primus, leader of the opposing faction, whose cognomen in childhood at Toulouse, where he was born, had been *Beccus*: that word means "beak" of a cock').

This is an allusion to the Gaulish word *beccos*,[217] which survives widely in the Romance languages,[218] including Gallo-Romance (e.g. French, Old Provençal, Catalan *bec*, Italian *becco*, Portuguese *bico*; see *REW* 1013, *FEW* I.304–11), designating primarily the beak or bill of an animal. The term was synonymous with Lat. *rostrum*, which it largely replaced, and which it glosses in one of the glosses of Reichenau (1380a *rostrum beccus*). The

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215 The last clause looks like a gloss.   216 See Delamarre (2003: 103).
217 See Delamarre (2003: 70).   218 But not Rumanian: see *FEW* I.310.

names *Beccus* and *Becco* are both attested in Gallic Latin inscriptions, one of them indeed from Toulouse (*CIL* XII.5381; cf. XII.2514 Ruffieux). The use of the animal term *Beccus* as the nickname of a person represents the same type of popular humour as that seen in the transfer of *rostrum* to parts of the anatomy of humans (see VI.2.6, VIII.4.7.1). Indeed in Gallo-Romance from an early period reflexes (e.g. Old Provençal *bec*) have been applied to the human mouth,[219] and to judge from the above names in Latin inscriptions the transfer of *beccus* from animals to humans might have been ancient in the spoken language.

Beccus used as a common noun is not cited by the *TLL* (but note the Reichenau gloss just referred to), but Suetonius knew of it when explaining the name. Here is a Gaulish word whose pattern of survival is different from that of many Gaulish words that will come up in the next chapter. There are terms which turn up just once or twice in a late text and then survive in only a part of the Romance world. By contrast *beccus* is not attested at all in texts or inscriptions (except as a name, and by implication in the passage of Suetonius), and yet it survived widely in Romance. It must have had a vigorous life beneath the level of literature. But why should a Gaulish term unattested in Latin texts survive in a number of Romance languages, whereas certain other Gaulish terms which <u>are</u> attested in Latin have a much more restricted Romance survival? The dates of the respective borrowings may have something to do with it. If a foreign term was borrowed early in the Roman period when communications were good and time was on its side, it had more chance of spreading than if it came into Latin at a late date. Some Celtic terms to do with horses and equine transport entered Latin early and became widespread (e.g. *raeda*, *petorritum*). Another factor has to do with the semantics of such borrowings. Whereas beaks, bills and snouts are all around us and recognised by everyone, other borrowings had a far more technical sense which many speakers would never have needed to express. The phonetic structure of *beccus* might also have favoured its vitality, though this is a subjective point. It is phonetically similar to *bucca*, which is of much the same semantic field, and which itself was imperialist in behaviour, in that it drove out another old Latin word, *os*. *Bucca* too was possibly a borrowing from Celtic.[220] *Bucca* and *beccus* complemented each other semantically, with one designating the mouth of humans, the other the corresponding part of animals, and the spread of the latter might have been supported by the wide currency of the former.

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[219] See *FEW* I.304.   [220] See Delamarre (2003: 80).

Was *beccus* a regionalism of (part of) Gaul when Suetonius alluded to it, or had it already spread far and wide? Certainly the names have a distinctly regional look to them (and one of them, *Becco*, is also found in Gregory of Tours: see *TLL* II.1797.82). We cannot be sure about *beccus*, but Suetonius felt the need to gloss the word, and there is a hint that it was the sort of term that would have been heard particularly around Toulouse (and cf. above on the name *Becco* at Toulouse). I leave the matter open, but have dwelt on the word because it raises the question of why some loan-words caught on over an extensive area but others did not.

3.3.7 *comberos

A Gaulish word reconstructed as **comboros* (*REW* 2075) or **comberos* (*FEW* II.2.938, Delamarre 2003: 122),[221] and given the meaning 'barrage de rivière' by Delamarre, lived on as Middle French *combres* (fifteenth–sixteenth centuries), defined at *FEW* II.2.938 as follows: 'pieux, barrages, plantations, engins fixes, dans le lit des rivières, destinés à arrêter et retenir le poisson, à protéger les rives, à fixer les alluvions; encombrement de terres, de pierres' (my emphasis). This term must lie behind the gloss (*CGL* V.14.21, 59.4) *cormeos: aceruos quos rustici ex congerie lapidum faciunt* ('*cormeos*, piles which rustics make with a heap of stones').[222]

3.3.8 *Some terms with* marga

Various Celtic terms are noted by Pliny the Elder,[223] but it cannot always be concluded that they were in use in Gallic Latin, as distinct from Gaulish. Some such words, for example *eporediae* (3.123 *eporedias Galli bonos equorum domitores uocant*, 'the Gauls call good trainers of horses *eporediae*'), may have been restricted to Gaulish but have become known as ethnographical curiosities to Roman traders and others. But *glisomarga*, denoting a type of white marl, is more interesting: *Nat.* 16.46 *tertium genus candidae glisomargam uocant* ('a third type of white [marl] they call *glisomarga*'). The subject of the verb, unspecified here, can be deduced from earlier in the discussion to be Britons and Gauls: 17.42 *alia est ratio, quam Britanniae et Galliae inuenere, alendi eam ipsa, genusque, quod uocant margam* ('there is another method, which the provinces of Britain and Gaul have discovered, of nourishing earth with itself, and the type of earth which they call marl'). *Glisomarga* is a compound. The second part is a Gaulish word for 'marl' (see 17.42, just quoted),[224] a derivative of which, *margila*, was to produce

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[221] For the reconstruction see *FEW* II.2.939.   [222] See Meyer-Lübke (1903: 98).
[223] See the list at Healy (1999: 93); also Adams (2003a: 441).
[224] See Delamarre (2003: 181) s.v. *glisomarga*.

a term for 'marl' in Gallo-Romance (Old French *marle*, French *marne*).[225] *Marga*, itself with a number of Romance reflexes,[226] is also found in the same discussion of Pliny (17.44), in another compound, *acaunumarga*, described by Pliny as denoting 'red' marl (*proxima est rufa, quae uocatur acaunumarga*, 'next is red marl, which is called *acaunumarga*'). In fact the first part of the compound is the Gaulish word for 'stone', *acaunon*,[227] and the primary meaning 'stony marl'.[228] The first part of *glisomarga* is probably a derivative of the Celtic seen in Old Irish *gel* 'white'.[229] The term must have entered Gallic Latin, because its first part survives as French *glaise* (variants *gleise, gloise, glise*; *terre glaise* = 'clay'). Bloch and von Wartburg (1968: 296) explain the abbreviation as follows: 'quand l'adj. comme tel disparut, la première partie du comp. *gliso-marga* parut suffisant comme nom de la terre glaise'.

It is interesting that Pliny associates Britain and Gaul as adopting the same practices, and by implication as using the same Celtic words for certain types of earth. It was not only the Celtic language that Britain and Gaul shared, but also Latin regionalisms derived from their Celtic heritage (see IX.7).

3.3.9 broga

A good example of a Gaulish term which entered Latin in a restricted area and survived in Romance in much the same regions is *broga*. The word surfaces in Latin just once, in the Scholia to Juvenal 8.234:

Allobrogae Galli sunt. ideo autem dicti Allobrogae, quoniam *brogae* Galli agrum dicunt, *alla* autem aliud. dicti autem Allobrogae, quia ex alio loco fuerant translati.

The Allobrogae are Gauls. They are called Allobrogae since Gauls use *brogae* of land, whereas *alla* means 'other'. They are called Allobrogae because they had been transferred from another place.

Delamarre (2003: 91) distinguishes two related meanings of the Celtic representatives of the root, namely 'frontière, marche' and 'territoire, région', with the first being the primary sense. So too *FEW* I.555 gives the primary sense as 'frontier, boundary edge' (= 'Grenze, Rand'), with 'field, land' a secondary development. The word survives in Gallo-Romance dialects with the primary sense, as e.g. Old Provençal *broa* 'terre non cultivée qui sépare deux champs' (Delamarre; see too *FEW*, giving the senses 'bord d'une rivière, d'un champ'). It is also reflected in the so-called 'Gallo-Italian'

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[225] See *REW* 5354, Bloch and von Wartburg (1968: 393).
[226] See *REW* 5351. [227] See Delamarre (2003: 30). [228] See Delamarre (2003: 30, 181).
[229] See Bloch and von Wartburg (1968: 296) s.v. *glaise*, Delamarre (2003: 181).

dialects of northern Italy (Piedmont, Lombardy: Delamarre, *FEW*).[230] It is possible that the scholiast knew the word from Gallic Latin, by which, as the Romance reflexes show, it had certainly been borrowed.

On a derivative (*brogilos*), see below, V.3.4, p. 301.

3.4   Miscellaneous

I have collected elsewhere (Adams 2003a: 191–6, 441) various *testimonia* from Marcellus and Pliny the Elder mainly to do with Gaulish words that had been taken over by Gallic Latin.

3.5   Some conclusions

Grammarians were on the lookout for usages that might be regional (see the cross references at 3.3.1, p. 251). We have seen some lexical observations in the commentary of Servius (3.3.1), and phonetic discussions in Consentius (1.2.12.1, 3.2). The obscurity of one of Consentius' discussions was noted (3.2), but at least he was an observer of actual speech, something he tells the reader himself (1.2.12.2). Less satisfactory are the assertions in Servius. One of them (3.3.1) is at best anachronistic (and based on a false interpretation of Virgil), and the other (on *raucus*) looks wrong. Those responsible for the commentary occasionally attempted to account for what was thought to be an oddity in Virgil by suggesting that it had been picked up in the province of his birth. Grammarians and scholars of related types emerge as somewhat unreliable. Nothing that Julius Romanus says on the subject of regionalisms (1.3.1) can be verified, but it would probably be doing him an injustice to imply that he is not to be trusted; he is *sui generis* in his interest in parts of Italy, and the information he provides may be accurate. Consentius' phonetic descriptions are overcomplicated and inspire little confidence on points of detail. Fortunatianus' linguistic characterisation (1.3.4) of Spaniards, Gauls and Romans is unconvincing. Nonius Marcellus on *nubere* (1.3.5) is unlikely to be right. By contrast some observations by Columella, Pliny and other intelligent laymen are superior in quality. Romance (and Welsh) evidence has been used to support the accuracy of claims made by Columella and others about the geographical distribution of certain terms for 'owl', and of *marcus*, *tripetia* and *taurus*. Columella gives information about variation within Gaul in the meaning of *candetum*.

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[230] For the classification see Maiden (1995: 234). For further comment on the word see Pfister (2005: 595).

Those whose primary interest was in subjects other than language were sometimes struck by linguistic oddities that they had come across in passing, whereas grammarians tended to seek out data to suit a predetermined theme.

The two categories of dialect terms identified at I.3 have come up. A term is a regionalism in a strong sense if it has an equivalent or equivalents used in other regions. *Cauannus* and *tripetia* belong in that category. In a weaker sense there are terms characteristic of a region that had no obvious equivalents, such as *marcus*, *candetum* and Spanish mining terms. A purist might exclude them, but such terms, often borrowings from a local language, contributed something to the distinctiveness of the Latin of many regions, even if it was primarily local conditions and objects that constituted the regional features.

The Latin of Gaul was seen as an entity by the later period. It is contrasted in the material collected above both with the Latin of Italy and with 'Roman language', which I took to mean the educated standard. Within Gaul there were also variations to be noted, as we saw in the case of *candetum* and words for 'tripod'. By the fourth century the Latin of several parts of Gaul had achieved its own high status, and Roman was no longer the only standard variety to which a Gaul might defer.

The sources of regionalisms that we have seen fall into the usual classes. There are, first, some loan-words (*candetum*, possibly *marcus*). Local inventiveness was another factor. Birds, for example, were given onomatopoeic or other designations locally. Separate development, inspired by determinants which cannot be identified, of local forms of the language in scattered places having little or no contact with one another also led to dialectal differences. I take it that the variations in the vowel system that Consentius was attempting to describe belong in this class.

4 AFRICA[231]

African Latin attracted more notice than other regional varieties in the later Empire. We have already seen (1.2.3) Augustine's discussion of his own sounds, and Statius too (1.2.4) implied that there was a distinctive African accent. Grammarians also observed what they considered to be African oddities, sometimes offering specific information. I start with some imprecise expressions of attitude.

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[231] For a recent brief overview of the African question, with citation of some of the metalinguistic comment, see Schmitt (2003).

4.1   Some vague testimonia

According to the *Historia Augusta* the African emperor Septimius Severus
retained an African accent until old age: *Sept. Sev*. 19.9 *canorus uoce, sed
Afrum quiddam usque ad senectutem sonans* ('tuneful in voice, but sounding
somewhat African right up to old age'). It does not matter whether this
remark is a guess[232] or not. The author was expressing a common attitude,
namely that Africans might be recognisable by their speech, and that those
of status at Rome would usually have eliminated traces of their origins.
The same work (see 2.1) recorded Hadrian's efforts to suppress a regional
accent. If Septimius sounded African himself, his sister allegedly could only
manage broken Latin, and that was such a source of embarrassment to the
emperor that he instructed her to return home: *Sept. Sev*. 15.7 *cum soror
sua Leptitana ad eum uenisset uix Latine loquens, ac de illa multum imperator
erubesceret . . . redire mulierem in patriam praecepit* ('when his sister from
Lepcis had come to him scarcely speaking Latin, the emperor was greatly
embarrassed by her and instructed her to return home'). The reference
here is to 'learners' Latin',[233] which is not the same thing as a regional
variety,[234] but there is an attitude conveyed in the story,[235] namely that
provincial elites at Rome should not be traceable from their speech. There
is a similar story about broken Latin used by an African at Apul. *Apol*.
98.8–9,[236] and a similar expression of disapproval.

4.2   Vowel system

There is some explicit evidence for the African vowel system. Africa did
not produce a Romance language, and the ancient *testimonia* cannot be
assessed from later developments (see, however, below, X.5 on inscriptional
and other subliterary evidence from Africa to do with the vowel system; the
testimonia and inscriptions will be brought together), but there are hints that
its vowel system may have been similar to the Sardinian. Several items of
evidence are in Augustine. I start with his remarks about the pronunciation
of *cano*. He does not mention Africa in this case, but his other remarks
suggest that he was thinking of Africa:

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[232] See Birley (1988: 35).   [233] See Adams (2003a: 237, 289).
[234] See Adams (2003a: 818), index s.v. 'learners' Latin/Greek'.
[235] See Adams (2003a: 289).
[236] See Adams (2003a: 105); on the referent, of a distinguished equestrian family, see Birley (1988:
26).

De musica 2.1.1 itaque uerbi gratia cum dixeris *cano* uel in uersu forte posueris, ita ut uel tu pronuntians producas huius uerbi syllabam primam, uel in uersu eo loco ponas, ubi esse productam oportebat, reprehendet grammaticus, custos ille uidelicet historiae, nihil aliud asserens cur hanc corripi oporteat, nisi quod hi qui ante nos fuerunt, et quorum libri exstant tractanturque a grammaticis, ea correpta non producta usi fuerint.

And so, for example, when you say *cano* or happen to use it in verse, such that you either lengthen in pronunciation the first syllable of this word or place it in verse in a position where it should be long, the grammarian, that guardian of tradition, will find fault with you, giving no other reason why it should be shortened except that those who have come before us and whose books survive and are handled by the grammarians have treated it as short not long.

Cano originally had a short *a*, but there is an implication here that the *a* was subject to lengthening, and that anyone who so lengthened it would be taken to task by grammarians, the 'guardians of tradition'. Immediately before this passage Augustine had described the science of grammar as 'professing the guardianship of tradition'. Grammarians are portrayed as trying to resist changes in the vowel system. The tendency hinted at here (it is made more explicit in the passages shortly to be discussed) is for the stress accent to effect lengthening of short stressed vowels.

At *Doctr. christ.* 4.10.24 Augustine introduces Africans in a comparable context:

cur pietatis doctorem pigeat imperitis loquentem *ossum* potius quam *os* dicere, ne ista syllaba non ab eo, quod sunt *ossa*, sed ab eo, quod sunt *ora*, intellegatur, ubi Afrae aures de correptione uocalium uel productione non iudicant?

Why should a teacher of piety when speaking to the uneducated have regrets about saying *ossum* ('bone') rather than *os* in order to prevent that monosyllable (i.e. *ŏs* 'bone') from being interpreted as the word whose plural is *ora* (i.e. *ōs* 'mouth') rather than the word whose plural is *ossa* (i.e. *ŏs*), given that African ears show no judgment in the matter of the shortening of vowels or their lengthening?[237]

CL *ōs* and *ŏs* are distinguished (in the nominative and accusative singular) by the length of the vowel. Augustine suggests that uneducated Africans (note *imperitis*) would not be able to differentiate the two terms because they cannot distinguish short and long vowels. The argument seems to be as follows. In both terms the *o* is under the accent. If the stress accent lengthened a short stressed vowel (on this point see further below on two passages of Consentius), *ŏs* 'bone' would be indistinguishable from *ōs* 'mouth'. For that reason the Christian teacher in addressing the uneducated

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[237] On this passage see Herman (1991), Adams (1999: 115).

should use the substandard form *ossum* 'bone' (a back formation from the plural *ossa*) to avoid confusion.

In most Romance languages long *o* merged with short *u* as a close *o*, which contrasted with the open *o* that developed from the original short *o*.[238] The back vowel system thus shows two phonemically distinct forms of *o*. This development runs parallel to (but was possibly later than) a merger in the front vowels, of long *e* and short *i* as a close *e*, which had the effect of setting up two types of *e*, close and open (the latter from the original short *e*).

But not all Romance languages show these mergers. In Sardinia each of the five long vowels merged with the corresponding short vowel, producing a five-vowel system (see also below, X.2.3).[239] Thus, for example, long *o* merged with short *o*. The same happened in some dialect areas of southern Italy.[240] Similarly in Balkan Romance, whereas long *e* and short *i* merged in the usual Romance way, long *o* and short *u* did not: in the back vowel system long *o* and short *o*, and long *u* and short *u*, merged.[241]

The Sardinian system attracts attention in the present context. Could it be that African Latin had the same or a similar vowel system, and that Augustine's remark about *ŏs* should be read in that light as an indication that in Africa long and short *o* had fallen together? It has not infrequently been suggested that African might have corresponded to Sardinian.[242]

Augustine does not say that ordinary Africans pronounced *ōs* and *ŏs* in the same way, but implies that they would hear them as the same word if they were uttered by an (educated) speaker. This is a suggestive remark, and not only for what is said about vowel length. In classical Latin long and short *o* differed not only in length but also in quality, with the long vowel closer than the short. That difference of quality was maintained in most of the Romance languages, in which the two forms of *o* have outcomes showing different degrees of aperture (see above). That was not, however, the case in Sardinian. The distinction of quality as well as of length must have been lost in Africa also if the two words could be confused, and that

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[238] See e.g. Väänänen (1981: 29–30), Herman (2000: 31).

[239] See e.g. Väänänen (1981: 30), Vincent (1988: 32–3), Jones (1988: 317), Herman (2000: 32–3).

[240] See Vincent (1988: 33), and also the map in Harris and Vincent (1988) numbered VIII (p. 484).

[241] See Väänänen (1981: 30), Vincent (1988: 33), Mallinson (1988: 391–3), Herman (2000: 33).

[242] See e.g. Petersmann (1998: 130–1), citing e.g. Omeltchenko (1977) (for whose views on the matter see below, X.5.1.2.4 n. 43); also Väänänen (1981: 30 n. 1), but basing himself on loan-words in Berber. Attempts to reconstruct the vowel system of north Africa from features of alleged Latin loan-words in Berber (for such an attempt, see Rössler 1962, referred to with approval by Petersmann 1998: 130–1) are not convincing. For reservations see Adams (2003a: 246–7), and below, VIII.10.2.

would suggest that the vowel system was of Sardinian type, at least on the back-vowel axis.

Certainly Augustine's assertion is consistent with a vowel system of the Sardinian type, though if it stood alone it could not be pressed too far. But there is also inscriptional and other non-literary evidence from Africa which is relevant to the problem. This I will discuss in a later chapter (X.5.1.2.4). If it turned out that vocalic misspellings of the type implying a merger of long *o* and short *u* (and a corresponding merger in the front-vowel system, of long *e* and short *i*) were absent from the African material, that might possibly be a further indication that the standard Romance mergers had not occurred in Africa (though there are methodological problems in arguing from silence, and these will have to be addressed later). The misspellings I have in mind as suggesting the usual Romance developments would show *o* written for original short *u* and *e* written for original short *i*. By contrast a merger of long *o* and short *o* of the Sardinian type implied by Augustine (or, say, of long *e* and short *e*) would not show up in writing at all. We will be looking later for the <u>absence</u> of certain misspellings in the African inscriptions.

I move on now to a few miscellaneous items of evidence.

I note in passing that when the African grammarian Pompeius uses the first person plural in referring to the vice of making errors of vowel quantity (*GL* V.285.5–7 *est alter (barbarismus), qui fit in pronuntiatu. plerumque male pronuntiamus et facimus uitium, ut breuis syllaba longo tractu sonet aut iterum longa breuiore sono*, 'there is another (barbarism), which is committed in pronunciation. Often we utter a bad pronunciation and commit the fault of sounding a short syllable long or, again, a long syllable short'), he cannot be taken as referring specifically to an African pronunciation (despite Herman [1982] 1990: 219–20). Pompeius alternates between the first and second persons throughout the work in describing general features of the language (see for example on the same page, lines 18–20, the alternation between *addimus* and *addis*, and also the passage quoted and discussed below, 4.3), and it is not acceptable to fasten on to just one case of the first person as supposedly referring to Africa.

Not unlike the passage of Augustine above are two remarks by Consentius, the second of which complements Augustine: *GL* V.392.3[243] *ut quidam dicunt 'piper' producta priore syllaba, cum sit breuis, quod uitium Afrorum familiare est* ('as some people say *piper* with a long first syllable,

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[243] For the text see also Niedermann (1937: 11). These passages have often been discussed. See e.g. Herman ([1982] 1990: 219), Vainio (1999: 31, 119), Adams (1999: 115).

when it is short, a vice which is characteristic of Africans'), 392.11 *ut si quis dicat 'orator' correpta priore syllaba, quod ipsum uitium Afrorum speciale est* ('as if someone were to say *orator* with a short first syllable, a vice which is particular to Africans').

Consentius does not give any information, direct or indirect, about the quality of the first *o* of *orator* once phonemic distinctions of vowel length had been lost (in Africa), and in this he differs from Augustine in the passage discussed earlier in this section about *ŏs*. In most branches of proto-Romance it would have been a close *o*, and distinct therefore from the outcome of CL short *o* (an open *o*), whereas in Sardinia it would have been indistinguishable from the outcome of the original short *o*. The passages are entirely about the role of the stress accent in undermining phonemic distinctions of vowel length.

The two tendencies brought out by Consentius (lengthening of short vowels in accented syllables and shortening of long vowels in unaccented syllables) are not confined to Africa, despite his references to 'African vices'. They show up in substandard versification, both in Africa (the African poet Commodian is notorious for shortening unstressed vowels and lengthening those under the accent) and other parts of the Empire.[244] It is possible

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[244] See the material at Adams (1999: 114–17), and particularly that at 116 n. 39. One of the pieces of evidence that I cite (1999: 117) is the grammarian Sacerdos' treatment of *perspicere possit* as a hexameter ending (*GL* VI.493.24). Sacerdos (a Roman grammarian and not, it seems, an African: see Kaster 1988: 352–3) has lengthened the *i* of *perspicere* under the accent. This passage and its surrounds are misinterpreted by both Väänänen (1981: 31) and Herman (2000: 28). Väänänen says that Sacerdos maintains that the loss of distinctions of vowel length is a 'barbarism of our time'. Herman says that 'Sacerdos mentions the tendency to shorten long vowels in the final syllable of words and calls it a "barbarism of our time".' The passage of Sacerdos has nothing to do with the loss of vowel length or with the shortening of long final vowels. It is about clausulae acceptable in an earlier age and those acceptable at the time of Sacerdos. In the context the expression *structura nostri temporis* (493.16) means a clausula approved at the present time, and *barbarismus nostri temporis* (several times) means a clausula not approved at the present time (i.e. one now considered a barbarism). I quote and translate the whole of the section containing *perspicere possit* (493.20–6): *disyllaba structura, quae non ualde quibusdam placet, antiquos uiros uehementissime delectabat. est enim fortis admodum uitansque etiam nostri temporis barbarismum, si non fuerit spondeo uel trochaeo post dactylum finita, ut 'primus ab oris' et 'in quo meam uoluntatem p. R. perspicere possit'. sic enim uersum heroicum hexametrum faciunt, quae sola uersificatio est oratoribus deuitanda* ('the disyllabic structure [i.e. a clausula ending with a word of two syllables], which is not particularly pleasing to certain persons, greatly delighted the ancients. For it is very strong and also avoids what is considered a barbarism today, as long as it is not concluded with a spondee or trochee after a dactyl, as is the case in *primus ab oris* and . . . *perspicere possit*. For these (patterns) produce a heroic hexameter (ending), which is the only metrical pattern that must be avoided by orators'). Thus even a grammarian was capable of treating a (short) stressed vowel as long. For a further *testimonium* in Sacerdos pointing to the tendency for short vowels under the accent to be lengthened see *GL* VI.451.4–5 *barbarismus est uitiosa dictio unius uerbi, qui fit modis octo: per productionem, ac si dicas pernix et per producas, quae correpta est* ('barbarism is the faulty uttering of a single word, which has eight forms: lengthening, if for example you were to say *pernix* and were to lengthen the *per*, which

that these tendencies were particularly marked in Africa, but the evidence suggests that they were widespread, as a stage of the language in general, and that Consentius may have been wrong in assigning them specifically to Africa.

4.3 'Labdacism'

Pomp. *GL* V.286.34–287.6 labdacismus est ille, qui aut per unum *l* fit aut per duo; sed per unum, si tenuius sonet, per duo, si pinguius sonet. puta *llargus*; debemus dicere *largus*. ut pingue sonet; et si dicas *llex* non *lex*: uitiosa sunt per labdacismum. item in gemino *l* [quando fuerint duo *l*], si uolueris pinguius sonare, si dicamus *Metelus*, *Catulus*. in his etiam agnoscimus gentium uitia; labdacismis scatent Afri, raro est ut aliquis dicat *l*: per geminum *l* sic locuntur Romani, omnes Latini sic locuntur, *Catullus*, *Metellus*.

That is labdacism, which is effected either by a single *l* or by a double *l*. It is effected by a single *l* if the sound is thinner (than the norm). It is effected by a double *l* if the sound is fatter. Take for example *llargus*: we should say *largus*. The result [of the double *l*] is that the sound is fat. And for example if you were to say *llex* not *lex*. These are faulty pronunciations by labdacism. Likewise in the case of double *l*, if you want to say the sound more fatly but we were to say (instead) *Metelus*, *Catulus*, [that would be the inverse form of labdacism]. In these matters we also recognise the faults of (different) peoples. Africans abound in labdacisms. It is only rarely that anyone says a (single) *l* [in words such as *Metelus* and *Catulus*]. By means of a double *l* the Romans and all Latins pronounce *Catullus* and *Metellus*.

This passage has a number of difficulties, but the general issues of labdacism are straightforward. Ancient grammarians recognised two (occasionally three: see below) types of *l* in Latin, which they called 'fat' and 'thin' ('dark' and 'clear' in modern terminology, as that of Allen 1965: 33–4).[245] 'Labdacism' consisted of substituting clear for dark or vice versa (see Consentius *GL* V.394.22–4 *labdacismum uitium in eo esse dicunt, quod eadem littera uel subtilius a quibusdam uel pinguius ecfertur*),[246] and these faults were associated with different *gentes*. Pompeius refers to *gentium uitia* in the passage quoted, and a similar remark is made by Consentius

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is short'). It should also be noted that Consentius, who, as we saw, illustrated lengthening under the accent and shortening in unstressed syllables from African Latin, was capable of illustrating the same phenomena without ascribing them to Africa: see Niedermann (1937), pp. 12.2–3 (*pices* with first syllable lengthened), 12.13–14 (*pices* with first syllable lengthened and second shortened), 20.4–5 (*ossua* with first syllable lengthened), 21.8–9 (*Fidenam* with the first syllable shortened).

[245] A full account of the Latin *l*, with citation of the relevant grammarians, can be found in Sturtevant (1940: 147–50). Allen (1965: 33–4) is characteristically clear. See too Lindsay (1894: 89–90).

[246] 'They say that the fault of labdacism takes the following form, that the letter is pronounced either more subtly (than the norm) by some or more richly'. On labdacism see Holtz (1981: 159).

GL V.394.24 *et re uera insitum*[247] *alterutrum uitium quibusdam gentibus est* ('and in fact one fault or the other is implanted in certain peoples'). He goes on in the next line to identify a type of labdacism committed by Greeks. I say something about clear and dark *l* and then comment on the difficulties of the passage of Pompeius quoted above.

It emerges from a passage of Pliny as quoted by Priscian (*GL* II.29.8–12) and one of Consentius (*GL* V.394.29–36), both of which are quoted, translated and discussed by Sturtevant (1940: 148–9), that thin (clear) *l* was found before vowels at the start of a word (though Pliny prefers to see this type as 'intermediate') and after another *l* in words such as *ille* and *Metellus*. Fat (dark) *l* was found at the end of words and before and after another consonant. Allen (1965: 33), drawing on this same evidence, remarks that Latin seems to have had much the same varieties of clear and dark *l* as English. I quote both passages with Sturtevant's translation:

Pliny *ap.* Priscian *GL* II.29.8–12 *l* triplicem, ut Plinio uidetur, sonum habet: exilem quando geminatur secundo loco posita, ut *ille*, *Metellus*; plenum quando finit nomina uel syllabas et quando aliquam habet ante se in eadem syllaba consonantem, ut *sol*, *silua*, *flauus*, *clarus*; medium in aliis, ut *lectum*, *lectus*.

L has a triple sound, as Pliny thinks: thin when it stands second in double *ll*, as *ille*, *Metellus*; full at the end of a word or a syllable and when it has a consonant before it in the same syllable, as *sol*, *silua*, *flauus*, *clarus*; intermediate in other words, as *lectum*, *lectus*.

Consentius *GL* V.394.29–36[248] Romana lingua emendationem habet in hoc quoque distinctione. nam alicubi pinguius, alicubi debet exilius proferri; pinguius cum uel *b* sequitur, ut in *albo*, uel *c*, ut in *pulchro*, uel *f*, ut in *adelfis*, uel *g*, ut in *alga*, uel *m*, ut in *pulmone*, uel *p*, ut in *scalpro*; exilius autem proferenda est, ubicumque ab ea uerbum incipit, ut in *lepore*, *lana*, *lupo*, uel ubi in eodem uerbo et prior syllaba in hac finitur et sequens ab ea incipit, ut *ille* et *Allia*.

The Roman tongue has a correction to make in this matter also by way of distinction. For in some places the sound should be thicker, in others thinner; thicker when *b* follows, as in *albus*, or *c*, as in *pulcher*, or *f*, as in *adelfi*, or *g*, as in *alga*, or *m*, as in *pulmo*, or *p*, as in *scalprum*; but it should have a thinner pronunciation wherever a word begins with it, as in *lepus*, *lana*, *lupus*, or where in the same word the preceding syllable ends with this letter and the following begins with it, as *ille* and *Allia*.

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[247] *Insitum* is printed by Niedermann (1937: 16, line 7) from the Basel manuscript; it was omitted in the manuscript used by Keil.

[248] See Niedermann (1937: 16.14–21). Part of the passage was discussed in another connection, above, 3.2.

Pompeius (in the passage at the start of this section) confuses the issue by describing thin *l* as a single *l* and fat *l* as a double *l*. The terminology is satisfactory as a description of the sound produced by substituting dark *l* (with back vowel resonance) for clear at the start of a word (*llargus*, *llex*), but a problem arises when he comes to the African pronunciation of *Metellus* and *Catullus*. *Metellus* was also used by Pliny as cited by Priscian (see above), but to illustrate the thin *l* represented by the second member of the geminate. Pompeius seems rather to be talking of simplification of the geminate, such that only the single clear *l* before a vowel was heard. The pronunciation might have been heard in Africa (but scarcely only there:[249] simplification was widespread), but Pompeius has surely confused two things, labdacism in the conventional sense, and simplification of a geminate, in this case *ll*.

There are other problems in the passage.[250] Particularly incoherent is the sentence beginning *item in gemino*, where there is a violent switch from second person to first person plural. What does *in his etiam (agnoscimus)* refer back to? I have taken it as referring collectively to the different forms of labdacism, including the type that comes up at the start of the passage, but *his* might just look back to the forms *Metelus* and *Catulus*, which immediately precede it. Against that it seems unlikely that a grammarian would seek to find a *gentile uitium* in just one form of labdacism. After the generalisation *labdacismis scatent Afri* the sentence or clause *raro est ut aliquis dicat l* is difficult. Is this a remark about Africans, such that *aliquis* has *Afrorum* understood with it? Or is it to be taken as I have translated above, as a reference to the rarity of the pronunciation *Metelus*, *Catulus*? A simple change of punctuation might make the clause refer to Africans, and preserve *Metel(l)us* and *Catul(l)us* as the subject of the discussion through to the final sentence, where these words are definitely the subject. Thus: *raro est ut aliquis dicat l per geminum l. sic . . .* ('it is rarely the case that one of them pronounces *l* by means of a geminate; in this way . . .'). Africans therefore would say *Metelus* and *Catulus*, in contrast to Romans and Latins, who say *Metellus* and *Catullus*.

Isidore has an account of labdacism which is even more confused than that of Pompeius, and I cite it here only for completeness (*Etym.* 1.32.8):

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[249] See the material cited by Kiss (1971: 34–7), some of it showing degemination of *l*. The statistics he gives at 76 (cf. also his remarks at 75) seem to reveal a particular frequency of simplification in Africa, but whether such material reflects merely lower levels of literacy there than in many other places would be hard to determine.

[250] The passage is discussed by Vainio (1999: 118).

labdacismus est, si pro una *l* duo pronuntientur, ut Afri faciunt, sicut *colloquium* pro *conloquium*; uel quotiens unam *l* exilius, duo largius proferimus. quod contra est; nam unum largius, duo exilius proferre debemus.

Labdacism is when instead of one *l* two are pronounced, as is done by Africans, as for example in *colloquium* for *conloquium*; or when we say one *l* more thinly or two more thickly. This is the opposite (of what is required), for we should say one more thickly and two more thinly.

Isidore's first example (*colloquium* for *conloquium*) has nothing to do with dark and clear *l* but concerns the assimilation of a prefix.[251] The final sentence, to the effect that a single *l* should be pronounced more thickly and a double more thinly, has a correspondent in Servius *GL* IV.445.12–13 *labdacismi fiunt, si aut unum l tenuius dicis, [solocismus] ut Lucius, aut geminum pinguius, ut Metellus* ('labdacisms occur if you either say one *l* more thinly, as in *Lucius*, or a double more thickly, as in *Metellus*'). I see these rather puzzling statements as a watering down of the more precise definitions of the type found in Pliny and Consentius. Both spoke of double *l*, and one of them used the same example *Metellus* as Servius. But both made it clear that it was not the double *l* as such that was *exilis*, but only the second member of the geminate. This subtlety has been lost in transmission, such that a double *l* is asserted to be thin, and by extension a single *l* thick. Neither Pliny nor Consentius said that a single *l* was thick, but that its character varied depending on what followed. Before a (back) vowel, as in *lupus*, Consentius says that the sound should be *exilis*. Servius, by contrast, says that the (vice of) labdacism occurs if the *l* of *Lucius* is pronounced thin; by implication it should be thick. A confusion has clearly set in somewhere in the grammatical tradition.

What emerges again is the unreliability of grammarians when they attempt to give phonetic details about regional speech. They often, however, display a clear concept that the language varied by region, and that concept must have been based on the observation of differences, even if the differences are inadequately described.

4.4   A passage of Jerome

There is a passage of Jerome referring to a (hypothetical?: see below) pupil of an African grammarian at Rome who imitated only his teacher's vices of speech: *Epist. adv. Rufinum 27 grammaticum quidam Afrum Romae*

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[251] See Vainio (1999: 118). According to Fontaine (1959: 130), the assimilation to *colloquium* represents 'un fait actuel' of African Latin. The assimilation would have been normal in speech everywhere throughout the period of recorded Latin.

habuit, uirum eruditissimum, et in eo se aemulum praeceptoris putabat si <u>*stridorem linguae eius et uitia tantum oris exprimeret*</u> ('a certain person had an African teacher of grammar at Rome, a most learned man, and [yet] he thought that he was emulating his teacher if he reproduced the hissing of his speech and merely the vices of his pronunciation'). Jerome is arguing that it is reasonable to praise a man for some things but to find fault with him for others. Thus, he says, we praise the intellect of Tertullian but condemn his heresy. Another example is given of a person whose good points are admired but bad points not accepted. He then moves on to grammarians, whose virtues must in the same way be distinguished from their vices: *magistrorum enim non uitia imitanda sunt, sed uirtutes* ('of teachers the vices are not to be imitated, but their virtues'). Thus the point of the sentence quoted above. The unnamed pupil at Rome had a most learned teacher, but instead of imitating his learning he imitated only his defective accent. *Stridor* is attested elsewhere in reference to the sounds of Semitic. In the preface to his commentary on Daniel (*PL* 28, 1292) Jerome speaks of the difficulty of pronouncing Aramaic, and one of the epithets he uses of the words of the language is *stridens*: *multo sudore multoque tempore uix coepissem anhelantia stridentiaque uerba resonare* ('at a cost of much toil and time I had with difficulty begun to sound words with their breathy and hissing articulation'). Again we have *uitia* applied to African speech, and the use of *oris* recalls the *Hispanum os* of Julianus (see above, 2.1) and the *Romanum os* of Macrobius (1.2.8). The pupil may not have existed, but the example would not have had any point if even educated Africans were not believed to have a distinctive manner of speech, marked, Jerome seems to be suggesting, by interference from the phonetics of Semitic. In Jerome's eyes African speech had relatively low prestige.

4.5   *Lexical* testimonia

There are some *testimonia* in Nonius Marcellus which will be postponed to a later chapter (VIII.5), because they do not for the most part refer explicitly to Africa (and are in any case uninformative).

Some other *testimonia* to do with Africa will also be dealt with in the chapter on Africa (VIII.4.2.3, 4.2.4, 4.2.5, 4.5.6).

On a use of *formacei* mentioned by Pliny see above, 2.3, pp. 237–8, and on *caducarius*, below, V.3.1.

4.6   *Conclusion*

Both Africans (Augustine, Pompeius) and non-Africans (Consentius, Jerome) remarked on African features, some of them in specific terms.

I have expressed doubts about the interpretation and accuracy of some of these remarks, but African Latin must have been distinctive to inspire so much discussion. Grammarians were not necessarily able to describe what they heard.

5 GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

5.1 *The rhetoric of metalinguistic comments*

There is a rhetoric to a good deal of the metalinguistic comment about regionalism. Romans (and others) had long had views about the behaviour and customs of outsiders, and language use was just one aspect of behaviour. When Statius praised an African Septimius Severus for his non-African speech (above, 1.2.4), he coupled speech with demeanour (*habitus*). The woman Marcella addressed in a poem of Martial (see above, 1.2.1) not only sounds Roman but also has exquisite taste in general. Romanness of speech is a cultural attainment that goes hand in hand with other forms of cultivation. Speech was also presented (negatively this time) as just one element of behaviour by Consentius when he spoke dismissively of the *nouitatis affectio* of the Roman plebs (1.2.12.2). He must have meant that they were given to changes of fashion, and that novelties of language, as other forms of novelty, appealed to them. Provincials for their part looked to Rome as a cultural centre, and they were sensitive to the possibility that they might fall short of Roman standards.

I have stressed that it is often provincials (not Italians but those from regions such as Spain, Gaul and Africa) who comment on their linguistic inferiority, either tongue in cheek or through genuine linguistic insecurity, but that is not the whole story. There is also some evidence that Romans (or Italians) might look down on provincial speech. A speech by Hadrian in the senate allegedly caused laughter among the senators (2.1), much as the rustic Truculentus in Plautus' play, appearing on stage before Roman audiences, was given features of language intended to cause amusement. Messala commented adversely on the speech of the Spaniard Latro (2.1). Augustine reveals that certain Italians, among whom we must include Romans, found fault with the sounds that he uttered (1.2.3). Some Greeks, resident at Rome and presenting themselves as learned in Roman things, mocked the *Hispanum os* of a Spanish declaimer (2.1). Pacatus claimed to be expecting scorn from his Roman listeners (1.2.2), but he was putting words into their mouths and is not to be taken seriously.

Something should be said about the values lying behind such rhetoric. Lack of education and stupidity may, but need not, come into it. The praetor Caecilius, castigated for converting a diphthong into a monophthong by Lucilius, was also the butt of a joke for his goat-like stupidity (II.11, II.11.2). The linguistic jibe too is meant to bring out the uncouth rustic character of someone whose cognomen was probably *Caprarius* 'goat herd'. A provincial may present himself as, if not stupid, at least struggling to match the standards of Romans. His speech is *rudis et incultus*, and may offend the ears of his hearers (1.2.2). Romans, by contrast, are 'innately' correct (1.2.2). But provincials may be educated and yet inferior in speech, either in their own eyes or of others. The African grammarian imitated by his pupil was a *uir eruditus*, but his speech had unpleasant regional features according to another outsider, Jerome (4.4). In the Republic one of the brothers from Sora was particularly well educated, but he could not compete in accent with Romans.

But harshness, rusticity, uncouthness and the like are strong terms for dismissing regional speech. Grammarians may be more subtle. There had long been a notion that there existed an ideal standard (*Latinitas*), and this must by some have been equated with educated Roman speech, to judge by the appearance of *Romana lingua* in Consentius as a term for correct Latin. Regional deviations from this standard constitute vices characteristic of different *gentes* (for *uitia gentium* see 2.12.1, 4.3). The regional usage is a fault, but other than that it is described in neutral terms. Grammarians may even be tolerant of change, in the sense that the standard represents the present state of the admired form of language, and not an earlier state which is artificially maintained by prescriptive grammarians (see 1.2.12.1, 3.2, n. 184, p. 248). Despite this tolerance, regional deviations are vices.

5.2   *Patterns of variation*

Patterns of variation have emerged in the last two chapters. By the Empire in Italy only peoples at some remove from Rome are seen to display linguistic oddities (contrast the Republic: see III.9.2), such as the Marsi, Vestini and Marrucini (1.3.7). Campania is named a few times in metalinguistic comments both in the Republic and Empire (III.6.10, IV.1.3.1). We now also find outsiders commenting on faults of ordinary Roman Latin (1.2.12.2, 1.3.4), and that suggests that there were those in the city whose speech struck outsiders as regionally distinctive.

Several things are striking about the metalinguistic evidence concerning the distant provinces.

First, Africa was particularly remarked for its vices of speech. In the material assembled in this chapter there are five passages in which vices are attributed to Africans, and not all of them are the work of grammarians. Consentius (twice: 4.2) and Pompeius (4.3) write in such terms, but both Augustine (1.2.3) and Jerome (4.4) also mention African *uitia*. That is not to say that other provincials did not have 'vices' (I referred at 5.1 to two passages mentioning *uitia gentium* in general terms, in one of which [see 1.3.4] Spaniards, Gauls and Romans are named; cf. 1.2.12.2 on the Roman plebs and 1.2.12.1 on a possible vice of *Itali*), but African Latin may have been particularly distinctive. One item of evidence concerning Africa is of particularly good quality (Augustine's confession that his African sounds differed from those of Italians, 1.2.3). A number of the other items, though difficult to interpret and perhaps misguided, are at least detailed and suggest that a dialect was perceived by observers.

Second, there is a substantial number of what I have called 'contrastive observations' (1.3.3, 1.3.4, 3.3.2), whereby the usage of Gauls or Spaniards is contrasted (usually) with that of Italians. These observations hint at a growing awareness of, or at least a desire to find, variation across a broad sweep of the western Empire, with what we might call 'countries' contrasted with one another. The accuracy of at least one such comparison based on a point of detail is confirmed by the Romance languages (3.3.2, on distinctive Gallic and Italian words for 'owl'). The clearest concept of variation by country is found in the fifth century in the rhetorician Fortunatianus, who offers a threefold division (1.3.4). I return to the interpretation of these contrasts later (XI.2, 5.2).

The evidence we have available is rudimentary. Within Italy, Spain etc. there are bound to have been variations that we cannot know about, though Sulpicius Severus offers us a glimpse of variation within Gaul, and, as we saw above, parts of Italy are singled out.

5.3   Causes of regional variation

At 1.3.7 above a list of determinants of regional variation was set out, and specific items discussed in sections later than that fall into one or other of the categories listed there (see 2.3, 3.3.2, 3.3.4, 3.3.5 on further words retained from an earlier language). In the previous chapter (III.9.4) a comparable list of factors was presented from the republican evidence. I mention again a point made earlier (3.3.2), that flora and fauna have a particular tendency to inspire localised designations. That tendency will be further illustrated in later chapters.

5.4 Strong regionalisms

A distinction has been made in this book (see I.3) between usages that are regional in a strong sense and those that are regional in a weaker sense. I list here those of the first type discussed in this chapter: pronunciations of *etiam* (and the like) (1.2.12.1), *stetim* and *peres* for *statim* and *pedes* (1.2.12.2), *pullus* (1.3.1), *arula* (1.3.1), *commodo* (1.3.1), names for grape varieties (1.3.2), *ceua* (1.3.2), *consiligo* (1.3.2), *cotonea* (1.3.3), *regia* (1.3.3), *asia* (1.3.3), *mergus* (1.3.4), *cercius* (1.3.6), *Volturnus* (1.3.6), *zaeus* (2.2), *tripetia* (3.1), long *i* in Gaul (3.2), *comminus* (3.3.1), some words for 'owl' (3.3.2), *taurus* as a bird name (3.3.3), varieties of *l* (4.3). In one semantic field we know the term of standard Latin and two variants current in different localities (see 1.3.1 on *agger*, *murus* and *arula*). The accuracy of the remarks about *pullus*, *mergus*, *cercius*, *Volturnus*, *tripetia* and the words for 'owl' is confirmed by the Romance languages.

Where accent is concerned, the efforts of Consentius and others to describe local pronunciations are good evidence for their existence, if not for their features. But note 1.2.12.2, n. 35: the rhotacism seen in *peres* < *pedes* as heard by Consentius at Rome can be paralleled in some Italian dialects.

5.5 Ancient testimonia and the Romance languages

Other *testimonia* which tie in with the evidence of the Romance languages (see the last section) are those at 1.3.5 (*rubus*), 2.3 (*corrugus*, *formaceus*), 2.4 (*sarralia*), 3.3.4 (*marcus*). The evidence highlights the continuity between the ancient language and its modern outcomes.

5.6 False regionalisms

Many of the ancient remarks collected in this chapter were accurate, not least, as we have just seen, those confirmed by later Romance developments. But ancient commentators are not infrequently wrong, misleading or open to misinterpretation, for a variety of reasons.

When Isidore said (above, 2.4) that Spaniards called a certain device a 'stork', he might simply have known the term from Spain only, and have had no intention of suggesting that it would not have been current in other places. If on the other hand he meant that it was a peculiarity of Spain, we could hardly accuse him of deliberate falsehood. Few commentators had

travelled widely enough to have accurate knowledge of the geographical spread of usages perceived to be unusual, and none had the modern dialect geographer's sources of information to draw on. Inaccurate statements are often so merely because of the incomplete information available to the commentator. It is interesting to know that *ciconia* was current in a metaphorical sense in Spain, but we must use our own sources to verify or modify such a remark.

Isidore's assertion (see 4.3) that *colloquium* (for *conloquium*) was a feature of Africans is also wrong, but for a different reason. It probably results not from a wish to deceive but from a misunderstanding of grammatical writings on labdacism.

Less satisfactory are errors deriving from a doctrinaire position or method of arguing. In the Servian commentary on Virgil, for example, there are several dubious claims that Virgilian usages derived from the Cisalpine region (3.3.1). It is possible that in one of these cases (*comminus*) the commentator knew of a regionalism of Cisalpine Gaul belonging to his own day, and transported it back in time to a passage of Virgil, wilfully misinterpreting the text to establish its presence there. In the other case (to do with a use of *raucior*) he has implausibly attempted to explain an imagined oddity by saying that Virgil was following 'the practice of his province'. One cause of obscurity in a text, according to Quintilian (see above, III.1), might be the presence in it of regional words, and grammarians, it seems, sometimes resorted to this theory to account for things they found unusual in a poet.

Of different type is the claim by Fortunatianus (above, 1.3.4) that the transfer of many neuters into the masculine was a habit specific to native Romans. Neuters had been passing into the masculine from the earliest period all over the Roman world, and the process resulted in the complete loss of the neuter in all the Romance languages. Why did Fortunatianus attribute the practice only to *Romani uernaculi*? He possibly had an outsider's desire to find fault with the speech of Romans (cf. 1.2.12.2; also below, 5.7), and was blinded to the frequency of the masculine for neuter elsewhere. A more charitable view would be that he was an educated outsider particularly struck by the extent of the loss of the neuter in popular Roman speech. If so his remark, though presented in the context as about the usage of different *gentes*, would strictly have been about social variation: he was comparing educated provincial practice with uneducated Roman. Social dialects are easy to confuse with regional dialects, as has been pointed out several times.

5.7   *Romanness*

The beginnings of a shift of emphasis are perhaps to be seen in some comments on Roman Latin (those of Consentius at 1.2.12.2 above, and of Fortunatianus at 1.3.4). From the Republic through to the fifth century in the material dealt with in this and the last chapter the Roman accent was an ideal, but in the fifth-century texts that have just been mentioned vices of ordinary Roman speech are illustrated. The illustrations given, as we have seen, are not to be trusted, but they do reveal a change of attitude. Whereas Cicero (*De orat.* 3.43: see above, III.4.1) maintained that even poorly educated Romans sounded better than educated outsiders, later commentators were prepared to find faults in the speech of Romans down the social scale. See further below, XI.3.2.

By the late Empire certain provincial places start to be presented as the domicile of superior Latin, notably Trier (1.2.9 [cf. 1.2.7]) and Aquitaine (3.1); see also 1.2.3 on Milan. It is the cultural and political status of a place, not inherent features of its dialect, that will cause its speech to be granted prestige. For that reason it was the Florentine dialect of Italy that was eventually to emerge as the basis of standard Italian. Both Trier and Milan were imperial seats, and for that reason there must have been a tendency for their Latin, whether distinctive or not, to be put on a par with the old Roman standard.

Regionalisms in provincial texts: Gaul

I   INTRODUCTION: SOME POINTS OF METHODOLOGY

Sometimes a text or inscription contains without comment a usage that there is reason to assign to a region. Its regional character may be deducible from various types of evidence. First, it may be discussed as a regionalism by another writer. Second, its distribution in extant Latin may suggest that it was localised. Third, in the Romance languages its reflexes may have a restricted distribution corresponding to its distribution in Latin texts. Sometimes the origin of the writer of the text may be known: if a usage associated with Gaul is found in a text written by someone known to have been Gallic it may be obvious that the writer had picked it up in his *patria*. If on the other hand there is no external evidence for the writer's origin, the usage, or, better, a cluster of such usages, may suggest either that he was a native of a certain area, or that he wrote the text in that area and drew on the local variety of the language.

But this is an idealised picture. It has in practice proved difficult to pin down the geographical origin of late texts. E. Löfstedt made the point thus (1959: 42): 'To assign any text to a particular province on linguistic grounds has in most cases been found impossible, and at the best is extremely difficult.'[1] One problem is that usages which, to judge by extant Latin or Romance evidence, seem to have been specific to a region might in antiquity have been more widespread, particularly if they had entered the literary language. Literary texts circulate, and words originally restricted to one place become known to outsiders. Löfstedt (1959: 42–50) gave a gloomy account of some of the efforts to localise texts. About the *Peregrinatio Aetheriae* he wrote (1959: 48) that, if 'we start . . . from linguistic phenomena as our basis, we can never establish with certainty, or even with reasonable probability, the country of Aetheria's birth and upbringing . . .

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[1] See also the remarks of Stefenelli (1996: 75).

[S]he does not represent any one dialect' (but see below, 5.5, p. 343). Löfstedt was more positive about the possibility of placing early medieval texts (1959: 50), and he appeared to hold out some hope for the future of such studies: '[w]ith greater refinements of method and deeper knowledge of the language concerned than we at present possess, it will undoubtedly become possible to localize, on purely linguistic grounds, a text of unknown provenance' (1959: 53). B. Löfstedt too, after a similar review, expressed some grounds for optimism ([1973] 2000: 105). We will see early in this chapter (2) and from time to time thereafter that various texts dating from before the medieval period can be localised on linguistic grounds (or could have been so localised, if we did not happen to have other evidence as well for their place of origin).

The aim of this chapter will be not only to identify regional features of Gallic Latin,[2] but also to establish methods of localising texts. There is a principle that I will follow in assessing evidence for the origin of a text. This will be elaborated as the chapter progresses but may be stated at the beginning. A usage that is rare, particularly if it is an innovation, is likely to be better evidence for the influence of local language use on a writer than a usage that is commonplace in the written language. If a usage is widespread in Latin literature but happens to survive in only part of the Romance world one cannot use its Romance distribution as evidence that a text containing it was written in a particular area. I illustrate this point with two examples.

At *Actus Petri cum Simone* p. 101.2[3] *sarchofagum* is used to translate μάκτραν λιθίνην. Since *sarcophagus* survives only in Gallo-Romance

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[2] I should draw attention here to the detailed study of the lexicon of Gallo-Romance by Schmitt (1974a, b). He distinguishes in the conventional way (see map 5) between the langue d'oïl (French, in the northern part of the country), the langue d'oc (in the south) and Franco-Provençal (around Lyons) (see also VI.2.13 n. 150). It is argued that the lexicon of the south, particularly Franco-Provençal, has a more 'old-Latin' character than that of the langue d'oïl (particularly that part in the centre of France; the extreme north is also more archaic than the central part: see Schmitt 1974a: 250, 1974b: 44, 51–2). The special character of Franco-Provençal and Occitan is put down to the earlier date of Romanisation of those parts (see e.g. Schmitt 1974a: 250, 1974b: 44–51). For example, it is pointed out that the old word *hirudo* 'leech' survives in the south, whereas the newer *sanguisuga* survives in the north (Schmitt 1974b: 45–6). The force of this example is undermined by the fact that *sanguisuga* also survives in the Romance of the oldest province, Sardinia (*REW* 7575, Wagner 1960–4: II, 380–1), supposedly a region marked by archaisms. An alternative explanation of the distribution of *sanguisuga* in Gaul might be that *hirudo* had once been more widespread there but had been displaced in some areas by the innovation. Innovations need not be totally successful in driving out earlier usages, and it is usually impossible to explain why they catch on in some places but not others. Schmitt's study is not strictly about the Latin of Gaul in the Roman period, with evidence taken from Latin texts, but is based on the outcomes of a large number of Latin words in Gallo-Romance. For reservations about some of Schmitt's other material see below, VI.2.13.
[3] See Lipsius (1891).

(*REW* 7600),[4] and since there are hints that the *Actus* was translated into Latin in the western Empire (but see below, 5.4), could it be that this is a regionalism suggestive of the origin of the writer? Such a conclusion would be unjustified. *Sarcophagus* is attested all over the Roman Empire in funerary inscriptions (with differing frequencies), and is found too in imperial literary texts, and it would be implausible to argue that the translator could only have known it from local practice. There are about forty examples at Rome, about thirteen in Gaul (according to the indexes to *CIL* XII, p. 964, *CIL* XIII, part 5, p. 202) and numerous in the eastern provinces. By contrast just one example from Africa is noted in the index to *CIL* VIII, suppl. part 5, p. 352 (here *cupula* was one word used of a distinctive type of local stone coffin: see X.11.3). In Spain too the word seems to be rare (see *CIL* II, suppl., p. 1203, citing three examples). The motive for the translator's use of the word in the above passage can be deduced from the Greek: the coffin was of stone, and clearly the translator regarded *sarcophagus* as the technical term with that meaning. The question posed by the Romance outcome in this case is not why the word survived in Gallo-Romance (it had been in use in funerary inscriptions of the area), but why it did not survive in other areas (such as Rome and Italy) where it had also been in use. This may not be a strictly linguistic question, as the answer may have to do with regional fashions in burials.

Another salutary case is provided by the distribution of certain words for 'eat' (see further below, 7.2 on this semantic field).[5] *Manduco* 'eat' survives in Gallo-Romance, Catalan, Rumanian, Sardinian and Italian, whereas in most of Iberia it was *comedo* that lived on (see map 7)).[6] If a late writer uses, say, *comedo*, he cannot possibly be assigned (without additional evidence) to Spain. *Comedo* was well established in the literary language (it goes back into early republican literature), and any word which is familiar from written texts can be picked up by anyone who is literate, whatever his place of origin. A late writer from, say, Gaul or Rome could readily have used the verb because he had seen it in texts, even if those around him regularly used *manduco* in speech. Conversely Martin of Braga, writing in Spain, used *manduco* rather than *comedo* in the *De correctione rusticorum* (13.3), and no doubt for the same reason: it was part of the stock of commonplace vocabulary in a wide range of imperial writings, and Martin need not have

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[4] For the Gallo-Romance reflexes see Gernand (1928: 6–8), *FEW* XI.230.
[5] See also Stefenelli (1996: 87).
[6] For the relationship between the various reflexes of *manduco* see Rohlfs (1954a: 36–7).

been dependent on local speech (even if practice had been standardised by this time) in making his choice of verb.

Similarly conservative or old spellings are less likely to be revealing than innovatory spellings (or mistakes) (see above, II.3, 4). For example, while it seems to have been the case that Oscan preserved the *oi* diphthong which was monophthongised in Latin, a Latin text from the Oscan area which has the diphthong spelling is not necessarily Oscan-influenced, because the grapheme *oi* continued to be used all over the place in Latin as an archaising form once the monophthongisation had occurred (see above, II.4). There is an analogy between the principle I am alluding to here and a principle followed in assessing Indo-European affiliations: it is shared innovations, not conservative usages, that may reveal relationships between languages.

I turn now to what I have called 'rare' or 'innovatory' usages. An inscription from Spain (*CIL* II.2660, *CE* 1526A) uses the extremely rare word *paramus* of a plain, as may be deduced from another part of the text.[7] The term survives only in Spanish and Portuguese (*páramo*), and was almost certainly of Hispanic origin. The Roman soldier who set up the inscription must have imported a bit of local colour. If we did not know the provenance of the inscription we might safely conclude either that the text was written in Spain or that its author had a Spanish connection. I will return to the significance of this case shortly, but first I comment on a superficially similar example.

Ab oculis = 'blind' (for which see below, 5.4), which survived only in Gallo-Romance (see map 9)),[8] had no place in literary Latin. It is an innovation, apparently of the late Empire, deriving from abbreviation of a fuller phrase *orbus ab oculis*.[9] It is attested in just one text, the *Actus Petri cum Simone*. Since the writer is unlikely (to judge by the evidence that is available) to have seen the expression in a widely circulated literary text, it is possible that he had heard it in Gaul, or at least in a western area that embraced Gaul.

Of the two cases just discussed the former is the more compelling as evidence for the provenance of the text (I leave aside for the sake of argument the fact that we know where the inscription was set up). While it is possible that *ab oculis* was always (in the Latin as well as Romance period) restricted to Gaul, we cannot be certain. Sometimes there occurred a 'shrinkage' (see above, I.8) between late antiquity and the Romance languages of the area in which an innovatory usage was current. Whereas, for example, a new usage

[7] See Adams (2003a: 450), and below, VI.5.2.   [8] Map 18 in Rohlfs (1954a).
[9] See Rohlfs (1954a: 34–5), and the discussion below, 5.5.6.

might be attested in later Latin in both Gaul and the Iberian peninsula, in the Romance languages it may survive in only part of that wider region. It is, for example, unjustifiable to treat expressions such as *secunda feria* and *sexta feria* indicating days of the week as 'Hispanisms' in the *Peregrinatio Aetheriae*[10] simply because such circumlocutions were to survive only in Portuguese and, in part, in Galicia and León (map 10). In later Latin they were more widespread among Christians intent on stamping out the pagan names of days of the week; they are found, for example, in several Gallic writers (see further below, 5.5.2). By contrast an Hispanic word such as *paramus* is far less likely ever to have been current outside Spain. It is true that many Celtic and other substrate words were borrowed by mainstream Latin, but a feature of most of these is that they are well attested in the literary language (see, however, above, IV.3.3.6 on *beccus*). A substrate word that never turns up in Latin literature and survives in Romance only in the region in which its source language had once been spoken is likely always to have been a regionalism of that area.

Rare loan-words from marginal languages are the best evidence for the provenance of a text. A pure Latin innovation such as *ab oculis* may gain significance if it is supported by other rarities in the same text, or if it refers to a local specificity (see below, 3.2). There may also be something particularly distinctive about an innovation, even if it is not a substrate term, that makes it unlikely that it was ever current outside the area of its attestation. If, for example, it could be shown that *ab oculis* was a calque on a Gaulish term, the case for placing the *Actus Petri* in Gaul might be strengthened (see below, 5.4 on this question).

I will attach importance to texts of known provenance. If a text is known to come from Gaul and it contains a cluster of rare innovative usages distinctive of Gaul then those usages are almost certain to be regionalisms. A distinction is made in the sections that follow between texts of known (2–4) and uncertain (5) provenance.

A glance at E. Löfstedt's dismissal (1959) of some of the linguistic arguments advanced for the origin of late texts will show that he was implicitly following the principle that usages widespread in the literary language can establish nothing. For example, he expresses scepticism that the use of *primus* meaning 'excellent' in the *Peregrinatio Aetheriae* could represent a 'Gallicism', pointing out (1959: 46) that 'it occurs in later Latin in the most diverse sources, e.g., Seneca, Petronius, Martial, Apuleius, Augustine, and others'.

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[10] As is done by Väänänen (1987: 154).

2 EARLY TEXTS FROM GAUL: LA GRAUFESENQUE

Gaul is rich in texts arguably displaying regional features. These tend to be late (from the fourth century and beyond), but one group from as early as the first century AD displays regionalisms, some of them traceable to the influence of Gaulish. I refer to the records of the pottery at La Graufesenque.[11]

La Graufesenque was the site of a Gallo-Italian pottery, some 2 km from Millau (Aveyron), on the left bank of the Dourbie. The pottery produced on a vast scale so-called Samian wares which were of Italian rather than Gallic type, in the style of Arretium in northern Italy.[12] The close imitation of Arretine models, particularly in the early period, is consistent with 'direct immigration of certain potters from Arezzo to South Gaul' (Oswald 1956: 107).[13] The heyday of the pottery was roughly between AD 20 and 120, and many of the texts can be dated to about the middle of the first century. The labour of local Gallic potters was used. Records of the pots fired and of the potters' names were scratched on plates at each firing, and a considerable number of these objects has survived. The texts are in a mixture of Gaulish and Latin.[14] There is a remarkable innovatory usage with a restricted survival in Romance that cannot be anything but a regionalism of La Graufesenque and its environs (see the next section).

2.1 canastrum

In the texts at La Graufesenque the Greek word κάναστρον (in Latin letters) occurs almost exclusively with *a* in the second syllable (twenty-four examples cited by Marichal 1988: 273, some of them in the full form *canastri*, others abbreviated, against just one possible case of *cani-* [184]).[15] In mainstream Latin the word appears only as *canistrum* (the form *canaster* in glosses is not relevant, as we will see, n. 17).[16] It follows that the word cannot have been introduced to the pottery by native speakers of Latin

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[11] See also Adams (2003a: 438–40, 720–1).

[12] For detailed illustrations showing the influence of Arretine wares on southern Gaulish potters see Oswald (1956); see also Vernhet in Bémont and Jacob (1986: 96–101).

[13] See also M. Passelac in Bémont and Jacob (1986: 37–8). On the problem of the relationship between the local Gallic potters and the Italian potteries see also Woolf (1998: 190).

[14] See Marichal (1988). For a discussion of the language see chapter 7 of Adams (2003a).

[15] See also Marichal (1988: 85).

[16] This is not however a conventional case of vowel weakening. Before two or more consonants Gk. α would have been expected to emerge as *e* in Latin (τάλαντον > *talentum*): see e.g. Sihler (1995: 61). Was a Greek form with suffix -ιστρον behind the Latin loan-word (see Leumann 1977: 313)? However, the occasional form κάνιστρον in Greek is late and may be a Latinism (see Walde and Hofmann 1938–54: I, 154 s.v. *canna* 1, Ernout and Meillet 1959 s.v.).

from outside Gaul; it must have been borrowed from Gallic Greek. Here is evidence that, though Italian potters might have moved to the site, they did not impose Italian Latin technical terms on the pottery to the exclusion of local terminology.

It has been shown by von Wartburg (1952) that there is a Greek element in Gallo-Romance (and neighbouring dialects on the Iberian coast) which was introduced not via standard Latin but from the Greek colonies on the coast of Narbonensis (chiefly Marseille). Von Wartburg does not discuss *canastrum* /*canistrum*, but the form *canastrum* offers a striking confirmation of his thesis. The classical form *canistrum* survives in Italy (Italian *canestro*), Rumania, Sardinia, Graubünden (see map 6), legend) and some other dialects (*FEW* II.1.198; cf. *REW* 1594), but it is the Greek-influenced form *canast-* which is reflected in southern France (e.g. Old Provençal *canasta*)[17] and parts of the Iberian peninsula (e.g. Catalan *canastra*;[18] see *FEW* II.1.198 for further Iberian reflexes). The material from La Graufesenque now confirms the currency of the Greek form in Provence as early as the first century AD and explains its survival in this region.[19] All the examples at La Graufesenque are in Gaulish, as distinct from Latin, texts. It is impossible to tell whether the Greek form first entered Gaulish and passed from there into local Latin (thence carrying on into Romance), or whether it was borrowed first by Gallic Latin and from there taken over into Gaulish, or whether it entered both Gallic Latin and Gaulish independently. Nor does it matter. What is significant is that the Greek form had passed beyond Greek and was in use in a bilingual Gaulish–Latin community in southern Gaul. When used in Latin at the pottery, as it must have been, *canastrum* would have been a regionalism determined by the presence of Greek colonies on the Narbonese coast.

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[17] For other southern Gallo-Romance reflexes see *FEW* II.1.198. The form *canaster*, which occurs in glosses (*CGL* II.371.60, II.572.19, III.180.26) and is taken by *FEW* loc. cit. to be a variant of *canastrum*, is not relevant. In the first and last of these glosses it glosses the Greek μιξοπόλιος ('part-grey'), and is clearly a derivative of the colour term *canus* with suffix *-aster* (as seen e.g. in *crudaster*, *surdaster*, *peditastellus*). This is how it is taken at *TLL* III.226.15f. (cf. Corominas and Pascual 1980–91: I, 796 n. 1, correcting *FEW*). The remaining gloss is printed at *CGL* II.572.19 as *canaster qui capescit*, but the correct reading of the last word must be *canescit* (so *TLL* III.226.16).

[18] See Corominas and Pascual (1980–91: I, 795–6).

[19] Marichal (1988: 85) also takes the view that the word was borrowed directly from Greek, though he does not refer explicitly to Gallic Greek. For the sake of completeness I mention an alternative possibility, that the form derives from Lat. *canistrum* with some sort of vocalic assimilation effected in Gaulish producing *cana-*. On this view the form would still have been a regionalism, but determined by a Gaulish (?) phenomenon rather than taken directly from Greek. However, a possible parallel at the pottery for such assimilation, the form *paraxidi* and variants deriving from *paropsides* (see 2.3, must be rejected as such, because *parapsis* for *paropsis* is attested in mainstream Latin (see below, n. 38), and is due to the influence of Gk. *para-*. I will assume throughout that *cana-* is Greek-determined.

At La Graufesenque *canastrum* must have designated an earthenware vessel,[20] whereas in ordinary Latin *canistrum* is almost always used of a wickerwork basket, though the word is occasionally attested also of silver and gold vessels (*TLL* III.259.32–3). In Greek, however, the term is sometimes used of earthenware (LSJ, s.v. II), and that is another point of contact between the loan at La Graufesenque and the Greek word. In Gallic Greek κάναστρον could presumably refer either to a wickerwork or to an earthenware object, with the second meaning the only one attested in a pottery. The other meaning was the one that was to survive in southern France and the Iberian peninsula.

The pattern of distribution seen in this case (whereby an unusual, non-classical form survived both in southern Gaul and parts of the Iberian peninsula) repeats that seen in the case of the wind name *circius* in the previous chapter (IV.1.3.6). In the latter case the unusual term came into Latin from local Celtic (it was argued earlier), whereas in that here the source was local Greek. We will often see in this chapter correspondences between (southern) Gallo-Romance and Catalan, which agrees particularly often with Provençal, of which it is virtually an extension:[21] see below, XI.3.7 for a summary.

2.2 pan(n)a

An obscure word *pan(n)a* is attested more than fifty times at La Graufesenque, sometimes in forms of the type *pan(n)ias*.[22] *Panna* also occurs twice in a similar document from Montans (see below). The term has sometimes been taken as a syncopation (with assimilation) of Lat. *patina*,[23] perhaps most notably at *FEW* VIII.18 (s.v. *patina*), but this derivation is implausible for two reasons,[24] first because the forms with *-ia* would be difficult to account for, and second because the distribution of *panna* does not suggest a hackneyed term of (Greco-)Latin origin (see below). The *TLL* (correctly) gives the word its own lemma.

Panna does not only occur at La Graufesenque and Montans. Noll (1972) published with photograph a revealing example on a large ornate earthenware bowl from the *municipium* of Flavia Solva in Noricum (for Noricum see map 1), which allows a certain identification of the type of object referred

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[20] See Marichal (1988: 85).   [21] See Rohlfs (1954a: 27, 40).

[22] For a list of attestations see Marichal (1988: 274), and for discussion of the term, Marichal (1988: 88–90). See also Meyer-Lübke (1903: 104–5).

[23] For bibliography see Hilgers (1969: 237 n. 757), and also Marichal (1988: 88–9).

[24] See also the remarks of Flobert (1992: 106).

to by the word.[25] The inscription on the bowl names the object and its owner, and states the price paid for it: *panna Verecundaes empta uiges(is)*. Noll (1972: 149–50) listed four further instances of the word in inscriptions on bowls of the same kind, from Kastell Zugmantel, Rendelkastell zu Öhringen, Kastell Boiodurum (Innstadt-Passau) and Ovilava (Wels in Oberösterreich). The distribution of the word is restricted, to south-east Noricum, Germany, Gaul and the Ober Donau.[26] This pattern seems to put the term into the category of those loan-words that entered Latin at the margins of the Empire and did not spread beyond their area of entry into the language. It thus constitutes a regionalism in the texts in which it is found, most notably at La Graufesenque. Such a distribution is out of keeping with a derivation from Lat. *patina*. The *TLL* is circumspect (X.1.229.52 'vox peregrina videtur'), but others have suggested Celtic,[27] and the currency of the term in the Gaulish pottery of La Graufesenque is consistent with such an origin.[28] One of the examples above, it was noted, is from Noricum. For a name with a Celtic base in an inscription from Noricum (*Craxsantus*), see below, 5.2. On the other hand for Germanic loan-words in the Latin of Noricum see below, X.10.

The Romance situation is unclear. *REW* 6199 records a term *panna* as surviving only in Gallo-Romance ('Westfrz. *pan*, *pon* "Kufe", Creuse: *pano*'), but in *FEW* such forms are treated as reflexes of *patina* (see above).[29] *Pan* occurs in Old French in an interesting passage (I am grateful to A. B. Hunt for information on this matter)[30] of Wace's *Vie de saint Nicolas* (ed. Ronsjö), ll. 162–6:

> Son enfant enz al bain guerpi
> que desur le feu fet aveit;
> en un vessel de terre esteit.
> De tere a cel tens feseit l'om
> un tel veissel; pan aveit non.
>
> She left her child in the bath
> which she had placed over the fire;
> he was in an earthenware vessel.
> At that time was made of earth
> such a vessel; it was known as pan.[31]

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[25] The type is classified by Noll (1972: 149) as Drag. 37.
[26] See Noll (1972: 150).　　[27] For bibliography see Marichal (1988: 88).
[28] See Noll (1972: 150), Flobert (1992: 106 with n. 6).
[29] Cf. *FEW* XVI.617 (one of the volumes on the Germanic elements in Gallo-Romance).
[30] See Tobler and Lommatzsch (1925–:VII, 121).
[31] I owe this translation to Tony Hunt, but have changed his word order in the last two lines to match the lines of the original.

Wace's *Vie de saint Nicolas* is usually dated to the early 1150s. A woman leaves her baby in the bath while she is away from home and forgets about him. When she returns he is perfectly well. *Pan* is treated by the poet as a curiosity of the past, but it is unambiguously an earthenware vessel of some size, in that it is capable of holding an infant. It can only be the same word as the term *panna* discussed above. Any assumption that the Old French word in the passage just quoted is a borrowing from English (*pan*) can be ruled out on chronological grounds, if the equivalence of Gaulish–Latin *panna* and Old French *pan* is accepted: the Gaulish–Latin material antedates by centuries the emergence of English.

There is another piece of evidence that is possibly related. Martial 14.100 has an earthenware drinking vessel called a *panaca* address the reader: it declares itself to be from the region of learned Catullus (Cisalpine Gaul), and to be used for drinking the wines of Raetia: *si non ignota est docti tibi terra Catulli, / potasti testa Raetica uina mea* ('if the land of learned Catullus is not unknown to you, you have drunk Raetian wine from my earthenware'). The word must surely be of the same root as *pan(n)a*, and it clearly has much the same regional origin.[32]

Panna is also attested in a gloss denoting some sort of container made not of earthenware but metal: *CGL* II.595.49 *trulla panna cacha i. ferrum unde parietes liniunt* (here *cacha = cattia*, a word of unknown origin apparently meaning the same as *trulla* 'ladle'; the reference seems to be to an iron object from which walls were smeared or plastered). This example is cited by *TLL* X.1.229.65 under the same rubric as *panna* denoting an earthenware vessel. There can now be added the expression *pannum ferri* in a Bath curse tablet (*Tab. Sulis* 66.2) standing as object of the verb *donat*, and a second case of *pannum* (without *ferri*) in the same corpus (60.2) as object of the same verb. *Pannum* (of iron) is unlikely to be the same word as *pannus* 'rag', and it is possible that *pannum* is a neuter variant of the use of *panna* seen in the above gloss.[33] *Panna ferri* (of obscure meaning) is now cited twice by the *DML* (IX.2098 s.v. 2 *panna*, b) from a single text, the examples dated 1293 and 1301. Two points may be made about these data. First, there are numerous correspondences between the Latin of Gaul and that of Britain (see below, IX.7), and this may possibly be another, perhaps showing (in *pannum*) a localised gender variant. Second, the Latin of the

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[32] The theory, reported non-committally at *TLL* X.1.186.51ff., that the word derives from Gk. πανάκη, is implausible. A Latin writer such as Martial who locates the object (and hence the word) in the Cisalpine and Alpine regions deserves to be taken seriously. The *TLL* does not associate *panaca* with *panna*.

[33] See Tomlin (1988: 201).

Roman period that is now turning up in Britain at places such as Bath and Vindolanda not infrequently anticipates usages of British medieval Latin of a thousand years later. These anticipations raise the question why there should be such continuity, given that Latin did not live on in Britain (as a Romance language) after the departure of the Romans (see below, IX.12). But whether the earthenware and the iron objects really bear the same name remains unclear.

Panna, along with *canastrum*, suggests that at least some of the technical vocabulary at La Graufesenque was not brought from Italy by Italians, but taken over from the local language. Gaulish speakers were responsible for introducing local terms to their Latin and giving it a regional flavour.

I mention here a different word from a literary source, which has been confused with *panna*. In Venantius Fortunatus (of Italian origin but bishop of Poitiers in the sixth century) there is an example of *canna* in a culinary context, which must refer to some sort of vessel: *MGH, Auct. ant.* IV.2, *Vita Radeg.* p. 43.22 *parata mensa, missorium cocleares cultellos cannas potum et calices scola subsequente intromittebatur* ('the table was prepared, and a salver, spoons, knives, *cannae*, drink and cups were sent in with the group following').[34] The *TLL* (III.262.49ff.) separates *canna*, which it describes as possibly Germanic in origin (cf. Old High German *channa*, Mod. Germ. *kanne*, Dutch *kan*),[35] from *canna* 'reed'. Two other examples of the term are cited in the same *TLL* article, both seemingly on a Samian ware vessel from Montans containing a list of vessel-names of much the same type as the lists at La Graufesenque (*CIL* XIII.10017.46). These cases are now regarded as misreadings of *panna*.[36] But *canna* in Venantius need not be doubted. *Canna* is reflected in Gallo-Romance, and only there, as a term for earthenware vessels (e.g. Old French *chane*).[37] Clearly Venantius has used a local term.

2.3   Miscellaneous phonetic evidence

I have elsewhere (Adams 2003a: 438–40) discussed spellings at La Graufesenque (and in other parts of Gaul) suggestive of Gaulish phonetic interference in local Latin. I repeat the main points without giving documentation. Gaulish had a velar spirant, represented in Latin script by *x*

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[34] I print the text of Krusch without dwelling on the apparent lack of agreement between the accusative nouns and the passive singular verb.

[35] These Germanic forms are cited at *FEW* II.208 in reference to *canna*.

[36] For a new text of the inscription see Marichal (1988: 260; also 89).

[37] See Tobler and Lommatzsch (1925–: II, 214) s.v. *chane* (2); also *FEW* II.208 and II.204, 6a, citing a number of Gallo-Romance reflexes with meanings such as 'cruche en terre'.

and in Greek by χ, which replaced the first element in various inherited consonant clusters such as *ps*. Thus, for example, Gk. ὑψηλός is cognate with Gaulish *uxello-*. At La Graufesenque the Greco-Latin term *paropsides* (παροψίδες) regularly appears in the form *paraxidi* (*-es*),[38] and this seems to show the same substitution as that seen in *uxello-*. The form appears not only in Gaulish texts but also Latin (30, 47, 66). A comparable spelling seems to be *inbrax[tari?]* in the Celtic text 6, if the base is the Latin form *bractea* (in this case the cluster *kt* would be the one affected). There are some comparable spellings in Gallic Latin inscriptions.[39]

Another spelling apparently reflecting Gaulish influence is that of *acetabulum* with *i* in the second syllable. In Gaulish original long *e* and long *i* merged as a front vowel represented by *i*.[40]

2.4   A possible morphological feature

On the nominative plural in *-as* of first-declension nouns see below, X.8.4.

2.5   Appendix: further phonetic/orthographic evidence

This is an appropriate place to mention another phonetic feature of Gaulish that possibly left a mark on local Latin, though its relevance to La Graufesenque is only marginal.

Gaulish seems to have had a dental phoneme or phonemes not shared by Latin and showing up in some odd orthography (for which see below). The details remain obscure. Evans (1967: 410–11) puts it thus: 'The evidence concerning a dental affricate or dental fricative or sibilant in Gaulish arising from combinations of dentals, from *st*, *ds*, and *ts*, is still problematic.' After a sceptical examination of theories put forward about the significance of the orthographic variants, Evans (1967: 418–19) allows that the use of special symbols such as a barred D or DD does 'suggest that there may have been in Continental Celtic certain phonemes which had no exact equivalents in non-Celtic languages such as Latin'.

If the orthographies in question occurred only in Celtic texts they would be of no significance here, but they also turn up in Latin. Dessau *ILS* III.2, index p. 839 cites various cases of what he calls 'spirans Gallica'.

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[38] On the spelling *parapsis* with *a* in the second syllable (possibly found in Petronius but regularised by editors) see Cavalca (2001: 123–4).

[39] See Adams (2003a: 439). On the Gaulish spirant as possibly influencing local Latin see too Wartburg (1967: 36–7), discussing the group *ct* and χ*t*; also Väänänen (1983: 495).

[40] For details see Adams (2003a: 710, 720).

Those that concern us here show D or DD with a bar through the letter(s): 2911 (Arles) *T]hyDritanus* (for *Thysdritanus* according to Dessau), 2626 (Kastel near Mainz) *Finitius Fidelis mil. n. CaDDarensium*, 3805 (Castellum Mattiacorum) *MeDDignatius Seuerus cur.*, 4561 (near Roermond) *Marti HalamarD. sacrum*, 4655 (St.-Avold) *deae Dironae*, 4673 (territory of the Treveri) *L. TeDDiatius Primus*, 4759 (Kälbertshausen) *dae ViroDDi.*

Comparable forms are also found in Celtic texts, as can be seen from Evans' discussion. There is an abundance of relevant material in Gaulish texts at La Graufesenque. The Gaulish term *tuθos*, possibly but by no means definitely of root **tus* indicating 'group, total', with suffix *-tos*,[41] occurs constantly at the head of texts accompanied by Celtic ordinals (for a full list of examples see Marichal 1988: 278, index). The word is spelt sometimes with single θ, sometimes with θθ, sometimes with *dd*, and sometimes with DD, the two letters having a bar.[42] There is also a case of *tuso* (33.1), which has been taken as pointing to the phonetic value of the graphemes (/ts/, according to Marichal 1988: 71; so it is that *Meθθilos* has the form *Mesillus* on one of the stamps from the pottery: Marichal 1988: 71).[43]

One symbol made it across the Channel to Britain and appears on coins in the Essex–Hertfordshire region.[44]

The presence of the barred D in Latin texts in what may be Celtic names (see the material from *ILS* above) suggests that the Gaulish pronunciation of names might have been retained by those using them in Latin. The inscriptional material recalls the poem *Catalepton* 2, about a declaimer T. Annius Cimber from Marseille, who is said to have had a *tau Gallicum*, which he presumably admitted in his Greek and/or Latin.[45]

2.6   Conclusions

The influences on the Latin spoken in the first century at La Graufesenque were diverse. There was input from Gallic Greek, and also from Gaulish. The items discussed here all meet the criteria set out at 1 above. *Canastrum*, *panna* and *paraxidi* are innovations with a restricted distribution. *Canastrum* and *paraxidi* were regionalisms in the strong sense (see IV.5.4), in that

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[41] For this view see Marichal (1988: 97). There is now a tendency to equate the term semantically with Lat. *furnus* and to seek a different etymology: see Delamarre (2003: 304), translating as 'cuisson, fournée', with a question mark.

[42] See Marichal (1988: 96).   [43] See too Lambert (1995: 44).   [44] See Williams (2001: 6).

[45] There are many difficulties in this poem, which I pass over here. See Adams (2003a: 190–1) for bibliography.

they were localised equivalents of the far more widespread *canistrum* and *paropsides*. *Panna* and *canna* should probably be treated as regionalisms in a weaker sense, since it is not certain that they were readily replaceable by Latin synonyms. Only rarely does one have unequivocal evidence for substrate phonetic interference in a regional form of Latin, but in Gaul there are signs that a velar spirant and some sort of non-Latin dental intruded into Latin. The Gallic provenance of these texts might have been deduced even if there were not a known find-spot.

Many of the tablets of La Graufesenque are from the time of Nero, and they show Latin at an early date taking on regional features in an isolated part of Gaul. The corpus undermines any claim that it is impossible to find linguistic evidence for regionalisms in Latin texts until the medieval period. The reality of regional variation in the early period was probably closer to the model suggested by the material from La Graufesenque (and Falerii) than to that suggested by those ancient commentators who spoke generally of Italians, Gauls and Africans.

3   LATER IMPERIAL GALLIC TEXTS OF KNOWN PROVENANCE

I turn now to later evidence. Some of the texts discussed have an established place in the literature, and positivist or optimistic interpretations of their regional character are easy to find. I am sceptical about the significance of a good deal of the evidence. If compelling evidence is to emerge on which a rough model of the regional diversity of the language might be based the dubious elements must be rejected. Some of the discussion that follows is necessarily negative.

3.1   *Marcellus of Bordeaux (?)*

The 'Gallic Latin' of the fifth-century medical writer Marcellus (Gallic, but not necessarily from Bordeaux: see Matthews 1971: 1083–7, especially 1084) was discussed long ago by Geyer (1893). Most of Geyer's evidence does not bear examination. Many of the terms he considers are not restricted to Gallo-Romance. Other terms are represented in texts from many parts of the Empire. Geyer also makes erroneous assertions about the survival of various usages in Romance.

One should not make too much of Marcellus as a 'Gallic' writer, because he took material verbatim from written sources, particularly Scribonius Largus. He probably also had sources we do not know about. But he declared in his preface that he had not only read medical texts but also learnt remedies

from 'rustics and plebeians',[46] and that is how some local terms might have found their way into his work. Some of these I have discussed elsewhere,[47] namely Celtic words commented on by Marcellus which had entered local Latin and in some cases survived into Gallo-Romance.[48] Here I deal with possible regionalisms admitted without comment.

The pure Latin word *cadiuus* (literally = 'qui per se cecidit', *TLL* III.15.30)[49] occurs a few times in Pliny the Elder of things that fall of their own accord, but it is used several times by Marcellus with the specialised meaning 'epileptic', of the sufferer ('de hominibus fere i. q. epilempticus', *TLL* III.15.33), as at 20.93 *oxyporium . . . cadiuis prodest*, 'oxyporium . . . benefits epileptics' (cf. 20.117). This sense survives only in Gallo-Romance (*chëif, chäif*, Provençal *cazieu*).[50] Another Gallic writer, Gregory of Tours, comments on the word: *Mart.* 2.18 *quod genus morbi ephilenticum*[51] *peritorum medicorum uocitauit auctoritas; rustici uero cadiuum dixere pro eo quod caderet* ('this type of disease the authority of learned doctors has named "epileptic"; but rustics have used the word "falling" from the fact that [the patient] falls'). Here *cadiuum* seems to be used of the disease itself (*TLL* III.15.37), though Gregory might have expressed himself badly. Gregory notes the popular character of the term. *Cadiuus* 'epileptic' is a rare innovative usage. In this specialised sense it occurs in just two Gallic writers, and elsewhere only in a single gloss (*CGL* III.598.16) and in the *Notae Tironianae*. It is absent (to date) from the very large corpus of late medical texts from other areas. It might seem to be one of those genuine dialect terms for which there was available an alternative (*epile(m)pticus*; *morbus comitialis* was also used of the disease, and it occurs in circumlocutions of sufferers).

But the matter is complicated by the evidence of two other words of the same root. First, *caducus* occurs with the same meaning not only in Marcellus, but in several other writers of different origins (*TLL* III.34.44ff.). Second, Augustine twice comments on a suffixal derivative of *caducus* (*caducarius*), to which he gives the same meaning 'epileptic': *De beata uita*

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[46] Prol. 2 *non solum ueteres medicinae artis auctores Latino dumtaxat sermone perscriptos . . . lectione scrutatus sum, sed etiam ab agrestibus et plebeis remedia fortuita atque simplicia, quae experimentis probauerant, didici* ('I have not only examined in my reading the old medical authorities, provided that they were written in Latin, but I have also learnt from rustics and plebeians remedies, discovered by chance and simple, that they had tested by trial and error').

[47] Adams (2003a: 191–6).　　[48] See in particular the monograph of Meid (1996).

[49] On the formation see Leumann (1977: 304, 305). The word is discussed by Geyer (1893: 472).

[50] See *REW* 1452, *FEW* II.1.31; Tobler and Lommatzsch (1925–: II, 341) (from whom the forms cited in the text are taken).

[51] I reproduce the text of the *Monumenta Germaniae historica*, but it is unlikely that Gregory misspelt the word thus.

2.16 *isti homines (Academici), inquit, caducarii sunt – quo nomine uulgo apud nos uocantur, quos comitialis morbus subuertit* ('those people [Academic philosophers], he said, are "fallers" – this is the word used popularly among us to describe those who are thrown down by epilepsy'), 3.20 *Academicum, qui hesterno sermone uulgari quidem et male Latino, sed aptissimo sane, ut mihi uidetur, uerbo caducarius nominatus est* ('an Academic philosopher, who in yesterday's discussion was referred to as a "faller", a word that is vulgar and scarcely Latin, but very appropriate, it seems to me'). The word is presented, twice, as 'vulgar',[52] and if that is correct its absence from literary texts becomes understandable. The other point that Augustine makes (in the first passage) is that the usage was current in Africa (note *apud nos*).

It is possible that *cadiuus*, *caducus* and *caducarius* in this specialised sense had different distributions in spoken Latin, the first current in Gaul, the second in various places, and the last in Africa. Alternatively, all or some of them might have been more widespread geographically than the extant evidence suggests. It is certain that *cadiuus* in this sense was in use in Gaul, and that Marcellus picked it up there, but the existence of the other usages might be taken to imply that it was more scattered than appears.

The diminutive *ripariola* (feminine because it is applied to *hirundo*) is attested only once in Latin, in Marcellus,[53] where it is adjectival: 15.34 *pullus herundinis siluestris uel melius si ripariolae, certe etiam domesticae, assus uel elixus comestus anginam . . . sanat* ('the young of the wild *hirundo*, or, better still, that of a bank-dweller, or even the young of the domestic bird, if eaten roasted or boiled cures quinsy'). *Hirundo* designated swallows and types of martin. The more common and earlier form of the adjective in this application was *riparia*, which is in a fragment of Suetonius (in the *Schol. Bern.* on Virg. *Georg.* 4.14) and in Pliny (*Nat.* 30.33);[54] cf. Sex. Plac. *Med.* 32.1, p. 286 *hirundinis genus est, quod uocant riparium*. The bird (the sand martin) was called thus because it nests in banks (French *hirondelle de rivage*). The diminutive survives in the feminine as the name of the bird only in Occitan.[55] But throughout Latin diminutives were formed at will, and Marcellus might have made an ad hoc coinage.

There are two other suggestive items in Marcellus,[56] but they have not been satisfactorily presented in the literature.

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[52] On the meaning of *uulgo* and *uulgari* in these passages see Müller (2001: 150): of popular speech eliciting disapproval, not widespread usage in a neutral sense.

[53] See André (1967: 140). [54] See André (1967: 139–40); also Thomas (1906: 189–90).

[55] See Thomas (1906: 189–90) and *FEW* X.417 s.v. 1 (Provençal *ribeirola*). A masculine form survives in parts of the same area, but also in a few areas outside Gallo-Romance (*FEW* s.v. 2). Cf. *REW* 7329, André (1967: 140), Capponi (1979: 446).

[56] For which see Geyer (1893: 476–7).

First, *adrorare* 'water' at 34.71 has traditionally been quoted only from the Gallic writer Cassian of Marseille (*Inst.* 5.2) (see *TLL* II.655.50ff.).[57] The Romance reflexes of the verb, in a slightly remodelled form (*arrosare*, showing the influence of the root *ros*), are restricted in distribution. The word belongs pre-eminently to Gallo-Romance (e.g. Old French *arouser*, Old Provençal *arozar*), as is now abundantly clear from the extended treatment at *FEW* XXV.334–42. Survivals are noted in Catalonia and Piedmont, but these may be borrowings from French.[58] Marcellus perhaps heard the verb locally, but the early volumes of the *TLL* do not always give full details of the attestation of a term. *Adrorare* is also found at Gargilius Martialis *De hortis* 2.5 Mazzini (1988) *aqua leuiter adrorant*. Gargilius' origin is uncertain (see VII.4, p. 439).

Second, the verb *carminare* in the sense 'charm' (with a magic incantation), 'utter an incantation over' has hitherto been noted only in Marcellus (four times: see *TLL* III.474.38ff.).[59] This usage is even more restricted than *arrosare* in Romance. It survived directly in Gallo-Romance (French *charmer*),[60] and elsewhere only in the dialect of the Swiss demi-canton of Obwald (*carmelar*),[61] though it was borrowed in parts of Italy from French (see *REW* 1699). More common verbs in Latin were *incantare* and *praecantare*. Marcellus uses *praecantare* several times. Compare, for example, 15.102 *glandulas mane carminabis* with 28.73 *ad renes planas manus pones et ter praecantato loco . . .* However, *carminare* also occurs in the translation of Dioscorides, a text which I later argue to be of African origin (VIII.4.3):[62] 3, p. 197.30 Stadler (1899) *lanas mundas et carminatas in caccabo mundo mittis* ('put clean wool that has had an incantation chanted over it in a new pot'). *Carmen* is so common in the sense 'magical incantation' (from the XII Tables onwards) that the coining of a denominative verb with this meaning might have taken place anywhere at any time. We cannot be sure that it was restricted geographically.

See also above, IV.1.3.4 n. 74 on *fel terrae*.

The evidence from Marcellus considered in this section is indecisive (though his metalinguistic comments indicate the origin of the text: see n. 47). *Cadiuus* and *carminare* were no doubt in use in Gaul, but we have

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[57] See also *FEW* XXV.339, stressing the Gallic credentials of the Latin verb.
[58] See *FEW* I.147–8; also *FEW* XXV.340 with n. 40, referring to 'Catalogne française'.
[59] A few examples in glosses, Augustine and Sidonius do not have the same meaning.
[60] See Tobler and Lommatzsch (1925–: II, 269 lines 41ff.). In British medieval Latin *carminare* is well attested in the same sense (see *DML* s.v. 2, 'to charm, cure or affect by enchantment'). This usage may have been taken from Old French and re-Latinised, like many other usages in British medieval Latin.
[61] See *FEW* II.379–80.   [62] See also Adams (2005c: 585).

suggested that both may also have had African connections. An example of *adrorare* in Gargilius has hitherto been missed. Marcellus could not be assigned to Gaul on this evidence.

3.2   Caesarius of Arles

The motives of Bishop Caesarius of Arles (d. 542) in admitting the odd vulgarism or regionalism are of a particular type. Caesarius was a learned man capable of writing high-style Latin, but occasionally he drew an analogy from or made reference to mundane practices, and in so doing slipped into the vernacular.[63]

In a sermon (67.1, *CC* 103, p. 285) he offered an analogy between an act of public penitence, at which the penitent would be helped by his acquaintances to weed out his sins, and the act of appealing to one's neighbours for the assistance of their labour in clearing weeds from a vineyard:

quomodo solet fieri, ut, cuius uinea per neglegentiam deserta remanserit, roget uicinos et proximos suos, et una die multitudinem hominum congregans, quod per se solum non potuit, multorum manibus adiutus, id quod desertum fuerat reparetur: ita ergo et ille, qui publice paenitentiam uult petere, quasi conrogatam uel conbinam[64] dinoscitur congregare; ut totius populi orationibus adiutus spinas et tribulos peccatorum suorum possit euellere.

Just as it often comes about that a man whose vineyard has been left abandoned through neglect makes a request to his neighbours and locals, and one day gathers together a multitude of men, and assisted by the hands of many makes good that which had been abandoned, something which he could not have achieved on his own; so too the man who wants to seek public penitence is seen, as it were, to gather together labour or support, so that, assisted by the prayers of the whole people, he can root out the thorns and spines of his sins.

A striking term here is *conrogata*. In making penitence the man in effect *conrogatam congregat*. *Conrogata* is used as a noun, its gender determined by the ellipse of a feminine noun, almost certainly *opera*. *Opera conrogata* would signify 'labour brought together by appeal, entreaty', and that is the meaning of the substantivised participle here. The usage (missed by the *TLL* s.v. *corrogo*) is no mere coinage by Caesarius himself. *Conrogata* survives in

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[63] Note the remark of Wood (1990: 71): '[I]t is probable that Caesarius of Arles cultivated literary *rusticitas* not because of any rhetorical incompetence, but because he regarded the simple style as appropriate for sermons which were intended to attract large congregations drawn from all classes of society.'

[64] This word is a mystery. *Combina* is attested with a specialised meaning to do with the *cursus publicus* (*TLL* III.1757.81ff.), but that does not seem relevant here. This example is not cited by the *TLL*. There may be a localised usage here, but it remains to be explained.

Gallo-Romance (e.g. French *corvée*), and only there.[65] In making a homely analogy Caesarius has alluded to a local practice and used the local word. One sense in Gallo-Romance (from the twelfth century), which reflects feudal society, is given by *FEW* II.2.1226 as 'travail gratuit dû par le vassal à son suzerain, par le paysan ou le bourgeois à son seigneur'. But there are other localised uses of the word reported by *FEW* that come close to that in Caesarius: thus e.g. (II.2.1227) Vendôme *corvée*, 'travail fait gratuitement par les autres vignerons dans les vignes d'un vigneron malade'. The word in the form *coruada* occurs in the early medieval Frankish text the *Capitulare de uillis* (3).

There are, as far as I am aware, no other Gallic regionalisms in Caesarius as striking as this one, but he does occasionally admit in comparable contexts subliterary terms that he must have picked up locally, though they were not confined to Gaul. At *Serm.* 139.7 (*CC* 103, p. 575), while making a similar comparison between Christian behaviour and an everyday practice, he first employs the standard word for 'distaff', *colus*, and then switches to its diminutive (strictly *colucula*), using (to judge by the manuscripts) the dissimilated form with *n* (i.e. *conuc(u)la*)[66] that was to survive in Old French (*quenouille*) and Italy (*conocchia*).[67] *Colus* itself did not survive. At *Serm.* 13.4 (*CC* 103, p. 67) Caesarius disparages pagan dancing, using the noun *ballatio* and the verb on which it is based, *ballare*. CL *salto* leaves little trace in this sense in the Romance languages (*REW* 7551.1; its reflexes usually mean 'jump', as French *sauter*: *REW* 7551.2). *Ballo*, a late and rare word in Latin (see *TLL* s.v.), may derive in some way from βαλλίζω, which meant 'dance' in Sicily and Magna Graecia (see LSJ s.v., citing examples from Epicharmus and Sophron). βάλλω itself is not attested in this sense (though πάλλω comes close: see LSJ s.v. III, for the intransitive use = 'leap, bound'). *Ballo* has reflexes in Old French and Provençal and also in Italy and Catalan.[68] It no doubt had a popular flavour suited to the context.

Conrogata designates a thing of the type that I call a 'local specificity' (see XI.4.8 and also the first point at I.11). The concept that the word expresses is an unusual one, and the formation itself is not run-of-the-mill, given that it derives from an ellipse. Terms referring to local specificities are particularly useful in determining the provenance of a text, but are not necessarily dialect words in a strong sense. There is no obvious substitute for *conrogata* other than a circumlocution. The form of labour expressed in this way was a local oddity and the term did not spread. By contrast blindness and the

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[65] See *REW* 2255, and especially *FEW* II.2.1226–7 s.v. *corrogata*.
[66] The editor prints *conogla*. The *g* is difficult to explain.
[67] See *REW* 2061, *FEW* II.2.929.   [68] See *REW* 909, *FEW* I.221.

chanting of incantations are not local specificities but found everywhere. A term for either may be localised (and thus a strong dialect term), but the state and activity are so universal that terms designating them may readily move about. Words for local peculiarities may be put on a par with vernacular loan-words as having the potential to reveal the origin of a text.

3.3   *Polemius Silvius*

Polemius Silvius (see also above, IV.1.3.3, IV.3.3.3)[69] wrote a *Laterculus*, the contents of which have been described thus: 'In late December of 448 and early January of 449 Polemius Silvius, a Gallic writer of great distinction, finished copying out a new "modern" laterculus for Bishop Eucherius of Lyons. This laterculus consisted of monthly calendars, listing the festivals and holidays for every month, each followed by one of eleven short lists dealing with an amazing variety of subjects: emperors and usurpers; the provinces; animal names (divided over two months); a table for calculating the phases of the moon and Easter; the hills, buildings, and other structures of Rome; a list of fables; very short historical summary; animal sounds; weights and measures; poetic meters; and philosophical sects' (Burgess 1993: 492). Polemius was also a friend of Hilarius of Arles,[70] a man who (like Salvian of Marseille) corresponded with Eucherius.[71] The group may be placed in south-eastern Gaul.

The sections to do with animals comprise lists of quadrupeds, birds, shell fish, snakes, insects or reptiles, and fish.[72] Many of these names come from Pliny directly or through Solinus,[73] but a good number occur in no writer before Polemius.[74] In this last category, comprising out of the way words, Polemius was drawing on the current language in the area of Gaul in which he resided, as Thomas (1906) has shown in detail. Quite a few terms are reflected only in Gallo-Romance, and thus as used in a text in Latin constitute regionalisms of that area. Others survive in Gallo-Romance, but in other regions as well, and these too Polemius probably took from the everyday language of his own region. Some of Thomas' material is somewhat speculative, but much of it has been accepted by Romance philologists and has entered such lexica as *REW* and *FEW*.[75] For

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[69] See Thomas (1906: 162), Eigler (2001). For the text, see *MGH, Auctores antiquissimi* IX, *Chron. min.* I.
[70] See *PLRE* II.1012.   [71] See *PLRE* II.405.   [72] See Thomas (1906: 163).
[73] See Thomas (1906: 163).   [74] See Thomas (1906: 166–7).
[75] See Schuchardt (1906) for some additions to Thomas' account of the evidence; also Barbier (1920: 137–44).

full details Thomas must be consulted, but here I select some clear-cut examples of Gallic regionalisms as established by the survival of the term exclusively (or, in one or two cases, almost exclusively) in Gallo-Romance.

Ancorauus (for which see Thomas 1906: 168–9, *REW* 445, *FEW* I.93, XXIV.544) is listed as the name of a fish (p. 544.17). The word seems to have been a late Gaulish compound,[76] comprising an element *anco-* ('bent, crooked') and another *rago-* ('before, in front'),[77] the sense being '(fish) with a crooked or hooked snout'. *Ancorauus* survived only in northern dialects of Gallo-Romance (e.g. Old Walloon *ancrawe*, 'femelle de saumon', Old Picard *ancr(o)eu(l)x*, plural) indicating types (?) of salmon.[78] For the point of the name cf. Wheeler (1969: 150): '[t]he jaws in adult males may become enormously hooked just before and during the breeding season'. This was a specialised term for the salmon in a particular state, which had established itself only in a Gaulish region. It possibly (to judge by one of the above reflexes) underwent a widening of meaning. Delamarre (2003: 45) discusses the word under the heading *ancorago*, a word (in the form *anchorago*) which occurs at Cassiodorus *Var.* 12.4.1 designating a fish from the Rhine. This form is perhaps a remodelling of *ancorauus* by a change of suffix.[79] The *TLL* has a lemma *ancorago* (citing Cassiodorus), but does not include the form in Polemius.

Another term listed among fish names is *leuaricinus* (p. 544.17), which is attested only here in Latin. It is, however, reflected in Gallo-Romance, and only there, first in the dialect of Savoy (*lavaret*), from which it passed into French (*lavaret*).[80] At the time of Polemius it was probably confined to south-eastern Gaul.[81] *FEW* gives the meaning as *corégone*, and also German *Blaufelchen*. *Lavaret* tends to be rendered in dictionaries as 'pollan, white-fish' (so too *Blaufelchen*). According to the *Grand Larousse encyclopédique* the *lavaret* (like the *gravenche*) is a type of *corégone*, a member of the salmon family. *Leuaricinus* is of unknown origin, but, as Ernout and Meillet (1959 s.v.) say, it must be non-Latin.

The Romance words for 'ear' derive overwhelmingly from the diminutive *auricula* rather than *auris*, but *auris* (+ *maris*?) seems to have left traces

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[76] See the discussion of Schuchardt (1906: 717–9); also *FEW* XXIV.544 and in particular Delamarre (2003: 45).

[77] See Walde and Hofmann (1938–54): I, 45), Delamarre (2003: 45).

[78] For details see *FEW* XXIV.544 and Delamarre (2003: 45).

[79] Thomas (1906: 169) thought that the words were separate: 'Il est . . . sage de considérer ancorago et ancoravus comme deux formes distinctes et non comme deux étapes phonétiques d'une même forme.' I am suggesting a morphological rather than a phonetic explanation of their relationship.

[80] See *REW* 5001, *FEW* V.286. According to *FEW*, Portuguese *lavareto* 'sea trout' was probably borrowed from Provence.

[81] So *FEW*.

in Gallo-Romance as the name of a shellfish (*ormier*, 'haliotis (esp. de coquillage)' [*FEW* I.182], Guernsey *ormer*).[82] *Auris* occurs uniquely as the name of a shellfish (?) in Polemius (p. 543.29), alongside *ostrium* in a list *eorumque se non movencium*.[83]

The usual name for the mole was *talpa*, but a Gaulish (?) word *darbo[84] survives with this meaning in an extensive area of south-eastern France.[85] Polemius has a form *darpus* in the list of quadrupeds (p. 543.11), immediately after *talpa* and before *scirus* = *sciurus* 'squirrel', and this, however the spelling is to be explained,[86] must be the Latin forerunner of the regional name of the animal.[87]

Lacrimusa occurs in Polemius alongside *lacerta* (p. 543.4).[88] The Romance evidence shows that it denoted a 'petit lézard gris' (*FEW* V.122). Its reflexes in Gallo-Romance (eg. Mâcon *larmise*) are confined to a restricted area, which 'comprend toute la région qui se trouve entre le Rhône, les Alpes et la mer; en plus, sur la rive droite du Rhône, elle embrasse à peu près tout le territoire des départements du Rhône, de la Loire et de l'Ardèche et une lisière de l'Ain, de la Haute-Loire et du Gard' (Thomas 1906: 180–1).[89] *FEW* V.123 notes that there are survivals of the word also in the south of Italy,[90] perhaps transported there from Provence at the time of Anjou.[91] For a regionalism of one area transferred to another by movements of people see on *Volturnus*, above IV.1.3.6 with n. 120, and for 'parachuting' in general, I.5, XI.4.5.

Plumbio occurs in Polemius' list of birds (p. 543.22).[92] It is possibly derived from the verb *plumbiare 'dive',[93] which is reflected only in Gallo-Romance.[94] *Plumbio* too survives in Gallo-Romance (e.g. French *plongeon*, Savoy *plondion*),[95] indicating the type of bird called in English 'diver'. André (1967: 133) may have been over-precise in his statement of the

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[82] See also *REW* 798. However, *FEW* XXV (a revision of *FEW* I) does not mention the usage s.v. *auris*.

[83] See Thomas (1906: 169–70); also *TLL* II.1518.79ff., giving the word a separate lemma from *auris* 'ear', but comparing Athen. 3.35 p. 88^A τὸ ὄστρεον τοῦτο ὑπὸ Αἰολέων καλεῖσθαι οὖς Ἀφροδίτης.

[84] It is not, however, in Delamarre (2003). Cf. Walde and Hofmann (1938–54: I, 324).

[85] See *REW* 2473, *FEW* III.13 (e.g. Old Provençal *darbon*).

[86] The *p* may be under the influence of *talpa* (see Walde and Hofmann 1938–54: I, 324).

[87] See Thomas (1906: 172–4). [88] For details see Thomas (1906: 180–1).

[89] See also *REW* 4826. [90] Cf. *TLL* VII.2.847.83ff.

[91] There are quite a few lexical correspondences between (northern) France and the tip of Italy and Sicily, which are explained as transportations to the south by the Normans. See Rohlfs (1954a: 40) with map 23 on *racemus*, (1954a: 53) with map 38 on *accaptare, (1954a: 59–60) with map 39 on Old French *costurier*, (1954a: 77) with map 47 on *iumenta*. See also below, 4.3 on *granica*.

[92] For a discussion of the word see Thomas (1906: 188–9).

[93] See *FEW* IX.95. This derivation is, however, contested by Thomas (1906: 189); cf. also André (1967: 133).

[94] See *FEW* IX.92–3. [95] See *REW* 6614, *FEW* IX.95, André (1967: 133).

species designated by the term: 'surtout le plongeon catmarin (*Gavia stel-lata*), qui hiverne en France et en Belgique (Polémius Silvius est né en Gaule), et le plongeon arctique (*Gavia arctica*), moins nombreux dans ces mêmes régions'. Capponi (1979: 428) lists nine different species denoted by derivatives in (mainly) northern Italian dialects,[96] and it must have been a fairly general term. It was undoubtedly a word of Gallic Latin as used by Polemius.[97]

Polemius lists *sofia* (the word of unknown origin) as a fish (p. 544.18).[98] The meaning 'Weissfisch' is given by *REW* 8057 and *FEW* XII.23. The word lived on in the area of the Rhone and the Saône and in part of Languedoc with variations of meaning, and in northern Italy with a change of suffix (see *FEW* loc. cit.). Note e.g. Lyons *suiffe* 'leuciscus vulgaris', i.e. 'dace' (see below, n. 135). This term probably overlapped with *alburnus* and *albulus*, discussed below, 3.5.[99]

For another specifically Gallic term in Polemius (*tecco*), see below, 5.1. On the fish name *pelaica* < *pelagica* (p. 544.18) see below, VII.11.3.5 n. 295).[100]

A number of the words discussed in this section are only weak region-alisms, but even apparently specialised usages such as *ancorauus* and *lacrimusa* could probably have been replaced, even if only by circumlo-cutions. There is one striking strong regionalism, *darpus*, which fits the criteria set out above (1) for identifying dialect terms. It has a synonym in the standard language (*talpa*). Its reflexes are limited to a restricted area of Gaul. It occurs only in a Gallic text. Above all, it is extremely rare in Latin and non-existent in the literary language. Polemius can only have known the word from regional speech. It is possibly another case of a dialect word deriving from a substrate language.

Polemius' circle seems to have been located in the south-east of Gaul (see above), and several of the terms just discussed survived in that area (notably *darbo*, *lacrimusa* and *sofia*). But dialect terms are not necessarily restricted to areas that might be embraced by a single 'country' in the modern sense. At least one of the terms above (*sofia*) is confined to (parts of) Gaul and (with a change of suffix) northern Italy. If therefore a text were to be found having various distinctive usages that were to survive, say, on the one hand in southern France and on the other in northern parts

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[96] I assume these to be borrowings from Gallo-Romance; cf. *FEW* IX.95 on Piedmont *piungiun* as borrowed from French.
[97] See too André (1967: 133), Capponi (1979: 428).   [98] See Thomas (1906: 191–2).
[99] See the material cited by Rolland (1881: 142); also *FEW* XXIV.303 col. 2, s.v. *albulus*.
[100] See also *TLL* X.1.988.59ff.

of the Iberian peninsula, it would not necessarily be justified to say that the author's Latin represents no single dialect (for such a phrase used of Aetheria by E. Löfstedt, see above, 1; see also below, 5.5). The spoken Latin of southern Gaul and northern Iberia might have shared features in, say, the fourth and fifth centuries, even if the region was not a political entity in the modern sense (on this matter see in general XI.3.7).

Various other fish names in Polemius will come up at 3.5.

3.4 Endlicher's glossary

Endlicher's glossary (or the 'glossary of Vienne'), entitled 'De nominibus Gallicis',[101] which was first published in 1836 by the librarian of the Bibliothèque Palatine of Vienne, purports to gloss a number of Gaulish words by Latin words. The glossary is thought to be later than the fifth century.[102] The Latin words in the right-hand column are mainly in a case indeterminate between accusative and ablative (*montem*, *ponte*, *riuo*, *balneo*, *ualle*, *paludem*, *osteo*, *arborem grandem*, *pede*), and this is the precursor of the form of the Romance reflexes.[103] Gaulish words are Latinised, and some are not even Gaulish, and these features suggest that the glossary postdates the death of Gaulish.

I offer a few comments on the possible regionalisms in the piece, though the text cries out for a new edition and the spellings that it seems to contain are not to be relied on. The work is mainly of interest to Celticists, but it does raise one or two points of interest here.

Ambe, of dubious Celticity according to Lambert (1995: 203) but accepted by Delamarre (2003: 41), is glossed by *riuo*, and *inter ambes* by *inter riuos*. Delamarre (2003: 41) gives the meaning 'rivière', and cites various toponyms containing the word, such as *Ambe-ritus* 'Gué-de-la-Rivière' > *Ambert* (Puy-de-Dôme). He interprets *ambe* as of root **ab-* with nasal infix, meaning in Celtic 'l'eau courante' (41). There are various ways of explaining the phrase *inter ambes*. One possibility is that it might have been heard in a Latin utterance (*inter* is Latinate: see below), with the 'Gaulish' word borrowed into Latin somewhere in Gaul as a local term for a stream, and used in conjunction with Lat. *inter*. The expression is also reminiscent of a sentence in the graffiti of La Graufesenque (14 *sioxti*

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[101] For which see *MGH, Auct. ant.* IX, *Chron. min.* I, p. 613; also Zimmer (1893), Lambert (1995: 203–4).

[102] See Lambert (1995: 203).

[103] I would not take the accusative at this late date to be a 'list accusative', i.e. that old free-standing use of the accusative not infrequently found in Latin lists.

Albanos panna <u>extra tuθ</u> CCC), where a prepositional expression embedded in a piece of Gaulish has what looks like a Latin preposition governing a Gaulish noun.[104] This is intra-phrasal code-switching of a type that might have been typical of the linguistic output of bilinguals in Gaul at the time of language shift. But the Gaulish preposition for 'between' was *enter, entar*,[105] and a third possibility is that the whole expression is Gaulish, with *enter* Latinised, possibly by a scribe. Only on the first interpretation above could one claim to see a Latin regionalism here. The third explanation seems the most likely.

Nanto is glossed by *ualle* and *trinanto* by *tres ualles*. Gaulish *nantu-, nanto-* is well attested in two meanings, 'valley' and 'stream, water course',[106] and the gloss can thus be seen as an accurate definition of one (or both?: see next paragraph) of them. Delamarre (2003: 232) expresses the relationship between the two meanings neatly as follows: the word designates 'l'endroit où coule l'eau, et la rivière, torrent ou ruisseau, lui-même'. Welsh *nant* also combines the same two meanings.[107] Delamarre (2003: 231) points out that *nanto-/-u* 'valley' is an important component of toponyms in Gallo-Romance, as for example *Nantum > Nans* (Doubs, Var, Jura), *Nant* (Aveyron, Meuse), **Nantu-ialon* 'Clair-Val' > *Nantolium > Nanteuil, Nantheuil, Nantuel, Nantouillet*. Not only that, but the other meaning 'torrent, le ruisseau' survives in a word *nant, nâ* in the French dialects of Savoy.[108]

The gloss itself cannot be taken as evidence for regional Latin. The place names above, however, have a certain interest as showing the entry into Gallo-Romance (and before that, presumably, Gallic Latin) of a Gaulish word. But one must go beyond these toponyms and the gloss to find a more striking manifestation of the influence of Gaulish on local Latin. In the Alpine (Romansch) dialect of Poschiavo (northern Italy, but now Italian-speaking) *ualles* itself survived with the meaning 'stream, water course'. *REW* 9134 cites Poschiavo *val* 'Bach'. *FEW* XIV.151 n. 53 gives the same reflex, and adds (149) another Romansch term showing the same semantic change (*vau*, dialect of Obwald, = 'bed of a river'), as well as a Spanish dialect term (from Murcia) meaning 'acequia en que se recogen las aguas sucias'. It would seem that in this Celtic region the semantic change

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[104] See Adams (2003a: 703).   [105] See Delamarre (2003: 163).
[106] See Delamarre (2003: 231–2).
[107] See *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru* 2551, Delamarre (2003: 232).
[108] See *REW* 5818, recording Gaulish *nantu* 'valley' as reflected in Savoy as *nâ* 'Bach'. *FEW* VII.7 cites the same reflex, and also Old Savoy *nant* 'ruisseau', Nyon *nan*, 'ruisseau temporaire, écoulement d'eau de pluie'. Lambert (1995: 197) s.v. *nant*, notes, 'encore nom commun dans les Alpes (le Nant), "rivière, ruisseau", cf. gall. *nant* "ruisseau"'. *FEW* refers to the productivity of the word in forming place names. See too Delamarre (2003: 232).

undergone by *ualles* reflects a loan-shift based on the possession by the equivalent Celtic term of the two meanings 'valley' and 'stream'. I have not found Lat. *ualles* in the latter sense in a Latin text.

An interesting gloss is *caio breialo siue bigardio*. Here there is not a single Latin noun in the strict sense. *Caio* represents Gaulish *cagio-* 'hedge, fence'.[109] The root also survives as Welsh *cae* 'hedge, fence, enclosure, field',[110] presumably showing a semantic change by metonymy from 'that which encloses' to 'that which is enclosed'. *Bigardio* is Germanic: Lambert (1995: 203) compares Gothic *bigairda* = 'je ceins, I enclose'. *Breialo* is another Celtic term. It is taken to be a deformation of *brogilos* 'little wood', which in turn is regarded as a derivative of *brog(i)-* 'territory, region, frontier',[111] a term which we have encountered before (IV.3.3.9). Delamarre (2003: 91) suggests a semantic development 'little territory' > 'enclosed wood' (see the Romance evidence below). A Celtic word is thus glossed by another Celtic word and a Germanic word: '*caio*: enclosed wood or enclosure'.

Brogilos survived in Old French, Old Provençal and dialectal Gallo-Romance (see below), and one assumes therefore that it had entered local forms of Latin and been assimilated to such an extent that the writer did not recognise its origin. *Caio* also survives in Gallo-Romance (see below). Both terms were presumably regionalisms in parts of Gaul in the late Latin period. The basic sense of the reflexes of *brogilos* is given by both *REW* (1324) and *FEW* (I.555) as 'eingehegtes Gehölz', i.e. 'enclosed wood'.[112] It is reflected in Old French (*broil*, 'petit bois entouré d'un mur ou d'une haie et dans lequel on enfermait des bêtes fauves';[113] also *breuil*, Old Provençal *brolh*)[114] and outside Gallo-Romance in northern Italy and Rheto-Romance (including Poschiavo, *brölu*) (see *FEW* I.556).[115] *Cagio-* survived in Gallo-Romance with various specialised meanings.[116]

There is also a gloss *nate fili*. These forms are both vocative, and that on the left cannot be the Latin *natus* (given the structure of the glossary,

[109] See Delamarre (2003: 97), giving the meaning as French *haie*, Lambert (1995: 198 s.v. *quai*, 204).
[110] See *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru* s.v.; also Delamarre (2003: 97).
[111] See Delamarre (2003: 91–2); also Lambert (1995: 190).
[112] The word turns up from the Carolingian period in medieval Latin texts: see *FEW* I.556, Niermeyer (1976: 106).
[113] *FEW* I.556.
[114] See also Delamarre (2003: 91), citing *breuil* of a small enclosed wood and also numerous toponyms such as *Breuil, Breil, Breille*.
[115] Cf. archaic Catalan *broll, brull*, for which see *REW* 1324, *FEW* I.556, Coromines (1980–2001: II, 239 s.v. *brollar*).
[116] For which see *FEW* II.1.46; cf. *REW* 1480, Lambert (1995: 198). Both *REW* and *FEW* give the basic sense as *Umwallung* ('circumvallation').

which has Gaulish words in the left-hand column) but must be the Gaulish *(g)natos* 'son'; cf. *gnata* 'daughter, girl'.[117]

The gloss is illuminated by a passage from the life of a Gallic martyr. When Symphorianus of Autun was being led to his death, it is said that he was addressed by his mother in the following terms: *nate nate Synforiane, mentobeto to diuo*.[118] What is the language of the utterance? The verb *mentobeto*, however it is to be spelt, is a Latin imperative form from *mente habere* and a clear regional usage.[119] The expression survived directly only in Old French (*mentevoir*) and Provençal (*mentaure*), though from French it was borrowed by Italian and from there by a few other Romance dialects (*REW* 5507). The spelling *to* could represent the reduced form *tum* deriving from the Latin possessive *tuum*. The nominative form *tus* is already attested in a letter of Claudius Terentianus (*P. Mich.* VIII.471.17 *pater tus*), but *to* was probably also the Gaulish possessive.[120]

Another interesting item is *diuus* for *deus*. In Latin itself *diuus*, outside expressions of the type *diuus Iulius*, is archaic and poetic, and the term would seem to be out of place in an utterance of this type. An alternative possibility is that *diuus* is not the Latin term but reflects a switch into Gaulish, which inherited *deuos* (also spelt sometimes with *i* in Gaulish) as the equivalent of Lat. *deus*.[121] There is some relevant British evidence. A curse tablet from Ratcliffe-on-Soar (Notts)[122] has the sentence *quicumque illam inuolasit, a deuo mori(a)tur* (see below, IX.7.7). What is significant about this text is that the two victims of the theft that inspired the curse have Celtic names (Camulorix and Titocuna; see the editors). The form *deuo* might possibly show a glide [w] inserted into the Latin *deus* between two vowels in hiatus (for glides see IX.5), but the Celtic context of the text suggests the possibility that the writer has used the Celtic word for 'god', either as a code-switch or because the form was current in Celts' Latin in the region. There is a parallel at *RIB* 306 (*deuo Nodenti*), where significantly the name of the god is Celtic. On balance, particularly in view of the British evidence, *to diuo* seems to have been influenced by Gaulish.[123] Whether an

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[117] See Delamarre (2003: 181–2).

[118] For the wording see Thurneysen (1923: 11), suggesting the text given here on the basis of the readings in two corrupt manuscripts of a passage of the *Vita Symphoriani Augustodunensis*.

[119] *In mente habere* (regularly with a preposition) was not a classical expression, but turns up particularly in non-literary texts of the Empire (see *TLL* VIII.724.32ff.). There is now an example in a Vindonissa tablet (see Speidel 1996): *Tab. Vindoniss.* 45 (exterior) i̦m mentem ha̦be hospitam tuam in XII. Note too Audollent (1904), 231.29–30 μ[ε] ι̦ν μεντε αβεατ.

[120] See Meid (1983: 1029), citing Old Irish *to*, Fleuriot (1991: 7, 31).

[121] See Delamarre (2003: 142–3).   [122] See Hassall and Tomlin (1993: 312), no. 2.

[123] Cf. Fleuriot (1991: 7).

ad hoc switch of languages has taken place or a current local alternative to *deus* derived from the substrate has been adopted, the phrase used by the woman has a regional look to it.

It was seen that the woman used *nate* rather than the usual Latin *fili*.[124] *Natus* (and *nata*) might have caught on in the Latin of parts of Gaul because of the coincidence of form between Gaulish *gnatos, -a* (lit. 'son, daughter') and Latin *natus, -a*.[125] The feminine *nata* occurs in the sense 'girl' on several of the so-called Gaulish–Latin spindle whorls in mixed language.[126] *Natus* (also in the feminine) is reflected in Gallo-Romance in the senses 'child, son' etc.[127] In the Old French material cited by Godefroy (1888: 483) the expression *bel(l)e nee* occurs five times in a restricted number of citations (e.g. *B. de Seb.* VII.78 *ma soer qui tant est belle nee*). It is given the sense 'créature', but the expression might be taken to correspond in meaning to *nata uimpi* on the spindle whorls, where *uimpi* means 'beautiful'.[128] There is a hint here that the similarity of *natus, -a* to Gaulish *gnatus, -a* gave it some currency in the Latin of Gaul alongside the more usual terms *filius* and *filia*, and by extension *puer* and *puella*, particularly in the feminine.

A glossary might seem better placed with metalinguistic evidence, but I have discussed Endlicher's glossary here because it does not contain explicit comment on Latin regionalisms, and is about Gaulish rather than Latin. The material dealt with in this section is not straightforward, but it does suggest a number of ways in which local forms of Latin in Celtic regions might have been influenced by Celtic. First, Latin borrowed directly from Gaulish (*caio, breialo*). Second, loan-shifts might sometimes have been effected in Latin under the influence of Gaulish (*ualles* in certain dialects). Third, a similarity of form between a Gaulish term and a Latin equivalent or near equivalent might have established the currency of the Latin term in the local dialect, even if elsewhere it was not standard Latin usage. *Filius* was the usual term for 'son', but Gaul. *(g)natos* gave support to Lat. *natus* in Gallic Latin. It is possible too that the similarity between Gaulish *deuos* and the old Latin term *diuus* facilitated the transfer of the Gaulish term into Gallic/British Latin.

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[124] For the significance of which see Meid (1983: 1029); see also *FEW* VII.23 n. 27 (s.v. *nasci*).

[125] For *gnate* (vocative) in a Gaulish text see Lambert (2002: 178), L-66 (the 'Plat de Lezoux').

[126] See the material at Meid (1983: 1032), who notes as well the semantic change 'daughter' > 'girl'.

[127] See *REW* 5851, *FEW* VII.22. Old Spanish *nado* 'son' is also cited by *FEW* VII.22. The *Nouum glossarium mediae Latinitatis* (ed. F. Blatt) s.v. *nata* 2 gives an example = 'jeune fille'.

[128] See Delamarre (2003: 320).

3.5   *The catalogue of fish in Ausonius'* Mosella

It was noted (3.3) that some of the names of animals in the *Laterculus* of Polemius Silvius were particular to Gaul. Polemius had to some extent listed words which he knew from his own locality.

A parallel is provided by the catalogue of fish in the *Mosella* of Ausonius (XVI.75–149). Green (1991: 472), discussing the origin of the items in the catalogue, remarks (plausibly) that 'there is good evidence of personal observation, notably in the case of the pike and barbel', and adds (473) that it 'seems unlikely that Ausonius drew on a textbook'. An examination of the fish names in the light of their Romance reflexes not only allows the identification of some of the fish, but also makes it clear that Ausonius has incorporated in his poem a number of terms current in the local Latin. A paper by Barbier (1920), which was drawn on by *FEW*, has an important discussion (131–7) of the passage of Ausonius. For Latin as the language of the region, see *Mosella* 381–3, a passage discussed in the last chapter (IV.1.2.9).

There are fifteen fish names in the catalogue (leaving aside *ballena*, which is not strictly a part of the catalogue): 85 *capito*, 88 *salar*, 89 *r(h)edo*, 90 *umbra*, 94 *barbus*, 97 *salmo*, 107 *mustela*, 115 *perca*, 122 *lucius*, 125 *tinca*, 126 *alburnus*, 127 *alausa*, 130 *uarius* (on the reading see below), 132 *gobio*, 135 *silurus*. No fewer than fourteen of these are reflected in Gallo-Romance. The only exception is *salar*, but this too has a Gallic connection. It occurs elsewhere in the Gallic writer Sidonius, in a description of fishing in the lake at Avitacum in Aquitania: *Epist.* 2.2.12 *hinc iam spectabis ut promoueat alnum piscator in pelagus, ut stataria retia suberinis corticibus extendat aut signis per certa interualla dispositis tractus funium librentur hamati, scilicet ut nocturnis per lacum excursibus rapacissimi salares in consanguineas agantur insidias* ('[f]rom this place you will see how the fisherman propels his boat into the deep water, how he spreads his stationary nets on cork floats, and how lengths of rope with hooks attached are poised there, with marks arranged at regular intervals, so that the greedy trout, in their nightly forays through the lake, may be lured to kindred bait', Anderson, Loeb). The word is also found in Polemius Silvius' list of fish (p. 544.18). *Salar*, whatever its origin,[129] was clearly in use in (part of) Gaul. The translation 'trout' is conventional.[130] A better represented word for 'trout' was *tructa* (> French

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[129] See Walde and Hofmann (1938–54: II, 467), raising the possibility that it might have been Celtic. Delamarre (2003) does not register the word.

[130] See e.g. Lewis and Short (1879) s.v., Walde and Hofmann (1938–54: II, 467), Thompson (1947: 224), Green (1991: 475) (without discussion). Ernout and Meillet (1959: 590) are more

truite, Spanish *trucha*, Italian *trota*).[131] *Salar* was either a local variant or a more specialised term. If we could say that *salar* was a synonym of *tructa* it would qualify as a fourth-century Gallic regionalism in the strong sense, but the problem of identifying ancient fish is acute, and we can often only speak of weak regionalisms. There is a good deal of conflicting information about fish in the literature, as we will see.

Further evidence for the local currency of Ausonius' terms lies in the fact that twelve of them are also in the list of Polemius Silvius (apart from *salar*, *capito* 544.17, *r(h)edo* 18, *umbra* 17, *salmo* 15, *mustela* 12, *lucius* 17, *tinca* 18, *alburnus* 18, *alausa* 18, *gobio* 17,[132] *silurus* 16). Polemius' list is much more extensive, and there is no indication from the ordering of its components that it might have been taken from Ausonius.

I now offer some comments on the terms in Ausonius. *Alburnus* is reflected in Gallo-Romance dialects (e.g. Old Provençal *aubor* = 'vandoise, leuciscus vulgaris', Béarn *aubour*, Bordeaux *aubur*).[133] From outside Gallo-Romance *FEW* XXIV.305 cites Catalan *albor*. The Gallic credentials of the term, as we saw in the previous paragraph, are also established by its presence in Polemius, who is the only other writer cited by *TLL* I.1502.36ff. as applying it to a fish. The fish is identified by Thompson (1947: 10), followed by Green (1991: 478 on 125–30), as the bleak, partly apparently because of its behaviour as described by Ausonius (126 *norit et alburnos, praedam puerilibus hamis*, '[who does not] know too the *alburni*, a prey to boys' hooks').[134] But French *vandoise*, with which the Old Provençal reflex cited above is equated, indicates the dace,[135] and Barbier (1920: 134) had

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circumspect ('sorte de truite, ou jeune saumon'). Thompson quotes a French authority as arguing that Ausonius' wording (*purpureisque salar stellatus tergora guttis*, 'the *salar*, its back speckled with purple spots') should be taken as referring to the trout: 'il est impossible de désigner plus clairement les petites Truites tachetées de rouge de nos rivières'. See (more soberly) Wheeler (1969: 153) on the colour of the trout. It is very variable, but black and reddish spots are typical of parts of the body.

[131] See *REW* 8942 (interpreting the Italian word as a borrowing from French), *FEW* XIII.325–6, Corominas and Pascual (1980–91: V, 674), Cortelazzo and Zolli (1999: 1746). The Romance reflexes derive from three different forms of the word, with short and long *u* and short *o* (see Corominas 1967: 587). For Latin attestations (from Ambrose onwards: see n. 178) see Bonnet (1890: 202), Sofer (1930: 65), and below, 5.2. The origin of *tructa* is also obscure. It is not plausibly derived from τρώκτης (see Thompson 1947: 271, Walde and Hofmann 1938–54: II, 710, Ernout and Meillet 1959: 704).

[132] Spelt with *u* in the first syllable.

[133] This information comes from *FEW* XXIV.305. See also *FEW* I.62.

[134] See Thompson (1947: 10), quoting an authority: 'the Bleak affords excellent amusement to young fly-fishers, rising eagerly to almost any small fly'.

[135] See Wheeler (1969: 211). The equation of *alburnus* and Eng. *dace* is by implication already to be found in Rolland (1881: 142). He cited Saintonge *aubourne* (< *alburnus*) (see also *FEW* I.62) under the heading 'leuciscus vulgaris', and gave the English equivalents as *dace*, *dare*, *dart*.

explicitly identified Ausonius' *alburnus* as the *vandoise*/dace.[136] French *vandoise* (attested from the thirteenth century) itself reflects *uindesia*, a Gaulish word of the root *uindos* 'white'.[137] *Vindesia* does not seem to be attested in Latin itself, but it must have entered Gallic Latin in the Roman period, and one assumes that in the Gaul of Ausonius' time there was some sort of regional distinction between *alburnus* and *uindesia*, with the former in use around the Moselle. The bleak is *ablette* in modern French,[138] but in Medieval French was *able*, < *albulus*.[139] A feminine reflex (of *albula*) is (e.g.) in earlier Italian (*avola*), = Italian *alborella* 'bleak'.[140] *Albula* is attested as a fish name in a gloss (*CGL* III.355.76 *albula* ἴκταρ[α]).[141] The Romance reflexes are of some help in sorting out the meanings of *alburnus*, *uindesia* and *albulus* (*-a*), but it is unlikely that distinctions were made consistently. Even today confusions are found. Delamarre (2003: 320–1), for example, uses *l'ablette* to explain French *vandoise*.[142] It is probable that *alburnus* at the time of Ausonius was one of several words used of the same or similar fish in different places.[143]

The *alausa* is presented as peasant food: 127 *stridentesque focis, obsonia plebis, alausas?* ('and [who does not know] *alausae*, hissing on the hearth, food of the plebs?'). The word was Gaulish, possibly of root **al-* 'white'.[144] The fish is identifiable from its Romance outcome. It survives in Gallo-Romance (e.g. French *alose*, since *c.* 1180, Old Provençal *alausa*),[145] *alose* being the equivalent of Eng. 'shad'.[146] The word also turns up in Catalan and Spanish (*alosa*),[147] but much later than in Gallo-Romance, from which it might have been borrowed.[148] The currency of the term in (part of) Gaul is confirmed by its appearance in Polemius Silvius (p. 544.19).[149] *Alausa* was not the only name for the shad. Rolland (1881: 121) cites various terms

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[136] 'Il me paraît probable que l'ALBURNUS d'Ausone était la vandoise.'

[137] See *REW* 9349a, Bloch and von Wartburg (1968: 663), Delamarre (2003: 320–1).

[138] For this equation see Wheeler (1969: 192); also Rolland (1881: 140–1).

[139] See *FEW* XXIV.303. *Ablette* is a suffixal derivative of *able* (see Bloch and von Wartburg 1968: 2).

[140] See *LEI* I.1510. See also *REW* 328, *FEW* XXIV.303, *LEI* I.1512.

[141] Thompson (1947: 91), for what it is worth, thinks that ἴκταρ means 'sprat'.

[142] The *DML*, s.vv. *albula*, *alburnus*, is properly cautious, placing a question mark against 'bleak'.

[143] See Rolland (1881: 142) for a variety of French dialect terms for the dace. See also above, 3.3 on *sofia* in Polemius.

[144] See Delamarre (2003: 37).   [145] See *FEW* XXIV.293.

[146] See Wheeler (1969: 127); also Thompson (1947: 10).

[147] See Corominas and Pascual (1980–91: I, 207). *Alosa* is less current in Spanish than *sábalo* (for which see below), according to Corominas and Pascual.

[148] See *FEW* XXIV.293.

[149] A third example is cited by the *TLL* s.v. from ps.-Garg. *app.* 62, p. 209 (*capiuntur pisces natura pingues, ut sunt salmones et anguillae et alausae et sardinae uel aringi*), a usage that may point to the geographical origin of the item (but not necessarily of the text as a whole, which is bound to be a compilation).

from French dialects. Italian has *laccia*, of uncertain etymology,[150] and *cheppia* < *clipea*.[151] Spanish *sábalo*, Portuguese *sável* and Catalan and Aragonese *saboga* 'shad' may derive from a Celtic word of root *samo-* 'summer';[152] the shad enters rivers from the sea to spawn in spring, and hence in German is called the *Maifisch*.[153] Amid this diverse terminology *alausa* > French *alose* stands out as a Gallicism in the strong sense.

Silurus, a borrowing from Greek (σίλουρος), occurs at 135 in an extended address and description (to 149) of a huge fish, the 'whale of the Moselle'. Thompson, as part of his long discussion of the problems of identification raised by σίλουρος/*silurus* (1947: 233–7), has a section on Ausonius (235), in which he asks whether the reference may be to the sturgeon or sheatfish (the Wels or catfish, silurus glanis).[154] He leans towards the latter. Green (1991: 479) also makes a good case for the Wels. Neither Thompson nor Green cites the Romance evidence, or the discussion of Barbier (1920: 126–7). *Silurus* is very restricted in its Romance survival. According to *FEW* XI.614[155] it lived on (at one time) only in Switzerland, as e.g. *saluth*, 'silurus glanis,[156] poisson des lacs de Neuchâtel, de Morat et de Bienne'.[157] The meaning is that suggested by Thompson and Green (and Barbier), and the area of survival not all that far to the south-east of the Moselle. Green notes that today the habitat of the fish is mainly Eastern Europe but that 'it could have been more widespread in ancient times'. The Swiss evidence shows that it was still known in the west in the medieval period, if not in the Moselle itself. The Wels grows to about 5 metres.[158]

R(h)edo (89) is problematic. Thompson (1947: 220) describes it as an 'undetermined fish', and Green (1991: 475) says that it is hard to identify. But *FEW* X.180 has an entry for *redo*, finding reflexes in the dialects of Lorraine, including Moselle *rené* 'jeune saumon' (attested in a dictionary of fish dated 1795). The *n* is explained from a suggestion that the word comes from a derivative form **redinellu*.[159] On this view the accusative of

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[150] See Cortelazzo and Zolli (1999: 840).
[151] See Cortelazzo and Zolli (1999: 329); also *REW* 1998. *The Cambridge Italian Dictionary* gives the meaning 'shad' for both words. With the second Italian term cf. Spanish *chopa* < *clupea*, with Corominas and Pascual (1980–91: II, 390), equating *clupea* with *sábalo* (for which see the main text, below).
[152] For this root see Delamarre (2003: 266). For the suggested (but speculative) etymology see Corominas and Pascual (1980–91: V, 102), Coromines (1980–2001: VII, 562), Machado (1967: III, 2078).
[153] See Wheeler (1969: 127).   [154] On which fish see Wheeler (1969: 220–1).
[155] See also Barbier (1920: 126–7).   [156] *FEW* has (mistakenly) *glamis.*
[157] Thompson (1947: 233) cites *saluth* correctly from Lac de Morat as a term for the sheatfish, silurus glanis, but does not note the relevance of the item to the interpretation of Ausonius.
[158] See Wheeler (1969: 221).
[159] *FEW* follows on this point Barbier's detailed discussion (1920: 132–4).

Ausonius' *redo* would have been *redinem*,[160] and *redinellu(m)* a diminutive based on that. Barbier (1920: 133) notes that in Lorraine -*é* corresponds to French -*eau* (hence *rené* above in the Moselle dialect). The root is claimed to be a Gaulish word connected with Welsh *rhwydd* 'esox Lucius'. The *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru* does not record such a Welsh fish name, but has *rhwydd* as an adjective meaning 'swift, smooth' etc. Barbier (1920: 134) cites a Welsh dictionary of 1873[161] which is said to report the word as a fish name with the meaning given by *FEW*, but this nineteenth-century source is not considered reliable.[162] It is, however, of particular interest that *r(h)edo* is also found in Polemius Silvius (p. 544.18), and this suggests that, whatever the meaning and origin of the word, it was current in Gallic Latin of the time. Barbier's explanation (apart from the Welsh parallel) seems compelling.

Barbus (94) is widespread in Romance, including Gallo-Romance (e.g. suffixal derivatives[163] such as Old French *barbel*, Old Provençal *barbeu*, French *barbeau*: *FEW* I.250; cf. *REW* 951). It designated the barbel (German *Barbe*).[164]

Capito, the chub, is more restricted in its survival, to Gallo-Romance (Old French *chevesne*, French *chevaine*, *chevanne*, *chevenne*) and some Italian dialects (*FEW* II.264, *REW* 1638).

Salmo, a fish associated by Pliny the Elder with Aquitaine (*Nat.* 9.68 *in Aquitania salmo fluuiatilis marinis omnibus praefertur*, 'in Aquitaine the river salmon is preferred to all sea fish'), is reflected in e.g. Old French (*salmun*: details in *FEW* XI.105–6), and is widespread in Romance (e.g. Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, Catalan). The salmon is not a Mediterranean fish, and would have been connected by the Romans with the northern provinces.

Perca, the perch (French *perche* 'perca fluviatilis'),[165] *tinca*, the tench (Old French *tence* 'tinca vulgaris, poisson d'eau douce', Old Provençal *tencha*),[166] *lucius*, the pike (Old French *luz* 'brochet'),[167] and *gobio*, the

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[160] Barbier (1920: 133) correctly compares another fish name, *capito* (also in Ausonius' catalogue), which, though its usual accusative was *capitonem*, also had a subliterary accusative form **capitinem*, which is demanded by its French reflex (see Bloch and von Wartburg 1968: 128 s.v. *chevesne*).

[161] W. Owen Pughe, *Geiriadur cenhedlaethol Cymraeg a Saesnag = A National Dictionary of the Welsh Language, with English and Welsh Equivalents*, 3rd edn revised by R. J. Pryse (Denbigh, 1866–73), II, 455, col. 2.

[162] I am grateful to Patrick Sims-Williams for advice on this point.

[163] See also *FEW* I.250 n. 1 on *bar*.   [164] See Wheeler (1969: 179); also Rolland (1881: 108–9).

[165] See *FEW* VIII.216. The word survives also in Italy and Portugal.

[166] See *FEW* XIII.1.337. *Tinca* is widely represented in Romance languages. We saw in an earlier chapter (III.4.3) that it was probably the name of a character from Placentia in Cisalpine Gaul.

[167] See *FEW* V.436. As Ausonius recognised (120), the fish name is the Latin praenomen (see *FEW*; cf. *TLL* VII.2.2.1713.10). The word occurs as a fish name in Anthimus (p. 18.8); on fish names from Gaul in Anthimus see below, 5.1. *Lucius* survived in Italy and Catalonia as well.

gudgeon (French *goujon*), are all reflected in Gallo-Romance, as well as in an assortment of other languages (see footnotes). The last name had two forms, *gobius* and *gobio*, both reflected in Gallo-Romance.[168] It is the form *gobio* which is reflected in the Moselle dialect (and used by Polemius Silvius).[169] *Lucius* and *tinca* are also in Polemius. Another name for the gudgeon, as we will see (5.1), was *trucantus*.

Mustela (107) has been much discussed. Thompson's view (1947: 169) that it was the sturgeon is dismissed by Green (1991: 477) because it is based on an error in interpreting Ausonius.[170] Green himself raises the possibility that it might be the burbot, eel-pout or the lamprey, and opts for the last. Both Barbier (1920: 135–6) and De Saint-Denis (1947: 73–4) identify the fish as *lotte*, i.e. English 'burbot'.[171] Green suggests that the fish is probably the lamprey, quoting a description of its colour, while De Saint-Denis (74) argues that the second part of Ausonius' description (113–14 *corporis ad medium fartim pinguescis, at illinc / usque sub extremam squalet cutis arida caudam*, 'to the middle of your body you are stuffed with fat, but from there as far as the end of the tail your skin is rough and dry') suits the burbot but not the lamprey. Barbier (1920: 135–6) found in the phrase *lutea . . . iris* (111 *puncta notant tergum, quae lutea circuit iris*, 'spots mark the back, surrounded by a yellow circle') confirmation that the fish was the burbot. What does the Romance evidence tell us? *Mustela* 'weasel' does indeed survive as a fish name. The evidence does not clinch the identity of Ausonius' fish, but is nevertheless interesting. The reflexes can denote both a sea and a freshwater fish.[172] For the former, which is not relevant here, see e.g. Old Provençal *mostela* 'gadus mustela, sorte de poisson de mer'.[173] It is pointed out at *FEW* VI.3.270 that the word, designating a sea fish, survives not only in Gallo-Romance but also as e.g. Catalan *mustela*, Sicilian *mustía*, Corsican *mustella*. But in Gallo-Romance *mustela* also survives as the name of various freshwater fish, such as the burbot (e.g. Middle French *moteule* 'lotte des rivières, gadus lota'),[174] the loach or the lamprey (e.g. Burgundy *mouteille* 'loach',[175] Bresse Châlonnaise *moutelle* 'lamprey'). The meaning of the word is thus variable, and the identification of the fish in Ausonius dependent on one's view of his description, but it

[168] See *FEW* IV.183–4. Thus *gobius* > Old Provençal *gobi*, and *gobio* > Old French *goujon*. Both forms also survived in (e.g.) Italian dialects. There are also variant forms with initial *c* for *g* which leave traces in Romance (see *FEW* V.183). *c*-spellings are also attested in some Latin texts (see *TLL* VI.2–3.2125.35f.).

[169] See *FEW* IV.183 col. 2, 2a.

[170] In fact Thompson begins (1947: 168) by arguing that the freshwater *mustela* was the burbot, then moves on to suggest that Ausonius' fish was the sturgeon.

[171] On which see Wheeler (1969: 283).   [172] I draw here on *FEW* VI.3.269–70.

[173] See *FEW* VI.3.269.   [174] See *FEW* VI.3.269; also Rolland (1881: 108–9).

[175] On other words for 'loach' in French dialects see Rolland (1881: 137–8).

is clear that it was a local Gallic term. The fish to which Ausonius was referring would, one assumes, have been recognisable by locals. Moreover *mustela* is also in Polemius Silvius.

Vmbra survives as French *ombre* 'grayling'.[176] According to *REW* the term (as the name of a fish) is reflected only in Gallo-Romance; Provençal *ombra* is cited alongside the above French word.

I agree with Green (1991: 478) that the reading *uarie* (vocative) at 130 is preferable to the forms *fario* or *sario*,[177] which have usually been preferred, but would suggest a minor emendation (see below). Neither of the latter two is attested, and neither leaves any trace in Romance, but *uarius* is twice found in Latin texts (see the note of Green),[178] and with change of suffix (*uario*) it is reflected in Gallo-Romance.[179] An obvious emendation of the transmitted *sario* would be to *uario* rather than *uarie*. *Vario* survives e.g. as Old French *veiron* (later *véron*, *vairon*). The fish is the minnow.[180] There are some terms in Italian dialects, but those in the north may be borrowings from Gallo-Romance.[181] Portuguese *vairão* is a borrowing from French *vairon*.[182]

There is nothing literary about the fish of Ausonius' *Mosella*. He could have picked up every single name from the environs of the river itself, and no doubt did so. Most of the fish can, loosely speaking, be identified,[183] with the Romance evidence playing a role in the identification, though it is an insoluble difficulty that the same fish name may have different meanings in different places. But even when we cannot certainly say of what fish Ausonius might have been using a particular term, a restricted survival of the term in Romance, along with its pattern of attestation in Latin, may at least point to its dialectal status in the Roman period. The most telling items in the present context are those words restricted or largely restricted to Gallo-Romance. Into this category fall *alburnus*, *alausa*, *silurus*, a derivative of *r(h)edo* (?), *capito*, *mustela* designating a freshwater fish, *umbra* and *uarius* (*-io*), and to these can be added *salar*, which is only attested in Gallic writers.

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[176] For this fish and its modern names see Wheeler (1969: 143); also Rolland (1881: 129). For the Romance evidence see *REW* 9046.2, *FEW* XIV.25–6. French dialect reflexes (for which see *FEW*) do not necessarily all refer to the same fish.

[177] But on *fario* see Zaunich (1953: 382–3).

[178] See Ambr. *Hex.* 5.3.7 *alii oua generant, ut uarii maiores, quos uocant troctas* ('others produce eggs, such as the larger *uarii*, which they call *troctae*').

[179] See *REW* 9155, *FEW* XIV.185 (c).

[180] See Wheeler (1969: 198–9) for the fish and its modern names.

[181] See *FEW* XIV.186 col. 2.   [182] See Machado (1967: III, 2285).

[183] Thompson (1947: 221) says that twelve of the fifteen can be identified, but we have not always been in agreement with his interpretations. Barbier (1920: 131–2) stated that ten were immediately identifiable, and then moved on to a discussion of the other five.

There are nine terms listed here, of which, remarkably, eight also occur in the list of Polemius Silvius. Most meet our criterion of being rare in Latin and not belonging to the literary language. These words must have been heard locally, and, given the diversity of dialect terms for species of fish attested merely in Gallo-Romance itself (for which see Rolland 1881), they would have had alternatives in different regions (see above on *alburnus* and *alausa*). One of the words discussed (*gobio*) has a definite, and another (*r(h)edo*) a possible, connection with the Moselle dialect. All the remaining words (those with a wider distribution in Romance) were current in Gaul, if not regionalisms in the strictest sense. Ausonius joins poets such as Catullus, Virgil, Horace and Martial who sometimes applied local colour to their verse by linguistic means. Indeed later in this chapter we will see some more vernacular terms used by Ausonius (see 5.1 on *platessa* and *corroco*, both fish names, 5.2 on *burra* used metaphorically in a sense anticipating some Romance usages, 6.7 on *colonica*),[184] though not all of them were specific to Gaul. The sources of the localised terms in the catalogue of fish are various. There is a borrowing from Gaulish (*alausa*), other words that look non-Latin (*salar*, *r(h)edo*), a metaphor (*mustela*), and suffixal derivatives (*capito*, possibly *uario*). Those terms that are reflected outside Gallo-Romance tend to turn up in the Iberian peninsula or northern Italy.

De Saint-Denis (1947) does not deal with most of these words, but see his discussions of *gobio* (43–4), *mustela* (73–4),[185] *perca* (84–5), *salmo* (96–7) and *silurus* (104–6).[186]

3.6 A Gallic inscription with moritex[187]

The word *moritex* is attested in an inscription from Cologne (*CIL* XIII.8164a = *ILS* 7522): *Apollini C. Aurelius C. l. Verus negotiator Britannicianus Moritex . . .* Dessau printed the last word with a capital, and observed (mistakenly) 'Fortasse latet ethnicum.' There was possibly another example of the word on a stone coffin at York lost before 1796 (see *RIB* 678), but the reports of the inscription are so varied that this case is best disregarded. It has now turned up, in a slightly different form, in Britain. Simon Corcoran, Benet Salway and Peter Salway have recently published

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[184] It is worth consulting too Delamarre's discussion (2003: 232) of the Gaulish *nauson* 'boat', which he finds in Ausonius (*Epist.* 20a.8) in the Latinised form *nausum*. Contrast, however, Green (1991: 644) (whose explanation is far from clear).

[185] He cites Plin. *Nat.* 9.63, noting the presence of the fish in Lake Constance.

[186] See in particular his comments on the precision of Ausonius' description of what can only be Silurus glanis.

[187] See Adams (2003d).

a new Latin inscription from a site in Southwark.[188] I reproduce the text as it is completed by the editors:

num(inibus) Aug(ustorum)
deo Marti Ca-
mulo · Tiberini-
us Celerianus
(*vac.*) c(iuis) (*vac.*) Bell(ouacus) (*vac.*)
(*vac.*) moritix (*vac.*)
Londiniensi-
(*vac.*) um (*vac.*)
[Pr]imus [. . .]
[. . .]++[. . .]

Moritix is a known Celtic compound meaning 'seafarer, sailor', lit. 'one going by sea' < Celt. **mori-teg-/tig-*.[189] The first part is the term for 'sea' (cf. e.g. Welsh *môr*) and the second is attributed to the Indo-European root **steigʰ-* seen for example in Gk. στείχω.[190] The currency of the word in Britain is suggested by Welsh *mordwy*, which combines much the same elements. See *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru* 2487, giving among other meanings 'movement of the sea' and '(sea-)voyage', 'journey in a ship'. The second part of the Welsh compound derives from *twy. The Welsh word is a verbal noun, = 'going of sea' or 'going by sea', whereas the Latin borrowing is personal, 'sea-goer'. The *negotiator moritex* of the inscription from Cologne was thus a trader-seafarer. The interest of the word is that it had entered Latin in the Celtic provinces and thus constitutes a Latin regionalism. Since Latin had (it seems) a word of its own with this meaning (*nauta*), it is to be assumed that there was a special factor motivating the selection of the non-Latin term. One possibility is that it was a title applied to an official with some sort of Gallic association.

The interest of the attestations of this term is that they bring out a connection between Britain and Celtic regions across the Channel. In both areas Celtic terms entered Latin, and there are several cases of the same word attested in both places (see also above, 2.2 on *panna* (-*um*)). I will return to this topic in a later chapter (IX.7).

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[188] '*Moritix Londiniensium*: a recent epigraphic find in London', *British Epigraphy Society Newsletter* n.s. 8 (2002), 10–12. The inscription and the article can be seen on the BES website (http://www.csad.ox.ac.uk/BES).

[189] The word is often mentioned in the Celtic literature. See e.g. Evans (1967: 233), Uhlich (2002: 420), Delamarre (2003: 194), Sims-Williams (2003: 30).

[190] For further details see Adams (2003d).

4 GERMANIC LAW CODES

The Frankish law codes from Gaul take us right to the chronological limits of this book and even beyond (the sixth century and later), but I have included them because they reveal a new influence on the Latin of the region and also, if examined chronologically, illustrate developments in the crystallisation of the proto-Romance lexicon.

4.1 Pactus legis Salicae

The Salic Laws (laws of the Salian Franks) were first promulgated by Clovis (481–511) after his defeat of the Visigoths at Vouglé in 507.[191] The oldest redaction of the laws, the 65-title text, also called the *Pactus legis Salicae*, is attributed to the later years of his reign (507–11).[192] The language of the *Pactus* is Latin, though the work does contain Frankish terms. It may be conjectured that only a small part of the Frankish population would have been able to understand Latin. The document represents a remarkable accommodation to the culture of the Franks' new home. As Wormald (1999: 42) puts it, '[n]early everything about *Lex Salica* . . . points to the earliest phase of a "Frankish" population's adjustment to life in a Gallo-Roman province'. Clovis was presumably assisted in the drafting by Gallo-Roman lawyers.[193] Not surprisingly, they incorporated local terms. The *Pactus* is full of usages anticipating Romance.[194] Not all these reflexes are restricted to the area of Gallo-Romance, but some are, and others have a distribution consistent with a starting point in Gaul followed by a spread to contiguous regions.

At 58.2 there is a substantival use of the adjective *limitaris*: *et sic postea in duropello, hoc est in limitare, stare debet, intus in casa respiciens* ('and afterwards he must stand in the doorway, that is upon the threshold, looking back into the house').[195] The word means 'threshold'. Note *TLL* VII.2.1418.60ff. 'per confusionem c. *liminare* n. pro subst. i.q. limen'. *Limitaris* (< *limes*) was confused with *liminaris* (< *limen*), and influenced semantically by the other term (a case of malapropism).[196] *Limitare*

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[191] See e.g. Rivers (1986: 2), Wormald (1999: 40).
[192] See Rivers (1986: 3), Wood (1994: 112).   [193] So Rivers (1986: 4).
[194] For bibliography on the language of the text see Schmidt-Wiegand (1979: 77 with n. 124); also 79 on words going into French, and 77 on the markedly vulgar character of the language.
[195] On the hybrid *duropello* (the first part is Germanic, cf. Eng. 'door', the second Latinate, < *palus* 'stake'), see Schmidt-Wiegand (1979: 78–9 with n. 140).
[196] So *limes* was conflated with *limen* in the development to Romance: see *TLL* VII.2.1410.4, *FEW* V.343.

(presumably a neuter substantive) is quoted in this sense by the *TLL* only from the Salic Law, but it has reflexes in various parts of the Romance-speaking world (see *FEW* V.346). However, it is only in Gallo-Romance and the contiguous Catalan (which often agrees in lexicon with Gallo-Romance, particularly Provençal: see 2.1) that the form, as here, with suffix *-aris*, is reflected (e.g. Jewish French *linteyr* 'seuil de la porte', Old Provençal *lumdar, lumtar, luntar, lunda*, Catalan *llindar*);[197] elsewhere (and to some extent in Gallo-Romance itself) various changes of suffix took place (as for example the replacement of *-aris* by *-alis, -arius, -aneus, -atus*).[198] The reflexes variously mean 'threshold' and 'lintel' (see the Gallo-Romance forms cited at *FEW* V.345).

Napina 'turnip bed, field', which is cited by Lewis and Short and the *OLD* only from Columella (11.2.71), occurs at 27.12: *si quis in nabina, in fauaria, in pisaria, in lenticlaria in furtum ingressus fuerit* ('if anyone thievishly enters a turnip-, bean-, pea- or lentil-patch'). It is reflected only in Gallo-Romance (e.g. Old French *nabine* 'champ de navets'),[199] but also leaves traces in Catalan place names.[200] The example in Columella suggests that the word was once current beyond Gaul, as Columella reports mainly on Italian and Spanish agricultural usages. If it was a Gallic regionalism by the time of the *Pactus* it must have undergone shrinkage (for this term see above, 1, and I.8). The terms in *-aria* in the sentence quoted were local agricultural words, indicating the place where an edible plant was grown. *Pisaria* (f.) survives in Gallo-Romance (Old French *pesiere* f.) with the sense it has here: 'champ planté de pois' (*FEW* VIII.608).[201] *Fauaria* seems to lie behind Old French *faviere*, 'champ de fèves', Old Provençal *faviera* (*FEW* III.339, col. 1),[202] and *lenticlaria* behind Old French *lantilleire*, 'terrain semé de lentilles' (*FEW* V.251).[203] *Fauaria* (in this sense), *lentic(u)laria* and *pisaria* are cited by the *TLL* only from this passage of the *Pactus*. The feminine gender would have been determined by the ellipse of a feminine noun, possibly *seges*.

Spicarium designated the place where *spica* was stored ('corn store, granary'): 16.3 *si quis spicarium aut machalum cum anona incenderit* ('if anyone sets fire to a corn store or barn with grain').[204] The term was

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[197] *FEW* V.345, *REW* 5052. [198] See *FEW* V.346. [199] See *FEW* VII.11, *REW* 5820a.
[200] See *FEW* VII.11 n. 13. [201] Cf. *FEW* VIII.609 n. 25, deriving the reflex from Lat. *pisaria*.
[202] See too Tobler and Lommatzsch (1925: III, 1675).
[203] However, the Latin etyma of the Gallo-Romance terms other than *pesiere* are not made explicit by *FEW*.
[204] *Machalum* is cited only from here by the *TLL* (VIII.11.55ff.), which gives the meaning 'horreum sine tecto'. The word must have been Germanic and used occasionally in the area, but it did not catch on and left no trace in the Romance languages.

probably modelled on *granarium*. It survived in northern Gaul in place names (*Epiez*, *Epiais*, *Epieds*), and (sparsely) as a noun in Walloon (Old Liège *spir*, 'chambre à provisions').[205] It was also borrowed into Germanic in the region of the old Germania Superior and Inferior.[206] The term was probably coined in northern Gaul, and left traces only in that region.[207] *Granarium*, which is well represented in Romance (*REW* 3839), might have served the same purpose, as might the old term *horreum* (see *REW* 4186): *spicarium* is a dialect term in the strict sense. It is also found in the *Lex Alamannorum* (see below, 4.3).[208] For further words of this semantic field see n. 204 on *machalum*, and below, this section, on *scuria*, and 4.3 on *granica*.

There are interesting references to the female horse in the *Pactus*, but one must proceed with caution in interpreting the evidence. The three Latin words reflected with the sense 'mare' in Romance were *equa*, *caballa* and *iumenta* (a feminine derived from *iumentum*). The regional differentiation which emerged can be seen from map 47 in Rohlfs (1954a), along with the discussion at pages 75–7 (see map 14 here). *Equa* survived in the Iberian peninsula (see below, VI.5.1), and also in a pocket in southern France (particularly the Auvergne).[209] *Caballa* is found in the northern half of Italy, through the Alps and into southern France, where it is a borrowing from Italy. In (northern) French *jument* reflects *iumenta*, which in this area underwent an interesting semantic change reflecting a preference for the mare as the working equine.[210] *Iumenta* passed from France to Corsica, and also to southern Italy and Sicily, in the latter cases probably as a result of the influence in the area of the Normans.[211] The heading of chapter 38 of the *Pactus* is *De furtis caballorum uel equarum*, and *equa* occurs twice in the chapter (5, 7, in the latter place in the expression *equam praegnantem*). But what is to be made of 38.11 *si quis caballum aut iumentum furauerit* (cf. 13)? In the context it is at least possible that *iumentum* designates the mare (but see the next paragraph).[212] The variant reading *iumentum praegnans* at 38.7 (see the apparatus criticus and also *TLL* VII.2.647.46) shows the intrusion of Gallic influence into the textual tradition.

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[205] Details can be found at *FEW* XII.175–6; also *REW* 8146a.
[206] See *FEW* XII.175; cf. Schmidt-Wiegand (1979: 71 n. 90).
[207] Portuguese *espigueiro* is considered to be a modern borrowing (*REW* 8146a, *FEW* XII.176).
[208] See *FEW* XII.176 n. 1 and Schmidt-Wiegand (1979: 71 n. 90).
[209] See Rohlfs (1954a: 76).
[210] On the background to such a semantic change see Adams (1993: 35–6).
[211] See Rohlfs (1954a: 77 with n. 3). On this pattern of lexical transfer see above, 3.3, p. 297 with n. 91.
[212] *TLL* VII.2.647.49ff. is rightly circumspect.

At 10.1 (*si quis seruum aut ancillam . . . caballum uel iumentum furauerit*) it is possible that the male and female horse are distinguished, like the male and female slave, but 47.1 (*si quis seruum aut ancillam, caballum uel bouem . . .*) raises doubts. The horse could be distinguished from the other equines (the mule, donkey) or from the category of draught animals (with the ox included alongside the mule and donkey),[213] and it cannot be ruled out that at 10.1 (and 38.11, cited in the last paragraph) it is that contrast which is intended.

The expression *per malum ingenium* at 34.5 (*si quis per malum ingenium in curte alterius aut in casa uel ubilibet aliquid de furto miserit, hoc est nesciente domino*, 'if anyone by trickery deposits something acquired by theft in another's courtyard or cottage or anywhere, without the knowledge of the owner') can be paralleled several times in a later Gallic (Frankish) text, the *Annales regni Francorum* (e.g. p. 20, *a. 763 per malum ingenium se inde seduxit*), and the resultant compound *malgenh* ('fraud') turns up in Old Provençal.[214] The collocation *malum ingenium* is found from Plautus onwards (*TLL* VII.1.1524.75f.), and it is possible that it was more widespread than the evidence suggests. Alternatively, it might by this time have undergone shrinkage.

Twice in the *Pactus* there occurs a term, presumably *sutis* in the nominative, though that form is not attested, which from the contexts can be seen to mean 'pigsty'. One example is in a passage (16.4) quoted below, p. 318. The other is at 2.3 *si quis <uero> porcellum de sute furauerit* ('if anyone shall steal a pig from a pigsty'). Romance philologists give the base as **sutegis* (*REW* 8492) or *suteg-* (*FEW* XII.479). Ernout and Meillet (1959: 670) list **sutegis* as a derivative of *sus*, citing only *REW* 8492 and offering no further explanation. Walde and Hofmann (1938–54: II, 636) s.v. *sus* merely note the form *sutem*. Both *REW* and *FEW* explain the word as of Celtic origin. The first part must represent *su-*, as Ernout and Meillet saw, and the second is taken by *FEW* to be *teg-*, a root which produced terms for 'house' in various Celtic languages, and is also seen in Latin *attegia* 'caban, hut', a borrowing from Celtic.[215] The loss of intervocalic *g* in **sutegis*, **sutegem* to produce *sutis*, *sutem* is explicable from a Latin development.[216] The interest of *sut(eg)is* from our viewpoint is considerable. First, it is reflected only in Gallo-Romance (e.g. Old French *sot* 'étable à porcs', also *seu*; dialect reflexes are cited from Picardy and Champagne).[217] Second, it had

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213 See Adams (1990b: 441–2).   214 See Adams (1977b: 266), *FEW* IV.685.
215 For details see Delamarre (2003: 59–60).   216 See Väänänen (1981: 57–8).
217 See both *REW* 8492, *FEW* XII.479.

synonyms (*hara*, *harula*), and was thus a genuine dialect word.[218] It is another of those substrate words that had entered a regional variety of Latin.

I turn to some Frankish (i.e. superstrate) words (see above, n. 204 on *machalum*). I start with a relevant passage of Sidonius Apollinaris. Sidonius, a Gaul born at Lugdunum *c.* 430, wrote an artificial Latin marked by all sorts of literary artifice. He occasionally comments on regional usages, as in a letter (6.4) to Lupus, bishop (from 426 or 427) of Troyes (a native of Toulouse). The bearers of the letter had been looking for a kinswoman kidnapped by brigands some years before. The woman had been sold openly on the recommendation of a certain Pudens now resident at Troyes. Lupus is asked to meet the various parties (presumably the bearers and Pudens) and to work out what had happened. The bearers are speakers of Latin, as they are to be interrogated by Lupus (2). Sidonius remarks on a local word for 'brigands', *uargi*: 1 *namque unam feminam de affectibus suis, quam forte uargorum (hoc enim nomine indigenas latrunculos nuncupant) superuentus abstraxerat, isto deductam ante aliquot annos isticque distractam cum non falso indicio comperissent, certis quidem signis sed non recentibus inquisiuere uestigiis* ('They had discovered from reliable information that a kinswoman, who had been abducted in a raid of Vargi [*sic*, but lower case should be used: see below] (for so they call the local brigands), had been brought here a number of years ago and sold on the spot; and so they have been searching for her, following up certain clues which are certain enough though not fresh', Anderson, Loeb). The implication is that *uargi* = *latrunculi* is not the sort of term that Lupus and Sidonius themselves would have used.

The word is of Germanic origin.[219] It is cited by Lewis and Short and Souter (1949) from a panegyric, but I have not been able to find the example. It does, however, occur in the Gallic texts *Pactus legis Salicae* (55.4) and *Lex Ribuaria* (88.2).[220] I cite the first example: *si quis corpus iam sepultum effodierit et expoliauerit et ei fuerit adprobatum, . . . wargus sit usque in diem illa(m), quam ille cum parentibus ipsius defuncti conueniat, <ut> et ipsi cum eo rogare debeant, ut ei inter homines liceat accedere* ('if anyone digs up a body once it has been buried and despoils it and if this is proved against him, . . . he must remain a *wargus* until the day when he comes to an agreement with the relatives of the deceased that they should ask along with him that he should be permitted to enter society'). The word designates an outcast from society. Such a person may be forced to resort to brigandage,

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[218] Both *hara* and *harula* themselves survived in Romance (*REW* 4039, 4063). For the latter, which is very late in Latin texts, see *TLL* VII.2–3.2525.45.

[219] See e.g. Walde and Hofmann (1938–54: II, 734).   [220] See Niermeyer (1976: 1129) s.v. *wargus*.

but the primary sense does not appear to be 'brigand'. The sense attested in Sidonius looks like a generalisation of the Germanic meaning.

The interest of the passage of Sidonius is that it offers a hint that regional usages need not be equally current at different levels of society. In this case the regional word, at least as it had come to be used, had an old Latin synonym.

For another regional term with this meaning in another part of the Roman world, see below, VII.11.7 (*scamara*).

At *Pactus* 1.1 the Germanic word *sunnis* is used in the sense 'legitimum impedimentum':[221] *si quis ad mallum legibus dominicis manitus fuerit et non uenerit, si eum sunnis non detenuerit* ('if anyone shall have been summoned to a hearing by the king's law and does not come, if he has not been detained by a legitimate excuse . . .'). The word is reflected only in Gallo-Romance (with some borrowings in Italian dialects),[222] most conspicuously as French *soin*.[223] The modern French reflex means 'care' in general, but in Old French both this general meaning[224] and the juristic sense of the Salic Law survive (for the latter note Old French *soine* f. 'excuse légale': *FEW* XVII.273 b β; on the survival of the two uses, see op. cit. 279). The feminine gender of the form just cited can also be paralleled in the *Pactus* (45.2 *aliqua sunnis*).

Another Germanic word is *scuria* = 'barn', found at *Pactus* 16.4: *si quis <uero> sutem cum porcis <aut> scuriam cum animalibus uel fenilem incenderit* ('but if anyone sets fire to a pigsty with pigs or a barn with animals or hay'). The term is reflected in Gallo-Romance, as e.g. Old French *scura* 'grange'.[225] Its reflexes are widespread, from Liège to Provence. The word is cited from medieval Latin texts of Gallic provenance, such as Remigius and the *Capitulare de uillis* (see *FEW*).

Also reflected only in Gallo-Romance is the Germanic term *skreunia*, which signified a worker's hut or chamber of various kinds.[226] *FEW*, for example, cites Burgundian *écraigne*, 'hutte faite avec des perches fichées en rond et recourbées par en haut en forme de chapeau, qui était couverte de gazon et de fumier et dans laquelle les vignerons s'assemblaient pour les veillées' (sixteenth and seventeenth centuries). The Romance forms reflect *screona* and *screunia*. The term is at *Pactus* 27.29 *si quis screoniam <qui>*

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[221] On the meaning of the word in the *Lex Salica* see *FEW* XVII.279.
[222] On these last see *FEW* XVII.279.
[223] See *REW* 8089a, *FEW* XVII.272–82. On the other hand the compound form **bisunnia* is more widespread (e.g. Italian *bisogno* [-*a*], French *besoin*: see *FEW* XVII.275–9, 281). For a full discussion of *sunnis* see Frings (1959).
[224] Thus Old French *aveir soign de* = 'se soucier de' (Roland) (*FEW* XVII.272).
[225] See *FEW* XVII.140 s.v. **skura*, Schmidt-Wiegand (1979: 69 with n. 78).
[226] See *REW* 7743, *FEW* XVII.134.

sine claue <est> effregerit ('if anyone who is without a key breaks into a workshop').[227] *FEW* refers to examples in other Gallic texts, namely the *Lex Burgundionum* and the *Capitulare de uillis*.

Also worth noting is another Germanic word, Latinised as *mallus* (or *-um*), = *iudicium, dies iudicii*. It is cited by *TLL* VIII.192.82ff. only from the Salic Law. The expression found at e.g. *Pactus* 14.4 (*in mallo publico*) lies behind French *mal public*. *REW* 5268a gives only this Romance outcome.[228]

A use of *captare* in the sense 'look (at)', which occurs as a variant reading at 58 and is an anticipation of Provençal *catar*, is discussed in a later chapter (VI.5.3).

The Latin of the *Pactus* has input from Frankish and Gaulish, as befits a text compiled in Gaul under the Franks. The Latin itself is markedly vulgar, conspicuously more so than that of the other codes that will be dealt with below. A good deal of the non-literary (vulgar) Latin that the work contains was to survive widely in Romance, and cannot help with the questions addressed here. The evidence assembled above is not extensive, but even if the origin of the *Pactus* were not known on other grounds the text could be attributed to Gaul.

Regionalisms in the strong sense are *spicarium* and *sutis*. On the basis of *sutis* alone one might be justified in arguing for the place of origin of the text. *Vargus* has a specialised sense in the law, but outside the legal language in this area it had come into rivalry with *latro, latrunculus*, and it was in this weakened sense a dialectalism of Gaul. *Fauaria, pisaria* and *lenticlaria* point to the productivity of the formation *-aria* in generating terms of a particular type in the rustic language of the area. There would have been other ways of referring to such places, not least by circumlocution; also *fabalia* may have the same sense as *fabaria* (*TLL* VI.1.6.24ff.). *Limitare* could not on its own be used as evidence for attributing the text to this region, but it is an innovation consistent with a Gallic origin. *Iumentum* is not definitely used in the specialised meaning 'mare' in the text (though there are some ambiguous cases), but there are traces of it in the manuscript tradition. The other Frankish terms are not so much strong regionalisms (*sunnis*, however, may be an exception, as it could presumably have been replaced in its legal sense by *legitimum impedimentum* and in its general sense by *cura*) as reflections of one of the influences (Frankish culture) on local varieties of Latin. It is not possible to be sure precisely what types of

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[227] The clause makes sense without the supplements ('if anyone breaks into a workshop without a key').

[228] See Schmidt-Wiegand (1979: 64–5).

structures were meant by *machalum*, *scuria* and *skreunia*, and we cannot
know how readily they might have been replaced by native Latin terms.

The Romance evidence would not permit an attribution of the text to
a particular part of Gaul; one can speak only of a Gallic origin in the
most general sense. *Scuria*, for example, is spread from north to south.
Some terms seem to turn up mainly in the north (*spicarium*, *sutis*), but
others must have been established in the south (*limitaris*). The quality of
the evidence is poor by the standards of that available to investigators of
dialects in a modern language.

4.2   Lex Burgundionum

The *Lex Burgundionum*, also called the *Lex Gundobada* or *Liber consti-
tutionum*, is a law code of the eponymous eastern Franks promulgated
in 517.[229] On the extent of the Burgundian kingdom under Gundobad,
during whose reign (474–516) the code was probably compiled, I quote
Fischer Drew (1949: 2): 'to the northwest it extended as far as Langres; to
the northeast to the northern Jura Mountains; to the east to the Alps; to
the west it was bounded by a portion of the Rhone River and the upper
course of the Loire; and for a time, [it] also included Provence to the
south.'

The text contains the term *ex(s)artum*: e.g. 13, p. 52.4 *si quis . . . in
silua communi exartum fecerit* ('if anyone . . . shall have made a clearing in a
common wood'). This substantival participle, derived from *ex* + *sario* 'hoe,
weed', refers to the clearing of woodland and its preparation for cultivation,
or in a concrete sense to the space so cleared. Note *TLL* V.2.1827.46ff.
'fere i. q. actio qua regio silvestris in formam agrorum redigitur aut regio
ipsa arboribus et virgultis purgata et ad culturam parata'). It is found for
the first time in the *Lex Burg.*,[230] and is not infrequent there (*TLL* loc.
cit. ll. 52ff.). A noteworthy case is at 41.1, p. 72.12 (*si quis in exarto suo
focum fecerit, et focus . . . per terram currens ad sepem uel messem peruenerit
alienam*, 'if anyone shall have made a fire in his own clearing, and the
fire . . . running across the ground shall have reached another's fence or
crop'), where *focus* has its Romance meaning 'fire', and every noun and two
of the three verbs are reflected in Gallo-Romance (though not exclusively
there in most cases). With morphological changes the sentence would be
close to proto-French. *Ex(s)artum* survives only in Gallo-Romance (e.g.

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[229] On the date see Wormald (1999: 38 with n. 45), Wood (1993: 162–3, 170), Fischer Drew (1949:
5–6). On the language see the sketchy article of Kübler (1893b).
[230] See *FEW* III.319.

French *essart*: *FEW* III.318 'lieu défriché, fonds cultivé provenant d'un récent défrichement'), and the verb has traces in Catalan (*aixartallar* 'weed', according to *FEW* III.319; cf. *REW* 3066).[231] This is a late and rare technical term which reveals the place of origin of the text. For an agricultural term in a restricted area, cf. *conrogata* in Caesarius of Arles (above, 3.2). For medieval examples of *ex(s)artum* in texts mainly from the Gallic region, see Niermeyer (1976: 399).

Terms may sometimes be identifiable as regionalisms even if they do not have reflexes in Romance languages. A case is *tintinnum* (*-us*) 'bell', which is used in an identical way in three late Gallic texts. It is synonymous with CL *tintinnabulum*. At Venantius Fortunatus *Carm.* 2.16.49 it is used of a bell attached to the neck of equine animals: *tintinnum rapit alter inops* ('[if] another who is poor snatches a bell'). The context is reminiscent of that at *Lex Burg.* 4.5, p. 44.19, where the reference is again to the theft of a horse bell: *qui tintinno caballi furto abstulerit* ('he who shall have thievishly taken a horse bell'). Theft is again at issue at *Pactus* 27.1, but the bell is attached to pigs: *si quis <uero> tintinnum de porcina aliena furauerit* ('if anyone shall have stolen a bell from another's herd of pigs'; *porcina* = 'herd of pigs'). *Tintinnum* must have been current in sixth-century Gaul in reference to small bells used to keep track of animals.

At 104, p. 115.12 *ambascia* seems to mean something like 'journey, trip':[232] *quicumque asinum alienum extra uoluntatem domini praesumpserit aut unum diem aut duos in ambascia sua minare, iubemus ut . . .* ('if anyone presumes to take another's donkey without the permission of the owner for a day or two on his own journey, we order that . . .'). Niermeyer (1976) distinguishes three senses: first, 'mission, errand' (e.g. *Pactus* 1.4 *nam si in dominica ambusca fuerit occupatus*, 'but if he shall have been engaged in an errand for his master'); then 'transport service'; the third meaning, that in the *Lex Burg.*, may represent a generalisation of this last, but meanings 1 and 3 are not easy to distinguish. The word is attested in Germanic law codes from the Gallic region (so *REW* 408a; cf. Niermeyer 1976 s.v.). The term is related by *FEW* XV.19 to Gothic *andbahti* = 'Amt, Dienst, post, service' (also *andbahts* 'Diener, official'), which is said ultimately to be a borrowing from the Gaulish word *ambactus*, attested both in Ennius and Caesar. Derivatives are reflected in Old Provençal (*enbayssar* 'envoyer un délégué', *embayssaria* 'message': see *FEW* XV.19), from which borrowings were taken into other Romance languages (cf. *REW* 408a). In the passage

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[231] But see Coromines (1980–2001: III, 245 col. 1, 51ff.) s.v. *eixarcolar*.
[232] So Niermeyer (1976: 39) s.v. 3.

of the *Lex Burg.* quoted at the start of this paragraph it would seem that *itinere* might have replaced *ambascia*.

Another notable term is at 97, p. 112.20: *si quis canem* <u>ueltrauum</u> *aut segutium uel petrunculum praesumpserit inuolare* ('if anyone shall presume to steal a running or hunting dog or a *petrunculus*').[233] *Veltragus* (or *uer-*, which is etymologically correct [see below]; there are variations too in the spelling of the ending) is a Celtic term for a hunting dog (lit. 'the swift-footed one').[234] It is attested in a special context in Martial (14.200.1;[235] cf. Grat. *Cyn.* 203) and survives only in Gallo-Romance (e.g. French *veltre* 'chien employé surtout pour la chasse de l'ours et du sanglier (Roland)', *FEW* XIV.327),[236] and in Old Milanese (*FEW* XIV.328). In the form *ueltrus* (-*is*) the word is also in the textual tradition of the *Pactus*.[237] *Vertragus* can now be restored with certainty several times in a recently published writing tablet from Vindolanda (*Tab. Vindol.* III.594).[238] Here is further evidence (see above, 3.6 on *moritix*) for affinities between the Latin of the Celtic provinces Britain and Gaul as determined by the substrate (see IX.7).

In the passage just quoted *segutium* is a misspelling of another Celtic term for a hunting dog, *segusius/sigusius*. The base of the term is *sego-* 'victoire, force' (see Delamarre 2003: 269). *Segusius* shares features of distribution with *ueltragus*. It too occurs in the Vindolanda tablet 594 and in the *Pactus* (6.1), and it too is reflected in Gallo-Romance, though not exclusively there (*FEW* XIV.414).[239]

Several of the words discussed above were technical terms without obvious synonyms. A 'clearing' (see above, *ex(s)artum*) is a mundane entity, and there must have been other ways of expressing the idea (cf. the old verb *conlucare*). Terms were coined locally for agricultural practices and objects, without achieving currency beyond the area of coinage (see XI.3.6.3). Other words above that may be classified as regionalisms are *tintinnum* and the Germanic *ambascia*. *Vertragus* looks like a technical term, and might have designated specific breeds of dog in different places, but hunting dogs had

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[233] On *petrunculus* see Fischer Drew (1949: 84 n. 1): 'some kind of dog with heavy pads on its feet so that it can run across stones or rough ground'.

[234] See *FEW* XIV.328, Delamarre (2003: 317) s.v. *uertragos* ('un composé transparent de *uer-* 'sur, super' et *trag-* 'pied', c.-à-d. 'aux pieds rapides, qui court vite').

[235] Martial's fourteenth book is full of exotic words, as for example *panaca* (see above, 2.2).

[236] See also Delamarre (2003: 317) on French *vautre*, a descendant of the Old French form, which is a 'terme technique de chasse désignant un chien courant, utilisé pour la chasse au sanglier'.

[237] See the index to the *Pactus* (*MGH, Leg. sect.* I.IV.1), p. 319, and also the apparatus criticus to 6.2 (p. 36). For further examples (in the *Leg. Alamann.* and elsewhere) of the form see Niermeyer (1976: 1069).

[238] See Bowman and Thomas (2003: 48–9) on the restoration.

[239] For a discussion of the term in relation to the Vindolanda tablets see Adams (2003b: 572).

always been in use, and the expression *canis uenaticus* had been available at least since the time of Plautus. The designation 'swift-footed one' perhaps entered Latin in Gaulish-speaking areas as a graphic substitute for the Latin expression. We have seen again in this section the contribution to regional Latin of a substrate and superstrate.

4.3 Leges Alamannorum

The 'earliest form of Alaman law, extant only in fragments, was probably promulgated by Chlothar II (584–629)',[240] but the text as extant belongs to the eighth century.[241] Although it falls outside the period covered by this book, I include a brief discussion of the linguistic features of the text because it provides an interesting contrast with the *Pactus legis Salicae*.

The *Leges Alamannorum* also have Gallic regionalisms. In what follows I cite the chapter numeration that appears in the left-hand column of Eckhardt's edition.[242] Note first 3.1 *donet legitimo wadio* ('let him give a legal pledge'), where *wadium* (< Frankish *waddi)[243] is roughly equivalent to the native Latin *pignus*. *Wadium* survived in Gallo-Romance (e.g. French *gage*), and in some Italian dialects. The root is widely represented in Germanic languages, and probably entered Gallo-Romance from the Franks and Italian dialects from the Lombards (for this phenomenon see below, 6.4 on *flado*, and also n. 264).[244] Forms in other Romance languages (e.g. Italian, Catalan, Spanish and Portuguese) were borrowings from Gallo-Romance.[245] The Latin *pignus* (for which in Romance see e.g. Italian *pegno*, Logudorese *pinnus*)[246] survived for a time in southern forms of Gallo-Romance (e.g. Old Provençal *penh*) but has left no trace in northern dialects.[247]

Several times *quare* = 'for' corresponds in some manuscripts to *quia* in others (see 3.3, 34.1, 55, 82, 84). This is a usage which is reflected only in Gallo-Romance (French, Provençal *car*) and Catalan (*car*),[248] though earlier it was more widespread.[249] At this late date the usage may have died out elsewhere.

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[240] See Wormald (1999: 43).   [241] See Wormald (1999: 35).   [242] *MGH, Leg. sect.* I.V.1.

[243] See *FEW* XVII.441–7, *REW* 9474.   [244] See *FEW* XVII.446.

[245] See *FEW* XVII.447, Bloch and von Wartburg (1968: 283–4).

[246] See *REW* 6490, *FEW* VIII.447.   [247] See *FEW* VIII.447.

[248] For good discussions of the word in Latin, Gallo-Romance and Catalan see *FEW* II.2.1421–2, Coromines (1980–2001: II, 541).

[249] For a discussion of the term as it is attested in Latin (from a Pompeian graffito onwards), see E. Löfstedt (1911: 323–5), Herman ([1957] 1990: 291–4).

The Frankish word *fano* ('piece of cloth, rag')[250] occurs at 57.6:[251] *si autem testa trescapulata fuerit, ita ut ceruella appareant, ut medicus cum pinna aut cum <u>fanone</u> ceruella tetigit* ('if the skull has been split open such that the brain appears when the doctor has touched it with a *pinna*[252] or cloth').[253] The word survives only in Gallo-Romance (see *REW* 3185, citing Old French *fanon*; there is a more detailed treatment in *FEW* XV.2.111–12). Lexicographers give the basic meaning as 'piece of stuff',[254] but the reflexes developed a number of specialised meanings.[255] The passage cited has another anticipation of Gallo-Romance (*cerebellum* > *cerebella/ceruella* > French *cervelle*), though reflexes are not exclusive to that region. *Testa* here does not have its typical Gallo-Romance meaning 'head' (cf. *tête*) but preserves the older Latin meaning 'skull'.[256] Nevertheless, the lexicon of the sentence is approaching that of proto-Gallo-Romance. *Fano* is found in the Reichenau glosses (2214 *sudario fanonem*).

At 65.1 there is a use of *troppus* in the sense of *grex*: *si enim in troppo de iumentis illam ductricem aliquis inuolauerit* ('if someone shall steal the dominant mare in a herd of mares [?]').[257] The Frankish **throp* (or *thorp*: on the two forms see *FEW* XVII.399) which lies behind this term is ultimately the origin of French *trop* 'too (much)', which in Old French (and in some patois) also had the sense 'much', = *beaucoup*.[258] The primary sense of the Frankish base-form is given by Bloch and von Wartburg (1968: 653) as 'entassement', i.e. 'piling up, heaping, cramming together' (cf. Eng. *thorp* = 'village', Germ. *Dorf*), but in Gallic medieval Latin it could also designate a flock or herd of animals.[259] This meaning is likely to have been old in Germanic, but it is attested for the first time in our text.[260] *Troppus* alternates in the text with *grex* (67.1 *si quis gregem iumentorum ad pignus tulerit*, 'if anyone shall take on a pledge a herd of horses (?)', 65.2 *alia autem iumenta de grege, quae lactentes sunt*, 'other mares from the herd, which are lactating').

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[250] See Niermeyer (1976: 410) for the meanings, and see below, n. 255.
[251] See further *Leg. Alam.* 81.
[252] Presumably some sort of surgical instrument such as a probe: see the note in Eckhardt's edition, p. 117 n. 1.
[253] This sentence does not seem coherent.
[254] See, in addition to *REW*, *FEW* and Niermeyer, Bloch and von Wartburg (1968: 254).
[255] E.g. French *fanon* 'manipule que le prêtre porte au bras gauche, quand il officie' (*FEW* XV.2:111). Reflexes also denote various types of banner or flag (see *FEW* and also Niermeyer s.v.).
[256] See André (1991: 29).
[257] For an example in another text see Bambeck (1959: 76).
[258] See Bloch and van Wartburg (1968: 653); also *FEW* XVII.395 b.α.
[259] See Niermeyer (1976: 1046).   [260] See *FEW* XVII.399.

The word is dealt with by *FEW* at XVII.395–9 s.v. *thorp*. The meaning found in the law quoted above is represented in Old Provençal *trop*, 'troupeau (surtout de brebis, de porcs)' (*FEW* 395, I.1.a), which might reflect *troppus* directly. There is, however, a doubt hanging over the origin of this Provençal usage (*FEW* 399). Since it is relatively late (fourteenth–fifteenth century), the question arises whether it is a direct survival of the original Germanic usage or a later back-formation from a suffixal derivative (in -*ell*-), which is seen e.g. in Old Provençal *tropel*. Such derivatives exist in medieval Gallo-Romance (from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries) designating 'group of persons' (*FEW* 396, 2.a.α; cf. Bloch and von Wartburg 1968: 653 s.v. *troupeau*),[261] and also 'group of animals' (*FEW* 397, 2a.β; Bloch and von Wartburg loc. cit.).[262] Since it is unlikely that such suffixal formations are derivatives of the adverbial *trop* referred to above, they must be based on an original Germanic substantive **throp* = 'group of men/animals' as seen in Latinised form in *troppus*.[263] Both *troppus* and the suffixal derivative are reflected primarily in Gallo-Romance, but from there they were borrowed into various other Romance languages (see *REW* 8938, Bloch and von Wartburg 1968: 653).[264]

The expression *illam ductricem* in the first passage quoted suggests that the *iumenta* are female, and that is also apparent from other passages, most notably 66, where the *iumentum* is pregnant (*prignum iumentum*); cf. 65.2, quoted above, and 65.3 for further revealing passages.[265] This is the use of *iumentum* = 'mare' characteristic of Gallo-Romance (see above, 4.1).

Ductrix is cited by Niermeyer (1976) in the senses 'wife of a duke, reigning duchess', but in the meaning seen in the above passage (of the leading female in a flock) it may have been a local technical term which did not find its way into Gallo-Romance. Cf. *ducaria* in the same sense in the Salic Law (*Pactus* 2.15 *si quis scrouam ducariam furauerit*); this again is not reflected in Romance.

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[261] *FEW* 396, 2.a.α: French *tropel* 'réunion d'un certain nombre de personnes qui marchent ou agissent de concert, foule', Old Provençal *tropel* 'troupe de soldats', etc., *trobel* 'groupe de personnes'.

[262] *FEW* 397 β: Old French *tropel* 'troupe d'animaux domestiques de la même espèce, qui sont élevés et nourris dans un même lieu'.

[263] See *FEW* 399 col. 2.

[264] These are not the only forms that survive in Romance. Old French *trope* 'groupe de personnes', *c.* 1180 is a back formation from *tropel* (*FEW* 397, 2.b.α). It was borrowed by many European languages (details in *FEW* 399 col. 2). On the other hand northern Italian dialect forms such as Old Lombard *tropo* = 'herd' may have been taken directly from the Lombards (see *FEW* loc. cit.).

[265] At 65.3 *iumenta* does not occur but is understood: *alia autem, quae adhuc praegna non fuerunt* ('others, which have still not been pregnant'). At 63.2–3 *caballus* in the first section is opposed to *iumentum* in the next.

For *in publico mallo* (17.2, 36.2) see above, 4.1, and on *ceruisa* (21) see below, 5.1. *Spicarium* (77.4) was discussed above, 4.1.

At 76.2 (*si enim domus infra curte incenderit aut scuria aut granica*, 'if anyone sets fire to the houses within a court or to a barn or granary') there are two terms of interest, *scuria* (see 4.1) and *granica*. *Granica* must be a substantivised adjective derived from *granum*, of feminine gender because of the ellipse of a feminine noun such as *casa*.[266] It is reflected directly only in Gallo-Romance (e.g. French *grange*; for details see *FEW* IV.225–7, *REW* 3845), but was borrowed from there into some other Romance languages.[267] It has been shown by Aebischer (1948: e.g. 210, 213, 214, 215) that in the medieval period the word was carried from its Gallic place of origin to parts of Italy (Piedmont) and Spain by Cistercians, who had developed model agricultural establishments. Here is a remarkable case of the type of diffusion called 'parachuting' earlier (I.5; see also above, 3.3, p. 297), effected by an identifiable group (for another example of this phenomenon see VIII.3 on *buda*). The etymology of *granica* suggests that it was probably a localised equivalent of *granarium*.

There are other anticipations of Romance in the *Leg. Alam.*, but most are not restricted to Gallo-Romance (e.g. 48 *rauba* 'robe',[268] *genuculum* passim rather than *genu*,[269] *caballus* passim,[270] the use of *minare* at 67.2, of driving or leading a *gregem iumentorum*,[271] 76.1 *sala* (> French *salle*),[272] *neco* = 'drown' (> French *noyer*) twice in 79.[273]

The *Leges Alamannorum* are later (*c*. 700) than the texts that we have been looking at, and they have interesting information about the lexical differentiation of early Romance. In the *Pactus legis Salicae* we saw two regionalisms in the strong sense (*spicarium*, *sutis*), and a scattering of usages that merely gave the text a local colour. Strong regionalisms are rather more prominent in the *Leg. Alam. Fano* as it is used in the text might have been replaced by *sudarium* (see the gloss cited above) or *pannus*, *troppus* is an equivalent of *grex*, and both *spicarium* and *granica* survive only in Gallo-Romance and might have been replaced by various synonyms. *Wadium*, *quare* and *iumentum* 'mare' are all largely confined to Gallo-Romance, and all had Latin synonyms. There are usages shared by Gallo-Romance and other Romance languages, but abnormal (if not non-existent in every case) in classical Latin. The period between the early form of the Salic Law in

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[266] See *FEW* IV.227.   [267] For which see *FEW* IV.227.   [268] Germanic: see *REW* 7090.
[269] See *REW* 3737. For examples see Eckhardt's index p. 163.
[270] See Eckhardt's index p. 161. *Equus* also occurs in the text.
[271] See *REW* 5585.   [272] Germanic: see *REW* 7522.   [273] See *REW* 5869.2.

the sixth century and the beginning of the eighth century was perhaps a crucial one in the crystallising of the lexical features of Gallo-Romance.

4.4 Lex Ribuaria

The *Lex Ribuaria* was an early 'seventh-century text, loosely based on *Lex Salica* itself though with important new matter' (Wormald 1999: 35).[274] Wormald (1999: 43) remarks that it 'aimed to give Austrasian (eastern) Franks their counterpart to a *Lex Salica* now identified as Neustrian'.[275] Rivers (1986: 9) points out that '[m]any of the laws of the *Lex Burgundionum* were the prototype for the *Lex Ribuaria*, perhaps due in part to the presence and influence of Burgundians in the Merovingian court'.

The text has the usual assortment of usages which were to live on in a variety of Romance languages (e.g. 11.3 *fortia* > French *force*, etc.: see *REW* 3455, *FEW* III.728–9), 12.2 *insimul* (-*sem*-) > French *ensemble*, etc.: see *REW* 4465, *FEW* IV.716–17), but also others which are more region-specific. Note 47.1 *si quis . . . in clausura aliena <u>traucum</u> fecerit* ('if anyone . . . shall have made a hole in another's enclosure'). *Traucum* (for which see *REW* 8864, *FEW* XIII.2.228–32), which is of uncertain origin (see *FEW* XIII.2.232), survives in Gallo-Romance (e.g. French *trau*, *treu*, *trou*, Old Provençal *trauc* 'hole'), and also Catalan (a pattern of survival seen before: 2.1).[276] The classical equivalent was *foramen* (cf. too *rima*). *Sunnis* (36) is discussed above (4.1). *Brunia* 'cuirass' (40.11) (*REW* 1339, *FEW* XV.310) is cited by *REW* only from Old French and Provençal (e.g. Old French *broigne* f. 'cuirasse', *FEW*). It is found in the Reichenau glosses (1329 *torax: brunia, pectus Grece*).

4.5 Some conclusions

About thirty words of varying significance have been considered from barbarian law codes. They point to the influence of a Gallic form of Latin. Some are specialised technical terms peculiar to the area but without the synonyms that would establish them as strong regionalisms (e.g. *napina*, *fauaria*, *pisaria*, *lenticlaria*, *mallus*). But even weak regionalisms may make a local variety stand apart.

The strong regionalisms fall into various categories. First, there are one or two Gaulish words, most notably *sutis*, which had a long-established Latin

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[274] On the date see also Rivers (1986: 8–9).
[275] On its association with the eastern Frankish kingdom see Wood (1994: 110, 116).
[276] On the Catalan term and its derivatives see Coromines (1980–2001: VIII, 725–32).

synonym. Second, there are Germanic (Frankish) words which we know from Romance evidence were taken over into the local Latin. Only some of these have a technical look. Both *fano* and *troppus* denoted mundane entities with Latin synonyms. *Vargus* became no more than a substitute for *latro* or *latrunculus*. There was a range of terms for agricultural buildings (*screunia*, *scuria*, *machalum*), some of which might have been replaced by ordinary Latin words such as *horreum* or *granarium*. The remaining Frankish terms (*ambascia*, *wadium*, *brunia*) were more technical, but in some of their uses interchangeable with Latin words. Third, there is a variety of pure Latin words. Some were coinages effected in Gaul itself, to judge by their distribution, namely *spicarium*, *tintinnum*, *ex(s)artum* and *granica*. Two of these are formed by suffixation (cf. the formations in *-aria* in the first paragraph above), one is a substantivisation of an existing participle (for which process cf. *conrogata*), and the fourth (*tintinnum*) shows the reduction of the suffix in an old word. The other pure Latin terms (*malum ingenium*, *quare*) were old usages that once were geographically more widespread, but had fallen out of use elsewhere, possibly over many centuries.

One of the processes leading to regional diversity (that referred to in the last sentence) was the chance fading from use in most, but not all, of the former Empire of usages that had previously had a wider currency. Once a usage such as *quare* had disappeared in most places it became a regionalism where it lived on. Fashions in word choice are usually unpredictable and inexplicable, and I have referred above to 'chance'. The fading of a term in many cases can only be described as a passive 'disappearance', but sometimes it is possible to see that disappearance as caused by the aggressive behaviour of a rival term, reflecting local conditions in some way. It seems on the one hand unlikely that we could ever explain why *quare* = 'for' held on in Gallo-Romance and Catalan but disappeared elsewhere. On the other hand the disappearance of *equa* from northern Gaul might have been caused by a local preference for mares as working animals (*iumenta*), with the result that the term for 'working equid' came to be understood as denoting a mare. But even then *equa* might have lingered on as (for example) a more technical or elevated variant. That it did not cannot be accounted for, as far as I can see.

I referred above to word coinage by suffixation. At all periods words were coined in this way. Just as such coinages might be formed, say, in a medical treatise, so they might be made by a group of farmers in a remote part of the Empire. Coinages effected in isolated regions, whether based on suffixation or some other productive process of word formation, contributed to the regional diversity of the language. It is rarely possible to find a precise motive for a coinage, but local conditions must sometimes have been a

factor. The coining of new words for 'barn' perhaps originally reflected the variety of structures in use in a community, but specialised terms have a habit of being generalised.

The last point has been illustrated from one of the Germanic loan-words, *uargus*. In the law code the word has a precise meaning, of an officially designated outcast from society. Many of the Frankish terms were adopted in laws because they expressed concepts in Frankish society. But once such a term had been taken up by non-Franks who were not au fait with Frankish customs, it was liable to reinterpretation to bring it into line with traditional Gallo-Roman ways of thinking. Thus Sidonius treated *uargus* not as a technical term for an 'outcast' but as an equivalent of the Latin *latrunculus*.

5   SOME TEXTS OF UNCERTAIN PROVENANCE

The first three texts to be considered here (5.1–3) I believe it is possible to locate on linguistic evidence alone (in Gaul). The next two have superficial connections with Gaul, and that is why I discuss them here, but they cannot be assigned a regional origin with any confidence. The question arises why some texts can be placed geographically with fair certainty but others cannot. The answer to this question lies in the nature of the regionalisms that they contain. We will build on the implications of earlier sections and attempt to establish criteria for placing a text.

5.1   Anthimus

A good deal is known about Anthimus, but there remain some uncertainties which are relevant here. He was 'a Greek doctor attached to the court of the Emperor Zeno (A.D. 474–91) who was involved in treasonable relations with the Ostrogothic king Theoderic Strabo in 481' (R. Browning, *OCD*[2]).[277] Browning adds that he 'fled Roman territory and took refuge in Italy at the court of Theodoric the Great [the Ostrogothic king of Italy from 493–526], who later sent him on a diplomatic mission to the Franks'. Anthimus at some time after 511 wrote a short work on dietetics (*De obseruatione ciborum ad Theodoricum regem Francorum epistula*) addressed to Theuderic the Frankish king (511–33), who ruled in the northern kingdom of Rheims (Durocortorum in Gallia Belgica: see map 1).[278] The *terminus post quem* of the work is derived from the date of accession of

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[277] For the evidence on which this statement is based see Liechtenhan (1963: ix).
[278] See Wood (1994: 50).

Theuderic. The claim that Anthimus went on a mission to the Franks is based only on a guess, but a plausible one (see further below). The heading of the text describes Anthimus (in the genitive) as a *uir inlustris comes et legatarius*. As Liechtenhan (1963: x) puts it, why should a *uir legatarius* have addressed a letter to the king of the Franks unless he had been as a *legatus* to the court of the same king? Anthimus was a Greek and not a native speaker of Latin, but the Latin he had acquired might have been influenced by the regional forms of the language that he heard around him in the west. The Latinity of the text is indeed markedly substandard, and it is obvious that he had picked the language up through contact with ordinary speakers rather than in a bookish form. But various questions arise. Is there linguistic evidence to be extracted from the text that Anthimus had indeed been in Gaul? Are there as well or alternatively signs of the influence of Italian Latin?[279] I will argue that there are unmistakable hints that he was familiar with Gallic Latin.[280]

In previous sections (3.3, 3.5) fish names, which tend to vary from place to place (as Rolland 1881 showed for Gallo-Romance dialects), have proved helpful in confirming the place of origin of, or local influences acting on, certain texts known to have been Gallic. Fish names in Anthimus if anything show an even more marked connection with Gaul. A full list of the eleven found in the text is given by Zaunich (1953: 377); seven of these are also in Polemius Silvius (*anguilla*, *esox*, *lucius*, *nauprida*, *perca*, *tecco*, *tructa*), a fact which already suggests the Gallic credentials of Anthimus. I here comment on five distinctive items.

At p. 19.12 Anthimus deals with the fish *cracatius*: *de pisce cracatio caro fortior est* ('of the fish *cracatius* the flesh is stronger'). There are variant readings, such as *cacraucio* and *creatius*. This is the sturgeon, which in classical Latin since the time of Plautus had been called *acipenser*.[281] This last term is said to have survived in Romance only in some dialects of northern Italy.[282] It was replaced in most of the Romance world by the Germanic term *sturio*, which lies behind French *esturgeon* (earlier *sturgun* etc.),[283] as well as e.g. Italian *storione*, Catalan *esturió*, Spanish *esturión*, Portuguese *esturião*, though all these last are probably borrowings from

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[279] See the remarks of Liechtenhan (1963: ix with n. 4).
[280] There is a good discussion of the language of the work by Flobert (1999), who asks much the same questions.
[281] For a discussion of *acipenser* and its meaning see De Saint-Denis (1947: 1–3); also 45–7 on *helops*, which also apparently indicated a type of sturgeon.
[282] See *REW* 129, Ernout and Meillet (1959) s.v., *LEI* I.556–8.
[283] See *FEW* XVII.266, Bloch and von Wartburg (1968: 237).

French.[284] *Cragacus* (thus the form of the etymon given by *FEW* II.2.1266), a word sometimes said to be of Gaulish origin,[285] survives only in the south-western part of Gallo-Romance, particularly on the Atlantic coast. *FEW* cites, for example, Old Provençal *creac*, as well as local reflexes from Bordeaux, Montpellier, Toulouse, Agen and Gers. It also appears in place names, as *Craon < Cracatonnum*. The earliest attested example of the fish name is that in Anthimus. The word was extremely localised, and there were probably other terms in use elsewhere.[286] It had not entered the literary language, and is likely to have been picked up by Anthimus in the region of its currency.

There are two distinctive facts about the term *tecco* (p. 19.10 *tecconis dicuntur esse filii isocum*, '*teccones* are said to be the young of salmon'). First, it occurs also in Polemius Silvius (p. 544.14). Second, it is reflected only in Gallo-Romance (Bas-Limousin, old dialect of Béarn).[287] It has been suggested that the name is of Celtic origin (see *FEW*), but this has not, as far as I am aware, been confirmed.

The *trucantus* is mentioned at p. 19.8: *trucanti illi minuti pisciunculi assi uel frixi apti sunt pro fastidio* ('those tiny little fish *trucanti* baked or roasted are suitable for lack of appetite'). *Trucantus* is the gudgeon (though the word perhaps had a tendency to shift meanings). It is reflected only in Gallo-Romance (*REW* 8941, *FEW* XIII.2.324–5). *FEW* cites e.g. Old Provençal *tregan* = 'goujon', Languedoc *turgan* 'lotte') as well as dialect forms from Toulouse, Tarn, etc.[288] Two other names for 'gudgeon' were seen at 3.5 above (*gobio, gobius*).

Nauprida at p. 19.14 (*naupridas uero nec nominare nec sanis nec infirmis hominibus*, '[one should] not name the lamprey either for the fit or unfit') is probably the lamprey. *Naupreda* (-*prida*) seems to have been an alternative form (unexplained) to *lampreda*. The latter is attested later than the former (from the eighth century).[289] *Lampreda* is widely reflected in Romance,[290] whereas *naupreda* leaves no trace, but the *nau-* form is connected with Gaul. It occurs elsewhere in Polemius Silvius (p. 544.10–11), and there is also an

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[284] See *REW* XVII.266, Bloch and von Wartburg (1968: 237). The term may have entered Gallo-Romance from the Franks, and thence passed on to other languages.

[285] So *FEW*. But it does not appear in Delamarre (2003).

[286] For French dialect names of the sturgeon see Rolland (1881: 93–4).

[287] See *REW* 8608, *FEW* XIII.1.148–9 (citing e.g. the more general Middle French *tacon*, 'jeune saumon', alongside dialect reflexes). Thomas (1906: 194–5) has a lengthy discussion of the word, in which he questions the wholesale identification of the fish as a young salmon and attributes reflexes to the 'patois limousin'. See further Zaunich (1953) on the origin and meaning of the term.

[288] *FEW* divides the reflexes of the word into two groups, distinguished by the nature of the vowel (front versus back) in the first syllable.

[289] See *FEW* V.146–7.   [290] See the last footnote, and also *REW* 4873.

example in a medieval life of St Hermelandus, abbé of Aindre in the diocese of Nantes (died *c.* 720).[291] We saw above (3.5) another possible name for the lamprey (*mustela*); *naupreda* was probably a transitory localised term in Gaul.

Another fish name shared by Anthimus and Polemius Silvius (p. 544.10) is *platensis*: p. 18.15 *platensis uero uel solea unum genus est* ('the *platensis* or sole is one and the same type').[292] This is almost certainly the plaice. Various alternative forms built on a base *plat-* (of obscure origin) with variations of suffix are either attested in Latin or deducible from Romance reflexes, and it is from the Romance terms that one can determine the meaning of the Latin words. *Platessa* occurs once, in an epistle of Ausonius written from Trier to one Theo, who is described as a 'countryman in the Médoc' (XXVII.13.2 Green *paganum Medulis iubeo saluere Theonem*, 'I send greetings to Theon, the countryman in Médoc').[293] In lines 52–62 Ausonius imagines his friend fishing (i.e. in part of Gaul): 59–60 *referuntur ab unda / corroco, letalis trygon mollesque platessae* ('there are withdrawn from the wave the *corroco*, the deadly stingray and tender plaice'). Old French *plaïs* (from which derives the modern *plie* 'plaice') and other Gallo-Romance reflexes must derive not directly from *platessa* but from an unattested *platicem* (with long *i*; nominative **platix*).[294] Another suffixal derivative was **platussa*, which is reflected not only in Occitan (e.g. Languedoc *platuse* 'plaice') but also in Catalan (*platussa*), Spanish (*platuja, platija*) and Portuguese (*patruça*).[295] The meaning therefore of *platensis* seems clear. Since the form with suffix *-ensis* is attested only in Polemius Silvius apart from Anthimus, it would seem to have been an ephemeral term current in (southern parts of) Gaul. *Corroco*, incidentally, in the passage just quoted indicates an unidentified fish,[296] and it too must have been a local term. See also below, 6.7 for another regional term in the epistle.

The five fish names just discussed have collectively an even closer connection with Gaul than the fish names in Ausonius' *Mosella* discussed earlier. The three of the five terms with Romance reflexes survive only in Gallo-Romance (*cracatius, tecco, trucantus*). The two terms that have no Romance reflexes (*naupreda, platensis*) are attested only in Gallic texts (apart from Anthimus). Three of the five words are in Polemius Silvius (*tecco, naupreda, platensis*). All five terms are rare, and all either definitely

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[291] See Thomas (1906: 185).   [292] In the text of Polemius Silvius the word is spelt *placensis*.
[293] See Green (1991: 627).
[294] This view was advanced by Thomas (1906: 187) and accepted by *FEW* IX.42. See too Bloch and von Wartburg (1968: 493). Contrast *REW* 6584.
[295] See *FEW* IX.42.   [296] See Green (1991: 630).

had or would almost certainly have had regional variants. It would seem that Anthimus has accommodated his choice of fish roughly to the locale of the addressee, and in the process used local dialect words. It has to be said that the fish names cannot be pinned down specifically to the area of Rheims. Their reflexes tend to have a southern look to them, but we do not have enough evidence to determine exact dialect boundaries for the Latin period (if they existed), nor do we know where Anthimus picked up his knowledge of these fish. Considered together the names point generally to Gaul.

Also suggestive of Gaul is the item, p. 10.6 *ceruisa bibendo uel medus et aloxinum quam maxime omnibus congruum est ex toto* ('drinking beer or mead and wormwood is thoroughly suitable for everyone'). *Ceruisa* is a Celtic word associated in the Roman period with Gaul and also Britain (see below, 5.3).[297] *Medus* (three times in Anthimus) is a Germanic word surviving in Romance only in northern France.[298] It is rare in Latin. The only other example cited at *TLL* VIII.603.17ff. is in Venantius Fortunatus (*Vita Radeg.* p. 42.22), by whom it is similarly juxtaposed with *ceruisa*. Venantius, as we have seen (2.2), was of Italian origin but moved to Poitiers. Items such as these primarily reflect the culture rather than the language of peoples influenced by the ways of Celts and Germans, but they have a significance in helping to locate a text. The third noun in the sentence quoted above, *aloxinum*, which derives from Gk. λη ξνης,[299] is reflected in only two parts of the Romance world, the Iberian peninsula and (like *medus*) northern Gallo-Romance (e.g. Old French *aloisne*, Old Spanish *alosna*, Spanish *aloja*, Portuguese *losna*).[300] This is wormwood or absinth. 'Absinth' in English may refer either to the plant wormwood or to an infusion of wormwood taken as a drink, and the same is true of Lat. *absinthium* (see *OLD* and below). *Aloxinum* here has the second sense. The word also occurs in the Reichenau glosses (116a *absintio: aloxino*), a glossary which reflects to some extent the proto-Romance of northern Gaul (cf. 4.3, 4.4, 6.1).[301] The word passed into Germanic dialects spoken in areas adjoining northern France.[302] *Aloxinum* differs from the other words discussed above, in that it had a synonym, *absinthium*, which goes back in Latin literature as far as Plautus (< ψνθιον). *Aloxinum* therefore qualifies to be called a dialect term in the strong sense. *Absinthium* is found more widely in Romance, including dialects of southern France, and it was in Gaul in

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[297] See Adams (2003a: 184, 193, 441).　　[298] See *FEW* XVI.545.
[299] See Walde and Hofmann (1938–54: I, 32).　　[300] See *FEW* XXIV.346.
[301] See the judicious discussion of these glosses by Stefenelli (1999) at e.g. 492.
[302] See *FEW* XXIV.346.

complementary distribution with *aloxinum*.[303] Its reflexes rarely, however, have a popular form,[304] and it might have been influenced by a learned tradition deriving from *herbaria*.[305] *Aloxinum* perhaps reached Spain through direct contact with the eastern Mediterranean, but the circumstances by which it came to northern Gaul are obscure. It is attested for the first time in Anthimus, and has the appearance of a late Latin innovation. As a Greek Anthimus might of course himself have transferred *aloxinum* into his second language (in the one passage in which he uses it), and there is even a theory that he was the one responsible for introducing the word to northern Gaul and its dialects.[306]

Anthimus' knowledge of Gallic Latin is also suggested by a comment he makes about hellebore: p. 13.10 *in campis uero qui nascuntur, elleborum herbam, quae Latine dicitur sitri, ipsud manducant* ('those [turtle doves] which are born in the fields eat the plant hellebore, which in Latin is called *sitri*').[307] *Sitri* is not a Latin word at all but is of Germanic origin: it turns up, for example, as Old English *settergrasse* and in Old High German glosses (e.g. *sittrwrz elleborum*).[308] But Anthimus must have heard the word used in Latin, and he interpreted it as the native Latin equivalent of the Greek *elleborus*. *Siterus* (*sitrus*) is absent from literature, and Anthimus could only have known it from speech. It survives as a French dialectal word for hellebore only in the south-west (*sidré*, *séré*, *siuré*, *séire*, *sétru*),[309] and the comment again implies Anthimus' acquaintance with a specific part of Gaul.

Various other Germanic terms are embedded without comment in the text (*brado*, *bridum*, *melca*, *sodinga*),[310] and these must have been current in local forms of Latin in contact with forms of Germanic, but it is not always easy to know whether Anthimus had heard them used by Franks or by Ostrogoths. However, *brado* (p. 8.11) 'piece of meat' is regarded as Frankish, and is reflected in Gallo-Romance as e.g. Old French *braon*, 'morceau de viande propre à être rôti'.[311] The term seems to have been brought to Gaul by the Franks and borrowed from there into various other languages.[312] Here is another sign of Anthimus' contact with Gallic Latin. On the other hand for his knowledge of a Gothic term no doubt acquired in northern Italy see VII.11.3.2.20.

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[303] See *FEW* XXIV.53. See also *REW* 44, and for Italy *LEI* I.173–7.
[304] See Bloch and von Wartburg (1968: 4).   [305] See *LEI* I. 177.
[306] See *FEW* I.75, Bloch and von Wartburg (1968: 4), but against *FEW* XXIV.346.
[307] The use of *ipsud* here is not straightforward, and I have not translated it.
[308] See André (1954a: 177).   [309] See André (1954a: 177), citing Séguy (1953: 236).
[310] See Flobert (1999: 27), Adams (2003a: 449), and for further details Klein (1953).
[311] See *FEW* XV.234.   [312] See *FEW* XV.234–5.

On Anthimus' use of *pullus* see below, 5.5.6.

Anthimus was not a native speaker of Latin, but it is clear that he knew Gaul and local forms of Latin spoken there. He moved in areas in which spoken Latin had a Germanic element, though that might have been in either Gaul, or Italy under the Ostrogoths, or both. The fish names are an indication of his familiarity with Gaul, as are *sitri*, *medus* and possibly *aloxinum* (the last is problematic: see above). I use the vague term 'Gaul' deliberately, because the Romance data convey mixed information about the parts of Gaul with which Anthimus might have been familiar. There are several items with a northern look to them (*medus*, *aloxinum*), and others (notably the fish names) with a southern (also *sitri*, but as a Germanic word it might first have come into Latin in the north). But Romance evidence can only be pushed so far in supporting a case for the provenance of a text. It cannot be assumed that the distribution of a term was exactly the same in the Latin period as it was to become later. The text cannot be linked specifically to Rheims in the north.

The evidence discussed here fits the criterion repeatedly stressed for identifying regionalisms, in that virtually none of the words was in use in the literary language and all are very rare in extant Latin. Again we see the influence of language contact on regional Latin (apart from the Germanic loans, one or two of the fish names are likely to have been Celtic, though decisive evidence is lacking). The conjecture that Anthimus had been a *legatus* to Gaul is supported by the linguistic evidence. His case, however, is a salutary one, in that it shows the hazards of attempting to categorise a writer on linguistic evidence as coming from a particular region. We happen to know that Anthimus was not a Gaul at all, but a Greek from the east. His use of Gallic lexical items reflects the time he spent in Gaul as an outsider, and is not evidence for his origin. I stress finally how similar the evidence used in this section is to that used in some earlier sections (those on Polemius and Ausonius).

5.2 Eucheria

There is a neglected[313] poem in the *Latin Anthology* (390) by a poetess Eucheria, possibly to be dated to the fifth century,[314] which contains a long series of adynata.[315] The poem (or author) can confidently be attributed to Gaul on linguistic grounds. There are two decisive pieces of evidence, only

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[313] But see Markovich and Georgiadou (1988), Smolak (1998).
[314] See Markovich and Georgiadou (1988: 172), Smolak (1998: 215).
[315] These form the main subject of the article of Markovich and Georgiadou (1988).

one of which seems to have found its way into discussions of the origin of the piece. *Cauannus* at 29 (*tristis perspicua sit cum perdice cauannus*, 'let the grim owl join with the fine partridge') was a Gallic Latin word for 'owl', of Gaulish origin (IV.3.3.2). The other, neglected, item is at 17 (*auratam craxantus amet*, 'let the toad love the gilt-head'). *Craxantus*, also of Gaulish origin,[316] meant 'toad'. It had no place in literature, and is cited by *TLL* IV.1101.26ff. s.v. *crassantus* only from this passage. The word survives only in southern Gallo-Romance (Old Provençal *graissan*, *graichan*, *graisan* = 'toad'),[317] and possibly Old Catalan (a familiar distribution), but there with a change of meaning.[318] In earlier Latin *rana rubeta* indicated a type of toad, and *bufo* at Virg. *Georg.* 1.184 is also usually said to mean 'toad' (see VII.3.3).[319] Romance languages have a variety of words for 'toad', some of them of uncertain origin (French *crapaud*,[320] Italian *rospo*,[321] *botta*,[322] Spanish, Portuguese *sapo* < **sappus*[323]). *Craxantus* was thus a localised word, with numerous alternatives elsewhere. There are also some personal names of the same root found in inscriptions from significant places. *Craxsantus* is a slave name at *CIL* III.4815, from Noricum (see above, 2.2, for another substrate loan-word in an inscription from this area), and *CIL* XIII.1318, from the locality of Mauvières (Indre) in the territory of the Bituriges, has the expression *Atrectus Craxanti fil*. Again we see the significance of those late loan-words that virtually never entered the literary language in helping to establish the provenance of a text.

The poem of Eucheria has a few other interesting, but indecisive, lexical items, which nevertheless show her willingness to draw on the spoken language in her adynata. At 18 she uses *tructa* 'trout', which, as we have seen, goes into Gallo-Romance but also other Romance languages (see above, 3.5). And at 5 (*nobilis horribili iungatur purpura burrae*, 'let noble purple be joined to a rough rag') *burra* indicates a rough shaggy cloth. *Burra* (for which see *REW* 1411, *FEW* I.637–45) survives in Gallo-Romance (French *bourre* 'stuffing', but with a wide range of specialised meanings, for which see *FEW*),[324] but not only there (cf. e.g. Italian *borra* 'stuff, stuffing', etc., Spanish *borra*). The word is very rare in extant Latin, but there is a

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[316] See Delamarre (2003: 129).   [317] See *REW* 2304b, *FEW* II.2.1295–6, Thomas (1927: 53).

[318] See *FEW* II.2.1295, citing Catalan *grešandu*, which is said to mean 'tadpole'. See also Thomas (1927: 56), citing a form *grexant*, which is said to mean 'têtard', i.e. 'tadpole'.

[319] But see the doubts expressed by Mynors (1990: 42).

[320] See Bloch and von Wartburg (1968: 167).   [321] See Cortelazzo and Zolli (1999: 1412).

[322] See *REW* 1239a.1, Cortelazzo and Zolli (1999: 238).

[323] See *REW* 7593, Corominas (1967: 524).

[324] See Bloch and von Wartburg (1968: 83), giving the meaning of the root as 'étoffe grossière à longs poils'.

metaphorical use in Ausonius (I.4.5 Green), applied humorously to the content of his 'charmless and rough little book' (*illepidum rudem libellum*). The reflexes in Italian and Spanish (*borra*) can both be similarly used of 'mere padding, waffle'.

5.3 A school exercise

A school exercise published by Dionisotti (1982) has been plausibly attributed to Bordeaux on the grounds partly of the occurrence in it of the Celtic terms *bracis* and *ceruisia*.[325] Pliny (*Nat.* 18.62) ascribes *bracis* to the 'Gauls', and *ceruesia* (22.164) to 'Gaul and other provinces'. It is likely that a text with two such words comes from one of the Celtic provinces, but one can only place it so precisely on the basis of additional clues (there was a strong school tradition in Bordeaux which might have produced such a text). Both of these Celtic terms and some derivatives (*ceruesarius*, *braciarius*, *braciarium*) also turn up frequently in the Vindolanda writing tablets.[326] The attestation of the words in Gaul[327] and in Britain shows again the close linguistic connection between the two provinces (see above, 3.6, 4.2, and below, IX.7).

The three texts just discussed (5.1–3) were definitely either written in Gaul or influenced by Gallic Latin. I now turn by contrast to two texts the connection of which with Gaul or indeed any other province will turn out to be far less certain, the *Actus Petri cum Simone* and the *Peregrinatio Aetheriae*. The first, as far as I know, has never been associated with Gaul, but the second has attracted much discussion for both its alleged 'Gallicisms' and 'Hispanisms'. The second might have been dealt with in another chapter, as the text has Spanish credentials as strong as its Gallic, but I place the discussion here because of the methodological issue that it raises. The discussion that follows will express scepticism about our ability to determine the precise origin of either text (particularly the first: on the second see also XI.3.7.1), but I have felt justified in dwelling on both to establish a methodological point, namely that certain types of lexical evidence may be indicative of the geographical origin of a text, but that other types, not infrequently used in the literature, tell us little or nothing.

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[325] See Dionisotti (1982: 123); followed by Adams (2003a: 441).

[326] See Bowman and Thomas (1994: 397, 398 s.vv., 2003: 178, 179), Adams (1995a: 127–8, 2003b: 562–3).

[327] On Pliny's evidence; see also above, 5.1 on *ceruisa* in Anthimus and Venantius Fortunatus, and Adams (2003a: 193) on Marcellus. Note too the name *Ceruesa* at La Graufesenque (see Marichal 1988: 265), and for another example see Lambert (2002: 151).

5.4   Actus Petri cum Simone

The *Actus Petri cum Simone* (for which see Lipsius 1891) is transmitted in a manuscript of the seventh century,[328] which may have been transcribed from an archetype in cursive script of the fifth or sixth century.[329] The work is a translation of a Greek original now largely lost.[330] Lipsius (1891: xxxvi) dates the Latin version itself to the fifth or sixth century. It is impossible to establish either the place where the Latin translation was done or the geographical origin of the translator. There are, however, one or two items suggestive of the western parts of the Roman world, but their significance tends to be undermined by the methodological considerations first raised in the introduction to this chapter (where an occurrence of *sarcophagus* in the text was discussed).

The *Actus* seems to be the only text extant in which the elliptical *ab oculis* occurs in the sense 'blind' (see *TLL* IX.2.444.27f.). It is used three times in the work (e.g. p. 69.7 *solae illae uiduae stabant, quae erant ab oculis*, 'only those widows, who were blind, were standing'; see further Lipsius 1891: xlv, and below).

Ab oculis has been decisively explained by Rohlfs (1954a: 34–5, 1954b) as deriving by abbreviation from *orbus ab oculis*. It is reflected only in Gallo-Romance (*aveugle*), with a borrowing therefrom in Old Italian (*avocolo*) (map 9).[331] The other part of the syntagm, *orbus*, is also reflected in Romance (see below). There have been various other attempts to explain the phrase. The idea that it is calqued on π' μμτων will not do,[332] because it leaves unexplained the Greek expression. It does not help to assert, as is sometimes done, that one or the other expression originated in the language of doctors. In neither Greek nor Latin would the preposition be expected to have the meaning 'without'. The two late examples of *ab* (from Corippus and Dracontius) cited at *TLL* I.40.74–6 and glossed with *absque* and *sine* are not parallels for such a usage, though it is stated on this flimsy basis at *FEW* XXIV.37 that in the fifth century *ab* is attested with the meaning 'without'.[333] The Greek expression is probably calqued on the Latin, given that *ab oculis* is explicable within Latin itself. Löfstedt's rejection (1959: 101 n. 7) of Rohlfs' explanation on the grounds that *orbus ab oculis* is not attested in late Latin is special pleading. Equivalent phrases are not uncommon, such as Plin. *Nat.* 9.142 *luminibus orbum* and Ovid

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[328] See Lipsius (1891: xxxiii).   [329] See Lipsius (1891: xxxvi).
[330] But see Lipsius (1891: 78–102) for a Greek fragment corresponding to chapters 30–41 of the Latin (themselves to some extent fragmentary).
[331] For this last see *REW* 33.   [332] For which see e.g. E. Löfstedt (1956: II, 376–7, 1959: 101).
[333] See further Deutschmann (1947–8: 107–8).

Met. 3.517–18 *luminis huius / orbus* (see *TLL* IX.2.927.68ff. for further parallels), and *orbus* itself is often used in reference to blindness (*TLL* IX.2.927.74ff.), as are its derivative *orbitas* (*TLL* IX.2.923.14ff.), and numerous reflexes in Romance (e.g. Italian *orbo*: see *REW* 6086; map 9).[334]

Since the usage was innovatory and without any place in the literary language, it is possible that the writer (i.e. the translator of the original Greek work) had picked it up in the Gallic region, though more evidence pointing in the same direction would be needed to permit the localisation of the translation. Another reservation suggests itself. Could it be that the translator had before him in the Greek version the expression π' μμτων? The Greek expression must originally have been calqued on the Latin if one accepts Rohlfs' explanation, but it might still have been used in the Greek version of the *Actus* and copied directly by the translator. The translation has some crude translationese, such as the genitive absolute *omnium stupentium* at 9.

There is a Gaulish text containing the term *exsops* (the tablet from Chamalières: see Lambert 2002: 269–80, L-100, with the discussion at 279), which Lejeune and Marichal (1976–7) interpreted as having a privative prefix *eks-* (cf. *ex-obnos* 'without fear') and as meaning 'without eye', i.e. 'blind'.[335] Later Watkins ([1983] 1994: II, 691–9) associated **aboculus* with *exsops*, suggesting that the Romance form was a calque on the Gaulish. If this were accepted the Gallic credentials of *ab oculis* would be immeasurably strengthened, as would the case that the *Actus* was a Gallic text. I do not, however, believe that this equation is convincing, and will explain why below. Watkins (692) reviews various explanations of *aboculus*, rejecting them all, but does not mention that of Rohlfs above. Curiously, he puts forward (692) an interpretation of *ab oculis* as it is used in the *Actus*, which, if it were accepted, would have the paradoxical consequence of reinforcing Rohlfs' explanation of *ab oculis*. Watkins states that *uiduae ab oculis* does not mean 'blind widows', but 'bereft of eyes'. Such an expression would be identical to the posited *orbus ab oculis*, and would suggest inexorably that *ab oculis* originated from an abbreviation of some such phrase. But this interpretation of the Latin cannot stand. It is true that the first example of *ab oculis* in the text could be taken in this way: p. 66.22–3 *uidens unam de senioribus uiduam ab oculis* ('seeing one of the older people, a widow without eyes'). Considered in isolation the passage might be translated thus: 'one of the older women, bereft of eyes'. But there are two other examples of

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[334] See further E. Löfstedt (1956: II, 374–5), Adams (1992: 2).
[335] See the discussion of Delamarre (2003: 170–1).

ab oculis a few pages later in the text, and although the widows (*uiduae*) are still present *ab oculis* is independent of *uiduae* and cannot be attached to it. That is obviously the case in the passage quoted in the second paragraph of this section, where *uiduae* and *ab oculis* are in different clauses, and *ab oculis* is used adjectivally as predicate with the verb 'to be' ('were *ab oculis*, blind'). The third example is at p. 68.17–18: *subito de senioribus uiduae Petro ignorante sedentes ab oculis non credentes, exclamauerunt* ('suddenly some widows among the old people, who were sitting, unknown to Peter, without sight or belief, cried out'). *Ab oculis* is separated from *uiduae* and cannot be taken as anything other than an independent adjectival phrase meaning 'blind'. At *TLL* IX.2.444.27f. these instances of *ab oculis* are correctly interpreted.

There are various reasons why *ab oculis* should not be regarded as a calque on the Celtic. First, *exsops* (if it has been correctly explained by Celticists as meaning 'blind') if calqued into Latin would have produced *exoculus not *aboculus. Second, any explanation of French *aveugle* must start from such Latin evidence as there is, and that evidence consists not of a compound word such as *aboculus* but of the phrase *ab oculis*. This must be accounted for as the prepositional phrase that it unambiguously is. The derivation from *orbus ab oculis* explains this phrasal character, whereas that from *exsops* does not. If *aveugle* is to be derived from a compound *aboculus, that compound would have been a secondary development from the earlier prepositional expression. Third, *ab oculis* is attested very late, at a time when Gaulish influence is unlikely, and in any case calques in Latin based on Gaulish terms do not, as far as I am aware, exist. Latin has calques on Greek, a language which always had prestige among Romans, but calques on the disregarded vernacular languages of the Empire are far more difficult to find. I conclude that any connection between *aveugle* and Gaulish *exsops* is unproven, and that the presence of *ab oculis* in the *Actus* cannot establish its provenance. The case for a Gallic origin becomes even weaker if it is allowed that the translator might have been rendering πʼ μμτων.

Loco in a temporal sense (= *statim*) is a late usage:[336] p. 57.6 *et loco currens canis introiuit* ('and the dog at once ran and went in'). It is reflected in this meaning exclusively in the west (Old French *lues*,[337] Old Provençal *lo*, Spanish *luego* and Portuguese *logo*).[338] In late Latin texts it is not common (see *TLL* VII.2.1600.24ff.), but though it is found in another Gallic writer (Gregory of Tours *Hist. Franc.* 3.21) there are examples in writers from outside the regions of its reflexes (e.g. Augustine). That suggests that it

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[336] Discussed by E. Löfstedt (1956: I, 284–5), with pertinent negative conclusions about its significance for the problem of regional diversification.
[337] See Tobler and Lommatzsch (1925–: V, 707) s.v. *luès*.   [338] See *FEW* V.391.

might once have been more widespread in Latin than its Romance outcome would imply.

At p. 67.15 *exorbare* is used in the sense 'to blind': *qui me putaui <u>exorbatum</u> ab splendore eius. et pusillum respirans dixi intra me: 'forsitan dominus meus uoluit me hic adducere, ut me orbaret'* ('I thought that I had been blinded by his brightness. Recovering a little I said to myself: "Perhaps my Lord wanted to bring me here to blind me."'). The verb, a compound of *orbo*, which is found in the same passage (for the formation, cf. the commonplace *excaeco*; *ex-* emphasises the removal of the sight, an idea which is more graphically present in the older compound *exoculare*), is, like *ab oculis*, unique (in this meaning) in extant Latin to this text (see *TLL* V.2.1554.43ff.). But the pattern of survival of the usage in Romance does not establish anything. It is indeed reflected in Gallo-Romance and Catalan (and also Valencia), a distinctive western pattern, but also in scattered Italian dialects and Engadine and in Sicily.[339]

Refugium (p. 55.2) survives only in Gallo-Romance (*REW* 7161, *FEW* X.198). It is, however, found in Augustan and post-Augustan literature, and it is impossible to know whether the writer knew it from the literary tradition or from Gaul. The prepositional use of *retro* (see p. 73.1 *stans retro turbam*) is well represented in Old French (see Tobler and Lommatzsch 1925–: VIII, 1288 s.v. *rier, riere*; also *FEW* X.345). *Retro* itself (as distinct from its derivatives) lives on otherwise only in Old and modern Spanish and in Provençal (see *REW* 7269, *FEW* X.346). *Retro* + acc. appears first in Apuleius (*Met.* 6.8) and sometimes in later Latin,[340] and again its presence in the *Actus* is not decisive. At p. 85.6 (*qui eum tollerent in grauato extra Romam Aricia*, 'who might carry him on a bed from Rome to Aricia') the last expression translates πò 'ρώμης ες Ἀρικαν (the Greek is extant at this point): thus *extra* = π. *Extra* receded in late Latin before *foras/-is*, surviving only in Gallo-Romance and Old Spanish (*gestra*),[341] but again it had once been so common in literary texts that its presence here reveals nothing on its own.

The linguistic evidence is not inconsistent with western composition of the translation, but it does not establish the origin of the work or its writer. The most interesting item (*ab oculis*) turns out not to have clear-cut Gallic credentials. Moreover if *ab oculis* was indeed calqued into Greek, such a calque is more likely to have been made in Italy or an eastern province than in Gaul, and that would mean that the expression had once been current

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[339] See *FEW* III.301; also *REW* 3026, which cites reflexes only from Sicily, Old French, Provençal and Catalan.

[340] See Hofmann and Szantyr (1965: 247). [341] See *FEW* III.330–1.

beyond Gaul. Most of the usages discussed might have been widespread in Latin, and most could have been picked up from literary texts wherever the translation was done. Those usages not falling into this category do not have outcomes sufficiently restricted in Romance to be helpful. It is noticeable that there are no loan-words either from a Germanic language or from Celtic (we have ruled out the possible calque) of the types noted in other sections, and this lack can be seen as a factor undermining the attempt to identify the origin of the Latin text or its author. Out of the way loan-words from non-literary languages have emerged as the best evidence for the provenance of a text. I have dwelt on this case to make the point made in the opening section, that only rare innovatory usages reflected in very restricted parts of the Romance world can be used to argue for the origin of a text or of its writer.

5.5   Peregrinatio Aetheriae

The *Peregrinatio* recounts the pilgrimage of a nun Aetheria (or Egeria) to certain eastern holy places. The *terminus post quem* of the text is AD 363. At 20.12 the writer reveals that the Romans no longer had access to Nisibis and its environs, which in that year had been handed over to the Persians by Jovian: *sed modo ibi accessus Romanorum non est, totum enim illud Persae tenent* ('but now there is no access to that area [Nisibis has just been named] for the Romans, as the whole area is held by the Persians'). *Modo* suggests that the current state of affairs had only recently been established. The *terminus ante quem* is put on various grounds at about the middle of the fifth century.[342] It is believed that the pilgrimage took place towards the end of the fourth century, probably in the 380s.[343] Aetheria was almost certainly from the western Empire. At 19.5 she describes herself as being addressed by a bishop at Edessa, who refers to the great labour she has imposed on herself in coming 'to these places' *de extremis porro terris*. She is able to make a comparison between the Euphrates and the Rhone: 18.2 *ita enim (Eufrates) decurrit habens impetum, sicut habet fluuius Rodanus, nisi quod adhuc maior est Eufrates* ('for the Euphrates runs down with the force of the river Rhone, except that the Euphrates is even greater'). The question usually posed is whether Aetheria came from Gaul or Spain.

At the start of this chapter the negative views of E. Löfstedt about the possibility of assigning a 'country' of origin to Aetheria were quoted. More recently Väänänen (1987: 153–7) devoted a short chapter to the question,

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[342] See Petré (1948: 14).   [343] See the discussion of Wilkinson (1999: 169–71).

in which he listed first the supposed 'hispanismes' in the text and then the 'gallicismes'. He inclined (1987: 156) to the view that Aetheria was of Iberian origin,[344] and was therefore moved to ask why there should also be 'Gallicisms' in the text (1987: 156–7). His answer was that Aetheria might have spent time in Aquitaine.

There are deficiencies of method in Väänänen's discussion. I take the matter up here, not to argue either for Spain or Gaul as Aetheria's *patria*, but to demonstrate why certain types of argument and evidence cannot be used in addressing the question that is the subject of this chapter.

Two obvious points may be made. It is a mistake to assume that lexical evidence of the fourth century might in theory enable one to assign a text to a particular 'country' in the modern sense (in this case Gaul or Spain), and then to treat it as a problem if the evidence happens to point ambiguously to two different (but adjacent) countries. We have seen throughout this chapter that in lexical choice Gallo-Romance (or parts thereof) often agrees with Ibero-Romance (or parts thereof). The point has been made, for example, that southern Gallo-Romance and Catalan often stand together. We should count ourselves lucky if the lexical choice of a text points to its origin in an area that merely crosses the divide between two modern countries, and not lament that the evidence does not establish the author as, say, Gallic rather than Spanish. There is a second, related, point which is more relevant here. The lexicon of the Romance regions had scarcely been established firmly by the fourth century. A term that was to survive, say, only in Spanish might still have been current in, say, Provence as well in the fourth century, before the phenomenon I have called 'shrinkage' took place. If it could be proved that a fourth-century text such as the *Peregrinatio Aetheriae* had a significant cluster of both 'Gallicisms' and 'Hispanisms' (in the modern sense), we should not put forward hypotheses to explain the apparent inconsistency of the evidence, suggesting, for example, that the writer lived at different times in both places. The evidence, if it satisfied the criteria used in this chapter in identifying regionalisms, could be taken to suggest that the writer came from somewhere within a fairly extensive western region which did not match exactly the territory of a single modern country, or that he was familiar with such a region without being native

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[344] It is not completely clear how he arrived at this conclusion, but it is possible, given the remarks he makes at the top of p. 154, that he was influenced by the external evidence supposedly provided by a seventh-century monk from Galicia, one Valerius, which is discussed (e.g.) by Petré (1948: 8–9). I refrain from going into this material here. See also Tovar (1964: 130–1), listing 'Spanish' elements in the text, most of which do not stand up to examination.

to it (cf. Anthimus). On lexical areas that span different countries, see also XI.3.7 and especially 3.7.1.

But a more important question has to be put in relation to the *Peregrinatio*. Do the Gallicisms and Hispanisms (as listed by Väänänen) bear scrutiny? In almost every case they fail to meet the criteria we have been using to identify regional usages. Väänänen (1987: 154–6) lists seven 'hispanismes' and three 'gallicismes'. I start with the Hispanisms.

5.5.1   tam magnus

Tam magnus (for *tantus*) survives in Ibero-Romance (Spanish *tamaño*, Portuguese *tamanho*, Old Catalan *tamany*), and is classified by Väänänen (1987: 154) as a Hispanism in the *Peregrinatio*. It occurs three times in the text, compared with twenty-two examples of *tantus*.[345] Väänänen's case would only be worthy of consideration if the expression were virtually unattested in earlier Latin and confined to Spanish texts in the late period. It is not uncommon earlier.

A word search reveals the following distribution (list not complete, but the texts omitted offer few examples):

Plautus 1
Cicero 7
Catullus 1
B. Afr. 1
Vitruvius 8
Seneca the Elder 9
Seneca the Younger 39 (37 in prose works)
Columella 1
Lucan 6
Martial 4
Quint. *Decl. m.* 4
Tacitus 4
Pliny the Younger 4
Petronius 9
Suetonius 3
Apuleius 5

Tam magnus is not, however, always interchangeable with *tantus*. I mention here some of the factors that might have caused a writer to use *tam magnus* rather than *tantus*. *Magnus* is used if it is coordinated or associated with another adjective which is modified by *tam*, as e.g. at Cic. *Verr.* 5.26 *tam magna ac turbulenta tempestate* (rather than *tanta ac tam turbulenta*).

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[345] See van Oorde (1929: 125, 202).

Many of the examples of *tam magnus* at all periods fall into this category. Second, in the *tam . . . quam* construction *magnus* is used. Third, there may be contextual factors motivating the choice of *tam magnus*, as when *magnus* is part of a set phrase. Plautus at *Cas.* 430 (*opere tam magno*) keeps *magno* because it forms a unit with *opere*. Similarly *magnus animus* is a unit, and hence Cic. *Tusc.* 1.100 *quis tam magno animo fuerit* (cf. *Att.* 8.11.1, Sen. *Dial.* 1.2.12, 6.16.4, 6.26.3). *Magnus* is also retained when it is in a contrast or play on words with *paruus* or one of its synonyms, or with *maior* (see e.g. Cic. *Fam.* 5.11.2 *tam magnam . . . tam paruam*, Lucr. 6.490 and Ovid *Met.* 12.615, opposed to *paruus*, Stat. *Silv.* 4.6.43, opposed to *breuis*, Sen. *Dial.* 11.14.1, opposed to *maiora*). With the verb *aestimo* 'value' *tam magno* is used (Plin. *Pan.* 37.5, Suet. *Cal.* 39.2).

   If examples falling into these categories are eliminated, the number of attestations diminishes, and it would diminish further if we examined contexts more closely and were able to identify other determinants of its use. I set out below a revised list, eliminating those cases where it seems to me that writers had a special reason for using *tam magnus*. The figures are rough and ready:

Plautus 0
Cicero 1
Catullus 1
B. Afr. 1
Vitruvius 6
Seneca the Elder 3
Seneca the Younger 27 (26 in prose works)
Columella 0
Lucan 4
Martial 3
Quint. *Decl. m.* 3
Tacitus 4
Pliny the Younger 2
Petronius 5
Suetonius 0
Apuleius 4

   What stands out here is the frequency of the phrase in Seneca the Younger's prose works. Could it be significant that he was a Spaniard? In one place (*Dial.* 7.2.4) *tam magnus* is in correlation with *quam magnus*, an oddity in that *tantus/quantus* is the expected correlation. There is a similar construction in Martial (another Spaniard, though that is not relevant to the particular example, which is motivated): 6.36.1 *mentula tam magna est*

quantus tibi, Papyle, nasus. Here there was a special reason for the choice of *magna*, quite apart from metrical considerations: for the alliteration in such a context, cf. Catull. 115.8 *mentula magna minax*. Vitruvius has the same correlation: 4.3.9 *sic est forma facienda, ita uti quam magnum est interuallum striae, tam magnis [striaturae] paribus lateribus quadratum describatur*, 10.6.1 *et quam magna pars sit octaua circinationis tigni, tam magna spatia decidantur in longitudinem*. The origin of Vitruvius is unknown, but he often admitted non-standard usages.

Also of note are the examples in the Spanish poet Lucan (3.83, 5.189, 5.365, 9.551; cf. 5.656, 7.297, where the expression is motivated). Lucan's use of the phrase is out of keeping with the norms of high poetry. Virgil offers no examples. Ovid has only one (*Met.* 12.615), but it is motivated (see above). Statius has two examples, one apparently unmotivated (*Silv.* 5.1.112), the other (*Theb.* 5.534) opposed to *paruus*, and Valerius Flaccus one (7.13). Seneca restricts the usage largely to the prose works (but see *Troad.* 475).

It is impossible to know whether the usage was particularly common in Spain. It was not in favour in the high literary language. Three of the four Tacitean examples are in the minor works (Tac. *Agr.* 18.6, *Germ.* 37.1, *Dial.* 1.2), and the example in the *Annals* (11.36.2) is in a speech (indirect), and possibly not interchangeable with *tantus*. Vitruvius, who has more cases than most, was not a purist. Neither were the author of the *B. Afr.* or Catullus in the shorter poems. *Tam magnus* was not barred from literary language but was frowned on by some.

For an example in a non-literary letter, see *P. Oxy.* 44.3208 (*CEL* 10) line 7 *qui de tam pusilla summa tam magnum lucrum facit*. Here the contrast *tam pusilla/tam magnum* requires the repetition of *tam*. There is also a case in a letter of Claudius Terentianus, writing in Egypt in the early second century AD (*P. Mich.* VIII.471.27).

The word search reported above did not cover late Latin, but that does not matter. It is obvious that the expression had long had a limited currency. There is just a hint that it might have been in favour in Spain, but no more than that, and it was certainly used as well by writers from other parts of the Empire. We cannot determine from such evidence whether *tam magnus* was restricted to Spain when Aetheria wrote, or where she had picked up the expression. Moreover she hardly uses it, preferring *tantus*. It is also arguably the case that we should be treating *tam magnus* (in the *Peregrinatio*) not as a fossilised unit picked up en bloc in a particular region, but as manifesting the use of *tam* + positive adjective as a superlative

equivalent (= *maximus*), a well attested, and possibly colloquial, usage.[346]
In this function *tam* combines with any adjective and not merely with
magnus, and it is used in other collocations by Aetheria herself.

5.5.2 secunda feria, *etc.*

There are numerous phrases in the text comprising *feria* + ordinal adjective
designating days of the week (*secunda*, *tertia*, *quarta*, *quinta* and *sexta* +
feria are all represented).[347] These are substitutes for the earlier designations
based on names of pagan deities (*Lunae*, *Martis* etc. + *dies*). 'Sunday' was
indicated by *dies dominica* (also common in the work), *secunda feria* meant
'Monday', and so on. The circumlocutions with *feria* survive in Romance
only in Portuguese (contrast e.g. French *lundi*, *mardi* etc.), with remnants
in Galicia and León (map 10),[348] and are accordingly treated by Väänänen
as Hispanisms. He cites (1987: 154 n. 406) as a parallel an inscription
from north-western Spain dated AD 618 containing *secunda feria*: Vives
(1969), 183 *hic requiescit Remisnuera in kal. Maias era DC quinquagis VI,*
die secunda feria in pace.

But the expressions were not restricted to such a limited area in the
Latin period. The pagan names for days of the week were stigmatised by
the Church fathers, who were behind an attempt to introduce the cir-
cumlocutions with *feria*, and not only in the Iberian peninsula. Before the
Romance lexicon became established the circumlocutions had far wider
currency than they were to maintain in the long run (see the material at
TLL VI.1.506.22ff.), and it is unacceptable to argue for the Iberian origin
of a fourth-century text on the strength of a usage which at that date was
scattered about in the western provinces. A classic shrinkage in the geo-
graphical spread of the circumlocutions took place at some time between
late Latin and Romance. Long after the time of Aetheria such expressions
are still easy to find in (e.g.) Gaul. A century or so later we find Caesarius
of Arles attempting to impose the circumlocutions in his own region of
Provence (*Serm*. 193.4, *CC* 104, p. 785 *ipsa sordidissima nomina dedigne-*
mur et ore proferre, et nunquam dicamus diem Martis, diem Mercurii, diem
Iouis; sed primam et secundam uel tertiam feriam, secundum quod scriptum
est, nominemus, 'let us disdain even to utter these sordid names: let us never

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[346] See van Oorde (1929: 201) s.v. *tam*, I for comparable examples. See further Krebs and Schmalz
(1905: II, 640–1), Svennung (1935: 403), Adams (1977a: 56), Eusebius of Vercelli, *CC* 9, index
p. 475. For an example in a freedman's speech see Petron. 42.3. Note too *O. Wâdi Fawâkhir* 2.4
tan cito.

[347] See van Oorde (1929: 81).   [348] See *REW* 3250, Väänänen (1987: 154).

say *dies Martis*, *dies Mercurii*, *dies Iouis*; instead let us name [the days of the week] "first, second or third *feria*", in accordance with what has been written'; cf. *Serm.* 52.2, *CC* 103, p. 230). *Quinta feria* occurs in the *Vita Radeg.* of Venantius Fortunatus, bishop of Poitiers (p. 44.22). Cassian of Marseille at much the same period used names of the same type (*Inst.* 5.24, *CSEL* 17, p. 102 *absque legitimis quartae sextaeque feriae*). Aurelianus of Arles (mid-sixth century), a bishop who founded a monastery in the city (*Reg. mon.*, *PL* 68, 395), constantly uses such expressions (e.g. 394B *sexta feria uero post nocturnos*, 395D *secunda, quarta et sexta feria ieiunandum est*). Aetheria might have picked up the names anywhere, either from speech or from the sermons or writings of Church fathers.

5.5.3   fui ad ecclesiam

Väänänen ([1987]: 154–5) cites this type of phrase (see 20.2 and the other passages quoted by Väänänen [1987]: 41), in which the verb 'to be' is not fully static but implies motion to a place (cf. e.g. English 'I have been to London'), as a Hispanism, comparing Spanish *fui a la iglesia*.[349] There are several objections to using such expressions as evidence for the Spanish origin of the writer. First, this use of *esse* is attested in Latin from the earliest period (Plautus), and it turns up at scattered times and in scattered places.[350] It was not an innovation of the late period confined to one area. Second, Väänänen gives an incomplete account of the distribution of such usages in Romance. For the use of the verb 'to be' in comparable ways in French, see Siegert ([1952]: 185). Petersmann ([2002]–3: 97–8) quotes parallels from Old Provençal, French and early Italian, as well as medieval Latin.[351] Third, it need not be assumed that cases of the idiom in Romance languages represent a continuation of an earlier use of *esse* in Latin. Comparable uses of the verb 'to be' are found in a number of European languages, including Swedish and English, and the usage might have developed in a Romance language quite independently of Latin. The turn of phrase is so widespread in Latin and other languages that its appearance in the *Peregrinatio* gets us nowhere with the origin of the writer.

5.5.4   Miscellaneous 'Hispanisms'

Väänänen ([1987]: 155) cites *superare* in the sense *superesse* from the *Peregrinatio*, and gives reflexes in Spanish, Portuguese and Catalan. But

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[349] A similar comparison is made by Baehrens ([1922]: 125).
[350] Details can be found in Siegert ([1952]) and more recently Petersmann ([2002]–3).
[351] Stefenelli ([1962]: 69), however, notes that the usage in Romance is particularly frequent in the Iberian peninsula.

supero = 'be left as a residue, survive' is old and classical (see *OLD* s.v. 7a, b), and it would either have been widespread in the fourth century or accessible from written texts. The same can be said of *singuli* meaning 'chaque, (un) chacun (en particulier)', which Väänänen himself (1987: 155) describes as 'ancien et classique'. He cites reflexes from Catalan, Provençal, Spanish and Portuguese, but the long currency of the usage in Latin makes its Romance distribution irrelevant to the question where a fourth-century text containing it might have originated. A third insignificant item is the use of *adhuc* in a sense approaching that of *etiam*, which Väänänen (1987: 155) finds surviving in Old Spanish. *Adhuc* used thus is not a late and rare innovation (see *TLL* I.662.18ff., 36ff.).

5.5.5 plicare

There remains the verb *plico*, used three times in the text, twice as a reflexive (2.4 *et sic plecaremus nos ad montem Dei*, 'and then we approached the mountain of God'; cf. 6.3) and once as an intransitive (19.9 *cum iam prope plicarent ciuitati*, 'when they were just approaching the city'). The meaning is given by van Oorde (1929: 151) as *appropinquare*, and by Väänänen (1987: 154, 1990: 243) as 's'approcher (de)'. Whether the verb is taken to be a back-formation from *applicare*, or as showing a semantic development of CL *plico* = 'fold, bend, roll up, coil', or is explained in some other way,[352] it is definitely an innovation, and also very rare, in that it occurs in Latin only (it seems) in these three places.[353] It survives in a similar sense ('arrive') in Ibero-Romance (Spanish *llegar*, Portuguese *chegar*, Old Catalan *plegar*: see map 8). This item seems to suggest a western, possibly Iberian, origin for Aetheria, though E. Löfstedt (1959: 45–6) played down its significance. He drew attention to a Byzantine Greek borrowing πληκεειν (with Greek suffix), attested several times in the tenth century in the sense 'approach, arrive',[354] as evidence that 'the usage in question enjoyed a fairly wide distribution in Late and Vulgar Latin' (1959: 46). But is such a conclusion warranted on the basis of a tenth-century Greek verb whose path and date of entry into Greek are obscure? 'Approaching' and 'arriving' are mundane concepts often expressed in the voluminous remains of later Latin, and it is therefore the more striking that this way of expressing the idea, with a restricted Romance outcome, turns up in a single Latin text whose Latinity famously reflects many aspects of the spoken language. Given the non-linguistic hints mentioned above that Aetheria came from somewhere in

[352] A full discussion of the possibilities may be found in Väänänen (1990; also 1987: 154 n. 404).
[353] See Väänänen (1990: 243). The *TLL* article had not yet appeared when I wrote this.
[354] For details see Väänänen (1990: 244 n. 18).

the west, it is at least possible that she had picked up *plico* in or near the area in which it was to survive with a closely related meaning. The evidence is strong that she could not have acquired the usage from a literary text.

5.5.6　Alleged 'Gallicisms'

Väänänen (1987: 155–6) lists just three 'Gallicisms', *manduco* = 'eat', *pullus* = 'cock' (*gallus*) and *sera* = 'evening'. The significance of the first as a possible regionalism was dismissed at the start of this chapter (1). *Sera* should also be dismissed. In Gallo-Romance words for 'evening' of this root are overwhelmingly masculine not feminine (e.g. French *soir*, Old French, Old Provençal *ser*);[355] they derive from a substantivised neuter adjective *serum* or from the adverb *sero*.[356] *Sera* (< *sera dies*) survives in Italian (*sera*), Rumanian and various other dialects,[357] though it leaves some traces in Old Provençal (*sera*, etc.).[358] Aetheria uses *sera* eleven times and *sero* three times,[359] a pattern which tells us nothing.

　Pullus = *gallus* is more interesting. In classical Latin *pullus* designated not only the young of the horse or ass ('foal'), but also that of domestic fowl (*OLD* s.v. 1c), and in this old meaning 'chicken' it survives e.g. as Italian *pollo* (see e.g. *REW* 6828, 2). The sense 'cock' seems to be a (rather surprising) extension of this last usage (for the background to the change see below, VIII.4.7.2). The meaning is an imperial innovation, registered neither by the *OLD* nor by Lewis and Short (1879). It is remarkable that there are as many as twenty examples of *pullus* = *gallus* in the *Peregrinatio* but not a single case of *gallus* itself.[360] This is certainly a distinctive lexical choice. *Gallus* survives as e.g. Italian *gallo*, Catalan *gall*, Spanish, Portuguese *gallo* (*REW* 3664),[361] whereas *pullus* in this specialised sense occurs above all in Gallo-Romance dialects (e.g. Old French *poul* = *coq*),[362] if not exclusively there (cf. Logudorese *puddu* = 'cock').[363] If the usage occurred just once or twice in the *Peregrinatio* it would hardly be distinctive, but its marked frequency strongly suggests that this was Aetheria's usual word for 'cock'. Since the referent is so mundane she is far more likely to have picked up this term for it from her *patria* than from a literary source;[364] *pullus* was not

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[355] See further *FEW* XI.516.　　[356] See *FEW* XI.518; so too a reflex in Logudorese.
[357] See also *REW* 7841,1, 2.　　[358] See *FEW* XI.518 col. 1, 2b.
[359] See van Oorde (1929: 185) s.vv.　　[360] See van Oorde (1929: 160).
[361] See also Rohlfs (1954a), map 42.
[362] See *FEW* IX.535 for reflexes, and 543 on the (southern and eastern) pattern of survival.
[363] See further *FEW* IX.543, and also map 42 in Rohlfs (1954a). On Sardinian see Wagner (1960–4: II, 319), drawing attention too to evidence for the usage in Africa.
[364] So E. Löfstedt (1911: 279–80): '. . . so dass es wahrscheinlich wird, dass Aetheria . . . in diesem Punkt dem Dialekt ihrer Heimat folgt'. He went on to associate the usage with southern Gaul

a literary word in this meaning. One can go further. There are at least two other works extant in which *pullus* is the exclusive or main term for 'cock'. First there is the work of Anthimus, who has the word three times in this sense but does not use *gallus*.[365] Anthimus' Gallicisms have already been discussed (5.1). Second, in the *Regula Magistri pullus* occurs twelve times but *gallus* twice only.[366] This work, of the sixth century, has sometimes been connected, at least in part, with Gaul.[367] Corbett notes (1958: 240) that ten of the examples of *pullus* are in one chapter (33), and suggests that southern Gaul may be the place of origin of this section of the text.

To judge from Aetheria's word choice it would seem that there was at least one region in the late fourth century where local practice, against the traditions of the language, had established *pullus* as the standard word for 'cock'. Given the non-linguistic hints of Aetheria's western origin and the later evidence of Anthimus and the Romance languages, that region is more likely to have been in Gaul than elsewhere. Nevertheless, one awaits (in the forthcoming *TLL* article) a full collection of examples of *pullus* in this sense. Väänänen (1987: 155–6) quotes or refers to examples from the Vulgate, *Excerptum Sangallense* and a Ravenna chronicle of the fifth century.[368] It is a difficulty that the sense of *pullus* is not always clear from the contexts in which it occurs.[369]

There is also reason to think that the usage was current in Africa (see below, VIII.4.7.2), as it certainly was on Sardinia (note the Logudorese reflex above). The relationship between African Latin and Sardinian has already come up (IV.4.2); see also VIII.11 with cross references, XI.3.7, 3.7.1.

5.5.7 Some conclusions

This does not exhaust the linguistic evidence that has been brought to bear on the question of Aetheria's origin,[370] but I have dealt with every item cited

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(from Romance evidence). Curiously, when many years later Löfstedt (1959: 45–8) discussed in negative terms the question whether the text could be localised, he failed to mention this one piece of evidence about which he had once been so positive.

[365] See Liechtenhan (1963: 74), index s.v.   [366] For details see Corbett (1958: 128–9, 239–40).

[367] See Frank (2001: 838).

[368] See further E. Löfstedt (1911: 279 n. 4), and also B. Löfstedt ([1963] 2000: 29 with n. 19), questioning the attribution of Aetheria to southern Gaul on this evidence. I am grateful to Friedrich Spoth of the Thesaurus Linguae Latinae for providing me with some material which will eventually appear in the article on the word.

[369] See e.g. Önnerfors (1987: 451–2), arguing that *pullus* at Phaedrus 3.12.1 is equivalent to *gallus (adultus)*.

[370] See further the largely convincing negative discussion of Löfstedt (1959: 45–8), with further bibliography.

by Väänänen ([1987](#)) as representative of the quality of the data employed in the debate.[371] The methodological point made repeatedly throughout this chapter is well illustrated by the inadequacy of much of Väänänen's material. It is unrevealing to list from a text widespread old literary usages which in the fullness of time were to go on living in only one part of the Romance world, as if they might constitute evidence for the provenance of a work written in the fourth century, when varieties of literary Latin were still creatively used and texts widely circulated, and when there is no reason to think that all the lexical choices of different branches of Romance had yet been firmly made. Nor does evidence of this kind have any cumulative value. Characteristically those who wish to assign, say, a Gallic origin to a text will look for usages that were to survive only in Gallo-Romance, without looking for usages that were to survive, say, only in Italy. This point is well made by Löfstedt ([1959](#): 48) in reference to a use of the verb *camsare* (10.8), which survived in Italy but not Gallo-Romance. Its presence in the text need not mean that the *Peregrinatio* was written in Italy after all, but only that the usage was not yet restricted to one area. A similar case is that of *pisinnus*. It occurs, for example, at 10.9 (*in eo ergo loco ecclesia est pisinna*), but survives only in Logudorese (see *FEW* 6550, 2: *pizinnu*). A word may once have been widespread, before receding in some areas and living on in just one or two. One must be wary of assuming that the Romance pattern of distribution of a term necessarily reflects its distribution in the Roman Empire, centuries before the Romance languages as such are attested. *Pisinnus*, for example, is attested at Rome (*ILCV* 2820A). It must eventually have faded from use right across the Roman world, except in the isolated pocket of Sardinia.

I have attached most weight to *plicare* and *pullus* because (1) (unlike, say, *camsare*, which is already in Ennius) they were (as used in the text) late innovations, (2) they expressed mundane notions for which there were commonplace alternatives available, and (3) they are rare in the written language. But both still might in theory have been current at a subliterary level in other parts of the Empire. *Pullus* 'cock' turns up in Sardinian as well as Gallo-Romance, and πλ*η*κεειν at leasts hints at a wider currency of *plico* in the relevant sense. Ideally one would like further items of evidence of the same import to be confident that the text had a provenance somewhere in

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[371] Väänänen lists further items supposedly suggestive of the Iberian peninsula or Gaul in an earlier work ([1983](#): 488 n. 17), but these are subject to the same criticisms as those set forth above. There is a recent discussion of the 'Hispanisms' in the *Peregrinatio* by Álvarez Huerta ([2003](#)). She does not mention *pullus*, and does not seriously consider the distribution of various phenomena across other texts and at other periods. For example, to suggest that the abundant employment of intensive *per-* is a Hispanism (90) is to disregard the banal character of the usage.

the territory spanning the Gallo-Iberian border, but I tentatively attribute it to that region.

6   MISCELLANEOUS

In this section I consider a few miscellaneous usages that are possibly Gallic, taken from a variety of sources.

6.1   ma[r]cio

Aurelianus of Arles (mid-sixth century) has the following expression at *Regula ad uirgines* 15 (*PL* 68, 400): *cum marcionibus aut carpentariis*. Is the first noun a misspelling of *macio* 'stonemason', or an unattested derivative of *marcus* 'hammer'?[372] At *FEW* XVI.507 a document from Corbie dated 822 is cited for the expression *carpentarii quatuor, mationes quatuor*, where stonemasons are bracketed with *carpentarii*, and it is better to read *ma[r]cionibus* in Aurelianus than to bring into existence a term which would be of uncertain meaning.

   Macio is equivalent to *caementarius*, with which it is twice equated in the Reichenau glosses (319a, 1273). It is a Germanic word (< **makjo*),[373] reflected directly only in Gallo-Romance (as, e.g., from the area of Aurelianus himself, Old Provençal *matz*, 'ouvrier qui construit avec de la pierre ou de la brique et du mortier', *FEW* XVI.506: see map 13);[374] various other Romance forms are borrowings from French (see *FEW* XVI.507 on Portuguese *mação* and Old Italian *mazzone*). Aurelianus has used the local word for this type of craftsman rather than the native term. *Caementarius* itself does not survive in Romance; for the various Romance equivalents of *macio* see Rohlfs (1954a: 58–9). There are also a few other cases of *macio* in glosses (see the index, *CGL* VI.666), and an example in Isidore, with an incorrect etymology (*Etym.* 19.8.2 *maciones dicti a machinis in quibus insistunt propter altitudinem parietum*, '*maciones* are so called from the contrivances on which they stand because of the height of walls'). Had the term already been borrowed in the Iberian peninsula by the time of Isidore?

6.2   campellus

This diminutive is cited by the *TLL* III.208.80 only from a Council of Orléans of AD 541 (*Conc. Aurel.* p. 91.90). Bambeck (1959: 8) finds a

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[372] See Sofer (1930: 142–3), *FEW* XVI.507 n. 5, *TLL* IX.20.20f.
[373] See Sofer (1930: 142), *FEW* XVI.507 on the root.   [374] See further *REW* 5208.

further example in another Gallic text, the *Formulae Andecauenses*. The word is reflected only in Gallo-Romance (see Bambeck, referring to Old French *champel*).[375]

6.3   forma, formula

Bonnet (1890: 251) cites various examples of *formula* = 'bench' from Gregory of Tours: *Hist. Franc.* 8.31, p. 398.1 *cum inter psallendum formolae decumberet...* (2) *episcopum super formolam quiescentem* ('when he was lying on the bench during the Psalms . . . the bishop, resting on the bench . . .'). The reference seems to be to a stall in a church. For further examples from Gregory see also Bonnet (251 n. 3), citing as well Baudonivia *Vita Radegundis* 2.13, p. 386.13 *uigilat super formulam*.[376] The usage is also found in another Gallic text, the 'Lives of the fathers of Jura' (*MGH, Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum* III; probably sixth century).[377] *Formula* itself did not survive with this meaning, but the non-diminutive *forma* belongs specifically to Gallo-Romance in the above sense (see *FEW* III.714, col. 2 no. 3, citing French *forme*, 'banc divisé en stalles, avec appui et dossier, stalle d'église', with the discussion at 716). It is likely that Gregory was employing a local usage.

6.4   flado

Venantius has come up several times as using regional terms (see 2.2 on *canna*, 4.2 on *tintinnum*, and 5.1 on *medus*).[378] Another is the Germanic term *flado* at *Vita Radeg.* p. 42.18, defined at *TLL* VI.1.834.42 as 'genus quoddam placentae'. The word survived in Gallo-Romance (Old French *flaon*, 'tarte molle faite avec de la crême, de la farine et des oeufs'),[379] Catalan and Italian dialects. It is possible that it was borrowed by Latin from the Lombards in Italy and from the Franks in Gaul (cf. above, 4.3 on *wadium* for this pattern).[380] Since Venantius moved from northern Italy to Gaul he no doubt knew the term from a local source. It is cited from no other writer by the *TLL*, and must have been a popular subliterary word.

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[375] See *FEW* II.1.157.
[376] Bonnet (251 n. 3) points out that the object so referred to is hardly a bed, as it is in a church.
[377] See Hoogterp (1934: 110).
[378] For some brief remarks on barbarian words in Venantius see Clerici (1970: 229–31).
[379] See *FEW* III.593.   [380] See *FEW* III.594, XV.134.

6.5 capitium

In the *Vitae patrum Iurensium* (see above, 6.3) *capitium* is used in the sense 'head of a bed': 3.18, p. 162.34 *ampullam . . . quae salutis gratia ad lectuli sui capitium dependebat* ('a flask . . . which for safety's sake was hanging at the head of his bed'),[381] a sense which is not recorded by the *TLL*. In Gallo-Romance the word survived with the meaning 'pillow, bolster' (*FEW* II.1.260, Old French *chevez*, 'traversin destiné à soutenir la tête, au lit'). This semantic outcome of *capitium* is specific to Gallo-Romance (see *FEW* II.1.263). The Latin example cited is close but not identical in meaning to the Gallo-Romance reflex.

6.6 leuca

Terms to do with land measurement and the like were often specific to particular regions (see XI.3.6.3).[382] A case is the Celtic word for 'mile', *leuca* (or *leuga*), defined at *FEW* V.262 as 'ancienne mesure itinéraire, environ 4 km'. In Gaul and Germany the term was in official use on Roman milestones.[383] It survived in Old French (*liue*) and Old Provençal (*lega*), and also Catalan, Spanish and Portuguese.

6.7 colonica

In an epistle to Theo, described as a countryman from the Médoc (see above, 5.1, p. 332 for other usages in this poem, *platessa* and *corroco*), Ausonius uses *colonica* of a rustic hut (XXVII.13.7 Green *piceo lacrimosa colonica fumo*, 'a hut with pitchy smoke inducing tears'). Green (1991: 628) notes that the word 'occurs only in late texts referring to Gaul', and cites examples from Gregory of Tours and the *Leges Burgundionum*. See further *TLL* III.1705.10ff., giving the meaning as 'mansio, domicilium coloni'. The context is significant. Theo was the sort of addressee who inspired the use of localised rustic terms. *Colonica* does not have Romance reflexes, but it belongs to a type that has come up a number of times in this chapter (words to do with rustic buildings: see above, 4.1, pp. 314–15 on *spicarium*

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381 See Hoogterp (1934: 8–9).   382 See Adams (2003a: 450, 456, 457).
383 See *FEW* V.262, and for inscriptional examples from *CIL* XIII, *TLL* VII.2.1196.82ff. Note too Amm. 15.11.17 *qui locus exordium est Galliarum. exindeque non millenis passibus sed leugis itinera metiuntur* ('this place is the beginning of the Gauls, and from there onwards journeys are measured not in miles but in *leugae*'). Note too *Grom.* p. 272.22, 24 Campbell *mensuras uiarum nos miliaria dicimus, Greci stadia, Galli lewas . . . lewa finitur passibus mille D* ('distances along roads we call miles, Greeks stades and Gauls *leuwae* . . . A lewa consists of 1,500 paces').

and the terms referred to at p. 328). *Colonica* has the same suffix as *granica* (4.3, p. 326). There is a significant number of regionalisms in Ausonius, not only in the catalogue of fish (3.5) but scattered about in significant contexts (see 5.2 on *burra*, and 5.1, p. 332). These are the more important because Ausonius was considerably earlier than most of the other writers considered in this chapter (Anthimus, the barbarian law codes).

6.8   *A use of* patres

A use of the plural in Gallic inscriptions will be discussed in a later chapter (X.11.4).

6.9   Octimber

On this form see below, VI.4.3, p. 419.

6.10   apud

Väänänen (1981: 21) notes that in late Gallic writers such as Sulpicius Severus and Gregory of Tours *apud* sometimes has the same sense as French *avec* (as in the expression *apud aliquem loquor*), seemingly foreshadowing reflexes in Gallo-Romance and Catalan (*REW* 456). He was, however, careful to point out that the usage is found in other areas. His caution was justified, as the possibility that this use of *apud* was a Gallic regionalism has been disposed of most effectively by Jacquemard (1995).[384]

6.11   *Some conclusions*

In this section the most telling terms are again loan-words.

7   GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

7.1   *Two questions*

Two questions have been addressed in this chapter, and they have not always been kept apart. First, is it possible to ascribe a text to a region on linguistic evidence alone, and if so on what criteria? Second, what do we know about the Latin of Gaul?

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[384] See also B. Löfstedt ([1973] 2000: 102).

We were successful in detecting local influences on Anthimus, but unsuccessful in ascribing the *Actus Petri cum Simone* and arguably even the *Peregrinatio Aetheriae* to a precisely demarcated region, and it may be worthwhile to consider why.

The dietetic work of Anthimus has a number of non-literary words with technical meanings, several of them of substrate origin, which survive in restricted parts of the Romance world (mainly Gaul). A notable item, for example, is *cracatius*, a name for the sturgeon, which was also called *acipenser*, *sturio* and possibly *helops*. The word is unknown to the literary language, and survives only in the south-western part of Gallo-Romance. Even if this evidence stood alone it would be highly suggestive, if not decisive proof, of Gallic influence on the text. But it is not alone. *Sitri*, another non-literary loan-word, also survives in the south-west of Gaul. Two other fish names, both with alternatives (*trucantus*, *naupreda*), either live on only in Gallo-Romance or are attested only in Gallic texts. This does not exhaust the evidence from Anthimus, but is enough on which to base the conclusion that, though Anthimus was not a Gaul himself, he had had contact with parts of Gaul, in which he had picked up certain fish names that may have been confined to those regions. It might be argued that he had a written source from which he took the words, but against that his work reads like the effort of one speaking in his own untutored Latin voice, drawing heavily on language he had heard around him. The treatise is addressed to a resident of Gaul, and it is likely that Anthimus would have been recommending fish by the names known to the addressee. It might alternatively be proposed that the words had once had a wider geographical spread than that suggested either by their attestation in Latin or by their survival in Romance, but it would surely be going too far to argue that, though leaving not a trace in the literary language or in Romance dialects further afield, such specialised terms might once have been current much beyond north-western parts of the Empire. I stress the features of these words: they are extremely rare in written texts, technical in meaning, severely restricted in Romance, and in several cases probably substrate or superstrate terms. They also form a cluster in a single text and have a cumulative force. Several of them are genuine dialect terms, in that synonyms were available, though that is not a crucial characteristic of terms that may point to the origin of a text: a unique term with a meaning nowhere else expressed by an individual lexical item in the Roman world might still establish a writer's origin or the place of composition of a text (e.g. *conrogata*: see below, this section).

In the *Peregrinatio* such rare technical terms and loan-words are lacking completely. The attempt to locate the text has been based on the author's word choice assessed in the light of the areas of survival of certain commonplace terms and usages in Romance. Thus, for example, *manduco* survives in France and Italy but not in Spain, where *comedo* lived on, and Aetheria's exclusive use of *manduco* might therefore (some may argue) indicate that she was (e.g.) of Gallic rather than Spanish origin. This line of argument I have rejected from the start of this chapter. Both *manduco* and *comedo* were common over a long period in written Latin. The *TLL* article on *manduco* occupies four columns of text and that on *comedo* six. If a writer preferred one of the two words in speech, he might still have known the other from literary works and even preferred it in writing. Nor do we know when the lexical choice of what were to become the Romance regions became fixed. Both *manduco* and *comedo* went on being freely used in writing until late in the Latin period, and it might only have been at about the time when the vernacular languages came to be written down that word choice crystallised in different regions. The practice of Anthimus is of particular interest. We know that he lived in Italy, and it is certain that he spent time in Gaul as well. In both areas it was only *manduco* that survived. But Anthimus does not confine himself to *manduco*. He uses *manduco* thirty-five times, *comedo* twenty-five times, *praesumo* eleven times, *accipio* eleven times and *sumo* six times.[385] There is no reason to think that he lived in Spain, and he must have known *comedo* either because it was still used alongside *manduco* in Italy and/or Gaul, or because he had seen it in writing. He was without a Latin literary education and was demonstrably influenced by Gallic Latin, and yet even he uses *comedo* freely. I conclude that commonplace words with a long history in written Latin can establish nothing about the place of composition of a text, even if they were eventually to live on in only a limited part of the Romance world. It is to non-literary technical terms, particularly those indicating what have been called here local specificities (see above, 3.2), late innovations that never achieved a literary pedigree, and substrate words that did not catch on widely, that we must look to place a text geographically, taking into account the distribution of the usage in Latin itself and its pattern of survival in Romance. That is not to say that there were not regional preferences in the use of commonplace terms such as *manduco* and *comedo*. I mean only that those preferences cannot be identified through the written word in the Latin period.

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[385] See Liechtenhan (1963: 71).

Once we eliminate *manduco* and other unacceptable items from consideration, we are left in the *Peregrinatio* with *plico* and *pullus* as possibly significant. The *Actus Petri cum Simone* has the single suggestive item *ab oculis*. What weight is to be attached to such evidence? It may be worth reviewing the character of the evidence we have had to go on in this chapter in assigning the other texts to Gaul, in order to make a comparison with the *Peregrinatio* and the *Actus*. I disregard external evidence for the origin of most of these texts and confine myself to linguistic items, as if they were all we had to go on. At La Graufesenque we saw *canastrum*, *panna* and some spellings, which together would constitute a strong case that the texts were Gallic. In Polemius Silvius I would single out *darpus*, *lacrimusa*, *leuaricinus* and *ancorauus*, but there are other less striking items. In Ausonius' catalogue *alausa*, *r(h)edo* and *umbra* stand out, and the marked correspondence between his fish names and those in the known Gallic writer Polemius would have been an additional criterion for determining the origin of the text if we knew nothing about Ausonius or the Moselle. It may be added that there are also correspondences between Anthimus' fish names and those of Polemius. The short poem of Eucheria has two distinctive items, *cauannus* and *craxantus*. The law codes have many significant terms, such as *spicarium*, *sutis*, *uargus*, *ex(s)artum*, *granica*, *troppus* and *traucum*. In all these texts there are clusters of usages which together point unmistakably to the origins of the works. By contrast in Caesarius there was only one usage to go on, *conrogata*. Would we have assigned the work to (southern) Gaul on this evidence alone if we knew nothing of Caesarius? The word is more technical in meaning than *plico* and *ab oculis* (it refers, as we have said, to a local specificity), and its Romance reflexes throw direct light on the interpretation of the passage in Caesarius. The meaning of *plico*, on the other hand, has to be deduced from its use in the Latin text, not from its Romance reflexes, which have a similar, but not identical, meaning. *Pullus* adds weight to *plico*, though it did not survive in the same part of the Romance world and its Latin distribution is somewhat messy. *Conrogata* is therefore more substantial as an indicator of origin than is *plico* in the *Peregrinatio*. *Ab oculis* for its part raises a nagging doubt. If, as I have accepted, it originated from the abbreviating of *orbus ab oculis*, then it must have been rendered into Greek (π' μμτων) rather than derived from Greek, and it is not an obvious conclusion that the loan translation must have been effected in Gaul. If it is felt that the rendering is more likely to have been done elsewhere, as for example in an eastern province, then *ab oculis* must once have been more widespread than its reflexes would suggest. And

that is to say nothing about what the Greek version might have had at the corresponding points.

I conclude that a cluster of usages falling into one or other of the categories listed at the end of the last paragraph but one furnishes the best linguistic evidence we are likely to get for the origin of a Latin text, but that in the odd special case a single item (*conrogata*) may be a strong indication in itself. The significance of such single items is greatly weakened if there is the merest hint that the usage might have been more widespread in Latin than its attestations seem to suggest (*ab oculis*).

7.3   Strong and weak dialect terms

We have seen numerous dialect terms in this chapter, falling into the categories strong and weak. It may be useful to list here the most significant terms discussed, and to classify them.

I begin with strong regionalisms. Many of these survive in Gallo-Romance only, or if beyond there in one or two significant places such as Catalonia. A few terms have a very restricted survival even within Gallo-Romance; others look Gallic without having Romance reflexes. The following list includes in a few cases minimal information of these kinds. This first list is of terms which certainly or almost certainly had synonyms in use elsewhere:

2.1 *canastrum* (only southern Gallo-Romance, and Iberia), 2.3 *paraxidi* (modified form of *paropsides*; non-Romance), *inbrax[tari?]* (modified form of *-bract-* [?]), 3.1 *cadiuus* (*caducarius* is attested for Africa), *ripariola* (?; Occitan), 3.3 *darpus* (south-eastern Gallo-Romance), *sofia* (southern Gallo-Romance), 3.4 *mentobeto, deuus/diuus, natus, -a*, 3.5 *alburnus* (Gallo-Romance and Catalan), *alausa, mustela* (equivalent in one of its senses to *naupreda* [see 5.1], but perhaps belonging rather in the list below), 3.6 *moritix*, 4.1 *spicarium* (northern Gallo-Romance), *malum ingenium* (roughly = *dolus*; Provence), *sutis, uargus* (non-Romance), *sunnis*, 4.2 *tintinnum* (non-Romance), *ambascia* (derivatives in Provence), *uertragus* (?; also Milan), 4.3 *wadium, quare* (Gallo-Romance and Catalan), *fano, troppus, iumentum* ('mare'), *granica*, 4.4 *traucum* (Gallo-Romance and Catalan), *brunia*, 5.1 *cracatius* (south-western Gallo-Romance), *trucantus, naupreda* (non-Romance), *sitri* (south-western Gallo-Romance), *platensis* (non-Romance), *aloxinum* (northern Gallo-Romance, Iberia), 5.2 *cauannus, craxantus* (southern Gallo-Romance, possibly Catalan), 5.5.6 *pullus* (in Sardinia and Africa as well), 6.1 *macio*, 6.2 *campellus*,[386] 6.3 *formula*.

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[386] I include *campellus* in this list because there are various alternative ways in which the idea 'small field' might be expressed.

I list now weaker regionalisms:

2.2 *panna*, *canna*, *panaca*, 3.2 *conrogata*, 3.3 *ancorauus* (northern Gallo-Romance), *auris-* (western Gallo-Romance?), *lacrimusa* (southern Gallo-Romance), *leuaricinus* (south-eastern Gallo-Romance), 3.4 *brogilos*, *cagio-*, 3.5 *salar* (non-Romance), *r(h)edo*, *silurus*, *umbra*, *uario* (?), 4.1 *limitare* (Gallo-Romance and Catalan), *napina*, *pisaria*, *fauaria*, *lenticlaria*, *machalum* (non-Romance), *scuria*, *skreunia*, *mallus*, 4.2 *ex(s)artum* (Gallo-Romance and Catalan), 5.1 *tecco*, *medus* (northern Gallo-Romance), *brado*, 5.3 *bracis*, *ceruisia*, 6.4 *flado*.

There are seventy-three terms listed here, forty-two in the first class and thirty-one in the second. Numerous Gallic terms, the subject of metalinguistic comments, were also discussed in the last chapter. It is clear from the material in the two chapters that there were many words and forms of words in use in Gaul in the Latin, as distinct from Romance, period which were distinguishing features of the language of the area. About 57 per cent of the words listed are full dialectalisms. No mention is made here of the phonetic evidence (2.3, 2.5).

The lists throw up limitations in our evidence. There is an overwhelming preponderance of nouns. In the first list there are thirty-seven nouns, three adjectives, one verb or verb phrase and one subordinating conjunction (I omit *plicare* because, whatever its significance, it was not a Gallicism). In the second list every single item is a noun. Thus sixty-eight of the seventy-three pieces of evidence are nominal. This high figure cannot possibly reflect the true picture of local Gallic usage. By contrast Rohlfs (1954a) offers maps showing Romance lexical diversification in fifty different semantic fields, and eighteen of these (more than a third) contain types of words other than nouns. Why does our evidence provide such a limited view of local features of Gallic Latin? One reason is obvious. We have stressed that the regionalisms in the Latin period that are most easy to identify are localised loan-words, and it is well established that the class of words most readily borrowed by one language from another are nouns. Regional features as manifested in the use of verbs, conjunctions etc. will usually have consisted in a preference in an area for one or another old Latin word, and it has been argued here that it is impossible to determine from literary evidence when such preferences hardened into established regional usages. I would conclude that there is evidence in the Latin period that Gallic Latin (or varieties thereof) had regional features, but that that evidence only hints at the distinctiveness of local forms of the language.

7.3.1 Regional terms, classified

There is a high proportion of loan-words among the words discussed in this chapter (see below for some figures).

Canastrum came from Gallic Greek, possibly via Gaulish. The path of entry of the other Greek word, *aloxinum*, is not sure. Both of these words had synonyms in mainstream Latin. *Silurus* was also of Greek origin.

There is a marked element of Gaulish, as well as some terms of uncertain etymology which may have been Gaulish. In the first list *sutis* 'pigsty' (= Lat. *hara*) is a curiosity, in that it turns up in a late Germanic law code at a time when Gaulish was dead. It must have entered local Latin earlier and established itself well before the code was written. *Moritix*, semantically equivalent to *nauta* but probably with a more specialised meaning once it had been borrowed by Gallo-British Latin, and *uertragus* were definitely Gaulish. *Alausa* is a Gaulish term for the shad, which there is reason to think had a variety of other names. *Darpus* had an old Latin synonym, *talpa* 'mole', but it is not certainly Gaulish. The same uncertainty hangs over *cracatius* 'sturgeon', also an animal name for which there were alternatives. Another word worth mentioning here, though its etymology is unknown, is *sofia*. It designated a white fish (probably more types than one), and seems to have had some overlap with *alburnus* and *albulus*. Yet another fish name was *trucantus* 'gudgeon', which had *gobius* and *gobio* as synonyms. It is described as Celtic by Ernout and Meillet (1959: 704) but not mentioned by Delamarre (2003). Ernout and Meillet (1959: 148) compare for the suffix *craxantus*, accepted as Gaulish by Delamarre (2003:129). *Craxantus* is Gaulish, and a clear-cut dialect term in the strong sense, as is another Gaulish word, *cauannus*. Two other words, *deuos/diuus* and *natus, -a*, differ from those listed in that they had almost the same form in Gaulish as (near) equivalents in Latin. That similarity of form perhaps favoured their use in Gallic Latin. Words in the first list at 7.3 that are definitely Gaulish, possibly Gaulish, or influenced by Gaulish in some way, are: *paraxidi*, *inbrax-*, *darpus*, *deuus*, *natus, -a*, *alausa*, *moritix*, *sutis*, *uertragus*, *cracatius*, *trucantus*, *naupreda*(?), *cauannus* and *craxantus* (fourteen examples).

Many of the words listed in the previous paragraph have to do with the fauna of Gaul. Words for flora and fauna tend to be localised (see also XI.5.1), and regional variations in these semantic areas persisted in France into the modern period, as can be seen from the pages of Rolland (1881). A distinction can be made between words such as those above, and *beccus*, which entered Latin in Gaul but spread widely (see IV.3.3.6). It did not belong to the category 'flora/fauna', and was perhaps favoured by its complementary semantic and phonetic relationship to *bucca*.

The Franks used Frankish words in their law codes, and some of these caught on in Gallo-Latin in general. In the first list *sitri* was a localised word for 'hellebore', *troppus* an equivalent of *grex* and *fano* of *pannus* or *sudarium*. *Vargus* and *ambascia* were at first technical legal terms, but were generalised and came into rivalry with mundane Latin words (*latro* or *latrunculus*, *iter*). *Wadium*, another legalism, overlapped with the native *pignus*. *Traucum*, which overlapped with *foramen* and *rima*, is of uncertain etymology but surely Germanic in some sense. Germanic or possibly Germanic terms in the first list are: *uargus*, *sunnis*, *ambascia*, *wadium*, *fano*, *troppus*, *traucum*, *brunia* and *macio* (nine examples).

The Germanic words just listed do not denote elements of the flora or fauna of Gaul, though some have to do loosely with agriculture. The lexicon of Gallo-Latin reflects a long history of invasion and contact between speakers of different languages, with the Germanic loan-words tending to be of different semantic fields from the Gaulish.[387]

Not all the regional words we have seen were loan-words. Normal processes of word formation were productive in Gaul as elsewhere, and some such terms do not seem to have spread. In the first list *granica*, it seems, was an equivalent of *granarium*, and another word for a type of granary, *spicarium*, was coined locally. *Ripariola* is a diminutive of mundane type. Sometimes an existing word displays a localised semantic development, as may be seen in the specialised uses of *cadiuus*, *pullus* and *iumentum*, the last reflecting a particular way of using equine animals. *Malum ingenium* illustrates a different development. The phrase was an old one, but it had apparently fallen out of use elsewhere. If extant Latin and the evidence of Romance give the right impression, the usage had undergone geographical shrinkage, such that by the late period it had held on only in Gaul. *Quare* 'for', which had once been fairly widespread, may belong in the same category, but I do not have material about its use in late Latin. There is no obvious unity to the usages just listed, as there is (of sorts) to the Gaulish and Germanic loans discussed above. All that we can say is that Latin speakers in Gaul, like Latin speakers elsewhere, coined words by suffixation and modified the meanings of existing words, and that not all innovations either spread or were made independently in other regions.

I move on to the weaker regionalisms. *Ancorauus*, designating a type of trout or trout in a certain state, is a Gaulish word. Several other fish names (*salar*, *r(h)edo*) remain obscure in etymology but may have been

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[387] For a review of theories to do with superstrate influence in the formation of Gallo-Romance see Stefenelli (1996: 82–3). The influence is lexical; the superstrate cannot be given a wider role in the differentiation of Romance.

borrowings from Celtic. *Lacrimusa*, also from the sphere of fauna, is of unknown origin. Two Frankish words, *scuria* and *skreunia*, indicated agricultural buildings; so too *machalum*. Gallo-Latin took on the Germanic names of types of structures, but the old Gaulish/Latin terminology of flora and fauna seems to have been unaffected. *Brado* was perhaps more specialised than the nearest pure Latin correspondent. *Caio* and *brogilos* were rural borrowings from Gaulish. *Panna, panaca* and *canna*, all designating types of (earthenware) vessel, were probably borrowings too (possibly from Celtic in the first two cases and Germanic in the third), made within a professional sphere (that of pottery), and reflecting the moment when Latin speakers encountered for the first time objects for which it was convenient to adopt the local name. Latin or Greco-Latin names might possibly have been put to use instead, but if there was something special about the local product, that would have been enough to motivate the borrowing. Other, pure Latin, terms display typical patterns of word formation, such as suffixation (*pisaria*, *fauaria*, *lenticlaria*), substantivisation of participles, either in the neuter or in the gender of a deleted noun (*ex(s)artum*, *conrogata*), and metaphor (*mustela*). *Napina*, earlier found in Columella but surviving only in Gallo-Romance, is another regionalism reflecting shrinkage.

Words of Gaulish or possible Gaulish origin in the second list are: *ancorauus*, *brogilos*, *cagio-*, *salar*, *r(h)edo*, *tecco*, *bracis* and *ceruisia* (eight examples). In the second list the Germanic terms are: *canna*, *machalum*, *scuria*, *skreunia*, *mallus*, *medus*, *sitri, brado* and *flado* (nine examples). In addition to these Gaulish and Germanic elements there are other terms in the two lists that have a non-Latin appearance, though their origins are uncertain: *panna*, *panaca*, *sofia*, *leuaricinus*, *lacrimusa* and *platensis* and related forms (six terms).

I now offer some statistics. In addition to the three words of Greek origin listed in the first paragraph there are a further forty-six terms of certain or possible foreign origin or influence in the two lists. The forty-nine terms belonging in these categories represent a proportion of about 67 per cent of the words in the two lists.

The influence of Gaulish seems to have been more profound than that of Frankish. The Germanic element seen here consists purely of lexical borrowings. From Gaulish there are traces of phonetic interference. Gaulish also motivated at least one loan-shift in an old Latin word (*ualles*) in a restricted area. And when Gaulish had terms similar in form to Latin equivalents or near equivalents, those Latin terms gained local currency against the normal practice of the language.

I have spoken in this section only in general terms of 'Gallic' regionalisms, but in the case of about fifteen items in the lists in the previous section it was pointed out that their reflexes were restricted to parts of Gallo-Romance. It is likely that Anthimus, Ausonius and Polemius Silvius admitted a number of terms current only in circumscribed regions of Gaul (*r(h)edo* is a case in point), but we cannot know the precise limits of their territories.

7.4   Some stages in the regional diversification of Gallic Latin

What is known about variations in Gallic Latin and differences between Gallic Latin and that of other provinces is rudimentary by the standards of modern dialect studies. I list, however, some of the developments seen in this chapter and the last.

Gaulish lingered on into the Empire,[388] longer no doubt in isolated rural areas. When Latin spread into such places it was subject to the influence of Gaulish, mainly in the speech of those (such as the potters at La Graufesenque) learning Latin as a second language. Any such regional variety would have been ephemeral, with the Latin spoken by later generations no longer exposed to Gaulish interference as Gaulish died out. But the original bilinguals do seem to have contributed some features to local Latin (see 2). Most of the material available is lexical, but there are also indications of phonetic interference from Gaulish. The form *paraxidi* for *parapsides* at La Graufesenque shows a Gaulish treatment of the consonant cluster *ps*. Also striking is the intrusion into Gallic Latin of a Gaulish phoneme or phonemes not possessed by mainstream Latin and indicated in Latin script by various methods such as the writing of a bar through a D or DD. These letter forms must have represented the sound given the name *tau Gallicum* in the poem *Catalepton* 2. Of the numerous Gaulish loan-words in Gallic Latin at least some must have entered Latin in bilingual communities like that at La Graufesenque. Much of the evidence discussed in this chapter is late, but it should not be concluded from that that Gallic Latin was for a long time monolithic. The documents from the pottery are enough to undermine any argument that the emergence of regional varieties only happened late. It would be equally wrong to suggest that the only regionalisms of Gallic Latin were those that left a mark in Gallo-Romance. It is more reasonable to say that regional varieties of the language were in constant flux, with some influential factors in time ceasing to operate and others coming into play. Interference from Gaulish belongs in the category of the

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[388] See for some bibliography Adams (2003a: 690 n. 8).

ephemeral. But that is not to say that some features of Gallo-Romance were not established in Gallic Latin at a relatively early date. A striking case is that of the form *canastrum* for the normal Latin *canistrum*.

Aspects of variation within Gaul emerge in some of the metalinguistic comments discussed in the last chapter. The topos that educated Gallic Latin could not 'compete' with Roman Latin may be disregarded here, but more interesting are the remarks of Sulpicius Severus. He set up a distinction between Aquitanian and 'rustic' Latin in Gaul, even giving a lexical example to illustrate the difference (see IV.3.1). Aquitaine is treated as a centre of cultured Latinity, a new Rome in Gaul as it were, standing apart from its rural surrounds.

By the fourth and fifth centuries observers comment on differences between the Latin of Gaul and that of other large-scale regions of the Empire, most notably Italy but also Spain. The most striking *testimonium* of this type is in a passage of the rhetorician Fortunatianus (IV.1.3.4), who contrasts Gaul, Spain and Italy. Consentius, himself possibly a Gaul, offers some phonetic observations about Gallic Latin as compared with that of 'Roman language' (see IV.3.2 on the meaning of this expression).

Some of the lexical items discussed in this chapter suggest not merely differences between Gaul and other provinces, but also differences within Gaul itself (see 7.3.1, p. 365). *Sitri*, for example, seems to have been current in the south-west, *aloxinum* and *spicarium* in the north. *Sofia*, *alburnus* and *albulus* were probably to some extent interchangeable, and used in different regions. But the geographical distributions of these and other terms cannot be plotted in any detail.

There is one question that has been dismissed in this chapter as unanswerable. I refer to the question when the choice between long-standing synonyms such as *manduco* and *comedo* was made in the various Romance regions. Whatever might have been happening in mundane speech, the literate went on until very late choosing freely between pairs of words long current in the written language, and a writer's choice of term does not reveal his place of origin.

7.5   *How do regionalisms get into written texts?*

Only exceptionally do regional dialects achieve literary status. It is far more usual for regional forms of speech to be stigmatised. There was thought to be a correct standard (*Latinitas*) which the educated aspired to write. Since most Latin texts are the work of an educated minority and since the educated tended to be influenced by the normative efforts of grammarians and

purists, dialectal forms had little chance of making it into writing. Anyone aspiring to correctness would be sensitive to the non-standard character of out-and-out regionalisms and bound to avoid them. That is why it is difficult to place a text such as the *Peregrinatio Aetheriae* geographically. Aetheria had stylistic aspirations, which are betrayed by pompous phraseology and hypercorrections. We do not find texts written in dialect, but we do find regionalising of the standard language (on which phenomenon in general see I.4), that is specimens of standard language with a veneer of regionalism. It may be of interest to consider how regionalisms got into texts.

Church fathers liked to think that they were talking down to the uneducated in sermons. Augustine sometimes remarks on a substandard usage as defensible because it could be understood by the uneducated. When he defended the use of *ossum* 'bone' he was unlikely to have had in mind African practice only, because *ossum* was in use all over the Empire. We did, however, see that Caesarius in making a mundane analogy once introduced a specialised usage (*conrogata*) that must have been current around Arles. He was accommodating his language to the regional speech of his audience. The same analogy could certainly have been made without the local term itself. It is possible that a more systematic search of sermons would turn up other such features.

Poets sometimes admitted local words, for different reasons. The catalogue of fish in Ausonius' *Mosella* has high literary precedents (in other forms of catalogue) and is couched in epic language, but it also has an element of realism in that local fish names are blended with the artificial phraseology. The clash of registers is no doubt deliberate, with the humble local terms contrasting with the pomposity of the surrounding language. Similarly Eucheria's Gallicisms juxtaposed with literary words bring out the harshness of the unions she is imagining. Virgil (see VII.3) introduced local colour into agricultural contexts, perhaps to enhance the Italianness of the setting. Provincial poets on the other hand, such as Catullus, Horace and Martial, admitted isolated regionalisms out of pride in their provincial identities.

Certain writers deliberately did not exclude the vernacular because of some aspect of their subject matter that made the mundane acceptable. Marcellus felt that he was performing a service in collecting remedies that were rustic. He retained some popular language when reporting them, and the odd Gallic regionalism found its way into his work.

Some writers had an interest in local words, and that is why metalinguistic comments were made. Polemius Silvius did not comment on the words we

looked at, but set out to compile lists belonging to various semantic fields that were as complete as possible. As a result he brought together old, literary and local words under various headings.

Some of the texts considered in this chapter were subliterary. Writers untouched by a literary education had not had inculcated in them the concept of a literary standard, and they therefore were tolerant of words that did not belong to that standard. Anthimus' work belongs in this category, as do the graffiti of La Graufesenque.

Some local words became technical terms in the regions in which they had entered the language, and were indispensable when the subject to which they belonged was discussed. Into this class, for example, fall *moritix*, words for various types of vessel (*panna*, *canna*), and certain fish names.

7.6   Forms of substrate influence

The most obvious way in which local languages influenced regional varieties of Latin was through loan-words. Some, as we saw in the case of *beccus*, never surfaced in literature but are shown by their Romance outcomes to have been active at a subliterary level. Others stayed put in the region(s) in which they entered the language. I speculated about why some such terms spread but others did not (IV.3.3.6).

At 7.4 phonetic interference from Gaulish in Latin was referred to, but such interference, while it may colour local speech when bilingualism is prevalent, will disappear once the substrate language is dead. In the longer term it may show up only in the effect it has had on individual lexical items.

Latin had loan-translations based particularly on Greek, many of them found in literary language. Loan-translations from vernacular languages may have had some influence on local forms of Latin, but we have seen little sign of them in this chapter. We did, however, note a regional meaning of some reflexes of *ualles* which seems to derive from the influence of a Gaulish word.

A similarity of form between a substrate word and a Latin word of the same or similar meaning might either cause a modification of one word in the direction of the other, or support the currency in the local Latin of a Latin term that was not the norm in other areas.

7.7   Causes of regional variation

In the last chapter (IV.1.3.7) some factors contributing to the regional diversity of Latin were listed. Here I offer another such list, based on the

evidence of texts rather than metalinguistic comments. First, loan-words entered Latin away from the centre of the Empire, often in restricted areas. Second, phonetic interference from a substrate language sometimes influenced learners' Latin in the short term, or affected the shape of words permanently. Third, the phenomenon of shrinkage has come up several times. Fourth, usages were sometimes transported over long distances by movements of people, and became distinctive of two widely separated regions (see 3.3 on *lacrimusa*, with n. 91). Fifth, coinages by suffixation (e.g. *spicarium*, *ripariola*) or ellipse (*conrogata*), and semantic changes of familiar types, as by specialisation (e.g. *cadiuus*) or extension (*pullus*), occurred in all varieties of the language throughout its history. Some of these developments took place locally, in response to local conditions (e.g. *conrogata*) or in reflection of local inventiveness (so metaphors such as *mustela*).

Spain

I INTRODUCTION

The Carthaginians were driven out of Spain in 206 BC by P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus. By 205 'Rome held a narrow east coastal strip (Hispania Citerior) carrying the main road south to Carthago Nova, and beyond it a territory (Hispania Ulterior) including the south-east coast and the Baetis (*Guadalquiuir*) valley' (M. I. Henderson, *OCD*[2] s.v. 'Spain'). In 197 two new praetors were created for Spain. Both provinces were gradually extended inland amid protracted fighting, and after the Lusitanian (155–139 BC) and Celtiberian (155–133 BC) wars about two-thirds of the peninsula was in Roman hands.[1] Spain was thus one of the earliest territories occupied by the Romans, and this fact underlies the main issue that has arisen in the discussion of Spanish Latin. Ibero-Romance is said to be 'conservative' or 'archaic', and such 'archaism' is thought to reflect the character of the Latin language when it first reached the peninsula in the late third and early second centuries BC (for details of this theory see the next section).

A theory of this kind is based on the assumption that Latin took root in Spain in this early period and was in continuous use thereafter. But is the assumption reasonable? For decades after 218 the main group of Latin speakers in Spain would have been soldiers,[2] and military units constantly came and went.[3] If the only Latin speakers in the peninsula in the early second century were temporary residents, it would be pointless to talk of the existence of a 'Spanish Latin' at that time with established features that might have survived through to Ibero-Romance.

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[1] I am here paraphrasing S. J. Keay, *OCD*[3] s.v. 'Spain', as well as Henderson. Full details of these events can be found in Richardson (1986).

[2] For details of the legions in Spain between 200 and 90 BC see Brunt (1971: 661–5).

[3] Richardson's narrative (1986) contains details of military movements.

There is, however, reason to think that Latin would from a fairly early date have been establishing a presence, at least in pockets. In 206 Scipio founded the town of Italica, where he settled wounded soldiers (Appian *Iber.* 38).[4] These will have intermarried with local women,[5] and Latin will have started to spread among the local population. The name *Italica* incidentally implies that the settlers comprised Italians rather than or as well as Romans,[6] but it cannot be deduced from the name itself that these Italians were necessarily 'Italic' (i.e. Oscan) speakers. I make this point because it will become relevant later (4). According to Strabo (3.2.1) the first colony established by the Romans in the Baetis valley was at Corduba, founded by M. Claudius Marcellus. It is uncertain whether the date was 169/8 or 152.[7] Strabo says that Corduba was inhabited from the beginning 'by picked men of the Romans and native Iberians' (Ῥωμαίων τε καὶ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἄνδρες ἐπίλεκτοι). Corduba did not in fact become a colony technically until later (at the time of Caesar or Augustus). The wording of Strabo just quoted suggests that, like Italica, it was probably at its foundation a settlement without defined status comprising both Romans and natives.[8] Another similar settlement was at Carteia (see Livy 43.3.1–4). I quote Richardson (1986: 119): 'In 171 an embassy arrived in Rome, representing over 4,000 men, the offspring of Roman soldiers and Spanish women who had no right of *conubium*, who asked for a town in which to live.' The senate decreed 'that a colony was to be founded at Carteia, into which the native inhabitants of Carteia could be enrolled. This was to be a Latin colony.' The interest of this story is that it contains evidence for the existence of a considerable number of native-born Spaniards at a relatively early date who must have been exposed to Latin from birth.

Apart from such explicit *testimonia* the narrative of events in Spain from 218 onwards has numerous references to dealings between local tribes (particularly chieftains) and Romans,[9] and there must have been pressure on the natives to acquire Latin as the Roman presence lingered on. There survives from the Republic a small number of texts in a mixture of Latin and indigenous languages,[10] and a few bilingual inscriptions in Iberian and Latin,[11] and these attest to the learning of Latin by locals. Nor were Roman soldiers the only Latin speakers negotiating with, passing on Latin to, and

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[4] See e.g. Brunt (1971: 602).
[5] In this context Brunt (1971: 206 n. 3) cites Caes. *Civ*. 3.110.2 for soldiers behaving in this way.
[6] On this point see Brunt (1971: 206). For the meaning of *Italicus* see Adams (2003a: 651–8); also above, IV.1.2.5.
[7] See Richardson (1986: 119). [8] So Richardson (1986: 119).
[9] Again details can be found in Richardson (1986).
[10] See Adams (2003a: 279–83) with bibliography. [11] See Panosa (1996: 227–8).

in some cases settling with, native Spaniards. We are not well informed about business activity in the early days in Spain, but Italian civilians must have been numerous.[12] We hear of Roman merchants who had come from Rome in the hope of securing contracts to supply the army but were sent back by Cato in 195 (Livy 34.9.12).[13] It is also stated by Diodorus (5.36.3) that large numbers of Italians flocked to Spain to exploit the silver mines following the Roman conquest, and later evidence (in Pliny the Elder) to do with Spanish mining terminology implies linguistic contact between Italians and Spaniards in mining communities (see IV.2.3).

It is reasonable to assume that Latin was taking root in various ways from the start of the Roman occupation of Spain.

2   THE SUPPOSED CONSERVATISM OF SPANISH LATIN

The view that Spanish Latin was archaic, in the sense that it is said to preserve certain usages current in Rome and Italy in the second century BC at the time when the language was transported to Spain by soldiers, is associated particularly with Tovar (see the bibliography), though it is much older (see below, n. 15). It is widely accepted.[14] If there is, say, in Lucilius (so the argument goes), who was himself at the siege of Numantia in 134–3 BC, a usage which survived centuries later in Ibero-Romance but is absent from Latin literature after Lucilius, it is likely to have arrived in Spain in the second century while current in Rome and to have continued in unbroken use there from the early days.[15] The view is relevant to the

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[12] The point is made by Brunt (1971: 211).   [13] See Brunt (1971: 211), Richardson (1986: 82).
[14] See Díaz y Díaz (1960: 240), Baldinger (1972: 106 n. 100), with some bibliography, Siles (1981: 111), Mariner Bigorra (1983: 822–4), Panosa (1996: 236), Edmondson (2002: 48).
[15] See e.g. Tovar (1969a: 1019–20). This theory is already found in the nineteenth century in Wölfflin (1893: 599), who argued that *perna* applied to humans (as seen in the Spanish reflex *pierna*) had been in continuous use in Spain since the time when it was transported there by Roman legionaries (see further below, 2.8; note too Lindsay (1894: 235), cited below, 2.3. Carnoy (1906: 222) applied the theory to morphology: '[L]e latin d'Espagne se distingue par la conservation, jusqu'à des époques relativement récentes, de quelques formes casuelles qui généralement ont disparu ailleurs à l'époque impériale, et même de réels archaïsmes. Ce fait s'explique par la date ancienne de la romanisation de la péninsule hispanique qui, dans les provinces de l'Est et du Sud, reçut le latin tel qu'il était parlé au premier siècle avant notre ère.' In another place (1906: 82) he speaks of a spelling showing *ai* for *ae* at Lacilbula in Baetica as 'un archaïsme de la langue d'Espagne'. But this is merely old orthography of a type that could be paralleled in many parts of the Empire: it reveals nothing about the state of the language. Note too the remarks of E. Löfstedt (1959: 41) on the survival of *comedo* in Spain: 'Spain, colonized early and geographically somewhat isolated, preserved *comedere = edere* simply because it was the older usage'. Tovar was himself well aware that the theory was not new: see Tovar (1974: 95), where he refers to Gröber (1884) and Wagner (1920); see also Wagner's remarks at (1920: 391). Most of the lexical items discussed by Tovar already appear in Silva Neto (1970: 115–17, 259–60), the first edition of whose work antedates Tovar's papers. The theory is part of a

regional diversification of Latin in the Roman period, because some of these republican usages might have been dropped in mainstream Latin in Italy, and if so their survival in the isolation of Spain would constitute a regional feature. Thus (in theory) a determinant of the character of Ibero-Romance would be the date of the occupation of the peninsula,[16] in that a word current in the second century BC when Spain was occupied, but archaic (for argument's sake) by the time when Gaul was being Romanised, might have survived in Ibero-Romance but not Gallo-Romance. As E. Löfstedt (1959: 5) puts it, in Spain, 'which was colonized early, the Roman inhabitants probably spoke . . . a rather older Latin than the colonists in Gaul. In the main the Latin of the Iberian peninsula, like that of Dacia, seems to have been of a conservative and tradition[al] character.' The notion that the character of the various Romance languages reflects the date of the occupation of the regions to which they belong has recently been expressed in perhaps its starkest form by Bonfante (1999: xvi), acknowledging Gröber and stating that the theory is the central idea of his own book: 'The Romance languages represent the various steps of Roman colonization: Sicily was colonized in 241 B.C., Spain around 200 B.C., Gaul around 50 B.C., Dacia in 108 A.D. Therefore the language of Sicily would represent the Latin of Plautus, Spanish that of Ennius, French that of Caesar, Romanian that of Apuleius.'[17]

At least two questions are raised by this theory as it has been applied to Spain. First, can it be demonstrated that the usages in question did indeed reach Spain in the republican period? And if so is there ever evidence that they were regionalisms of Iberian Latin in the Roman period itself? The answers to these questions turn out not to be clear-cut, though we did see in an earlier chapter (III.6.5) metalinguistic evidence for the retention in Spain of a usage that had been lost at Rome by the late Republic (the original meaning of *cenaculum*).

A complementary view, again associated with Tovar, is that the Latin of certain writers of the imperial period of Spanish origin, such as Seneca and Columella, also has Spanish characteristics, and this is taken to show that the regional character of Spanish Latin established in the early Republic was maintained in the centuries between the Republic and Ibero-Romance.[18]

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wider idea that the Romance languages of different regions reflect the date of colonisation of each region. See e.g. Gröber (1884: 210–13), Bonfante (1999: xvi), cited below. For pertinent criticisms of the wider theory see e.g. Hall (1974: 66), Väänänen (1983: 485).

[16] See in general on theories of this type above, I.6.

[17] For a critique of Bonfante's book see Frank (2002).

[18] See the remarks of Tovar (1968a: 33), and the discussion that follows (33–6) of several imperial Spanish writers. See also Tovar (1968b, 1969b, 1974).

Spanish writers of the imperial period will be considered in section 3 below. I begin this chapter with a discussion of some of Tovar's case studies from the Republic, to demonstrate the problems of his approach and use of evidence. At the end of the section (2.12) I will consider the question whether there is any substance to the theory that Spanish Latin was archaic. The general argument of sections 2.1–2.11 with 2.12 will be that there is a minimal number of 'archaic relics' (this term will be discussed at 2.12) identifiable in Spain, but that most of the cases that have been adduced are unsatisfactory in various ways. Problems of definition will be addressed at 2.12, and the criteria for identifying archaisms discussed.

It will also be shown that supposed regional features of the Latin and Romance of various areas other than Spain have not infrequently been attributed to the survival of archaisms in those areas (2.13), and it will be suggested that the concept of archaism is an unsatisfactory one, which has been pushed too far.

2.1   demagis

A Spanish archaism might seem to be identifiable in the compound adverb *demagis* and its later history.[19] The word occurs just once in literature, in Lucilius himself (528 Marx) as cited by Nonius p. 140 Lindsay s.v. *demagis, ualde magis*; there is also an instance at Paul. Fest. p. 62.18 Lindsay (*demagis pro minus dicebant antiqui*: change *minus* to *nimis*?), presented as an archaism and no doubt alluding to the Lucilian example. Though it is lost sight of in Latin literature, the word seems to turn up again in Ibero-Romance (Spanish *demás*,[20] Catalan *demés*,[21] Portuguese *demais*) and Gallo-Romance dialects (*de mes*, *demais*).[22] The Romance meanings, how-ever, are usually somewhat removed from what might have been the literal meaning of the Latin word (though *demagis* is an anomalous formation and its meaning unclear: see below).[23] Did *demagis* remain current from the time of Lucilius onwards?

This is not a straightforward case. There is, first, an uncertainty about the text of the Lucilian example. The text is usually printed as follows (see Warmington 1967, 544–6, Krenkel 1970, 532–4, Terzaghi 1966, 563–5, Charpin 1979, XVI.4, p. 83):

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[19] See Tovar (1969a: 1022–4).   [20] See Corominas and Pascual (1980–91: III, 867–8).
[21] See Coromines (1980–2001: V, 614).   [22] See *FEW* VI.1.29; also *REW* 2546.
[23] In Spanish *lo demás* means 'the rest', *por lo demás* 'apart from that, otherwise', *los/las d.* 'the rest', *y demás* 'and the like'. Catalan *demés* means 'furthermore, besides'. In Portuguese *demais* means 'too much, very much', *os/as d.* 'the rest (of them)'.

> rex Cotus ille duo[s] hos uentos, austrum atque aquilonem,
> nouiss[im]e aiebat <se> solos demagis; istos
> ex nimbo austellos nec nosse nec esse putare.

That famous King Cotys used to say that he knew these two winds, the south wind and the north wind, very much more than the others;[24] but as for those gentle south winds made out of a rain-cloud, he said that he neither knew them nor thought they existed (Warmington 1967).

Marx (528) adopted a different supplement in the second line, which had the effect of placing *demagis* in the next clause:

> nouisse aiebat solos, <sed> demagis istos.

This solution has not found favour. It is difficult to assign *demagis* a meaning in the *nec . . . nec* construction. The *OLD*, printing this text, gives the sense as 'furthermore, moreover', but preceded by a question mark. Such a meaning is not easy to justify from the context (contrast Nonius above).[25]

There is an oddity about this compound. Most adverbs/prepositions formed with *de-* (and other separative prefixes) belong to one or two of a limited range of categories.[26] The prefix (1) may have full separative force, sometimes merely reinforcing the separative idea of the base, as in *deinde*, but often adding a semantic component not present in the base, as in *desuper* 'from above'. If that separative force is not obvious in a particular case, there may be other attestations of the same word where it is still apparent (*desuper* is given a secondary meaning 'up above' by the *OLD*; *depost* is both separative and static in later Latin).[27] If there is no separative example of a compound extant, it may nevertheless be easy to see that there might have been an earlier use in which the separative sense of the prefix had still been present.[28] Thus non-separative uses are often derivable from separative, with the force of the prefix lost. Alternatively (2) the compound adverb may be formed on the analogy of a prepositional phrase.[29] Vitruvius (5.6.8) has *a peregre* alongside *a foro*,[30] and *e contra* might have been coined on the analogy of *e contrario*.[31] Finally (3), some adverbs (e.g. *denuo*) were originally themselves prepositional expressions.

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[24] Perhaps: 'these two winds were the only ones he knew more' (than others previously mentioned?).
[25] Petersmann (1999: 305) says that the word means 'furthermore' without observing any difficulty.
[26] Sävborg (1941) does not deal with *demagis* in the chapter (V) devoted to such compounds, but the material assembled at least allows the reader to form some idea of the character of the formation.
[27] See Norberg (1944: 88).
[28] See Norberg (1944: 82) on the loss of separative force undergone by *ab-* and *de-* in certain compounds; also Hofmann and Szantyr (1965: 283). See too C. Hamp (1888: 328).
[29] See Norberg (1944: 78–9), Hofmann and Szantyr (1965: 283).
[30] See Norberg (1944: 78).   [31] See Norberg (1944: 79), Hofmann and Szantyr (1965: 283).

Norberg (1944: 77) suggests that *subito* and *repente* were in origin fossilised ablative forms; the compounds *desubito* and *derepente*, both of which are attested in early Latin, can also be seen as quasi-prepositional expressions. *Demagis* does not fit into any of these categories, and there lingers a doubt about the text.

For the sake of argument I assume first that *demagis* as attested in Lucilius is authentic (but see the third point below). But even so there are problems concerning the relationship between the republican word and its apparent Ibero-Romance reflexes. The question arises whether *demagis* was a regionalism of the Iberian peninsula during the Roman Empire as well as in the Romance period (though we saw above that reflexes are not entirely restricted to Spain). Was there continuity in the area in the use of the term between the time of Lucilius and that of the modern languages?

There are various ways of explaining the coincidence between the usage of Lucilius and that of Ibero-Romance. Because the methodological points are important I go through the possibilities. First, the word might have been transported to Spain by soldiers and early settlers in the second century BC, when it was current in Italy, and subsequently have fallen out of use in mainstream Latin while retaining its currency in Spain right down to the modern period.[32] If so it would indeed have been a Spanish regionalism during the Roman period. The survival of the term in Provence as well (see n. 22 for bibliography) would raise no problem, as we have repeatedly seen correspondences between Gallo- and Ibero-Romance. Second, the term possibly fell out of use during the Republic, to be coined again in one region at a much later date. This possibility (or a variation on it: see the next point) has much to commend it. New compound adverbs, particularly with the prefix *de-*, are a feature of late Latin.[33] On this view the 'continuity' between republican and Ibero-Romance usage would be an illusion: we do not know certainly that *demagis* had found its way to Spain in the Republic, as Lucilius was not a Spaniard and his single case of the word establishes nothing about its currency in Spain. Third, it is tempting to advance a more radical variation on this second possibility. Since it is particularly in the later period that compounds in which *de-* has no real force turn up, *demagis* looks more like a formation of that time than of the Republic. Given the oddity of the term as a republican coinage (see above), one might be inclined to reject the Lucilian case altogether and to see the word as exclusively late,

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[32] Tovar (1968a: 18–19) imagines Lucilius as admitting in his satires words which he might have heard as a soldier in Spain and which might have been picked up by romanised natives.

[33] See Hamp (1888), Norberg (1944: 76–91).

though it has to be said that grammarians had found the word in their text of Lucilius. Fourth, the weak attestation of the word in literature may give a false impression of its currency at a subliterary level. It is not possible to determine the regional spread of submerged vocabulary of the sort that keeps on surfacing for the first time at (e.g.) Vindolanda. One should not make the deduction from the survival of a term in a restricted part of the Romance world that it had been restricted in its geographical distribution throughout the whole of the Roman period itself, unless there is a reason for doing so. We have seen, for example, that substrate words often did not move beyond the place of their coinage; but compound adverbs are more transparent in meaning than foreign borrowings, and less likely to show a geographical restriction. On this, rather negative, view, *demagis* might have been in use in Spain, but not only there.

Stefenelli (1962: 18–19) argues that the word could not have been in continuous use between the time of Lucilius and the modern languages. He stresses the unfamiliarity of the grammarians with the term (though that unfamiliarity would not rule out the possibility that it was known in the distant area of Spain), and makes the methodological point that, whereas a specialised usage might be attested only in the Republic but surface again in Romance, having remained submerged beneath the level of literature, that is hardly likely to have been so of a mundane word with an everyday feel to it (see however below, 2.2). This point is not unlike the observation repeatedly made in this book, that substrate words are far more revealing of regional usage than are commonplace words (see too the end of the last paragraph). I agree with Stefenelli that one must be wary about equating the word in Lucilius with the Ibero-Romance forms.

The problems of interpretation that come up in this case spring from an inadequacy of the evidence used by Tovar and others in arguing for the archaic character of Spanish Latin. The nature of that inadequacy deserves to be stressed. We ideally need evidence from Spain itself in the Roman (as distinct from Romance) period for the currency there of a term if we are to argue that it was in unbroken use between the second century BC and the modern Iberian languages. Tovar is not able to provide such evidence.[34] If a term does happen to be attested after the second century (during, say, the Empire), we must look at its geographical distribution before jumping to the conclusion that it was a Spanish regionalism.

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[34] That is because there are extant very few 'vulgar texts' from Spain of early date: so E. Löfstedt (1959: 5 with n. 4). But see now Corell (1993).

<center>*2.2*   cuius, -a, -um</center>

There are some more compelling indications that Spain preserved usages from the period of the first occupation. A case in point is the possessive adjective *cuius, -a, -um* 'whose'.[35] The adjective is common in comedy, and may have been used by Lucilius (965, by emendation; Lucilius was at this point imitating scenic language: see Marx 1904–5 ad loc. and below on this phenomenon), but thereafter largely disappears except in archaisers and a few special passages. It is in a prayer in Cato (*Agr.* 139), and in a formula at Cic. *Verr.* 2.127.

Perhaps the most famous example is in the mouth of the herdsman Menalcas in the first line of Virgil's third *Eclogue* (*dic mihi, Damoeta, cuium pecus?*). One possibility is that the usage had been dropped from the literary language but maintained in rustic speech and picked up from there by Virgil, as is implied in a passage of Numitorius' *Antibucolica* quoted by Donatus *Vita Vergili* 43 (*dic mihi, Damoeta: 'cuium pecus' anne Latinum? / non. uerum Aegonis nostri, sic rure loquuntur*, 'Tell me, Damoetas, *cuium pecus*, is it correct Latin? – No, it's [the Latin of] our Aegon, that's how they speak in the country').[36] Clausen (1994: 93), however, states that *cuium pecus* is not rustic speech, and he makes a good case that Virgil has modelled the language on comedy at this point. He observes (1994: 93) that 'two slaves are wrangling, and [that] the obvious model for such a scene was Plautus', and adds that 'Menalcas and Damoetas repeatedly avail themselves of Plautine language or language reminiscent of comedy', a fact which is taken to confirm his interpretation of *cuium pecus*. For the interrogative use in comedy see e.g. Ter. *Andr.* 763 *quoium puerum hic adposisti?*[37]

Comic language was not infrequently imitated in the classical period to impart a racy or colloquial tone to a passage; in such cases the 'colloquialism' was of an artificial type, drawn not from current speech but from the old literary language.[38] There is a significant example of *cuius* at *Rhet. Her.* 4.64, in a vivid piece of narrative, full of dialogue, composed by the author as a specimen of *notatio* (ἠθοποιία, character delineation): *reperiunt domus*

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[35] For discussion of its formation see Wackernagel (1926–8: II, 81), Walde and Hofmann (1938–54: I, 301–2), Leumann (1977: 481).

[36] See Courtney (1993: 284). Courtney says that 'Vergil of course uses the word *cuius* as a deliberate rustic archaism', and in this he agrees with Wackernagel (1926–8: II, 81).

[37] See further Leumann (1977: 481).

[38] It is of course the case that many colloquialisms attested in comedy lived on in real speech, turning up later in (e.g.) Cicero's letters, Petronius and the Romance languages. I am referring here to a different category, of comic usages dropped from the colloquial language by the late Republic or early Empire but occasionally revived in conscious imitation of comedy.

cuia sit ('they discover whose house it is'). Caplan (1954: 397 n. *c*) describes the passage as 'in the spirit of comedy'. It contains allusions to situations of comedy (see Caplan 1954: 392 footnotes), as well as other distinctive usages. At 63 a dialogue begins *at eho tu*, followed by an imperative. The *TLL* (V.2.298.36ff.) notes that *eho* is found outside comedy only in a fragment of Ennius (*Trag.* 342 = 309 Jocelyn, without commentary), whose tragic dialogue shares some linguistic features with comedy (as for example a use of *ausculto*, at 247 Jocelyn),[39] and in the passage of *Rhet. Her.* The manuscripts of the *Rhet. Her.* are corrupt at this point (see *TLL* 299.11f.: *at de ho* C, *a deo* P[1], al.), and the emendation, a virtually certain one, is due to Marx.[40] In comedy *eho* is often followed by *tu* (see *TLL* 298.64ff.).

Also of note in the passage of *notatio*, again in dialogue, is *apage (te)*, 'away with (you)' (64). This usage is common in comedy, but, if one leaves aside a few examples in imperial archaisers, is otherwise found only twice: at Varro *Men.* 133 (*apage in dierectum a domo nostra istam insanitatem*) in a significant collocation, in that *dierectus* otherwise occurs only in comedy, and in a letter of Vatinius to Cicero (*Fam.* 5.10a.1 *apage te cum nostro Sex. Seruilio!*). Vatinius has surely adopted a comic phrase.

I mention one other possible case of comic imitation, also from the *Ad Herennium*.[41] At 4.16 there is a passage illustrating the *aridum et exsangue genus orationis* ('the dry and bloodless style') of which it is remarked (after the quotation) that *friuolus hic quidem iam et inliberalis est sermo* ('this language besides is trashy and mean'):

nam istic in balneis accessit ad hunc. postea dicit: 'hic tuus seruus me pulsauit'. postea dicit hic illi: 'considerabo'. post ille conuicium fecit et magis magisque praesente multis clamauit.

Now this fellow came up to this lad in the baths. After that he says: 'Your slaveboy here has beat me.' After that the lad says to him: 'I'll think about it.' Afterwards this fellow called the lad names and shouted louder and louder, while a lot of people were there (Caplan).

According to *TLL* VII.2.I.495.25ff. (Ehlers) *istic* (nominative singular) occurs outside comedy only here, in a passage of Seneca's tragedies and once in Tertullian. Ehlers, noting that the present passage is a specimen of *sermo friuolus et illiberalis*, says (following Marx) that it is intended 'comicorum

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[39] See the material collected by Jocelyn (1967: 384).
[40] For a brief discussion see Marx (1894: 172).
[41] Marx (1894: 167) collects usages apparently taken by the author *Ad Herennium* from Plautus, though he does not mention in that context the usages discussed here.

more'.[42] That is not unlikely. Note that *praesente multis* is also common in comedy, though perhaps at this period still a living colloquialism.[43]

So much for the use of *cuius* in Latin. In Romance its reflexes are restricted to Spain (Spanish *cuyo*),[44] Portugal (Portuguese *cujo*)[45] and Sardinia (*kúyu*),[46] all areas that were occupied early by the Romans. There is a fundamental difference between, say, *demagis* and *cuius*. Compound adverbs with the prefix *de-*, as we saw, were coined freely in the later Empire, and *demagis*, even if it had once been in use in the early Republic, might have been coined again in the late period after falling out of use. There is no need to assume continuity of usage between the time of Lucilius and that of Ibero-Romance. *Cuius* is a different matter. Its formation was not of an ongoing productive type, and such an adjective is unlikely to have been coined independently at two different periods. It is reasonable to think that it had been in continuous use in Spain and Sardinia from the second century BC until the emergence of the several Romance languages. If we were right to argue, following Clausen, that *cuius* was obsolete by the classical period except in conscious imitations of early comedy[47] or as a legal archaism (note the passage of Cicero cited in the first paragraph),[48] it must have been a regional peculiarity of Spain and Sardinia for centuries (between the classical and Romance periods).[49] It would thus be the sort of word sought after by Tovar, that is an archaic term of the Iberian peninsula. If on the other hand we agree with Wackernagel and others that *cuius* was still living in peasant usage at the time of Virgil (in Italy), then it might have been widespread in speech and have reached Spain at any time. The case is

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[42] See Marx (1894: 172): '*Istic* nominatiuum in sermone quem friuolum et inliberalem uoluit esse posuit comicorum more.'

[43] See Bonfante (1967: xiv).

[44] See Corominas and Pascual (1980–91: IV.705 col. 2) s.v. *qué*, noting e.g. that the term was current as an interrogative (cf. above on the use of the Latin etymon thus) down to the seventeenth century.

[45] See Machado (1967: I, 735).

[46] See *FEW* 2371, and in particular Wagner (1960–4: I, 423). Wagner notes that as a (possessive) interrogative *kúyu* survives in central dialects of Sardinian (e.g. *kúyu est kustu pittsínnu?*), and this usage is treated as a survival from archaic Latin ('Questo costrutto è anche una sopravvivenza del latino arcaico.'). The relative use was once current but has fallen out of use.

[47] On this view Numitorius is not to be treated as authoritative.

[48] See also Holford-Strevens (2003: 49 n. 7).

[49] An outside possibility is that it was preserved in Spain or even reintroduced there at a late stage because it is found in the text of Virgil, who had an important place in the education system: see the suggestive remarks of Mariner Bigorra (1960: 204 with n. 14). Such a reintroduction is not likely, however, to have taken place independently in Sardinia as well as Spain, and it would in any case be far-fetched to suggest that Virgil had any power to influence ordinary Sardinian speech. Sardinian did, it is true, adopt a considerable number of words of Catalan or Spanish origin during the period of Hispanic rule (1326–1718) (see Jones 1988: 347), but Wagner (1960–4: I, 423) treats the word as a Latin survival in Sardinia (see above, n. 46), not as a borrowing.

not absolutely clear-cut, but on balance I favour the first possibility. Given the context in which the author *Ad Herennium* has the term it is more likely that he took it from comedy than from a submerged variety of speech, and once that is accepted it becomes even more likely that Virgil too, in a comic context, exploited the language of comedy. I stress finally that Sardinia on this view shared an archaism with Spain. Sardinia was first occupied by the Romans *c.* 238 BC, and organised as a province with Corsica in 227.[50] It is not infrequently mentioned as the domicile of a 'conservative' variety of Romance,[51] retaining many 'archaic' Latin words.[52] It will come up in this context again (see 2.12).

2.3 *couus

A curious case is that of some apparent reflexes of Lat. *cauus* 'hollow'. It is thought that the original form of the Latin word was **couos*.[53] In some parts of the Romance world the form with *a* survives (see *REW* 1796.1: e.g. Italian *cavo*, Provençal *cau*), but in the Iberian peninsula the form with *o* seems to be reflected (mainly as a feminine substantive, = 'cave, cavern, pit'):[54] Catalan *cova*,[55] Spanish *cueva*,[56] Portuguese *cova*.[57] These terms are widely taken to be archaisms of Ibero-Romance. See e.g. Lindsay (1894: 235): 'The Spanish and Portuguese words . . . show that *couo-*, not *cauo-*, was the Vulgar Latin stem at the time when Spain was made a province.'[58] In Portuguese there is not only a feminine noun but also an adjective *covo* 'hollow',[59] and Machado is able to quote an adjectival use of the form from a medieval text of 850–66 (*uilla prenominata uilla coua ad portu de latrines*).

Corominas and Pascual (1980–91: II, 282) state that *couus* was an archaic variant of *cauus*,[60] but it should not be implied that *couus* is definitely attested. There is possibly a case at Varro *Ling.* 5.135 *sub iugo medio cauum, quod bura extrema addita oppilatur, uocatur coum* [*cous* Fv] *a couo* [which is usually changed to *cauo*].[61] The final word of the transmitted text might

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[50] See E. T. Salmon and T. Potter, *OCD*[3] s.v. 'Sardinia'.
[51] See e.g. Jones (1988: 314) and throughout.   [52] See e.g. Jones (1988: 346).
[53] See Walde and Hofmann (1938–54: I, 191), Ernout and Meillet (1959: 108 s.v. *cauus*, 131 s.v. *cohum*), and on the sound change, Leumann (1977: 49–50), Sihler (1995: 44) and particularly Collinge (1985: 193–5), calling the change of /o/ to /a/ before /w/ in Latin the 'law of Thurneysen and Havet'.
[54] See in general *REW* 1796.2.   [55] See Coromines (1980–2001: II, 1021).
[56] See Corominas and Pascual (1980–91: II, 282).   [57] See Machado (1967: I, 716).
[58] See also Lapesa (1980: 90), Bonfante (1999: 17).   [59] See Machado (1967: I, 717).
[60] '. . . femenino del adjetivo CO(V)US, variante arcaica de CAVUS "hueco"'.
[61] Kent's translation (1958) is as follows: 'The hole under the middle of the yoke, which is stopped up by inserting the end of the beam, is called *coum*, from *cauum* "hole".'

seem to be a variant *couus* = *cauus*, but the passage is of uncertain meaning and the correct text debateable (see *TLL* III.1563.6ff.). The problem is not elucidated by an instance of *cohum* at Paul. Fest. p. 34.26 Lindsay with a very different meaning: *cohum* [*choum* LIR] *lorum, quo temo buris cum iugo conligatur, a cohibendo dictum* ('a *cohum* is a thong by which the plough beam is tied to the yoke, so called from restraining').[62] Here the sense would appear to be 'thong used to attach the pole to the yoke' (*OLD* s.v. *cohum*[1], 2), which has no obvious connection with hollowness, and is not easily related to the apparent sense of the word in the passage of Varro just quoted (for which sense see *OLD* s.v. *cohum*[1], 1 'hollow in the middle of a yoke, into which the pole fitted'). Walde and Hofmann (1938–54: I, 244) reject any connection between *cauus* and *cohum*.[63] Another complication is added by Paul. Fest. p. 34.28 Lindsay (*cohum poetae caelum dixerunt, a chao, ex quo putabant caelum esse formatum*, 'poets called the heavens *cohum*, from chaos, from which they thought that the heavens were formed'), and by a fragment of Ennius' *Annales* (558 Skutsch *uix solum complere cohum torroribus caeli*), on which Skutsch (1985: 703) comments that the line 'cannot be restored with any degree of confidence'. He does, however, point out (704) that in poetry *cauus* can be used of the hollow of the sky, and observes that this usage suggests 'that *caeli* should be taken with *cohum*'. The *OLD* s.v. *cohum*[2] cautiously gives this use of *cohum* (defined as 'vault of the sky') a separate lemma, but adding 'perh. same wd. as prec.'[64] The Latin evidence presents a confused picture which does not help with the interpretation of the Romance forms listed above.

If *cueva* etc. are indeed derived from an earlier form of *cauus*, they must be archaisms of Ibero-Romance that go back to the early period of occupation. There is no mention of a sound change *cav-* > *cov-* that might have taken place late in the Iberian peninsula. But some doubts linger about the origin of the Ibero-Romance words. It is of note that, whereas Corominas and Pascual (1980–91: II, 282) and Machado (1967: I, 716) derive the Spanish and Portuguese terms unequivocally from an archaic Latin variant with *o* in the first syllable, Coromines (1980–2001: II, 1021) is more guarded about the Catalan word ('<u>probablement</u> es tracta d'un CŎVUS, -A, -UM, variant arcaica i vulgar del mot llatí', my emphasis), and also mentions a theory that its origin might have been Celtic. It is odd that most of the

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[62] I take it that *buris* is the genitive of *buris* (feminine), for which see *OLD* s.v. *bura*.
[63] For this they are criticised by Skutsch (1985: 704).
[64] Contrast the confidence of Lindsay (1894: 235): 'The country-term *coum*, (*cohum*), the hollow in the plough, used by Ennius of the innermost part of the heavenly sphere, retained the *o*'. Lindsay does not mention the example of *cohum* which is semantically out of line with this equation.

reflexes are substantival, given that *caua* does not seem to be attested as a noun. The Portuguese adjectival usage is interesting, but one wonders what *coua* means as an epithet of *uilla*: is it really a form of *caua*? There are traces of the *o*-form also in northern Italian dialects (see *REW* loc. cit., *FEW* II.1.560, Piedmont, Lombardy), and it is possible that it was once more widespread in speech. *Couus* might have been an Iberian archaism, but the case is not clear-cut.

2.4 gumia

Twice (1066, 1237) Lucilius uses the term *gumia* 'glutton' (male or female), a borrowing, it seems from Umbrian (*gomia*, **kumiaf**, = 'pregnant', of an animal).[65] The semantic change might be explained through an intermediate sense such as 'paunch'. In Romance the word survives only in Castilian Spanish (*gomia*, 'monster, glutton'). Here might seem to be a word that had entered Iberian Latin in the second century BC and survived in Ibero-Romance.[66] Tovar (1969a: 1022) stresses the Italic origin of the term, in allusion to a theory that the Latin of Spain had input dating back to the Republic from Italic languages other than Latin (see below, 4).[67] But there are doubts hanging over even this case. Corominas and Pascual (1980–91: III, 171) argue that the Castilian form is not popular, showing as it does *ó* with absence of metaphony, but a cultural borrowing from Latin by (e.g.) the Church in the medieval period.[68]

2.5 fabulor

Another suggested archaism is the use of *fabulor* 'speak'.[69] The verb survives in the Iberian peninsula (Spanish *hablar*,[70] Portuguese *falar*,[71] Salamancan,

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[65] On the Umbrian word and for bibliography see Untermann (2000: 310); also Walde and Hofmann (1938–54: I, 626).

[66] So Tovar (1968a: 20–1, 1969a: 1020–22); also, earlier, Bücheler (1882: 523).

[67] See Poccetti (2003a: 85–6) on the possible significance of this item as evidence for the presence of an Italic element in Spanish Latin.

[68] Corominas and Pascual first describe the Spanish term as a 'descendiente semiculto' of the Latin word, and then expand as follows: 'La forma castellana es el único descendiente romance, pero su *ó* sin metafonía prueba que no tuvo carácter rigurosamente popular: será vocablo introducido por la Iglesia con sus procesiones.' Baldinger (1972: 106 n. 100) is inclined to accept this argument.

[69] See Silva Neto (1970: 116, 260), Díaz y Díaz (1960: 240), Tovar (1968a: 39), Baldinger (1972: 106 n. 100), Mariner Bigorra (1983: 824), Mayer (1994: 366), del Barrio Vega (1986–7: 67).

[70] See Corominas and Pascual (1980–91: 296). The Spanish word usually means 'speak', but can also mean 'talk (converse, chat)'.

[71] See Machado (1967: II, 1007).

Galician *falar*[72]). It is also found in early Latin. *Fabulor* is common in Plautus and used occasionally elsewhere in the early period (two examples in Terence, an example at Enn. *Trag.* 147 Jocelyn, examples at Titinius 104, 111).[73] There are, however, no instances in late republican Latin, including Cicero. Did it fall out of use after the second century BC in mainstream Latin? I come to this question below, but first give a few semantic details.

Fabulor properly means 'converse, chat': see *TLL* VI.1.35.12 'strictiore sensu i. q. sermones conferre (plerumque de colloquio familiari)'. Thus e.g. Plaut. *Men.* 324 *ego te non noui: cum hoc quem noui fabulor* ('I don't know you; with this man whom I know I am conversing'), *Epid.* 237 *occepere aliae mulieres / duae sic post me fabulari inter sese* ('two other women thus began to chat behind me'). But it had already taken on the sense 'speak' in the republican period, a meaning it shares with *loquor*. This is nowhere clearer than at Titin. 104 *qui Obsce et Volsce fabulantur: nam Latine nesciunt* ('those who speak Oscan and Volscian: for they do not know Latin'), where it is used of the speaking of languages, a sense in which *loquor* is standard (*Latine loquor*, etc.). Note too *Truc.* 830 *uinum si fabulari possit se defenderet* ('if the wine could speak it would defend itself'), and see *TLL* VI.1.36.19ff. for further examples from Plautus. In the other meaning 'converse' *fabulor* was also in rivalry with *loquor*, for which with this sense see *OLD* s.v. 3. The two words are not infrequently used in alternation in Plautus with the same meaning, as at *Mil.* 422–4 SC. *quid nunc taces? tecum loquor . . .* PH. *quicum tu fabulare?* ('why are you saying nothing now? I am speaking to you . . . : : Whom are you speaking to?'). This example incidentally brings out the difficulty of making a distinction between 'speak (to)' and 'converse (with)'. Note also *Capt.* 535.

It is certainly possible that *fabulor* (in the sense 'speak') was transported to Spain in the early Republic, at the time when the verb (in whatever sense) was common. The plays of Plautus are contemporary with the occupation of Spain. The case would, however, be stronger if the verb itself or at least the meaning 'speak' had disappeared completely after the period of early Latin, to resurface later in Ibero-Romance. But in fact after the late Republic the verb turns up again, in writers such as Martial, the *SHA*, Apuleius, Suetonius, Gellius, Augustine, mainly but not exclusively in the meaning 'converse', if one follows the classification of the *TLL* (VI.1.35.12ff., 36.19ff.), although it must be stressed that the senses 'converse' and speak'

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[72] These last two reflexes are cited by *FEW* III.346. In Italy and France it is *parabolare* that produces verbs meaning 'speak' (see e.g. *FEW* VII.612).

[73] For statistics showing the incidence of the verb in the Republic and early Empire, see *TLL* VI.1.35.5ff. It is said to occur in Plautus fifty-six times.

are not always easy to distinguish (see above).[74] It would seem that the verb had been revived in the literary language (assuming that it had dropped out of use in the first place),[75] and not necessarily as an out-and-out archaism. Holford-Strevens (2003: 51), noting various republican usages that reappear in Gellius after apparently falling out of use, remarks: 'That is not to say that every one of these usages was a conscious archaism: Suetonius, whom no one considers an archaist,[76] exhibits . . . *fabulari* = *loqui* . . . [other usages are listed], indicating that much old vocabulary had been restored to literary usage in his day.' Since *fabulor* was in use in the imperial period it might have reached Spain then rather than earlier. To put it another way, the verb might have had a fairly wide currency in the Empire, only to suffer shrinkage in areas other than the Iberian peninsula.

One or two other hints of a currency outside Spain are worthy of mention. There is a verb *faular* 'parler, speak' (a hapax legomenon; < *fabulari*) attested in Old Provençal (*FEW* III.345). The existence of *fablança* 'word' in the early dialect of Bologna perhaps points to a limited survival of the verb in Italo-Romance itself (see *FEW* III.346). An alternative verb form *fabellare* 'speak' is reflected in Italian dialects, Old French and Old Provençal, Engadine (Rheto-Romance, of eastern Switzerland) and the dialects of Sardinia.[77] In Latin itself it is known only from a few glosses (*TLL* s.v.). Strictly it is a derivative of the diminutive noun *fabella*, which is not uncommon in Latin but leaves no trace in Romance, but the coinage of *fabellare* was possibly generated by the existence of a verb (*fabulo(r)*) derived from the base-noun *fabula*.

I conclude that *fabulor* is too common in the Empire (the *TLL* article runs to two columns) to justify the conclusion that reflexes in Spain represent an archaic survival from the early Republic. That is merely a possibility.

2.6 rostrum

Tovar several times (1968a: 19, 1969a: 1024–7) discussed *rostrum* as applied to the human anatomy in trying to demonstrate that Iberian Latin was based on the Latin spoken at the time of (e.g.) Lucilius.[78] The second discussion

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[74] It is of note, for example, that Holford-Strevens (2003: 49 n. 8) says that *fabulor* is 'given the general sense of "speak" by Suetonius'; yet the *TLL* cites no examples from Suetonius under the heading (36.19) 'evanescente confabulandi notione fere i. q. loqui', but puts all its citations from the author under the meaning 'converse'. Individual examples may be open to more than one interpretation.

[75] Which is not certainly the case. The remains of late republican Latin, dominated as they are by the works of Cicero, are not necessarily representative of the diversity of literary Latin in the period.

[76] See further Holford-Strevens (2003: 355).

[77] See *REW* 3119, *FEW* III.341, Corominas and Pascual (1980–91: III, 296), Wagner (1960–4: I, 508).

[78] Petersmann (1999: 305) offers some critical remarks on Tovar's treatment of *rostrum*.

gives a full review of the evidence. It is the argument based on the evidence that is problematic.

The word was used properly of the beak of a bird or snout of an animal, but it was early applied in colloquial Latin (like a range of other terms strictly applicable to animals)[79] to corresponding parts of the human anatomy, loosely speaking the mouth/nose/face. Nonius took an interest in the noun as used of humans, and illustrated it from Plautus, Novius, Lucilius and Varro (pp. 729–30 Lindsay). Note e.g. Plaut. *Men.* 89 *apud mensam plenam homini rostrum deliges* ('you should attach the fellow's snout to a full table'),[80] Varro *Men.* 419 *itaque uideas barbato rostro illum commentari* ('and so you can see him meditating with bearded mug')[81] and, later, Petron. 75.10 *ut celerius rostrum barbatum haberem, labra de lucerna ungebam* ('so that I might have a bearded mug more quickly, I smeared my lips from the oil-lamp'). There is an indeterminacy about the usage; those employing the term were not necessarily thinking of a precisely demarcated area, or of the same area every time they used the word.[82] Thus, while the three examples in Lucilius (210 *ne designati rostrum praetoris pedesque / spectes*, 336 *rostrum labeasque . . . / percutio dentesque aduorsos discutio omnis*,[83] 1121 *baronum ac rupicum squarrosa, incondita rostra*) are taken to mean 'face' (Spanish *cara*) by Tovar (1969a: 1025),[84] in the second case at least the reference is just as likely to be to the mouth, and Warmington (1967) was right to adopt less precise renderings (respectively 'beak', 'mug' and 'mugs'; I quote Warmington's translations of the three fragments, with his numeration: 233–4 '[g]aze you not at the beak and feet of the chosen praetor';[85] 362–3 'I hit his mug . . . and his lips and shatter all his teeth that meet my blows'; 1184 'scurfy uncouth mugs of blockheads and clowns').[86] The *OLD* s.v. 1c is close to the mark in stating, with appropriate vagueness, 'colloq. applied to the part of the human face about the nose and mouth'. If animal imagery is present in a passage, as it no doubt always is in the early period, 'snout' would probably capture the force of the word.

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[79] See Adams (1982a).

[80] I follow Gratwick (1993) ad loc. in translating *rostrum* as 'snout': see further below. On the use of *apud* here see *TLL* V.1.450.66f.

[81] Note the rendering of Cèbe (1994: 1734), line 419: 'c'est pourquoi on peut voir cet homme au museau barbu méditer'.

[82] For further details see Adams (1982a: 103), Petersmann (1999: 305–6).

[83] The text after *labeasque* is uncertain and I leave it out as not germane to the argument.

[84] '. . . el significado de "cara" aparece en tres pasajes de Lucilio'.

[85] As Warmington (1967: 73 n. *b*) remarks, there is probably an allusion here to 'Caecilius' cognomen Caprarius'. See further II.11.2.

[86] On this last passage Warmington (1967: 387 n. *b*) says that *rostrum* was 'soldiers' slang for face'. That is no more than a guess, which contributes nothing to the problem of meaning.

The term was current (in reference to humans) in Latin over a long period and in different areas. We have just seen an imperial example in Petronius. In late Latin the word was applied to the human anatomy by the translator of Dioscorides, probably writing in Africa (see below, VIII.4.3) in the sixth century (2, p. 220.23 Stadler 1899 *quem cum miseris in rostrum*, 'when you put it in your mouth'). For further examples = 'mouth' from an African work, the *Liber tertius*, see below, VIII.4.7.1. So at Commodian *Carmen de duobus populis* (*CC* 128, p. 87) 388 (*illi autem miseri, qui fabulas uanas adornant / et magum infamant, canentibus rostra clusissent*, 'but those wretches, who embellish empty tales and defame the magician,[87] would have shut the mouths of the singers') it is used of the (human) mouth.[88] Fronto (*ad Ant.* 1.5.1, p. 92.14–16 van den Hout = p. 122 Haines) cites a proverb otherwise unattested (*supino rostro*, 'with snout in the air', = 'casually, without thought': see *OLD* s.v. 1d), which was obviously used in reference to humans.[89] It has the same vagueness about it as some of the republican examples above:

causa morae fuit, quod, cum rescribere instituissem, quaedam menti meae se offere-
bant non 'supino', ut dicitur, 'rostro' scribenda.

The reason of the delay has been that, when I made up my mind to write, some things came into my mind, which could not be written down *beak in air*, as the saying is (Haines, Loeb).

Rostrum was to survive in the Iberian peninsula in the meaning 'face' (Spanish *rostro*, Portuguese *rosto*), and in Old Rumanian in the meaning 'mouth' (*REW* 7386).[90] Modern Rumanian *rost* has metaphorical meanings.[91] In Spanish and Portuguese (unlike Latin) the term became 'una palabra noble' (Tovar 1968a: 19).[92] On its semantic development see further below.

Tovar (1969a: 1027) made a sharp distinction between the meanings 'face' and 'mouth'. The first, supposedly 'clear above all in Lucilius and Varro' (1027), is said to have evolved in archaic Latin and taken root in the Iberian peninsula, whereas the second was a later vulgarism which survived in Rumania.[93]

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[87] See *TLL* VIII.151.72. [88] See J. Martin, *CC* 128, index p. 255, glossing the word with *os*.
[89] See van den Hout (1999: 239).
[90] *REW* 7386 in citing Arum. *rost* (='mouth') was referring not to Arumanian (i.e. Macedo–Rumanian) but to Old Rumanian.
[91] See Tovar (1969a: 1024), Cioranescu (1966: 706). [92] Cf. Tovar (1969a: 1027).
[93] 'Pero lo que parece deducirse de nuestro repaso de la historia de la palabra latina, es que hay que separar el sentido "cara", que se ha desarrollada desde el latín más bien arcaico en la Península hispánica, del sentido "boca", que parece un vulgarismo posterior y sobrevivió en Rumanía' (1027).

Tovar's motive in making this distinction is obvious enough: he wished to establish that Spain preserved the archaic state of affairs. There are several problems. First, the distinction set up within Latin does not ring true. In Latin *rostrum*, as strictly applicable to animals, when transferred to humans was abusive or humorous. We suggested above that it is a mistake to pin the word down in the earlier period to a particular part. A satirist or humorist referring to someone's 'snout' is not using precise anatomical terminology. He is employing language emotively rather than cognitively, and inviting the listener or reader to imagine the referent with unrealistic and distorted features. When Lucilius used *rostrum* of Caecilius Metellus Caprarius in allusion to his cognomen he was conjuring up a picture of a *caper* rather than using a synonym for *os*, *facies*, *nares* or whatever. What we can say about the word in the Republic is that in colourful speech it was sometimes applied to humans to evoke the image of an animal. But we cannot say that in the archaic period it was restricted to the face, only to develop an alternative meaning 'mouth' later.

Second, Tovar's case rests on an assumption that the alleged early meaning 'face', supposedly transported to Spain at the time of its republican currency, later died out elsewhere, leaving Spain isolated with a republican archaism. This is to disregard the later Latin evidence (to say nothing of the Spanish: see below). If we were to allow that some of the republican examples mean specifically 'face' (e.g. Varro *Men*. 419),[94] the same would have to be said of the example in Petronius,[95] which is in the same expression as that in Varro (who, according to Tovar as noted above, used the word of the face). The vaguer example in the proverb cited by Fronto has exactly the same indeterminacy as the republican instances. Thus the use of the word seen in the Republic did not die out in the Empire (I am referring to places other than Spain, in that the example in a freedman's speech in Petronius demonstrates the currency of the usage in Italian colloquial Latin, and Fronto for his part was an African). The Petronian example on its own opens up the possibilities that *rostrum* 'face' either came to Spain late rather than early, or that it was scattered widely in the Empire and only at a late date suffered shrinkage in areas other than Spain (but see the next point).

Finally the history of the word in Spanish itself is not exactly as it has been implied to be. It is true that if one consults a modern dictionary the meaning will be given as 'face'. But the full history as set out in detail by

[94] It should be stressed, however, that while the *rostrum* in Varro bears a beard, a beard does not necessarily cover the whole face. I repeat the point that I have been emphasising, that *rostrum* is imprecise in its field of reference to humans.
[95] Which is taken by Stefenelli (1962: 140) to mean 'face'.

Corominas and Pascual (1980–91: V, 77) is an interesting one. In medieval Spanish *rostro* preserved the old Latin meaning 'beak, snout'.[96] When it came to be applied to humans it was pejorative and meant something like 'mug'/'mouth'.[97] The transition from the ancient sense to the modern took centuries to be accomplished.[98] Transitional cases in about the thirteenth century applied to humans seem to have had the sort of vagueness suggested above for the republican instances.[99] Thus *rostrum* '(human) face' was not transported directly to Spain in the Roman Republic, but took centuries to emerge from the earlier Latin meaning.

2.7 comedo, -onis

The noun *comedo* 'glutton' occurs (outside glosses and the odd grammarian) only in Lucilius (75) and Varro (*Men.* 317). It possibly survives as Spanish *comilón* 'glutton'.[100] If the etymology of the Spanish word is correct, this would perhaps be a term that had been transported to Spain in the Republic,[101] but the etymology does seem speculative.

2.8 perna

Perna usually designates the upper part of the leg of the pig, used as food or for medicinal purposes (see *TLL* X.1.1580.23ff.). In Spanish (*pierna*) and Portuguese (*perna*), however, it survives as the word for the (human) leg (see map 16).[102] *Perna* is reflected in a number of other Romance languages, but with a variety of special senses.[103] In a fragment of Ennius' *Annales* the word is transferred to the human leg or part thereof (287 Skutsch *his pernas succidit iniqua superbia Poeni*, 'the cruel and arrogant Carthaginian severed their hams'). Ennius may have been thinking of the *poples* (back of the knee) or thigh: cf. Livy 22.51.7 *succisis feminibus poplitibusque*, which is taken to

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[96] See Corominas and Pascual (1980–91: V, 77).

[97] See Corominas and Pascual (1980–91: V, 77): 'Cuando llega a aplicarse ad hombre, vale "jeta ['mug'], boca" pero con carácter muy peyorativo.'

[98] 'El tránsito del significado antiguo hasta el moderno duró siglos.'

[99] 'Pero es probable que en casos como éstos se pensase todavía más bien en la boca, o a lo sumo en toda la parte prominente de la cara, comprendiendo boca, nariz y ojos.'

[100] See Corominas and Pascual (1980–91: II, 158 col. 2): '. . . parece ser el lat. COMEDO, -ŌNIS, quizá primero asimilado en *comenón > comelón*'.

[101] See Tovar (1968a: 21–2, 1969a: 1031).

[102] On words for 'leg' in the Romance languages see in general Rohlfs (1954a: 19–20), with map 7. For *perna* in Catalan (sometimes = '[human] leg'), see Coromines (1980–2001: VI, 452).

[103] For a list of reflexes with bibliography see *TLL* X.1.1580.13ff. For some meanings see e.g. *FEW* VIII.255, Wagner (1960–4: II, 248).

refer to the same event.[104] Wölfflin (1893: 599) suggested that *perna* of the human leg had been in unbroken use in Spain since it was taken there by Roman legionaries. Tovar (1968a: 27, 1974: 98) made the same point.[105] Skutsch (1985: 463) asserts that *perna* of the human leg 'probably belongs to military language and may sound as coarse as "hams" would in English poetry'. One cannot draw such conclusions from a single example. Ennius might have coined a brutal image of his own from butchery, as distinct from drawing on 'military language', especially given that *succidia* meant 'joint of (salt) pork' or 'the cutting of pork into joints' (*OLD*).[106] On this view the example could not be used as evidence for an established archaic use of the noun current in colloquial Latin, such as that of soldiers, and taken in the Republic to Spain.

There are hints, however, that the word might at a subliterary level have been applicable to the human anatomy. The derivative *compernis* is applied to humans only.[107] Skutsch (1985: 463) also remarks that, though *perna* is 'not generally applied to human anatomy, . . . this use is presupposed by Festus' *suppernati* [= "hamstrung", *sub* + *perna* + *-atus*] and Catullus' (17.19) *suppernata securi* (since an alder tree would hardly be compared to a quadruped)'.[108]

There is also a problematic example of *perna* at Val. Max. 6.1.13: *sed ut eos quoque qui in uindicanda pudicitia dolore suo pro publica lege usi sunt strictim percurram, Sempronius Musca C. Gallium deprehensum in adulterio flagellis cecidit, C. Memmius L. Octauium similiter deprehensum pernis contudit* ('[b]ut to run briefly over those who in avenging chastity made their own hurt stand for public law: Sempronius Musca scourged C. Gallius, whom he had caught in adultery, with lashes, C. Memmius beat L. Octavius, similarly caught, with thigh bones', Shackleton Bailey, Loeb). Briscoe (1998), reporting various conjectures, obelises *pernis*. Shackleton Bailey remarks (2000: II, 10 n. 13) on *pernis* 'sine causa suspectum', but his 'thigh <u>bones</u>' is more precise than the Latin warrants; it is just possible that a dried salted ham was used, but the incident would have been odd. Foertsch's *pugnis* (see Briscoe) is plausible, given that *contundo* is elsewhere used with this complement (Plaut. *Amph.* 407).

Lexicographers have sometimes taken a different view of the example. The *TLL* (X.1.1581.2, Erwin), noting that the Indo-European root meant 'human heel' (*calx hominis*), takes the passage as referring to kicking with

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the heel (1581.11 'sc. ictibus calcium'). It is unconvincing to introduce the Indo-European meaning in Valerius Maximus when it is unattested in Latin, or to imagine that a word usually applied to the upper part of the leg of an animal was suddenly transferred ad hoc to the other extremity of the (human) leg. Valerius, a correct writer, is unlikely to have used a submerged subliterary sense of the word ('heel'), nor does it ring true that Memmius should have attacked the victim 'with his thigh'; and 'pounding with the legs' (in general) would not be a normal way of describing kicking. The *OLD* s.v. 1 quotes the passage without comment on *perna* under the heading 'The leg, esp. its upper part with the thigh', immediately following the example of *perna* from Ennius discussed above, and before examples applied to the pig: thus the *perna* seems to have been taken to be that of Memmius, though no indication is given of the act envisaged. Briscoe was probably right to obelise, and the passage should be left out of any discussion of the semantic development of *perna*.

The evidence is open to at least two explanations:

(1) Ennius used *perna* in a meaning current in early (possibly colloquial or substandard) Latin, and the word found its way to Spain at about this time in this sense, which was preserved there until the emergence of the Romance languages.

(2) Ennius used his own image taken from butchery, and the word did not genuinely bear the meaning 'human leg' in current usage, though various compounds could be applied to humans. *Perna* eventually changed meaning in Spain to fill the gap left by the falling from use of *crus*; in other areas the gap was filled by loan-words, and in one place by *coxa*, which underwent a semantic change similar to that seen in *perna* (VII.11.3.2.14).

Variants on these possibilities could no doubt be suggested.

2.9 baro

In Lucilius and Cicero *baro* is used in the sense 'blockhead, lout' (*OLD*; cf. Italian *barone* 'rascal, rogue', etc.).[109] This word is considered to be a borrowing from Etruscan, like various other terms of abuse.[110] Later a Germanic word *baro, -onis* survives in Romance languages, in Spain (*varón*) and Portugal (*varão*) with an extended sense 'man' (cf. Gallo-Romance

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[109] On the Italian word see *LEI* 4(2), 1419.
[110] See Walde and Hofmann (1938–54: I, 97), Breyer (1993: 241, 538).

reflexes meaning 'courageous man').[111] The republican word meaning 'blockhead' cannot be linked to an Ibero-Romance reflex such as *varón* if the two are of different origins (and that is to say nothing of the differences of meaning).[112]

2.10   uaciuus

Vaciuus means the same as *uacuus* but is a different word, with a different suffix.[113] Both words are sometimes attested with the form *uo-*,[114] of which there are traces in the Romance languages. *Vaciuus* (I include the *uo-* form along with it) has an interesting history which does throw up an almost certain archaic survival of a sort (see below, 2.12 on the meaning of 'archaic survival') in some Romance languages.

In Plautus *uaciuus* is the preferred term. It is printed by Lindsay in his *OCT* five times (*Bacch.* 154 *uaciuom*, *Cas.* 29 *uociuae*, 596 *uociuas*, *Pseud.* 469 *uociuas*, *Trin.* 11 *uociuas*), against one case of *uacuom* (*Merc.* 983a).[115] Leo (1895–6) prints the same forms as Lindsay in every case. In Terence it occurs at *Haut.* 90 (*uociuom*), while at *Andr.* 706 editors are divided between *uacuom* (so codd.) and *uociuom*.[116]

Thereafter *uaciuus* disappears almost completely from the literary language and *uacuus* takes over. There is an example at Gell. 1.22.10, but a word search turns up no other cases. *Vaciuus* is, however, well represented in the Romance languages. It survives in Spanish (*vacío*) and Portuguese (*vazio*) in the literal meaning,[117] in Gallo-Romance (dialects) in specialised senses closely related to the literal (e.g. Old French *vuisif* '(char) non chargé')[118] and in Italian dialects.[119] The Gallo-Romance reflexes come from the form with *o* in the first syllable.[120] The term tended to be applied in the specialised sense 'unproductive' to fields,[121] and then to female and also male cattle, and there were further extensions of these senses.[122]

What is striking is the disappearance of *uaciuus* from literature after the early period, and its survival in Romance dialects (and not only

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[111] See e.g. *REW* 961–2, *FEW* XV.68–71 (on the etymology, 70), Corominas and Pascual (1980–91: I, 515), *LEI* 4(2), 1402–4, 1419–21. See also IX.7.4.

[112] Tovar's discussions of the word (1968a: 20, 1969a: 1027–9) are confused.

[113] On this point see Leumann (1977: 303). On the formation of *uaciuus* see Leumann (1977: 304). *Vaciuus* is sometimes taken to be an 'early form' of *uacuus* (see MacCary and Willcock 1976: 102).

[114] On this see Leumann (1977: 50), Sommer and Pfister (1977: 91). Note the pun at Plaut. *Cas.* 527, where *uocent* means both 'call, invite' and 'be empty'.

[115] A line deleted by Leo (1895–6).   [116] See McGlynn (1963–7: II, 292).

[117] See Corominas and Pascual (1980–91: V, 728) s.v. *vagar*; also, in general, *REW* 9113.

[118] See *FEW* XIV.107.   [119] For details of its Romance survival see further *FEW* XIV.109.

[120] See *FEW* XIV.109.   [121] See e.g. *FEW* XIV.108, 2.a.   [122] See *FEW* XIV.109, col. 2.

Ibero-Romance) away from the centre of the Roman world. Most of the terms we have been looking at have a more messy pattern of attestation in the Empire, in that they are rarely dropped entirely from literary use. It has to be accepted that *uaciuus* reached the provinces in the Republic, and that *uacuus* then spread from the centre but did not replace *uaciuus* in these marginal areas. Gellius' example of the word[123] would have been picked up from Plautus. These terms do not exhaust the semantic field. Most Romance terms for 'empty' reflect **uocitus* (e.g. Italian *vuoto*, French *vide*, Catalan *buyt*).[124]

I stress that the pattern of survival of *uaciuus* is not exactly in line with the idea of Spain as an isolated early settlement preserving archaic usages which did not reach other places. The reflexes are scattered, and the word must have had a wide currency during the Republic. Shrinkage in the face of *uacuus* took place.

2.11 Some miscellaneous cases

Del Barrio Vega (1986–7: 67–8) discusses various 'archaisms' of the imperial period which, it is suggested, must have had some currency at a subliterary level because they survive in Spanish. Two of these have come up already (1.5 *fabulor*, 1.10 *uaciuus*). I now consider the remainder of del Barrio Vega's examples to see whether any might have been survivals in Ibero-Romance from an earlier period.

Ingeniatus, which occurs in Plautus and then Apuleius and Gellius, may have a correspondent in Castilian *ingeniado*, but that correspondent is surely a 'cultismo', a learned borrowing rather than a genuine survival.[125] Apuleius and Gellius are likely to have used the term as an archaism.

More compelling is the frequentative *incepto*, which has an interesting distribution (see *TLL* VII.1.875.44ff.). It is quite common in Plautus and Terence, and used a number of times by Gellius (the *TLL* cites 1.9.6, 1.11.3, 17.21.23). Outside Gellius it is all but non-existent in imperial literature. An example is quoted from the *SHA* and another from Eustath. *Bas. hex.* 9.6, p. 964[B]. But the word survives in Ibero-Romance (note the remark of Corominas and Pascual 1980–91: II, 430 s.v. *decentar*, but commenting on the earlier verb Spanish *encentar*, which is from an archaic and dialectal form *encetar*: 'voz común a los tres romances hispánicos, del

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[123] It is discussed by del Barrio Vega (1986–7: 67).
[124] See *REW* 9429, *FEW* XIV.595. On the form of **uocitus* and its origin see *FEW* XIV.595.
[125] See Corominas and Pascual (1980–91: III, 143) s.v. *genio*, with the remark 'Son también cultismos los derivados'.

lat. ĬNCĔPTARE').[126] The frequentative must have established itself in Spain in the Republic. Gellius is more likely to have got it from early literature than from a variety of contemporary speech outside Spain, and there is no worthwhile evidence for its currency after the time of Plautus and Terence.

Petitus, which produced Castilian *pedido*,[127] is a different matter. Unlike *incepto*, the word is widespread in imperial Latin after making its first appearance in Lucretius (see *TLL* X.1.1945.31ff.), and it would not be plausible to argue from such a distribution that it was overtly Spanish in the Latin period, or that it had reached Spain early.

Finally, it is unconvincing to attempt to link Spanish *charlar* with *blatero*,[128] a verb which in the simplex occurs first in Afranius and in the compound form *deblatero* first in Plautus. On the etymology of *charlar* see Corominas (1967: 192) and Corominas and Pascual (1980–91: II, 339).[129] There is nothing of significance in the material assembled above, with the exception of *incepto*.

Díaz y Díaz (1960: 240) and Baldinger (1972: 106 n. 100) list various usages that had been adduced by Silva Neto (see 1970: 115–17, but they were citing the first edition) as evidence for the 'carácter conservador del latín de la Hispania' (Baldinger's phrase). Most of them have been dealt with earlier, but an addition is *percontari* (> Spanish *preguntar*, Portuguese *perguntar*).[130] It is true that *percontari* is frequent in early Latin (e.g. thirty-nine times in Plautus: see *TLL* X.1.1220.28ff. for statistics), but it continued to be used in the late Republic (e.g. twenty-five times in Cicero) and beyond (e.g. fifty-four times Livy, fifteen Tacitus, twenty-five Apuleius). Such a commonplace verb might have been current all over the Empire until late and then have receded in many places. We cannot know when it took root in Spain.

I mention a remark by Díaz y Díaz which follows his list of archaisms: most of them, he says, are words attested only in comedy, Lucilius and other archaic authors, and which the classical literary language eliminated or avoided. The attempt to find archaisms in Spain has led writers to disregard the history in Latin of the terms they cite. On the same page Díaz y Díaz says that some of these archaisms are words coming from the juridical

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[126] See also *REW* 4348, Corominas (1967: 202).
[127] See Corominas and Pascual (1980–91: IV, 457) s.v. *pedir*, Corominas (1967: 447).
[128] See del Barrio Vega (1986–7: 68).
[129] '[V]oz de creación expresiva, probablemente tomada del it. *ciarlare*.'
[130] See Corominas and Pascual (1980–91: IV, 635), deriving the Spanish word from *praecunctare, an alteration of *percontari*. See also Wagner (1960–4: II, 245–6).

language, such as *praeconare*. Far from being an archaism, the verb is not attested until the *Itala* (see *TLL* X.2.508.14f.), and it is well established in late Latin, as the *Thesaurus* article shows.

I refer finally to Carnoy (1906: 222), quoted above, n. 15, who asserted that the inscriptions of Spain preserve some archaic case forms reflecting the state of the language at the time of the colonisation. But old-fashioned spellings or morphemes can be used at any time in writing. Once they have established themselves as archaisms they are part of the written stock that any pretentious writer might draw on. It would be easy to parallel Carnoy's forms in late writings from all over the place. Conservative spellings have nothing to reveal about the state of the language in a particular place. This point has been made in chapter II (3, p. 44).

2.12   Conclusions

Enough has been said to bring out the character of the material that has been deployed to demonstrate the archaic character of the lexicon of Ibero-Romance. I have concentrated here on the most plausible items, but even these do not amount to much. There would be no point in discussing the other terms dealt with by Tovar, as most of them do not bear examination as evidence for a continuity between the Latin of Spain in the early period (Republic or early Empire) and Ibero-Romance. Continuity there might have been in some cases, but it was not necessarily only in Spain that a usage lived on, and in the Latin period itself a usage might have been far more widespread than its reflexes (if any) would suggest. Among the items in Tovar's discussions which I do not intend to dwell on are (1) commonplace literary words (or uses of words) whose appearance in, say, Lucilius, Varro, Seneca or Columella and survival in Ibero-Romance establishes nothing either about the source of the Latin writers' knowledge of the usage[131] or about regional peculiarities of Spanish Latin during the Roman period (e.g. *aptare*,[132] *mancipium*,[133] *materies*,[134] *uerro*[135]); (2) words of which the use in Latin and/or survival in Romance are not necessarily exactly as they have been claimed to be (e.g. *subitaneus*,[136] *piscatus*[137]); (3) words of which the

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[131] By this I mean that Spanish writers or writers who were familiar with Spain need not have known of the usage exclusively from Spain.

[132] See Tovar (1968b: 135–7); cf. (1968a: 33–4).   [133] See Tovar (1968b: 138–9, 1974: 105).

[134] See Tovar (1974: 105).   [135] See Tovar (1974: 106).

[136] See Tovar (1968b: 137–8); cf. (1968a: 34). Corominas and Pascual (1980–91: V, 324) take *supitaño* to be a borrowing from *subitaneus*.

[137] See Tovar (1974: 100–1).

use in earlier Latin cannot be directly related to that of their reflexes in Ibero-Romance (e.g. *capitium*,[138] *labrum*[139]).

I now consider the meaning of the term 'archaism' as applied to a usage in a Romance language such as Spanish. A good deal of the Latin lexicon as current in the Republic (and often later) does survive in part (or all) of the Romance world, but such survivals need not in any meaningful sense constitute archaisms. Consider, for example, the history of the old adverb *cras* 'tomorrow'. This was once the standard term with this meaning in Latin,[140] but in the shift to the Romance languages it was largely replaced by innovatory usages, *mane*, *demane* and **maneana*.[141] *Cras* survived only in Sardinia and in some southern Italian dialects (of northern Calabria, Lucania, Apulia and southern Campania) (see map 17).[142] Sardinia is said to be marked by the survival of many archaic Latin words (see above, 2.2), and the question arises whether *cras* in Sardinia might be described as 'archaic'. *Cras* must have arrived in Sardinia at the time when Latin spread on the island. But likewise it was in use, during the Republic and early Empire, everywhere else where Latin was spoken, such as Spain, Gaul and Italy itself. In this period Sardinian usage would not have differed from that of the rest of the Latin-speaking world. The view that the different Romance languages reflect the state of the Latin language at the time when the various provinces were occupied (see above, 2) has no explanatory power in this case as distinguishing Sardinian from other Romance languages. What is distinctive about Sardinia is that when the substitutes *mane*, *demane* and **maneana* gained currency in different parts of the Empire they failed to reach Sardinia, or at least to displace *cras* there. That is not to say, for argument's sake, that Sardinia had some sort of inherent linguistic conservatism which set it apart from other regions and caused it to hang on to the original word, as many of the imperial innovations of Latin are reflected there as well as in other provinces;[143] Sardinia also had its own innovations.[144] Nor need I labour the point that the other early and 'conservative' province, Spain, did not preserve *cras*.[145] It is no more than an accident of history, of a type repeated in numerous instances all over the

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[138] See Tovar (1968a: 22–3, 1974: 105). There is a good discussion of the word by Sofer (1930: 105).
[139] See Tovar (1968a: 16, 1969b: 204); cf. Corominas (1967: 356), Corominas and Pascual (1980–91: III, 614).
[140] It was sometimes replaced by circumlocutions containing *crastinus*.
[141] For details see e.g. Rohlfs (1954a: 31).   [142] See Rohlfs (1954a: 31).
[143] So for example *ficatum* 'liver' (Rohlfs 1954a, map 6), *gamba* for 'leg' (map 7), *uenter* in the feminine (map 11), *andamus* for *imus* (map 13).
[144] E.g. *hanka* 'leg' (Rohlfs 1954a, map 7), *cena pura* 'Friday' (map 17), *pala* 'shoulder' (map 25), *adcaptare* 'find' (map 32), *conca* 'head' (map 37).
[145] On **maneana*, the term which survived in Spanish and Portuguese, see Rohlfs (1954a: 31).

Empire, that certain innovatory usages of the later period failed to establish themselves right across the Latin-speaking world. While there might have been reasons for such failures, these usually are impossible to determine. Geographical isolation, for example, is a more likely reason for the failure of an innovation to catch on somewhere than is an 'archaising' taste in that region.

It should be clear that to call *cras* an 'archaism' in Sardinia and southern Italy would not be to say much. It was an old word which remained current everywhere for centuries, before being replaced in areas other than Sardinia and parts of southern Italy. It is reasonable to suggest that the word was adopted in Sardinia as soon as Latin was established there, but it would not be meaningful to say that this regional feature of Sardinia owes its existence to the date of the colonisation of the island. The determinant of the regionalism was the shrinkage of *cras* in other areas, and that is a phenomenon which has nothing to do with the date when Sardinia was seized by the Romans.

Is there such a thing as a regional Latin archaism or 'archaic relic' whose regional character was definitely determined by the date of occupation of a province (such as Spain)? I consider first the question what features such a usage would have, and elaborate on an important distinction. This is a question which has been addressed implicitly throughout the chapter. The type of term we are looking for would have found its way to Spain in about the second century BC and then fallen out of use elsewhere, while maintaining its currency in the remote province. If the term is to be securely identified as a regional relic, it would show a pattern of attestation such as this: it would (1) be attested in the early Republic but (2) not thereafter anywhere but in Spain. It would (3) survive in Ibero-Romance alone (see further below, XI.4.1, with a refinement). The isolation of Spain might have protected the word when it came under pressure, say, from rival terms in Italy, and in that sense its regional character could be said to have been determined by the date when Spain was occupied. To an Italian transported to Spain a few centuries later it would have seemed archaic or odd, and a peculiarity of the area. By contrast a northern Italian or Gaul transported to Sardinia in, say, the second century AD would have found *cras* familiar, because it had not yet died out in other parts of the Empire. A term which, having arrived in Spain or Sardinia with the first Latin speakers, continued in use elsewhere as well for some centuries thereafter, cannot be classified as a regionalism of Spain or Sardinia determined by the date of the Roman occupation. If it were to become a regional feature of Spain or Sardinia in late Latin or Romance, its regional character in this case would be due

to its disappearance from other regions (the phenomenon of shrinkage in our terminology). There is thus a difference between a regional archaism ('archaic relic' or the like) and a regionalism due to shrinkage. To put it differently, an archaic relic is a term that was already archaic by the classical period but survives in a pocket of Romance. A regionalism due to shrinkage is a term that was not archaic in the classical period and also survives in only a part of Romance.[146] The distinction is disregarded in discussions of the 'archaic' Latin of this or that province: if a word is known to have been in use in the early Republic (e.g. *comedo* 'eat') and then lives on in the Romance languages of Spain, it tends to be taken as an archaic feature of Ibero-Romance, even though it might have been current all over the Empire for many centuries, undergoing shrinkage only at a late date.

Have any genuine archaic relics been identified by Tovar and others in Spanish Latin? I review the evidence presented earlier. Some of the words discussed must be disregarded (*gumia*, *rostrum*, *baro*), and that is to say nothing of the words that have been dismissed without discussion (see the first paragraph of this section). The relevance of others is arguable (*demagis*, *fabulor*, *comedo*, *perna*). There remain *cuius*, *couus*, *uaciuus* and *incepto*. Of these *couus* is problematic, as there is not a straightforward semantic connection between the Latin word and its apparent Ibero-Romance reflexes. *Cuius* 'whose' is certainly an early republican usage. There are some later attestations of the word, which raise the question whether it might not have lingered on into the Empire at a subliterary level in, say, Italy. If so it might have reached Spain at any time, and need not have been in use there from the beginning of the Roman occupation. But I have argued that the later examples (leaving aside some legal archaisms) seem to have been imitated from comedy, and if that is accepted *cuius* would indeed have been an archaic relic, because a word of this formation is unlikely to have been re-coined in later Latin. *Cuius* is not, however, attested in the Latin of Spain itself (or of a Spanish writer). *Vaciuus* must have reached some provinces during the Republic, but it is not confined to Ibero-Romance later. Finally, *incepto* is a good candidate, though it too is unattested in Spanish writers.

Many lexical items were probably in continuous use in Spain from the second century BC until Ibero-Romance (e.g. *comedere*). But many of these were current for a long time in much of the rest of the Latin-speaking world,

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[146] A nice case of such a term is provided by the history of *magnus*. The word is one of the most common throughout the recorded history of Latin, and to call it an 'archaism' would be absurd. But in the late period it receded from use and left few remains. It survived (like *cras*) in Sardinia, where it is the popular word in general use (*mánnu*), whereas *grándu*, of Italian origin, is used in an abstract sense (see Wagner 1960–4: II, 67). There are also traces of *magnus* in Old Provençal (see *FEW* VI.1.49, citing *mainh* 'grand', *manh*).

and as such they would not have been regionalisms of Spain in the Latin period. The history of *brisa* (which will be dealt with below, 3), not to mention that of many of the words discussed in the previous chapter, does show that a usage could live on in a restricted area for many centuries (see XI.3.5); *brisa* is certainly a regionalism of Spanish Latin. It cannot, however, be demonstrated that there is a significant element of archaic Latin reflected in Ibero-Romance, of the type which took root early in the peninsula but fell from use elsewhere after the occupation of Spain.

I note in conclusion that since Tovar the notion that Spanish Latin was archaic has tended to be accepted. Edmondson (2002: 48), for example, discussing the nature of Lusitanian Latin, says that '[e]lements of . . . archaism and conservatism are discernible in the Latin inscriptions set up in Lusitania'. He cites the spellings *xs* for *s*, *q* for *c* before *u* and *u* in *optumus*. This evidence does not concern language use, but spelling. Conservative spellings never died out entirely anywhere. The first and last, for example, are well attested at Vindolanda,[147] and the second is constant in the letters of Claudius Terentianus in Egypt.[148] Edmondson acknowledges (51) that certain 'sorts of archaisms and orthographic errors . . . occurred not just in Lusitania but throughout Roman Spain', but this statement would only be acceptable if 'Roman Spain' were replaced by 'the Roman Empire'.

Also worth noting is a remark by Siles (1981: 111), repeated verbatim by Panosa (1996: 236). Siles says that the Latin of Spain has peculiarities of morphology and lexicon which have been explained as archaising or dialectal.[149] It is the phrase 'Latin of Spain' to which I would draw attention here. The supposed archaic usages that we have been discussing do not occur in the <u>Latin of Spain</u> at all, but in early texts by writers who were not Spanish. Siles ought to have referred to the Romance languages, not the Latin, of Spain, but has slipped into the easy assumption that there is an archaic Latin actually attested in Spain.

2.13 Appendix: some afterthoughts on the concept of archaism

The theory that much is to be explained from the persistence in provincial outposts of archaic Latin has not only been applied to Spain (and Sardinia). Petersmann (1998: 125), for example, addressing some banal phenomena found all over the Empire, suggests that 'some of the peculiarities of African Latin can perhaps be traced back to the first Roman settlers in Africa in the 2nd century B.C.'

[147] See Adams (1995a: 90–1, 2003b: 536).   [148] See Adams (1977a: 32–3).
[149] 'El latín de Hispania presenta, como es sabido, algunas particularidades en su morfología y en su léxico, que los estudiosos explican como rasgos arcaizantes o dialectales.'

Schmitt (1974b: 47; see also V.1. n. 2) uses a concept of the archaic equally loosely, in a different context. Commenting on the archaic character of the Francoprovençal lexicon ('le caractère archaïque du lexique francoprovençal'), as compared with the lexicon of French and Occitan,[150] he remarks: 'Nos recherches fondées sur le FEW et le ThLL . . . ont confirmé que la spécificité de ce domaine est largement due à un vocabulaire très ancien: sur 136 unités typiques, 83 sont attestées très tôt et frequemment dans des textes littéraires latins.' There follows a list of (mainly) banal words described as 'exclusivement francoprovençaux' (as distinct from French or Occitan). The list includes (e.g.) *mensa* 'table'. It also includes *laetamen*, a word attested for the first time in Pliny the Elder, but not with its precise Romance meaning 'manure'. That usage belongs to late Latin, and hardly falls into the category of 'un vocabulaire très ancien' (see below, VII.11.4). On the basis of the list Schmitt (48) offers some conclusions, of which I quote the first: 'dès le commencement de la romanisation, le latin de *Lugdunum* différait du latin de l'Occitanie'. The point about the first item which I have cited here is that *tabula* eventually took over from *mensa* in Italy and most of Gaul, with *mensa* 'table' surviving in Gallo-Romance only in a small pocket of the Franche-Comté.[151] But that takeover must have been late, and due to the failure of an innovation (*tabula*) to spread everywhere in Romance; similarly it did not catch on in Spain, Portugal or Rumania. The list consists to a considerable extent of words that would have been used for a long time all over the Empire. If they survive only in one part of Gallo-Romance that may in some cases at least be because of their shrinkage elsewhere at some late date in the face of lexical opposition, and not because the Latin of Lugdunum differed from that of the rest of Gaul from the beginning of the Romanisation. *Mensa* must have been in use in Gaul wherever Latin was spoken from the outset. 'Archaism' does not come into it, except from the perspective of a modern observer, as *mensa* was never archaic in the areas in which it survived.[152]

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[150] A threefold division of Gallo-Romance is implied here: the langue d'oïl (French), the langue d'oc (Occitan) and Francoprovençal, centred on Lyons (see map 5). The point argued is that the two southern regions, which were romanised quite early, show more old Latin vocabulary than the more northern langue d'oïl, where Romanisation was later. See above, V.1 n. 2 for the division.

[151] For this point see *FEW* VI.1.711 (with 710, I for the reflexes).

[152] Nevertheless Schmitt's assessment of the relative antiquity of the Latin elements in the langue d'oïl, Franco-Provençal and the langue d'oc is of interest (see 1974b: 44–51, also 1974a), and it does seem to suggest that the date of Romanisation played some part in determining the vocabulary of different regions. But the two cases considered here, *mensa* and *laetamen*, raise some doubts about Schmitt's classification of Latin terms.

If the search for archaic relics in Spain has not always been pursued with proper rigour, Spain is not the only province to have suffered. I illustrate with another example from Sardinia, the other region taken to retain archaic lexical items. Rohlfs (1954a: 40) notes the use of *ákina* 'grapes' (collective) in Sardinia, describing it as very archaic.[153] The usage is also found in dialects of Calabria and Lucania, which are described as linguistically conservative as well (see map 11). *Ákina* is said to go back to the old Latin *acina* (whether feminine singular or neuter plural is not specified), which it is claimed was used by a few authors in the sense 'bunch of grapes' (whereas the usual sense of the word was 'grape'). The Latin authors are not quoted, but Wagner (1928: 58) is cited as the authority for the remark. Wagner also deals with the matter in his lexicon of Sardinian (1960–4: I, 50–1). *Acina* is said to have been originally a collective in Latin, on the authority of Sommer (1914: 334). Thus, by implication, its survival in the collective sense in Sardinia rather than in the usual Latin sense 'grape' would represent an archaic relic. Rohlfs based himself on Wagner without looking at the Latin evidence, and Wagner summarised Sommer misleadingly. Sommer was talking not about the feminine singular used in a collective sense, but about an alleged neuter plural usage of 'grapes' viewed collectively rather than as individual entities (Cato *Agr.* 112.2 is correctly cited by Sommer as displaying the latter sense, but the collective use is not illustrated). The feminine singular is not attested at all in early Latin, never mind in a collective sense; there is a definitive statement about its attestations at *TLL* I.414.51ff., where the only cases cited are from late Latin (the translation of Dioscorides, Caelius Aurelianus, Cassius Felix, al.). These feminine cases (and some others not appearing in the *TLL*) will be discussed in another connection below, VIII.4.5.3. Moreover in the period covered by the *OLD* (down to the end of the second century AD) *acinus* in whatever form (it tends to turn up in forms ambiguous between masculine and neuter) never has a collective meaning; the only meaning given there is '[a] grape or other berry'.[154] Misinformation has thus been handed down in the Romance literature. However the use of the word in Sardinian is to be explained, it cannot be claimed as an archaic relic dating back to the early Republic.

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[153] Jones (1988: 346) makes the same assertion.
[154] Wagner (1920: 391) does correctly report Sommer to the effect that *ákina* preserves the original neuter plural collective function of *acina*. The only problem is that this neuter plural collective use of *acina* does not seem to be unambiguously attested but is a theoretical construct.

Another region which supposedly preserved old-fashioned or 'correct' Latin was Britain. I will deal with this idea in a later chapter (IX.4).

Several writers of the early imperial period were Spaniards (e.g. the Senecas, Columella, Martial). The question arises whether any of them fell into usages with a regional flavour. There was a sense among Spaniards that distinctive lexical items were to be heard in Spain (IV.2.2), but identifying Spanish regionalisms admitted without comment in a Spanish text is problematic (see V.5.5.1 on *tam magnus* for *tantus*). There is at least one Spanish term in Martial (*balux* 'gold-dust'), but its identification as such is made possible not only by a remark of Pliny (*Nat.* 33.77)[155] but also by Martial's flagging of the substance as 'Spanish': 12.57.9 *balucis malleator Hispanae*.[156] The word is of non-Latin origin. Pure Latin terms, such as *tam magnus* above, which might have been distinctive of Spain are hard to identify. I discuss several items. The first two, taken from Tovar, contrast sharply with each other.

Brisa[157] (denoting the 'refuse of grapes after pressing', *OLD*) is attested just once other than in glosses: Col. 12.39.2 *postea uinaceos calcare adiecto recentissimo musto, quod ex aliis uuis factum fuerit, quas per triduum insolaueris; tum permiscere, et subactam brisam prelo subicere* ('[n]ext tread the wineskins [after pressing], adding very fresh must, made from other grapes which you have dried for three days in the sun; then mix together and put the whole kneaded mass under the press', Forster and Heffner, Loeb). Cf. *CGL* II.437.6 στέμφυλον *uinacium uinacia hec brisa*, II.496.36 *brisa* στέμφυλον, II.570.24 *brisa granum uuae*. According to one of the glosses *uinaceus* (in various forms) could be used in the same sense, though it is possible that Columella was making a subtle distinction. *Brisa* has a restricted survival, in parts of Ibero-Romance (Catalan and dialects in the region of Aragón and Murcia).[158] Ernout and Meillet (1959) s.v. take the term to be a Latinisation of (Thracian) Greek τὰ βρύτεα,[159] which has the required sense. Another view is that the Latin term was borrowed not from Greek itself but from Thracian via Illyrian.[160] But these etymologies

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[155] See Adams (2003a: 452).   [156] See Adams (2003a: 453, 458).
[157] See Tovar (1974: 104); also Wölfflin (1902: 382).
[158] Details can be found in Coromines (1980–2001: II, 240). Cf. *REW* 1307.
[159] On the Thracian origin of the group of words to which this belongs see Chantraine (1999: 199) s.v. βρῦτος.
[160] See Walde and Hofmann (1938–54: I, 116); also Chantraine (1999: 199), leaving open both possibilities.

do not inspire confidence, given the area of survival of the Latin word and its absence from texts. Nor would the phonetics be straightforward if the word were a borrowing from Greek. Coromines (1980–2001: II, 240) may be right in suggesting a local Iberian substrate origin ('d'origen incert, potser celtibèric o d'una altra procedència pre-romana hispànica'). Here is a rare technical term (with a Latin synonym or near synonym) surviving only in Ibero-Romance and used only once, by a Spanish writer. It was a local term of Iberian Latin. The shortcoming of Tovar's evidence discussed in the previous section is that he was not able to cite localised uses from the Latin of Spain itself that were to live on in Ibero-Romance. *Brisa* is an exception. *Perna*, to take a contrasting example, is never attested in reference to the human leg in a Spanish writer.

I next consider one of Tovar's Hispanisms supposedly attested in Seneca. Tovar's discussions of a use of *prauus* are not convincing.[161] The Spanish adjective *bravo* (the senses of which are given by Corominas and Pascual 1980–91: I, 655[162] as 'cruel' applied to persons, 'fierce, wild' of animals, 'uncultivated' of land, 'stormy' of weather) is conventionally derived from *barbarus*,[163] but in the Spanish scholarly tradition it is sometimes said to reflect *prauus* (see Tovar 1968a: 34 with references).[164] Tovar cites Seneca as using the term in a sense anticipating that of its reflexes in the Iberian peninsula and elsewhere,[165] and supposedly picked up by him in his *patria*:[166] *Dial.* 3.18.3 *uir a multis uitiis integer, sed prauus et cui placet pro constantia rigor*. The passage is correctly translated in the Loeb edition (by Basore) as: 'a man free from many vices, but misguided, in that he mistook inflexibility for firmness'. Here *prauus* has a standard meaning, 'perverse, wrong-headed, misguided' (*OLD* s.v. 2b), despite Tovar's attempt to give it a proto-Spanish meaning.

Tovar (1969b: 203), citing a view that Spanish *arrancar* might be explained as a conflation of *eradicare* and *eruncare*, goes on to note that

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[161] See Tovar (1968a: 34, 1968b: 139). I cite in the following discussion Tovar (1968a).

[162] Cf. Corominas (1967: 106).

[163] See *REW* 945, Bloch and von Wartburg (1968: 87); also Corominas and Pascual (1980–91: I, 655) and Corominas (1967: 106), where the origin of *bravo* is said to be uncertain, but probably from *barbarus*.

[164] Corominas and Pascual (1980–91: I, 655–6) argue against the derivation from *prauus*. An interesting correspondence between a use of *barbarus* in Latin and of *bravo* in Spanish lies in the meaning 'uncultivated, wild' (of natural objects) shared by the two words. *Barbarus* has this meaning in the Spaniard Martial (3.58.5, 10.92.3; note Corominas and Pascual's comment, 'Marcial, buen testigo para el uso hispánico'). The only other example (Plin. *Nat.* 12.69) put in the same category by *OLD* s.v. 2c is not quite the same.

[165] The French *brave* is considered to be a borrowing from Spain/Italy, and the Italian *bravo* is itself a borrowing from Spanish: see e.g. Bloch and von Wartburg (1968: 87).

[166] See Tovar (1968a: 33) on the general point.

the Spaniard Columella has *erunco* twice (2.10.28, 11.3.13), and that these are the only examples of the verb attested in literature. But *erunco* is reflected in various other Romance regions (*REW* 2908), and there is no reason to think that it was Spanish in any precise sense in the first century AD.

I move on to some miscellaneous items.

Cereolus, diminutive of the adjective *cereus*, survives only in Spanish, as a feminine noun for 'plum'.[167] The origin of the usage lies in the abbreviation of the phrase *pruna cereola* (originally neuter plural, but reinterpreted as feminine singular), with *cereola* thereby substantivised. *Cereolus* is very rare in extant Latin. It is attested mainly as a masculine substantive, roughly equivalent to *candelabrum* (*TLL* III.861.37ff.). The only other example cited by the *TLL* (35ff.) is indeed applied to the plum, and it is in Columella (10.404 *tunc praecox bifera descendit ab arbore ficus / Armeniisque et cereolis prunisque Damasci / stipantur calathi*, 'then from the twice-bearing tree the early maturing fig descends, and baskets are packed with the Armenian fruit and and wax-coloured [plums] and plums of Damascus').[168] De Saint-Denis (1969: 73) points out that elsewhere *cereum* (Virg. *Ecl.* 2.53, *Copa* 18; also *Edict. Diocl.* 6.69) and *cerinum* (Plin. *Nat.* 15.41) are in the same way applied to *prunum*. The diminutive in this collocation may have been Spanish by the time of Columella.

A word for 'sea, open sea' of Greek origin, *pelagus*, offers intriguing evidence. I discuss it to bring out the problems of interpreting such material.

Pelagus has an unusual distribution. It is common in poetry from Pacuvius onwards,[169] and rare in prose.[170] Yet it survives in various Romance languages, mainly Ibero-Romance and Provençal (Old Provençal *peleg*, Catalan *pèlag*, Castilian *piélago*, Asturian *pielgu*, Galician *piago*, Portuguese *pego*),[171] but also in a few Italian dialects.[172] At least some of the prose texts in which it occurs, such as the *Bellum Hispaniense* (40.6), are not of the sort in which poeticisms are common. It occurs, for example, three times in Vitruvius (2.8.14, 5.12.5, 8.2.2), in Varro (*Ling.* 7.22; also 9.33, as a metaphor; *Rust.* 2.1.8) and in Seneca the Elder (*Suas.* 1.2, 1.4). Were it not for the Romance evidence one might be tempted to say that even these rather mundane

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[167] *Ciruela*: see *FEW* 1828, Corominas (1967: 152), Corominas and Pascual (1980–91: II, 89).

[168] *Cereola* here can be interpreted either as a substantivised adjective with ellipse of *pruna* (neuter plural), or as still fully adjectival, with *prunis* understood from what follows. For explanation of the terms in this sentence, see De Saint-Denis (1969: 73). *Armenium (pomum)* is the apricot, and *prunum Damasci = prunum Damascenum*, French *quetsche*.

[169] See *TLL* X.1.989.62ff.   [170] See *TLL* X.1.989.66ff.

[171] For details see *FEW* VIII.160, Corominas and Pascual (1980–91: II, 570) s.v. *empalagar*, Coromines (1980–2001: VI, 392–5), Machado (1967: III, 1783); see too *REW* 6369, *TLL* X.1.989.69ff.

[172] See *FEW* VIII.160, col. 2, *TLL*, last footnote.

writers had admitted it as an occasional poeticism, but the Romance reflexes do suggest that it had a genuine life in the spoken language, away from the world of poetry. Corominas and Pascual (1980–91: II, 570) remark that it is 'efectivamente palabra bien popular en los romances ibéricos'.

It is a possibility that in literary Latin *pelagus* was largely confined to poetry, but that in some provincial regions, such as the Iberian peninsula where it is so well represented in Romance, it was current in speech. The word might have entered Latin from more sources than one,[173] first, in the literary language, from Greek literature, second from the speech of Greek sailors visiting the west,[174] and third, in southern Gaul and Spain, from local (Massiliote) Greek.[175] The last two possibilities are not mutually exclusive. A significant proportion of the early prose examples (that is, those of the Republic and early Empire down to the middle of the first century) are in writers of Spanish origin, or (in the case of the *Bellum Hispaniense*) in a text about Spain by an anonymous author who had been there. Columella has the word four times in prose (8.16.10, 8.17.1, 8.17.10, 12.24.1), once indeed in reference to a Spanish sea (8.16.10 *muraena, quamuis Tartesi<i> pelagi . . . uernacula*). The examples in the Spaniard Seneca the Elder have already been cited. The Younger Seneca has the word eight times in his prose (*Epist.* 14.8, 90.7, *Nat.* 3.27.1, 3.28.3, 3.30.7, 4a.2.22, 5.18.8, 6.7.6), as well as often in his tragedies; on a more conventional view the examples in his prose would be described as 'poeticising'. Most strikingly of all, Pomponius Mela, who wrote under Gaius and originated from near Gibraltar, uses the word forty-eight times.

Other factors must also be taken into account. There were probably writers of prose who deliberately used the word because it was common in the poets (so perhaps Tacitus, who has it three times in the historical works [*Hist.* 5.6.2, *Ann.* 4.67.2, 15.46.2], but always near *mare*,[176] and possibly Pliny the Elder, who has it five times; Mela was a poeticiser, as well as a Spaniard). Sometimes a Greek context may have inspired the choice of the word, as in the (Greek) story told by Vitruvius at 2.8.14, and in various references to seas in the Greek world. *Variatio* also played a part (see above on Tacitus): the one example in Varro's *Res rusticae* is in the vicinity of *mare*. *Pelagus* often seems to have a special sense, 'open sea'.

However one is to explain the complexities of its distribution, it is just possible that the author of the *Bellum Hispaniense* had heard *pelagus* used in Spain. See further below, VII.11.3.5 (on the adjective *pelagicus*).

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[173] It had a popular as well as a learned form: see Leumann (1959: 155) = Lunelli (1980: 178).
[174] See *TLL* X.1.989.60f.   [175] See *FEW* VIII.160.
[176] Gerber and Greef (1903) make this clear s.v. *pelagus*.

Various terms discussed by Carnoy (1906: 255–6) as possible region-alisms can be rejected as such. *Collacteus* may survive only in Ibero-Romance, but it is not confined to Spanish inscriptions and must have undergone shrinkage. *Altarium* likewise does not show a geographical restriction in extant Latin. The problem of *tam magnus* has been discussed in an earlier chapter (see above).

4   THE ALLEGED OSCAN INFLUENCE ON SPANISH (AND ITALIAN DIALECTS)

The view that there is a marked Oscan element in Spanish, deriving from the early republican period when soldiers were supposedly from Oscan-speaking parts of Italy and hence (it is implied) using a form of Latin that was influenced by Oscan, or even Oscan itself,[177] has come up in passing (see 2.4 on *gumia*). It is a view that is closely related to the one discussed above, that Spanish Latin was archaic. The theory is associated particularly with Menéndez Pidal,[178] who (1929: 303; cf. 583) sought to support it by reference to the place name *Osca* (mod. *Huesca*) in Aragón (map 1), as if it were the name of an 'Oscan' state peopled at the start by Oscans. This contention is unconvincing.[179] Like the theory discussed earlier, the Oscan-substrate theory has tended to be accepted uncritically by some who who have not examined the data on which it is based; on

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[177] The precise language of the soldiers who came early to Spain tends to be left vague by adherents of the theory. On the one hand we are asked to believe that they used *perna* as Ennius used it, but on the other hand they imposed Oscan elements on the Latin that took root in Spain. Blaylock (1965–6: 419) speaks imaginatively of 'settlers who, if not actually bilingual, at least favored a dialectal form of Latin permeated with Italic traits'.

[178] See Menéndez Pidal (1929: 582–4), with the cross references at 582 to treatments of specific phenomena earlier in the book. See too Menéndez Pidal (1960: lxii–lxvi, lxix–lxxxvi).

[179] The derivation of the name has long been questioned: see e.g. Rohlfs (1955: 225) for a different view; also Rohlfs (1927: 60 n. 1); and Baldinger (1972: 111 n. 105) for a review of earlier literature. The place name is likely to be a Latinisation of an Iberian name. There are coins with the legend **bolśkan** in Iberian script, and the same head appears on a late republican coin with the legend OSCA (see Untermann 1975: 245–7 A. 40). This might encourage one to connect the two names, with simplification of the consonant cluster in the Latin version: the final **-n** of the Iberian form might be inflectional, and the initial **b-** might be either an inflectional element or a preposition. There are also claims of a spelling **olśkan** on some coins, but Untermann thinks that these simply show a variant of the **bo-** sign that comes to resemble the **o-** sign. Further evidence for an Iberian place-name element *osk-* is found in the coin legend **ośkumken**, and in *Oscua* in Baetica (see Untermann 1975: 247). For ancient sources on the origin of the town, see A. Schulten, *RE* 18.1.1536. Wright (1996: 284), remarks: 'the postulated connection between Huesca and Oscan Latin seems as tenuous as that between the Australian state of New South Wales and Southern Welsh English in Britain'. I am grateful to John Penney for advice on these matters.

the other hand there has been a long-standing tradition of rejecting it, particularly among those who have been influenced by the work of the Romance philologist Gerhard Rohlfs.[180] I quote two starkly opposed opinions. Recently Edmondson (2002: 48) has stated: 'In the 1960s and 1970s, a series of influential linguistic studies demonstrated that a significant number of modern Spanish words owe their origin to Latin current in the 2nd c. B.C., and that there was a high Oscan component in the Latin that did develop in Spain'. Edmondson had in mind some of Tovar's papers and the writings (in Spanish) of his followers (see n. 37 on the same page for references), whereas we have just seen that the notion had been around long before the 1960s and 1970s. By contrast Wright (1996: 284) states that the 'crude Oscan explanation for Hispanic features cannot stand', and remarks that the views of Menéndez Pidal as advanced in 1960 were 'already by then largely undermined by Rohlfs (1955)'.[181] Recently too Ariza Viguera (2006) has reviewed the theory with scepticism.

The theory of Oscan influence on Spanish Latin was subjected to criticism from the outset.[182] It is an idea that must be rejected, not least if it is examined from the viewpoint of Latin and Italic. It is, first, inadequate in explaining the distribution in Romance of certain phenomena (such as the assimilations *mb* > *m(m)*, *nd* > *n(n)*: see below) supposedly of Oscan origin. These 'Oscan' elements in Spain are also to be found in other parts of the Romance world where Oscan influence is out of the question (see below).[183] Second, the Oscan evidence itself has usually not been presented at all, or presented misleadingly and its extent exaggerated (see below).[184] Third, the 'Oscanisms' are banal phenomena that may turn up in any language independently of outside influence.[185] Fourth, there is a chronological inadequacy about the evidence. The 'Oscan' phenomena turn up in Spain (and, it should be stressed, elsewhere: see below) only

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[180] There have been several judicious reviews of the state of the question, perhaps most notably by Jungemann (1955: 254–69), Blaylock (1965–6) (see particularly 425 and 433 on opposition to the theory) and Baldinger (1972: 104–24, particularly 111–12, 118–24 for sceptical judgments). See too the brief discussion of Lapesa (1980: 96–100), with bibliography on the controversy; also Díaz y Díaz (1960: 243, 245, 249), Stefenelli (1996: 79).

[181] Wright's alternative theory (1996: 284–5) of a possible 'interdialect' is based on no evidence.

[182] Muller (1929: 117–21) rejected the theory almost as soon as it was advanced by Menéndez Pidal, the first edition of whose book appeared in 1926. Muller's own book is controversial because of its ideas about the chronology of the break-up of the unity of Latin, but it does contain some worthwhile discussions of points of detail.

[183] This argument was already used by Muller (1929: 117–18).

[184] But see below, n. 189, on Blaylock.

[185] More will be said about this below, but again see Muller (1929: 119, 120).

in the medieval period. What is lacking is evidence from the Latin period itself, between the early Republic and the medieval period, for the survival of unequivocally Oscan elements in a variety of Latin (see the discussion below of the assimilations *mb > m(m)*, *nd > n(n)*). Such Latin words as there are displaying apparent Oscan features of the type supposedly surviving in Spain turn out to be insignificant in quantity and usually impossible to relate unequivocally to an Oscan substrate; that evidence will be collected below, 4.1, 4.2. It might be a different matter if there were traces in the Latin of Spain itself (say, in Spanish inscriptions) of spellings that could be associated with Oscan.[186] Such spellings do not exist to form a bridge between the Oscanised Latin which we are told was transported during the Republic to Spain, and the medieval vernacular of the peninsula.

I turn now to 'Italic' features in Spain. These tend to be mundane assimilations which can take place in any language at any time in, say, rapid speech, without the influence of external pressure (see the previous paragraph, and further below). They are not confined to Spain in Romance, and where they do turn up in Latin are usually not in texts with any Oscan (or Spanish) connection. I discuss the two main phenomena, assimilation of *mb > n(n)* and of *nd > n(n)*. These assimilations are usually treated together in the scholarly literature, but I separate them because the Italic evidence differs in the two cases. For the most part Romance scholars dealing with the assimilations do not collect the ancient evidence (from Italic and Latin) or assess its significance. I will attempt to do that here.

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[186] Carnoy (1906) discussed misspellings in Spanish inscriptions in great detail. Though he was aware that spellings determined by Italic might exist in the corpus (see 35–6, 103, 229), he found nothing of significance. At 35–6 he allowed that certain forms showing *i* for *e* before *r* + consonant (*tirra*, *uirna*, *Siruando*) might reflect dialectal influence, but nothing can be made of these isolated spellings. The first is described as 'assez récente', and there is some evidence that *r* + consonant could have a closing effect, certainly in the back vowel system (see Adams 1995a: 91–2). At 103 he showed an inclination to treat epenthesis (anaptyxis) as Oscanising, but the phenomenon is well represented in Latin (see particularly Leumann 1977: 102–4), and it is virtually impossible to pin down individual cases to Oscan influence. Leumann (1977: 102) points out that it occurs in Latin particularly in Greek names, and Carnoy's examples at 103 are all in such names. Leumann (1977: 104) also remarks that in imperial inscriptions examples are often in the work of non-native speakers, and are thus located particularly in the inscriptions of the provinces. Oscan influence does not come into it. Finally, at 229 Carnoy ruled out absolutely that certain 'syncopated' nominatives (*Secundins*, *Rustics*, *Marins*) are survivals in the Latin of Spain of dialectal nominatives of the type *Bantins*. *Secundins* and *Marins* are at the end of lines and are abbreviations. Carnoy concludes: 'Il serait donc absolument abusif de regarder ces graphies comme une preuve du maintien dans le latin d'Espagne de nominatifs archaïques et dialectaux.' Carnoy has useful discussions of the principles of abbreviation in the corpus (see 181, 182, 187–9). Of the assimilations to be discussed in the following two sections there is no sign in Spanish inscriptions.

4.1 *Assimilation of* mb > m(m)

This is said to occur in Umbrian **umen** < *omben[187] and possibly Umbrian **menes** 'you will come', if this is to be derived from **kom-ben-* > **kom-men-*.[188] There is no other certain Italic example of the assimilation.[189] Menéndez Pidal (1929: 295–8) cites evidence for the assimilation from Spain (Catalonia, Aragón, Rioja, Castille, León) of about a thousand years later.[190] Recently Lloyd (1987: 264) has described the Spanish situation thus: 'This particular consonant sequence [*m(m)* from *mb*] is found in only a few words, and the assimilation is not limited to Castilian but is found all over northeastern Iberia and in Gascony and much of southwestern France.' The distribution is wider than might have been expected if the assimilation had been introduced by Oscan speakers among early settlers in Spain. Lloyd says nothing of substrate influence. Earlier Blaylock (1965–6: 418), noting that the assimilation of *mb* to *m(m)* is the 'most prominent' of the alleged Oscan phenomena in Hispanic territory, similarly observed: 'It has not become a pervasive trait of any one dialect, but in a limited number of lexical items . . . it has covered a large area of the Peninsula.' Menéndez Pidal (1929: 582–3) included the assimilation in an appendix to the second edition dealing with criticisms of his views about an Italic substrate.

Those who subscribe to the view that the assimilation in Spain is due to Italic influence also stress that the same phenomenon is found in Italian dialects spoken in or near the territories of the early Italic languages. Its presence in regional Italy is assumed to strengthen the case that a variety of Latin showing this feature was transported by Italians to Spain. Menéndez Pidal (1929: 298) says that the assimilation is found in central and southern Italy, including Sicily. Von Wartburg (1967: 16), referring to this assimilation and also to that discussed below (4.2), makes the connection between Italic and Italian dialects strongly, as follows: 'dans la péninsule [i.e. Italy],

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[187] For which see Untermann (2000: 796).   [188] See Meiser (1986: 94), Untermann (2000: 143).
[189] See von Planta (1892–7: I, 432–3), Buck (1904: 80), Jungemann (1955: 252), Meiser (1986: 94). Blaylock (1965–6: 420) is sceptical even about **umen**. He notes that 'one is immediately surprised to find no sure indication that -*mb*- was assimilated in Italic', and adds that the 'most likely candidate, **umen** . . ., constitutes an example of assimilation if one assumes an intermediate *omben'. Blaylock is a rarity among Romance scholars dealing with assimilation and the Italic substrate in that he actually looked at the Italic evidence (420–23), and stressed its limitations. At 420 he remarks that when 'we examine the extant Italic texts we discover that the assimilations actually observable in the Oscan and Umbrian inscriptions are not nearly so numerous as those encountered in the Hispanic dialects'. Coleman (2000: 36) goes so far as to say that the assimilations of *mb* and *nd* to *m(m)* and *n(n)* 'were common to Oscan and Umbrian', when the first of them is attested only in Umbrian.
[190] See also Menéndez Pidal (1960: lxxvi–lxxix).

ils [the assimilations] couvrent une aire si homogène que l'on admettra . . . qu'il y a un lien entre ces faits et la même évolution phonétique en osque et en ombrien'.[191]

The Italian situation is set out fully in Rohlfs (1966: 359–61),[192] for once distinguishing *mb* > *m(m)* from *nd* > *n(n)*. The assimilation of *mb* occurs in southern areas of Italy in which the assimilation *nd* > *n(n)* is also the norm (for which see below, 4.2).[193] In this discussion Rohlfs makes no explicit mention of any lack of correspondence between the distribution of the phenomenon in Italian dialects and the areas in which Oscan (or Umbrian) was spoken in antiquity (but see below, this section, for his earlier observations on this point). Nevertheless, he points out (1966: 360) that in northern Italy *m* from *mb* is found 'nelle zone ladine delle Dolomiti', and that the assimilation took place as well in Sardinia, in those parts where the other assimilation (*nd* > *n(n)*) also occurs (1966: 360). Since there is no suggestion that Oscan or Umbrian might have been influential in the Dolomites or Sardinia,[194] special pleading must be resorted to by adherents of the substrate theory to explain away the difficulty. Von Wartburg (1967: 16) says that assimilation 'appeared here and there spontaneously, as in Sardinia' ('Aussi apparaissent-ils également çà et là de façon spontanée, comme en Sardaigne'). But if 'spontaneous' in Sardinia, why not elsewhere? On the distribution of the assimilation, see further below.

A lot, it would seem, hangs on two Umbrian examples, which have been treated tacitly as evidence for the norm in Oscan as well. Oscan **kúmbennieís** (*kom-ben),[195] which does not show assimilation, hardly finds its way into the Romance literature.[196] It has to be explained as due to recomposition.[197]

Assimilation in this environment also occurs sometimes in subliterary Latin,[198] but not in Oscan or Umbrian areas and not during the period when the Italic languages were spoken. This should cause no surprise. Contact assimilation can be a feature of rapid or non-standard speech without ever becoming the norm in a whole group. It may be idiolectal or

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[191] Cf. Menéndez Pidal (1929: 583–4). Earlier von Planta (1892–7: I, 433) had accepted a connection in this respect between Oscan and the later Italian dialects (cf. 418 on *nd* > *n(n)*).

[192] See also von Wartburg (1967: 15).

[193] Blaylock (1965–6: 419–20) summarises thus: 'The reduction of -MB- to -*m(m)*- appears in all of Central and Southern Italy, including Sicily and the southern two-thirds of Sardinia.'

[194] On this point see also Eska (1987: 158 n. 93): '[T]hough this assimilation in central and southern Italian dialects is often attributed to an Oscan substratum, it is also found in Sardinia, the Italo-Austrian border and other places where Oscan hardly could ever have been spoken.'

[195] See Untermann (2000): 412).   [196] But see Blaylock (1965–6: 421).

[197] See von Planta (1892–7: I, 433).

[198] Note Leumann (1977: 216), under the heading 'Sonderfälle im Vulgär- und Spätlatein'.

associated with particular lexical items. It is far-fetched always to be look-
ing to explain such a mundane phenomenon from external influences.
Note *CIL* VI.20905 = *CE* 95 *pectus malum commurat suum*, 26215 *com-
muratur* (both Rome), XIV.850 *ne quis uelit . . . neque commurere neq.
obruere cadauer* (Latium, Ostia), *Ephemeris Epigraphica* 7 (1892), 68 *com-
musserit* (Mactar, Africa; interpreted by the editor as = *commixerit*, with
commouerit suggested as an alternative; a misspelling of *combusserit* is at least
as likely). This last inscription is also published as *CIL* VIII.11825, and
there the editor rejects the equivalence to *commixerit* and supports instead
that to *commouerit*. Since Bücheler on *CE* 95 (for which see above) cites
CIL VIII.11825 for *commurat*, it is obvious that he has taken *commusserit*
as a misspelling of *combusserit*.[199] *Ammulantibus* = *ambulantibus* occurs
in a late British Christian inscription from Caldey Island, Pembrokeshire
(Nash-Williams 1950, no. 301). In *comburo* assimilation is well attested
in manuscripts, for example of Varro, Pelagonius and the *Mulomedicina
Chironis* (see *TLL* III.1758.64ff.). Here there is evidence for the ease with
which such an assimilation could catch on in a particular word, without
any possible influence from Oscan or Umbrian. We saw at the start of this
section that in Spanish too the assimilation is limited to a small number of
words.

I alluded above to the problem posed for supporters of the substrate the-
ory by the appearance of assimilations affecting nasal + stop (*mb* and also
nd) in areas where Oscan and Umbrian had not been spoken. This inconsis-
tency has been stressed most strongly by Rohlfs in several other places, where
he treats the different assimilations together. Note, for example, Rohlfs
(1930: 43): 'Dazu kommt, dass die Assimilation in den Nasalverbindun-
gen sporadisch auch auf anderen Gebieten der Romania begegnet, wo von
oskischer Nachwirkung gewiss nicht die Rede sein kann' (here incidentally
we see Oscan treated as the normal subject of the discussion, not Oscan
and Umbrian, despite the fact that one of the assimilations is attested
in Umbrian alone). In this connection he also cites evidence of the phe-
nomenon from Sardinia (for which see above), and from northern France,
Raetia, Gascony and Catalonia (as well as some non-Romance languages:
see 43 n. 5 and below, this paragraph with n. 202).[200] He goes on (1930:
43–4) to note the absence of such assimilations from the medieval grave

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[199] Blaylock (1965–6: 420) takes it likewise.
[200] Rohlfs makes much the same point elsewhere (1926: 153, 1955: 225); see further below, n. 202.
Attempts have of course been made to counter Rohlfs' arguments. In reference to supposed substrate
elements in Italian dialects see e.g. Merlo (1933: 182–3).

monuments of Naples (an Oscan centre), as well as from those of the Bagni di Pozzuoli (fourteenth century), Regimen Sanitatis (*c.* 1400), Ritmo Cassinense (*c.* 1300) and Loyse de Rosa (fifteenth century), all documents which otherwise display dialectal features. By contrast monuments or texts from areas to the north or south of the Oscan area in Italy do often display such assimilations.[201] In reference to the alleged significance of the place name *Osca* (see above, 4 with n. 179) he notes (1955: 225) that it is odd to say that Osca (Huesca) is in the centre of the area where *nd* was assimilated to *n(n)*, given that this assimilation extends across the Pyrenees as far as the Gironde, and that in the territory of Huesca itself it is scarcely found. He stresses too that the banality of this assimilation is such that there is no need to resort to a distant (and uncertain) substrate influence to account for its attestation in parts of Spain, a point I have made above, 4.[202]

The restriction of the assimilation to certain lexical items in Spain can, as we saw, be paralleled in Latin itself. If one wanted to find the roots of the assimilation in the Roman period one need not look beyond Latin itself: Latin speakers had a weak tendency to assimilate this cluster in one or two words.

4.2   Assimilation of nd > n(n)

This assimilation is well attested in Oscan (> *nn*) and also Umbrian (> *n*),[203] perhaps most notably in forms such as **úpsannúm** (= *faciendum*).[204] Spanish evidence for the phenomenon is assembled (mainly from Catalonia and Aragón) by Menéndez Pidal (1929: 299–302). He also notes (1929: 302–3) that it occurs in Gallo-Romance, not only in the region of the Pyrenees and Gascony but also in Picardy and Wallonia,[205] a distribution which says more about the banality of the assimilation than about the necessity to invoke Oscan or Umbrian as its determinant in medieval Romance languages. Blaylock (1965–6: 418–19) describes the distribution

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[201] See also Jungemann (1955: 266; cf. 250–1) and Blaylock (1965–6: 425–6) on the strength of this argument.

[202] See also the remarks of Blaylock (1965–6: 433): 'assimilation of *b*, *d*, *g* after nasals and liquids result[s] in some economy of effort on the speaker's part. To a certain extent one might qualify them as "natural" changes, capable of occurring in any language at any time. In effect, some of the assimilations discussed here appear in widely scattered areas within Romance territory, also in many non-Romance regions.' For evidence of the assimilations in widespread areas, see Blaylock's n. 54 on the same page. See also Blaylock (1965–6: 425) citing Rohlfs on the widespread character of such assimilations, 'resulting in large part, if not totally, from a natural tendency towards economy of effort'.

[203] See von Planta (1892–7: I, 417–18), Buck (1904: 84). There is also a review of the Oscan evidence in Blaylock (1965–6: 421–2).

[204] See Untermann (2000: 801).

[205] On these last two areas see also Blaylock (1965–6: 433 n. 54: also 425).

thus: 'The shift -ND- > -*n(n)*- has been considered one of the major features distinguishing Gascon from its Occitanian neighbors . . . In Spain this phonological development is normal for Catalan and the less Castilianized varieties of Aragonese; but, except for a few sporadic examples, it has secured no foothold in Castilian territory.'

The evidence from Italy is presented in a restrained way by Rohlfs (1966: 356–9),[206] and he repeats the view expressed in his earlier works that it is not necessary to fall back on an Oscan substratum to explain the phenomenon (see 1966: 358). He points out (357) that old Neapolitan documents use *nd*, and that the assimilation is also found in the Dolomites and Sardinia (358), in the second of which, he remarks, Wagner had expressly demonstrated that it was of recent date. The Roman dialect was affected (357; cf. Rohlfs 1930: 43), a point made too by von Wartburg (1967: 15): 'Les deux premières assimilations [i.e. *mb > m(m)*, *nd > n(n)*] recouvrent la Péninsule jusqu'à une ligne qui passe par Ancône-Arcevia-Iesi (inclusivement), puis un peu au Sud de Pérouse, et qui englobe tout le Latium (cf. le romain ancien *commattere* "combattere").' To explain away the appearance of assimilation in Rome, von Wartburg (1967: 16) resorts to the familiar argument that the city was submerged beneath rural usages: 'Il apparaît qu'en définitive Rome même, submergée par les usages ruraux, adopta ce trait osco-ombrien.' Rohlfs further argues (1930: 43) that, since Rome is in the territory where both assimilations took place, if they were old, Roman soldiers and colonists would have transported them to Etruria, northern Italy and Gaul.[207]

More important here than the argument about the source of the Romance assimilations is the question whether the assimilation *nd > n(n)* is attested in Latin, and if so whether it could have been due to Oscan/Umbrian interference. There are undoubtedly lexical items in Latin and Romance that have Oscan features, but these are lexical borrowings in which the Oscan element was taken over with the word: they do not reflect the operation of a phonetic rule of Oscan in native speakers' Latin. I collect here various apparent cases of the assimilation *nd > n(n)* and discuss their motivations.[208]

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[206] There has been a long tradition of connecting the Oscan assimilation of *nd* with that in some Italian dialects: see the remarks of Blaylock (1965–6: 423), tracing the connection back to a work of 1855; see too above, n. 191.

[207] See also Jungemann (1955: 259, 266), Blaylock (1965–6: 425).

[208] For collections of examples, but unclassified, see Schuchardt (1866: 146), Jungemann (1955: 251–2). It is crucial to look at the items separately, as they have different motivations, as we will see. Such cases are taken by Ernout (1909a: 83–5, 176) to reflect Italic influence; note too Battisti (1949: 56–7), Väänänen (1966: 66–7). For scepticism, see Sommer and Pfister (1977: 179), Leumann (1977: 216).

(1) *App. Probi* 214 *grundio non grunnio* has nothing to do with Italic nor is it even straightforwardly due to assimilation. The word has been remodelled on the analogy of such terms as *gannio, hinnio, tinnio, tetrinnio*.[209] For an alternative explanation of the form (reflecting the sort of assimilation *ndy* > *nny* seen in *uerecundia* > Italian *vergogna*, French *vergogne*), see Väänänen (1981: 63).

(2) Plautus *Mil.* 1407 as quoted by Nonius p. 15 Lindsay runs as follows: *ubi lubet: dispennite hominem diuersum et distendite*. The citation is introduced with the words *dispennere est expandere: tractum a pennis et uolatu auium. Dispennite* is sometimes said to be a dialectalism.[210] On such a view the Umbrian Plautus would have admitted an 'Umbrianism', perhaps familiar at Rome from vulgar speech subject to rustic influence.[211] Coleman (2000: 36) by contrast thinks that the form is not 'Umbrian' but 'Oscan'. I quote: 'The speaker, old Periplectomenus, is addressing the slaves holding Pyrgopolynices, and Plautus gives him the dialect form to indicate that unlike himself (cf. 648) they are Apulians and therefore Oscan speakers.' There is nothing to be said for this view.

The manuscripts of Plautus do not have this form *dispennite* (A has *dispendite*, and P *distendite*, which cannot be right, given that the same verb follows). If the text of Nonius is accepted, the question has to be asked why Plautus would have admitted an Italic assimilation in this one place, for no good reason, particularly since it is coordinated with a non-assimilated form *distendite*.[212] The one certain (pseudo-)Oscan form in Plautus is *Campans (genus)* (*Trin.* 545),[213] but this is a special case, given its transparent Campanian connection.[214] It resembles the Oscanising name of the elephant, *Luca bos*, which also reveals itself by the adjective to be a form originating in an Oscan area.[215]

In fact the form is more likely to be an archaic (Latin) survival, unconnected with Oscan influence. *Pando* is related by some to Oscan **patensíns**, a third-person plural imperfect subjunctive = 'opened', derivable from **pᵉt-na-s-ē-nt*, = *panderent*.[216] If so Lat. *pando* might derive from **patno*, which could have been assimilated to **panno* before being influenced by verbs of the type *scando*. *Dispennite* would thus reflect this

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209   See Baehrens (1922: 78).
210   See Ernout (1909a: 84).
211   Cf. Battisti (1949: 56).
212   Not unexpectedly the emendation of *distendite* to *distennite* has been suggested (Meursius).
213   See Adams (2003a: 122–3).
214   An 'Umbrian' pun on *sosia/socia* has sometimes been found at *Amph.* 383–4, but see Christenson (2000: 213); also Coleman (2000: 36), expressing scepticism.
215   See Adams, note 213 above.   216   See Untermann (2000: 517–18), Leumann (1977: 201).

intermediate stage. The advantage of such an explanation is that the juxta-position of a form with *-nd-* (*distendite*) alongside one with *-nn-* becomes unproblematic: there is no question of an Italic assimilation that has oper-ated on one verb but not on the other.

I note in passing Blaylock's comment (1965–6: 420) on Plautus. Of the assimilation *nd* > *n(n)* he says that 'occasional examples appear . . . even in Latin literature, notably in the comedies of Plautus, who was of Umbrian background'. No evidence is cited, but Blaylock must have been aware of the above example. On this single case, which probably exemplifies *nn* > *nd* rather than the reverse, a generalisation is based which implies that Plautus as an Umbrian might have been prone to a type of assimilation in Latin.

(3) Brix (1901) on *Mil.* 1407 cites Donatus' remark on Ter. *Phormio* 330 (*rete accipitri tenditur*): *legitur et tennitur. habet enim n littera cum d communionem*. It is unlikely that Terence admitted such a form. Whether it existed in a real variety of Latin is doubtful. Contact assimilation, as I have stressed, can take place ad hoc in idiolects without external motivation.[217]

(4) *Verecunnus* = *Verecundus* at Pompeii (*CIL* IV.1768) is sometimes cited in this connection,[218] but it is possible that it is a humorous obscene modification,[219] or an ad hoc assimilation independent of Oscan influence. There is perhaps another case of the same form in a graffito on a London pot (*CIL* VII.1338.29).[220] *Secunnus* at XIII.5191 undermines the possibility that *Verecunnus* may reflect the influence of Oscan at Pompeii, because it is from Germania Superior (Olten). This last inscription also has two cases of the same name without assimilation, and that suggests that the *-nn-*spelling does not represent a dialect form of the name but a momentary slip. Smith (1983: 921) cites the place name *Vindolana* in Britain alongside the usual *Vindolanda*, and (inversely), also from Britain, *Gabaglanda* alongside *Camboglanna*. Such assimilations may have occurred sometimes in the Celtic provinces.

(5) *Oriunna* at *CIL* VI.20589 (*Iulia Oriunna*) is from Rome rather than an Oscan area.

(6) At *CIL* X.1211 (near Naples, Abella: not Atella, as Väänänen 1966: 66 says) there is a spelling *innulgen(tia)* = *indulgentia*. The inscription is late (AD 170).

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[217] See Leumann (1977: 216) on such 'special cases' in Vulgar and late Latin (see above, n. 198).
[218] See Väänänen (1966: 66–7), describing *Verecunnus* as 'sans doute une forme osquisante'. By contrast at (1981: 63), citing the same form and a few other items, he remarks that 'les matériaux latins sont trop rares pour corroborer la théorie du substrat osque'.
[219] See Adams (2003a: 119 n. 42).   [220] See Smith (1983: 921).

(7) *Agenna* was once thought to be attested at Naples for *Agenda* (Baehrens 1922: 78, also Menéndez Pidal 1929: 302 n. 1), but the name has since been re-read (*CIL* X.3498) as *Gennae*).

I would agree with Väänänen (1981: 63), cited at n. 218, that the Latin material is too insubstantial to corroborate the theory of an Oscan substrate (as determining the assimilation). Attestations are from various places and are not overwhelmingly concentrated in the Oscan area. A number of the items are open to special explanations. Note the relative frequency with which assimilation is found in names; vocatives and names are particularly likely to show assimilations and other phonetic modifications. A complementary assimilation to that of *nd > n(n)* also found occasionally in Latin, but which cannot be related to Italic influence, is that of *nt > n(n)*, as in the documents of Novius Eunus (*TPSulp*. 67, in Camodeca 1999: I, 163; see Adams 1990a: 241–2), where *trigina* for *triginta* occurs twice and is unlikely to be a slip of the pen;[221] cf. *mereni = merenti* at *CIL* VI.27041. Väänänen (1981: 119) notes that words for tens are subject to rapid pronunciation. I suggest that there was a weak tendency for such assimilations to occur in Latin under particular circumstances, and that Italic influence is not proven.

4.3   Miscellaneous

Recently Pena (1990–1) has discussed two 'dialectal traits' of Hispanic Latin 'produced under the influence of the Italic settlers, especially Oscan' (see the abstract, 1990–1: 389).[222]

The first (391–5) is the (apparent) nominative singular masculine ending *-i* for *-ius* (as in *Tiberi*, *Luci*, etc.). This is explained (391) as a feature of 'certain Italic dialects' (an old work by Ernout is quoted), which lose the thematic vowel in the suffix *-yo-* in the nominative singular. Oscan **pakis** for *Pacius* is cited. An objection is that Oscan retains the final *-s*.[223] Panosa (1996: 237) similarly speaks of the ending as a 'dialectalismo de tipo osco'. Pena does not look for examples of such spellings outside Spain. They are commonplace, and without regional significance, certainly of the type sought by Pena, as is clear from the widespread material assembled by Kaimio (1969), who presents data from Praeneste, Etruria, the *ollae* found in the vineyard of S. Caesareo at Rome (a graveyard of the second

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[221] This point is made by Adams (1990a: 241) and Camodeca (1999: I, 164).
[222] Pena's remarks are accepted at their face value by Panosa (1996: 236–7).
[223] See Buck (1904: 119–20).

century BC with a marked Greek element)[224] and from inscriptions found in scattered places, including Rome (1969: 26–7). The Italian examples, incidentally, have attracted the familiar claim that they are 'dialectal',[225] an unconvincing view given the plentiful evidence from Rome itself, and given that the author does not provide a statistical comparison of the incidence of -*i* and -*ius* in the regions versus Rome. It is possible that the spelling has several motivations, a possibility which emerges from Kaimio's discussion. In the *S. C. de Bacchanalibus* several instances are demonstrably abbreviations,[226] and the same is probably true of the vast majority of such forms elsewhere.[227] The ending came up in an earlier chapter (II.17): its particular frequency in Etruria may in that region reflect Etruscan influence. In any case Italic influence can be ruled out, and the evidence shows that such forms were not a dialectal trait of Hispanic Latin.[228]

Pena's second case (1990–1: 395–9) is the nominative plural ending of the second declension in -*eis* (e.g. *magistreis*) (also -*is*, -*es*). There is an exhaustive discussion of the ending by Bakkum (1994). Bakkum amasses a large amount of widely spread evidence, and shows that the ending (1) is not in free variation with the usual ending -*i* but has clear functional restrictions (25 'the *s*-nominative is used where an enumeration is resumed by a common denominator in the nominative plural', the so-called 'resumptiveness-parameter'), and (2) that it is 'found throughout the area where Latin was written' (19), with 'no indications that [it] belonged to any dialect in particular' (19). See also above, II.4.

Under the heading 'Dialectalismos itálicos en el latín de Hispania' Lapesa (1980: 98) traces Spanish *octubre*, Portuguese *outubro* and Catalan *uytubre* to a Latin form *octuber* without discussing the problems of derivation, noting only that Oscan vocalism has long *u* where Latin has long *o*. *Octuber* is thus supposedly an Oscanised form. It is said to be significant that in an inscription of Pamplona dated AD 119 the form *octubris* occurs. The inscription, *CIL* II.2959, has long had a place in the discussion of the dialectalisation of Spanish Latin.[229] Ernout (1909a: 67) mentions it as Spanish alongside Ibero-Romance forms allegedly reflecting *octuber*. Carnoy

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[224] See Adams (2003a: 101).
[225] So Siles (1981: 109), finding an 'abundant documentation' of -*i* for -*ius* 'en el latín dialectal de Italia' (as well as 'en el de Hispania').
[226] See Leumann (1977: 423), Kaimio (1969: 37–8).   [227] See Leumann (1977: 423).
[228] The forms **tiber̃i** and **luki** on coin legends in Iberian (see Untermann 1975, A.6), 'werden allgemein als iberisierte Formen der lat. Praenomina *Tiberius* und *Lucius* angesehen', according to Untermann (1975: 170). The names may well display the familiar Latin spelling -*i* for -*ius*, but the function of the free-standing names is unexplained. See further Siles (1981: 106–9).
[229] See also Baldinger (1972: 112 n. 110) for further bibliography.

(1906: 64) made the connection between the inscription and Ibero-Romance even more explicitly: 'La présence de cette forme dans les inscriptions d'Espagne . . . est d'autant plus remarquable que le portugais: *outubre*, anc. esp. *otubre* (moderne *octubre*) remontent précisément à *octūber*.'[230]

It should first be noted that the *u* of *octuber* does not make the form Oscan. *ct* is not an Oscan consonant cluster.[231] Spellings showing *u* for long *o* turn up from time to time in substandard Latin, reflecting perhaps the closeness of Latin long *o*,[232] or in some cases the influence of the following *b*, or other factors (see the whole discussion above, II.10).[233] *Suber* as an alternative for *sobrius* is in the *Appendix Probi* (31). In his discussion of *suber* Baehrens (1922: 57) notes *octubris* as a parallel; no one, as far as I know, has suggested that *suber* is an Oscanism. Sommer and Pfister (1977: 61) also cite examples of *punere* and *uxure*,[234] and there is a rich collection of epigraphic material showing *u* for long *o* in Prinz (1932: 60–75).

Moreover the derivation of the Ibero-Romance reflexes (Old Spanish *ochubre*, Spanish *octubre*, Portuguese *outubro*, Old Catalan *(v)uytubri*) from an Oscanised form with long *u* is not generally accepted.[235] There is a long discussion of the problem in Corominas and Pascual (1980–91: IV, 262–3 n. 2),[236] who see the etymon as a variant of *october* but of uncertain form; *octobrius* is regarded (263) as a possibility which does not encounter real difficulties,[237] whereas the explanation from Oscan is treated as not decisive.

The uncertainties are thus considerable, and the Oscanism unproven. Moreover Ernout and others are misleading in citing the form only from a Spanish inscription. It is widespread in inscriptions of many areas, and in manuscripts (see *TLL* IX.2.429.55ff.). Prinz (1932: 69) observes: '"Octub-" forma per totum orbem Romanum usitata fuisse videtur.' Carnoy too (1906: 64) allowed that the form was 'not unknown in other provinces'.

An Oscan form (given as **octufru* by *FEW* VII.309 and Corominas and Pascual 1980–91: IV, 263 col. 2, and *octufri* by *REW* 6036.3) is more

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[230] See also Tovar (1968a: 42).

[231] See Buck (1904: 89).   [232] So Sommer and Pfister (1977: 61).

[233] Many examples of the phenomenon are cited and discussed by B. Löfstedt (1961: 69–86), who brings out the diversity of its motivations; as does Prinz (1932: 60–75). See also above, II.10.8.

[234] See also Väänänen (1981: 36).

[235] See *REW* 6036.2 and *FEW* VII.309, deriving these from *octobrius*; so too *TLL* IX.2.431.58ff. (but exercising some caution). Coromines (1980–2001: IX, 406) s.v. *vuit* says that the early Catalan forms *uytubri* and *vuytubri* are probably from *octobrius*.

[236] Cf. Corominas (1967: 421).

[237] '[L]a explicación por OCTŌBRIUS . . no tropieza con verdaderos obstáculos. El port. *outubro* . . . se explica por esta base sin dificultad alguna.'

plausibly regarded as surviving in Italian dialects around Naples, an Oscan area (Old Neapolitan *ottrufo*, Neapolitan *attufro*, Salerno *attrufu*).[238]

A form *october* (influenced by *nouember* and *december*), with reflexes in the Abruzzo (so *REW*) and Gallo-Romance (see *REW* 6036.4, *FEW* VII.308, 2), also offers more promising evidence of regionalism. I mention it here for completeness, though it is not relevant to Spain. This form turns up in a late (sixth-century) Christian inscription from Gaul, apparently in the genitive: *ILCV* 1308 . . . *qui obiit X[. . ka]l. Octimbris*; cf. too Pirson (1901: 119). The spelling with *i* in the second syllable may reflect the influence of *decimb-* (for which see *TLL* V.1.126.71f.), which itself is influenced by *undecim* alongside *decem*. There is a scattering of examples in manuscripts of the spelling *octimb-* (see *TLL* IX.2.429.62ff.), which was common in medieval Latin (see Pirson 1901: 248), but the inscription cited would seem to preserve a local form.

Baldinger (1972: 112–13), following Silva Neto (1970: 117), lists further lexical items which have been taken to be Oscanisms or Umbrianisms in Ibero-Romance. They do not amount to much. I go through them. Among them is *pomex* for *pumex*, the Oscan character of which has been questioned in an earlier chapter (II.7). Baldinger (1972: 113 n. 115) remarks that 'Esp. *pómez*, port. *pomes* es probablemente de origen osco',[239] without noting that all of the Romance reflexes go back to the form with *o* (see II.7 and *REW* 6844).[240] Thus even if it were an Oscanism it would not be a distinctive feature of Spain but a form that had penetrated all varieties of spoken Latin; as such it might have reached Spain at any time. It is also of note that whereas in *octuber* it is long *u* for long *o* that is taken as an Oscanism, in *pomex* it is long *o* for long *u* that is interpreted thus. *Sober* for *suber* ('cork-oak'), with long *o* for long *u*, and supposedly having the same relationship to *suber* as *pomex* to *pumex* (so *REW* 8357.2), does not have the required distribution in Romance to support any theory that an Italicised dialect of Latin was brought to Spain by early settlers. It is *suber* that survives in Catalan. *Sober* for its part survives in Portuguese, but not only there: *REW* 8357.2 lists reflexes from Old Italian and the dialect of Verona. Variant forms of such technical terms, which are usually difficult to explain decisively, were clearly capable of achieving a fairly wide currency unpredictable in pattern. Such

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[238] See particularly the discussion of Corominas and Pascual (1980–91: IV, 263 col. 2). The reflexes cited here are as given by *FEW* VII.309. See also Rohlfs (1962: 58) on a possible Oscan-influenced name **Octufrius*.

[239] According to Corominas and Pascual (1980–81: IV, 601) the Spanish word derives from a form that was 'perhaps a dialectal or Italic variant of CL *pumex*'.

[240] For the *o* as long, see Walde and Hofmann (1938–54: II, 388), Ernout and Meillet (1959: 545), Bloch and von Wartburg (1968: 498) s.v. *ponce*.

material could only be used to argue for a theory such as Menéndez Pidal's if the aberrant forms consistently survived only in Ibero-Romance. *Oric(u)la* for *auricula* is in Cicero (*Q.fr.* 2.14(13).4), the *Ad Herennium* (4.14) and Catullus (25.2). The spelling reflects a mundane substandard treatment of the diphthong (see III.8.13), for which Umbrian influence need not be invoked.[241] Moreover the form is reflected in most Romance languages (*REW* 793) and not merely Ibero-Romance. *Cercius* (= *circius*) was almost certainly a Celtic loan-word (see IV.1.3.6), and it is bizarre to attempt to impose Oscan influence on it as well. The relationship between the two spellings is obscure, but may have to do with Celtic phonetics (see IV.1.3.6). Another component of Baldinger's list is **steua* for *stiua*, denoting the shaft of a plough handle.[242] Here an *e* spelling representing a long *e* replaces an *i* spelling representing a long *i* (or possibly original *ei* diphthong).[243] Because of the uncertainties of etymology we do not know whether the *e*-form should be put alongside forms such as *speca* for *spica* (from *ei*) discussed earlier (II.6, III.4.3, p. 138) or explained otherwise. But it does not matter in the present context, because **steua* is the form that is most widely reflected in Romance, not only in Ibero-Romance but also in Gallo-Romance and Italian dialects.[244] It must have been widely established in spoken Latin, rather than a form confined to a dialect spoken by early settlers in Spain. Most of the other forms in Baldinger's list are effectively dismissed as possible Oscanisms or Umbrianisms carried to Spain in the literature cited in his footnotes (see n. 111 on *nudu* for *nodu*, n. 113 on **peca* for *pica*).[245]

The name *Mascel* is cited by Carnoy (1906: 235) from an inscription of Italica and described as 'un oscisme figé dans un nom propre romain'. But the forms *figel*, *mascel* and *Vernacel* are late and widespread,[246] and not considered to be Oscanisms.[247]

4.4   Conclusions

The assimilations discussed above are only weakly attested in Latin, but well represented in Spain, Italy and elsewhere a thousand or more years

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[241] For the treatment of *au* in Umbrian (as compared with Oscan, where it is retained), see Buck (1904: 46).

[242] See also Díaz y Díaz (1960: 244).

[243] The etymology of *stiua* is unknown.   [244] See *REW* 8269.2.

[245] These last two items have also found their way into Díaz y Díaz's discussion of dialectalisms (1960: 244).

[246] See *TLL* VI.1.721.37ff., VIII.426.79ff., Sommer (1914: 337), Leumann (1977: 142).

[247] See Sommer (1914: 337), Leumann (1977: 142).

later. One of them is not even attested in Oscan. Such attestations as there are in Latin, if viewed as a whole rather than selectively, are difficult to relate to the influence of Italic, and a number of apparent examples can be explained otherwise. Contact assimilation of this and other types is a widespread phenomenon in many languages. It arises easily in speech without external stimulus. It is an extreme position to interpret examples in medieval Spain as directly descended from Oscan. This hypothesis would only be plausible if (1) assimilations in Latin could be unambiguously explained as due to Oscan interference; (2) there were attestations of the assimilations in Spanish Latin bridging the gap between the early Republic and the medieval period in Spain; and (3) the phenomenon in Spain was restricted to the area of the earliest occupation. None of these conditions is met, never mind all of them.

5 SOME IMPERIAL EVIDENCE FOR SPANISH REGIONALISMS

I turn now to some possible cases of Spanish regionalisms of different types, having nothing to do either with archaism or Oscan influence.

5.1 Lex metalli Vipascensis

Two bronze tablets (*CIL* II.5181, *ILS* 6891, *FIRA* I.104) from near Aljustrel in Lusitania (Vipasca: see map 1), the site of ancient bronze and silver mines, record *leges* regulating the administration not only of the mines themselves but of the whole adjacent territory, which was subject to a *procurator metallorum*. The texts have been edited and expounded by Domergue (1983), and it is his edition that I quote here. The law which Domergue refers to as *Vip*. I is dated to the period of Hadrian, and *Vip*. II to 173.[248] The texts tie in with the evidence of Pliny seen in an earlier chapter (IV.2.3) as showing the distinctiveness of local terminologies in the mines of Spain. Not all of the phenomena, however, that have been noted are of equal weight, and I start with a superficially interesting item which is not all that it might seem.

Vip. I.2.9 (Domergue 1983: 51) has the following sentence: *qui mulos mulas asinos asinas caballos equas sub praecone uendiderit in k(apita) sing(ula) (denarios) III d(are) d(ebeto)* ('he who shall have sold at auction mules, male or female, donkeys, male or female, or horses, male or female, must pay three *denarii* per head'). It is the way in which horses and mares are referred

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[248] See Domergue (1983: 31).

to that has attracted attention. The Iberian peninsula (as represented by Spanish, Portuguese and Catalan) is the main Romance area in which the opposition 'horse/mare' is expressed by the reflexes of *caballus* and *equa* (see map 14 for this semantic field).[249] Various scholars have fastened on to the passage as displaying an anticipation of Ibero-Romance,[250] as in a loose sense it does, but its importance should not be exaggerated. There are various considerations that weaken its significance as evidence of a possible early imperial regional feature. First, there are other Romance regions in which the opposition is expressed in the same way, most notably Sardinia and Rumania, and in Engadine as well both terms survived.[251] Second, the feminine form *caballa*, though it is reflected in northern and central Italy and was taken from there into southern Gallo-Romance,[252] is remarkably rare in Latin itself, and likely to have been a late coinage. Only one example is cited by *TLL* III.4.39ff., from a late African poem (possibly sixth century) in the *Latin Anthology* (148.7).[253] Those who used *caballus* as their unmarked term for 'horse' (and this usage is now attested in the early second century at Vindolanda)[254] would almost certainly in the second century have employed *equa* as its feminine correspondent, wherever they might have been resident in the Empire, given that the only other term for 'mare' with Romance reflexes (*iumenta*) was, like *caballa*, also a late development (see V.4.1). Even in late Latin *equa* was still being opposed to *caballus* in areas in which *equa* was not to survive, as for example Gaul (so in the *Pactus legis Salicae*: see V.4.1, and also *TLL* III.4.40f.). The opposition *caballos equas* in the *Lex*, far from being distinctive of Lusitania at the time, was probably standard spoken (as distinct from literary) Latin all over the Empire. This case is another salutary one. One must be careful about imposing on a usage (here *equa* 'mare' contrasting with *caballus*) a geographical restriction seen in Romance centuries later but not necessarily obtaining in the Roman period. We will see below (on *lausiae*) the contrasting case of a word that there is good reason to think was restricted geographically in the Latin as well as the Romance period. This word was not a commonplace term of the literary language but a substrate term.

At *Vip.* I.3.2 (Domergue 1983: 51) (*aquam in [aeneis usque ad] summam ranam hypocaustis et in labrum tam mulieribus quam uiris profluentem recte praestare debeo*, 'he must properly supply water in the bronze heaters to the

[249] For Romance words for 'mare' see Rohlfs (1954a: 10–11, 75–6).
[250] See Carnoy (1906: 259), E. Löfstedt (1956: II, 374 n.), Rohlfs (1954a: 10).
[251] For the details see *REW* 1440, 2883.   [252] See map 14.
[253] On the date and provenance of the corpus in which this poem occurs see now Kay (2006).
[254] For this usage see Adams (2003b: 563–4); also the remarks of Carnoy (1906: 259).

level of the highest "frog", so that it flows forth to the brink both for the women and the men')[255] there is a use of *rana* that has been treated as significant. Bambeck (1959: 67–8), citing *REW* 7038, notes that Portuguese *rela* (which, incidentally, reflects the diminutive *ranella* and not *rana*)[256] survives in Portuguese, not only in the literal meaning ('tree frog') but also in a metaphorical sense (indicating a millstone hollowed out). Bambeck then moves on to our 'Portuguese' example above, taking it too to be metaphorical and to be a comparable, if not identical, animal metaphor to that in Portuguese. I have not been able to confirm the accuracy of the information in *REW*. The reference may be to a model or image of a frog used as a water-marker.[257] The *OLD* s.v. 4 plausibly defines this example as denoting a 'mark indicating the water-level in a bath'. There is no similarity between the alleged Portuguese usage and any metaphorical meaning that might be suggested for *rana* in the above context.

Vip. I.7.4 has a more significant item: *conductori socio actoriue eius pignus capere liceto et quod eius scauriae pu[rgatum . . . expeditum frac]tum cretum lauatumque erit quiue lapides <u>lausiae</u> expeditae in lapicaedi[nis erunt . . .]* ('let it be permissible for the contractor, his associate or his agent to take a pledge, and whatever of the slag shall have been cleaned, . . . prepared, broken, sieved and washed, and whatever stones or *lausiae* shall have been prepared in the quarries . . .'). *TLL* VII.2.1067.57 gives the meaning of *lausiae* as 'genus lapidum minutorum'; so 'stone chips' *OLD*. *Lausius* is recognisable as a derivative of **lausa*,[258] a word of uncertain but possibly Celtic origin meaning 'stone slab et sim.' Only *lausius* is attested in Latin (in the present text); **lausa* is known from its Romance reflexes. It survives all over the Iberian peninsula,[259] and in south-eastern France[260] and Piedmont (in the 'Gallo-Italian' dialect area).[261] Obviously **lausa* was spread more widely than the single attestation of its derivative might suggest, but it was

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[255] The interpretation of this sentence is seriously problematic, and I have no confidence in this translation or that of Domergue or in the supplement to the text printed by Domergue, following D. Flach (see Domergue 1983: 80). Other suggestions have been *balineum usque ad* or *alueum* (for *balineum*) (the latter adopted by *OLD* s.v. *profluo*, 1; see *ILS* 6891, n. 17). The separation of *aeneis* from *hypocaustis* does not inspire confidence. Alternatively, reading *alueum* or the like, one may take *hypocaustis* as an ablative ('he must supply water to the bath from the heating channels to the level of the highest frog, such that it discharges to the brink both for the women and the men').

[256] See Machado (1967: III, 1981).   [257] See Domergue (1983: 80 n. 92).

[258] See *FEW* V.212. The *TLL* and *OLD* correctly treat *lausiae* as a feminine plural noun. Though *lapis* is frequently feminine (see *TLL* VII.2.948.60ff.), *qui* shows that here it is masculine.

[259] See Corominas and Pascual (1980–91: III, 698–9) s.v. *losa* (= 'flagstone, slate', etc.). See also *TLL* VII.2.1067.55f. for Iberian reflexes. Note too the discussion of Domergue (1983: 95–6).

[260] See *FEW* V.211–12, citing e.g. Old Provençal *lauza* 'pierre plate servant à couvrir les maisons, ardoise, dalle'.

[261] For further details see *FEW* V.212, Corominas and Pascual (1980–91: III, 699).

nevertheless restricted in distribution (as would suit a term of Celtic origin). It may be treated as a regionalism in the *Lex*, if not necessarily exclusively Iberian.

Vip. II several times has what looks like another borrowing from a substrate language, *ternagus*: II.15.2 *proc(urator) explorandi noui metalli causa ternagum a cuniculo agere permittito* ('for exploring a new mine the procurator shall allow the driving of an exploratory shaft from the main tunnel'); cf. *Vip.* II.17, II.18. I have adopted the rendering of the *OLD*. So too Domergue (1983: 158), following a discussion of the use of the word, suggests the translation 'galerie de reconnaissance'. This is very much a technical term, adopted locally to describe a particular type of tunnel. It is a regionalism, but of the weak type.

The document contains a number of other unique technical terms which must have been current in the mines,[262] though, since there are no Romance reflexes to go on, we cannot be sure that they were not used in other regions. They are however worth listing, with definitions taken from the *OLD*: *ustilis* (spelt with *o* in the first syllable) 'suitable for burning', used as a noun apparently with ellipse of *materia* (I.3.9 *conductori ue[ndere ligna] nisi ex recisaminibus ramorum quae ostili idonea non erunt ne liceto*, 'let it not be permitted to the contractor to sell logs except from pruned branches which shall not be suitable as burning timber' [?]),[263] *ubertumbis*, ablative plural, said by the *OLD* to be an unknown word, 'app. describing deposits of ore, or sim.' (I.7.2 *qui ex alis locis ubertumbis ae[raria argentariaue ru]tramina in fines metallorum inferet*, 'whoever from other places which are *ubertumbi* [?] shall bring to the territories of the mines bronze or silver residues'),[264] *rutramen* 'portion of earth thrown up by the shovel (in mining)', < *rutrum* 'shovel' (I.7.1 *qui in finibus met[alli Vipascensis . . . scau]rias argentarias aerarias pulueremue ex scaureis rutramina ad mesuram pondu[sue purgare. . . . . .]re expedire frangere cernere lauare uolet*, 'whoever in the territory of the mine of Vipasca wishes to clean . . . prepare, break, sieve or wash silver or bronze slag or the powder from the slag or shovelfuls by volume or weight'),[265] *recisamen*, indicating that 'which is removed by cutting back, pruning, paring, or sim.' (I.3.9, quoted above),[266] *testarius*,

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[262] On such terms in this document see also Carnoy (1906: 257–8), Mariner Bigorra (1960: 221).

[263] See also Domergue (1983: 85).

[264] Mariner Bigorra (1960: 221) suggests that it may be a form of *hypertumbos*, meaning *monticulus*. Domergue (1983: 94) connects the word with *uber* and renders the phrase as 'ces lieux où elles abondent aussi'. These are mere speculations.

[265] *Rutramina* seems to require *-ue* (as is seen by the *OLD* s.v.). There is a brief comment on *rutramina* by Domergue (1983: 93).

[266] Pliny the Elder has *recisamentum*.

used at I.7 not in the predictable meaning 'maker or seller of bricks or pottery', but apparently of one 'who gleans through the fragments of ore' (*scripturae scaurariorum et testariorum*, 'taxes on those dealing with slag and fragments of ore'),[267] *scaurarius*, of one 'involved in some way with the slag in a mine, perh. a smelter' (see above), *pittaciarium*, perhaps the 'licence-fee for sinking a shaft in a publicly-owned mine' (I.9 *usurpationes puteorum siue pittaciarium*, 'cost of possessing wells or licence-fee for sinking a shaft').[268]

Not all of the terms listed in the previous paragraph relate strictly to mining (*ustilis* and *recisamen* are more general), but most do. Mining is a specialised activity bound to generate a technical terminology, and terms such as these are best treated primarily as components of a technical register rather than as regionalisms. Nevertheless the uniqueness of almost all of the words in extant Latin to this document may be tentatively taken to suggest that they were technical terms particular to this one region and its mines rather than established mining terms that might have been used in other parts of the Empire as well. Though the substrate element is not marked in this text, there are again (cf. IV.2.3) some non-Latin words (*lausiae*, *ternagus*, perhaps *ubertumbis*), taken no doubt from a local language, which would not have been used in a mine in a different part of the Empire. Of these the most interesting is *lausiae*, given the survival of the related *lausa* in Ibero-Romance. The word would not have been restricted to the technical register of mining, since it is applied to types of stone (shale or the like) that would have been found above ground.

I stress finally the methodological point raised by the collocation *caballus equa*.

5.2   paramus

CIL II.2660, an inscription from León partly in verse set up by a member of the *Legio VII Gemina* (which was stationed there) on the four sides of a marble base and headed *Dianae sacrum. Q. Tullius Maximus leg. Aug. Leg. VII Gem. Felicis* reads on side III (see *CE* 1526C) *ceruom altifrontum cornua / dicat Dianae Tullius, / quos uicit in <u>parami</u> aequore / uectus feroci sonipede* ('Tullius dedicates to Diana the antlers of the lofty-headed deer which he overcame on the plain of the plateau, riding on his high-spirited charger', Courtney 1995, 141, slightly modified). *Paramus* (see also above, V.1), which was obviously a local word and no doubt of Hispanic origin (cf. *TLL* X.1.310.78 'vox peregrina, fort. hiberica'), was to produce Spanish,

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[267] See Domergue (1983: 95).   [268] See Domergue (1983: 99).

Portuguese *páramo*.[269] For another Latin example in a Spanish context, see Iul. Hon. *Cosmogr.* B 20, p. 36 *currit per campos Hispaniae inlustrans paramum*. The word indicated a plain. On side I (*CE* 1526A) it seems to be glossed by its Latin equivalent: *aequora conclusit campi*. The Latin-speaking reader would have been able to deduce the meaning of the word from this expression.[270] On side I (l. 6) there is also an unexplained word *disice*, which is conceivably another local term.[271] The inscription is relatively early (second century AD) and literary; the intrusion of the regionalism (if it is not a place name) into such a formal text is remarkable. The writer had presumably been struck by the local usage, and he dignified it by the poetic context. Poets occasionally inserted regionalisms into their work (see particularly V.3.5 on Ausonius, with the cross references at p. 311). In the provinces, as we have seen, terms to do with the land and its measurement were particularly successful in finding their way from vernacular languages into local varieties of Latin (see XI.3.6.3).[272]

5.3   Some evidence from Isidore

Evidence to do with Spanish Latin in Isidore is usually metalinguistic. Some cases were discussed at IV.2.4, and there is material in Sofer (1930). Here I consider a few possible Hispanisms embedded in the text without comment.

The transmitted text of Isidore *Etym.* 17.1.3 contains *firmare*: *hic plura instrumenta agriculturae repperit, primusque agros firmauit* ('he [Stercutus] discovered many agricultural implements, and he was the first one to strengthen [sic: see below] the fields'). The word was emended by Pease (1940) to *fimauit*, an emendation which, as Spitzer (1940) was quick to point out, gains support from Romance (*fimare* > Old Provençal, Catalan *femar*).[273] Here Isidore has used a word he knew locally. The Romance reflexes of the verb show a familiar pattern, in that they span the boundary between two modern countries (and languages: see XI.3.7 with cross references). The pattern repeats itself below.

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[269] I incorporate here part of the discussion found at Adams (2003a: 450).
[270] Courtney (1995) no. 141 ad loc. raises the possibility that the word may be a local place name ('El Páramo'), following a suggestion of Mariner Bigorra (1952: 71).
[271] But see Holford-Strevens (2003: 14 n. 16), Courtney (1995) no. 141 ad loc.
[272] Note, for example, that such terms are included by Corominas (1956: 41) among the main categories of Celtic terms to have passed into Spanish (i.e. by being borrowed from the original languages by Latin and thence passing into Romance).
[273] For the Gallo-Romance reflexes (which include Old Picard *femer*), see *FEW* III.545 (cf. 548). On the Catalan reflex see Coromines (1980–2001: III, 945), accepting Pease's emendation. It is pointed out that the verb is found in a Carolingian capitulary of 813.

At 12.2.38 Isidore introduces a local usage for the sake of an etymology: *musio appellatus, quod muribus infestus sit. hunc uulgus cattum a captura uocant. alii dicunt quod* <u>cattat, id est uidet</u> ('the *musio* "cat" gets its name from the fact that it is hostile to mice. This the ordinary people call "cat" from "catching". Others say that it is because it *cattat*, that is "sees"').

The verb *cattare* to which Isidore refers anticipates Spanish,[274] Portuguese[275] and Old Provençal[276] *catar*,[277] though the sense of the reflexes is rather 'look at' than 'see' (*uidet*) (see below, n. 280). *Cattare* has sometimes been explained implausibly as a denominative from *cattus*;[278] it is far more likely to be an assimilated form of *captare*.[279] *Capto* is well attested of attempting to 'catch' with the eyes (*TLL* III.377.13ff.), if not precisely of the act of seeing (see e.g. Apul. *Apol.* 57 *Vlixes fumum terra sua emergentem compluribus annis e litore prospectans frustra captauit*, 'Ulysses for many years looking forth from the shore attempted in vain to see smoke coming forth from his own land', with Hom. *Od.* 1.58). Some of the late examples are in Gallic texts or writers (Ausonius, *Lex Salica*).[280]

Isidore 19.22.29 uses the word *cama* (in the plural) in the sense 'bed': *camisias uocari quod in his dormimus in camis* ('shirts are so called because we sleep in them in bed'). This word, of unknown origin but possibly Celtiberian,[281] survives only in Catalan, Spanish and Portuguese (*cama*: *REW* 1537). The classical *lectus* continued as the everyday term in much of the rest of the Romance world.[282] *Cama* is attested in Latin only here and at 20.11.2, where Isidore derives the word from χαμαί.

Isidore at 20.13.5 in the context of locking devices has the following: *clauis dicta quod claudat et aperiat. catenatum, quod capiendo teneat* ('a key is so called because it closes and opens, a padlock because it holds by catching'). The substantivised participle *catenatum* survives in Spanish (*candado*), Portuguese (*cadeado*) and also Provençal (*cadenat*)[283] in the sense 'padlock', and that is clearly the meaning in the passage of Isidore, given

274 See e.g. Corominas (1967: 139).   275 For which see Machado (1967: I, 567), < *captare*.
276 For Gallo-Romance see *FEW* II.1.318 s.v. *captare*.   277 See also *REW* 1661.
278 See *TLL* III.620.67, Ernout and Meillet (1959: 106) s.v. *cattus*, and for discussion, Sofer (1930: 62), Corominas and Pascual (1980–91: I, 920).
279 So Sofer and the Iberian etymological dictionaries: see nn. 274, 275.
280 The example (a variant reading) cited by *TLL* III.377.21f. from *Pactus legis Salicae* 58.2 is absolute, in the expression *intus captare* (or *intus casam captare* in another version), and must mean 'look'; other manuscripts have *respiciens* (or *intus in casa respiciens*). This is clearly the same usage as the Romance cases of *catar*, and supports the derivation of the reflexes from *captare*.
281 See Walde and Hofmann (1938–54: I, 145), Sofer (1930: 121–2, 164).
282 See the discussion of Elcock (1960: 163).
283 See Corominas and Pascual (1980–91: I, 799), Machado (1967: I, 492), *FEW* II.1.501 s.v. ('Vorhängeschloss').

the context.[284] Isidore has used a word current in a south-western part of the Romance world. The *TLL* III.607.81 puts a question mark against the word, and refers to 5.27.9, where *catena* occurs in what appears to be the same collocation: *peducae sunt laquei quibus pedes inlaqueantur, dictae a pedibus capiendis. catenae autem, quod capiendo teneant utraque uestigia, ne progrediantur* ('fetters are nooses with which the feet may be ensnared, so called from the catching of the feet, whereas chains are so called because they hold both feet by catching, stopping them from advancing'). The wording may be the same, but the context is different, dealing as it does not with locks but with fetters; there would be no grounds for changing the text in the former passage. Sofer (1930: 127 n. 3) quotes a medieval text: *Vita S. Antonini Abb. Surrentini* 6.28 *pessulum, quod uulgo catenatium uocatur*.

Finally, on *centenum* 'rye' in Isidore see below, VIII.6.1, p. 554.

All of the usages discussed in this section were late innovations. Most could have been replaced by more familiar old words, and were arguably therefore full dialect words. In almost every case (*cama* is an exception) reflexes are found in both Ibero- and Gallo-Romance (for the pattern see XI.3.7). Late lexical innovations in Latin not infrequently occurred in a coherent region crossing a modern political or linguistic boundary, but they are no less regional for that.

6   some conclusions

The theory that Ibero-Romance acquired Oscan features from early settlers has never been anything but controversial. We saw above, 4 (p. 407), that immediately after the first edition of Menéndez Pidal's book appeared an attack was mounted on the theory by Muller, and a few years later in an appendix to the second edition Menéndez Pidal was moved to deal with some criticisms (1929: 582–5). The criticisms continued, and reviews of the question (most notably by Jungemann 1955: 254–69, Blaylock 1965–6 and Baldinger 1972: 104–124; see also now Ariza Viguera 2006) have listed the works of sceptics and expressed some scepticism themselves. Blaylock concludes his paper with the following remark (1965–6: 434): 'any attempt to trace assimilations in modern Ibero-Romance to ancient Italic speech habits does violence to our reasonably well-founded notions of historical Ibero-Romance philology'. Some scholars write as if there has been no

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[284] See also Sofer (1930: 127). Sofer and Corominas and Pascual, last footnote, also cite a Latin example from the *Lex Visigothorum* 7.4.4.

controversy at all, and take it as established that Spanish Latin was influenced by Oscan. It is even suggested that the Latin which developed in Spain had a 'high' Oscan component, when there seems to be no trace of an unambiguous Oscan feature in a Latin text or inscription from Spain of the Roman period. Even Blaylock, who is otherwise cautious, seems to have thought that Plautus the Umbrian assimilated *nd* (4.2 [2]), when there is no evidence for the phenomenon anywhere in his work. The Italic character of the other assimilation (of *mb*) rests on two Umbrian words that are not clear-cut in interpretation (see 4.1). Scholars assume that the assimilation is the norm in Oscan, where it is unattested.

What do we know about Latin in Spain? The inscriptions turn up no genuine regionalisms (see above, 3, p. 406, for negative remarks about some of Carnoy's claims advanced in his brief discussion of vocabulary, 1906: 255–60), apart from those in the *Lex metalli Vipascensis* (see above, 5.1), and *paramus* (5.2). Carnoy himself was sceptical or cautious about one or two possible Italic features of spelling in inscriptions, and not convincing when he was more positive in identifying such elements (see above, 4, n. 186). He makes the interesting remark (1906: 256) that it is surprising to find no sign in the Spanish inscriptions of the forerunner of Spanish *tío* 'uncle' (θεῖος, *t(h)ius*),[285] whereas *auunculus* is common in forms such as *aunculo*, *aunclo*, which testify to the popular currency of the old word. There is evidence here for the late spread of the new word.[286]

I leave inscriptions for the moment. Likely archaisms in the strong sense as defined above (2.12) surviving in Ibero-Romance are *cuius* (2.2) and *incepto* (2.11). These two terms and possibly a few others discussed earlier (2) must have arrived in Spain early and fallen out of use elsewhere during the Republic. *Vaciuus* (2.10) is another word which was displaced in mainstream Latin after it had reached some provincial regions, but it had not only established itself in the Iberian peninsula. But the archaic element of the Spanish vocabulary has been exaggerated. Those attempting to identify such terms have not taken account of certain principles of methodology discussed above (2.1, 2.5, 2.8, 2.12), and have sometimes disregarded the history of words in later Latin (see particularly 2.11 on *percontari* and *praeconari*). In a restricted sense the date of the occupation of the peninsula did influence the Latin spoken there. If, for example, Spain (and Sardinia) had not been colonised until the first century AD Ibero-Romance (and Sardinian) would not have preserved the adjective *cuius*. But strong

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[285] On the semantic field see Rohlfs (1954a: 16–18), and map 15.
[286] For some remarks on its use in Latin see Rohlfs (1954a: 17 with n. 1).

archaisms, that is words that fell out of use early on but persisted in Spain, were not numerous, and in any case Spain was exposed to the influence of Latin spoken elsewhere. Soldiers, businessmen and settlers came and went, and archaisms were as likely to be replaced as to survive there. The date of the colonisation of the various provinces is not the decisive determinant of the lexical differentiation of the Romance languages that some have wanted it to be.

It is possible to list words current in Latin from the time when the language is first attested which survive in Ibero-Romance but nowhere else. One such list, containing e.g. *auis*, *comedo*, *metus*, *securis*, can be found in Silva Neto (1970: 260). Does this list tell us that Spanish Latin was conservative or archaic? It is just as easy to list Spanish innovations (usages which were not part of the stock of classical Latin), some of them shared with other Romance languages, others peculiar to Ibero-Romance. A glance at the maps at the end of Rohlfs (1954a) turns up *mattiana* 'apple' (map 4), *thius* 'uncle (5), *ficatum* 'liver' (6), *nata* 'nothing' (10), *maneana* 'tomorrow' (14), *plicare* 'arrive' (21), *quaerere* 'love' (31), *afflare* 'find' (32), *cordarius* 'lamb' (34), *capitia* 'head' (37). Conversely it is easy to list old words that survived, say, in Gallo-Romance but were replaced in Spanish (e.g. *auunculus* 5, *uitellus* 33, *agnellus* 34). A list of republican terms peculiar to Ibero-Romance reveals nothing in isolation. A comparative list showing republican terms peculiar to each of the Romance regions might be more interesting. It might just show that there are more such words in Ibero-Romance than elsewhere. But the fact remains that Spanish Latin also innovated, and other regions for their part preserved vocabulary that is old. Lists of this type do not have much value. Much of the republican Latin vocabulary for everyday objects and commonplace ideas would still have been in use all over the Latin-speaking world well into the Empire. Innovations would constantly have been coming into rivalry with existing terms and ousting them in some places but not necessarily everywhere. The lexical diversity of Romance reflects the unpredictable results of ongoing competition between the old and the new. The alleged conservatism or archaism of Spain cannot explain why (e.g.) *comedo* survived there but *auunculus* did not. Each lexical field has its own history and may be subject to the most complex influences, and it is unhelpful to fall back on general factors such as conservatism as supposedly operating in one place but not in another. The difficulty of finding general determinants of the lexical choice of this or that region is well expressed by Elcock (1960: 162) in his discussion of the Vulgar Latin of the Iberian peninsula in relation to that of other areas:

From any attempt at general classification one only returns with renewed faith in the principle that every word has its own history. As a detailed examination of the findings of linguistic geography would show, scarcely any two words in modern Romance idiom can be placed within identical frontiers. The frontiers of each word continually shift, advancing or receding [my 'shrinkage'] . . . Had we inherited linguistic atlases from the Middle Ages they would certainly have revealed a considerably different distribution of Vulgar Latin vocabulary from that which is observable today.

We have seen further evidence for the impact of substrate languages on regional Latin. *Brisa* (3) must have been restricted to Spain from at least as early as the time of Columella through to Ibero-Romance. *Paramus* (5.2) has the same sort of distribution. There are some comparable terms in the *Lex metalli Vipascensis* (5.1), most notably *lausia* and *ternagus*. Technical terms from substrate languages, the meanings of which would not have been transparent to outsiders, show a tendency to stay put in the areas in which they were taken into Latin. They may not be numerous, but did contribute something to the regional diversity of the language.

Hispanisms of Latin (or Greek) origin embedded in the writings of Spaniards in the early Empire are scarcely to be found, though the adjective *cereolus* (3) seems to be such. Martial has an interesting use of *barbarus* (see n. 164) which anticipates an Ibero-Romance meaning. Spanish writers were all highly educated and usually resident at Rome, and one would not expect them to give away their origins by the way they wrote. It is only much later, in Isidore, that Spanish regional Latin starts to surface in writing.

The evidence for Spanish Latin at the lower end of the educational scale is poor, because there are no non-literary corpora of any size other than inscriptions on stone, and these tend not to provide information of the type sought here.

Italy

I INTRODUCTION

There is evidence from an early period pointing to regional variation in the Latin of Italy, much of which has been discussed in chapters II–IV. I concentrate in this chapter on textual evidence, but also comment briefly on Pompeian graffiti. Italian inscriptions will come up again in Chapter X. A comprehensive study of all the texts written in Italy would be out of the question, and I have had to be selective. Texts that might be expected to show a regional flavour include the fragments of Atellan farce (but for farce the best evidence is metalinguistic: see III.6.1), the *Cena Trimalchionis* of Petronius and curse tablets. Varro was from outside Rome and not averse from admitting non-standard usages. Virgil himself wrote on country life. In the late period there is a corpus of medical texts (translated from Greek originals) now conventionally attributed to Ravenna, and these provide material for a case study concerning the question whether and on what criteria the provenance of a late text might be identified. I have treated the 'Ravenna school'[1] as a subject of study in its own right, and this occupies a good part of the chapter, but some principles relevant to the themes of this book will emerge.

There is an important topic to which I will only allude here, as it is a familiar one in the history of the language. The lexicon of standard Latin contains numerous items that betray by one or more phonetic features their origin in non-urban dialects (e.g. *asinus, rosa, anser, horda, lupus, scrofa, bos, furfur*).[2] In many cases they must have originated in Italic languages other than Latin but have passed from these into rural Latin itself. Their entry into the standard language represents an interesting case of lexical diffusion from the countryside to the town, which brings out the diversity of the

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[1] It has to be said, however, that the connection of the texts in question specifically with Ravenna turns out to be based on hardly any solid evidence, as we will see.

[2] See particularly Ernout (1909a: 26–8); also Palmer (1954: 37).

language in the early period and the complex relationship between Rome and its environs. Such terms typically denote rural specificities or ritual items.[3] Some never reached the city but continued as genuine dialect terms in rural Latin. *Glefa* for *gleba*, for example, survived in Calabrian dialects.[4]

I begin with some remarks about Varro, Virgil and Petronius. 'Campanian' Latin will be discussed with reference to the Johns Hopkins *defixiones*. Several misspellings which some have seen as regionally distinctive are considered. I move on finally to a selection of late texts and the evidence for their geographical origins.

2 VARRO

Varro, possibly from Reate (see III.6), was an eccentric stylist. He used morphology, syntax and lexical items not admitted by Cicero.[5] One morphological oddity has been ascribed to his local origins.

The genitive singular ending *-uis* of the fourth declension is associated particularly with Varro. The ending *-uis* derives from *-*wes*, which is parallel to *-*yes* > -*is* in *i*-stem nouns.[6] Nonius in book VIII cites the following such forms from Varro: *quaestuis* (p. 776 Lindsay, from *Cato uel de liberis educandis*), *senatuis* (777–8, *De uita populi Romani*; the quotation is not complete in the text as transmitted, but it is virtually certain that the form illustrated by the incomplete quotation was *senatuis*),[7] *exercituis* (779, *De uita populi Romani*),[8] *partuis* (780, *Andabatae*, = *Men.* 26), *fructuis* (788, *Rust.* 1.2.19), *domuis* (788, Ταφὴ Μενίππου, = *Men.* 522), *fructuis* (also again at 790, with two citations, both from *Men.*, 295, 530), *uictuis* (792, *De uita populi Romani*),[9] *graduis* (792, *De uita populi Romani*),[10] *anuis* (793, *Cato uel de liberis educandis*), *rituis* (793, *Cato uel de liberis educandis*). There is also an example of *manuis* which appears at Nonius p. 40 Lindsay in a citation of the *Menippea* (423) made for a different purpose.

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[3] See the classification of Ernout, last footnote.
[4] See Rohlfs (1959: 178–80), Adams (2003a: 120).
[5] See Adams (2005b).   [6] See e.g. Sihler (1995: 324).
[7] = Riposati (1939), 95. The heading of the section of Nonius (777) runs *senati uel senatuis, pro senatus*. The citations that follow all display the first form *senati*, and *senatuis* is needed in the final, incomplete, citation of Varro to make the heading meaningful.
[8] The manuscripts of Nonius have *exerciti*, but this has generally been corrected to *exercituis*, with good reason. Riposati (frg. 63) retains *exerciti*, but the context in Nonius requires *exercituis*. The rubric of the section reads *exerciti uel exercituis, pro exercitus*. There follow several illustrations of *exerciti* but none of *exercituis*, if the manuscripts are accepted. The last citation (that of the passage of Varro) should, in keeping with the structure of the citations in the rest of book VIII, contain *exercituis*.
[9] = Riposati (1939), 24.   [10] = Riposati (1939), 65.

There are eleven different words here with the ending *-uis*, all of them illustrated from a variety of Varro's works, one (*fructuis*) by means of three different citations. Book VIII of Nonius ('de mutata declinatione') contains evidence for 'changes of declension' from a diversity of early and later republican writers, but only Varro is quoted for this form.

In the fragments of the *Menippea* there are no examples of the genitive *-us* (contrast *-uis* at 295, 423, 522, 530 and *-i* at 52, 436). In the *De uita populi Romani*, likewise, there are either two examples of *-uis* and one of *-i*, or three of *-uis* (see above). In the *Res rusticae*, on the other hand, *-us* predominates. There is one example of *fructuis* (1.2.19), but later (three times) *fructus* occurs (3.4.2, 3.5.1, 3.7.2): cf. also 1.63 *cibatus*. It is noteworthy that at *Men.* 295 (on the evidence of Nonius) the expression *fructuis an delectationis causa* is used, whereas three times in the *Rust.* Varro seems to have written *fructus causa*.

Gellius (4.16.1) adds a little more information. He too attributes the genitives *senatuis*, *domuis* and *fluctuis* (sic) to Varro (without giving references), but he brackets with him P. Nigidius Figulus (with Varro, the 'most learned of the Roman race') as a user of the forms (for Nigidius see above, III.7). He also quotes (2) a case of *anuis* from Terence, and adds that certain grammarians tried to support the 'authority' of these writers by an analogical defence of *-uis*.

It is obvious that a genitive *-uis* had a limited currency in the Republic, but one can only speculate about its status. Leumann (1977: 442) suggests that Varro might have picked it up at Reate, and that would certainly account for his taste for the form. Varro was resistant to efforts at language standardisation, and capable of holding on to a usage he was familiar with in his youth. At *Rust.* 1.2.1, for example, he contrasts the word *aeditumus*, 'which we learnt *a patribus nostris*', with *aedituus*, a 'correction' made *a recentibus urbanis*. Varro went on using the old form throughout the work, in defiance of the modern *urbani*. Had he learnt the genitive in *-uis* also 'from his fathers' (in Reate)?

The item *anuis*, in Terence as well as Varro, should perhaps be separated from the other cases, in that it is a personal feminine noun. Leumann (1977: 442) suggests that in this word the ending may be an old genitive form of the *ū*-feminine (cf. *suis* from *sūs*).

There are lingering doubts about the regional credentials of *-uis*. Why was it used by Nigidius? Varro's different preferences in different works may be stylistically determined. Did he perhaps prefer *-us* in the (mundane) treatise on agriculture but the old-fashioned (?) *-uis* in more literary works?

3 VIRGIL

The language of Latin poetry was not detached from that of the real world, and we have already seen bits and pieces of local linguistic colour imported by poets for special effects (see also V.7.5, X.5.5). Ausonius used local fish names in his poem on the Moselle (V.3.5). The poet who wrote some epigraphic verses to do with a military unit based in Spain used the local word *paramus* (VI.5.2). Horace gave an Apulian wind its local name, *atabulus* (see IV.1.3.6).[11] On Catullus' use of *ploxenum* see III.8.4. Both Plautus and Atellan farce characterised rustics by putting regionalisms into their mouths (see III.3, 6.1).

In the *Georgics* Virgil admitted rural terms which not infrequently survive in Romance languages. He was drawing on real rustic varieties of speech, of the type no doubt heard in the Italian countryside. Wackernagel (1926–8: II, 57, 81) noted some possible rustic usages in Virgil, though his examples are not entirely convincing (see above, VI.2.2). The most interesting items are those with an Italian connection. I note in passing that there are also etymological puns in Virgil based on Italic languages, which show his interest in the linguistic heritage of non-urban Italy.[12]

3.1 rustum

There is a textual problem at *Georg.* 2.413: *nec non etiam aspera <u>rusti</u> / uimina per siluam et ripis fluuialis harundo / caeditur* ('moreover rough withies of bramble are cut in the woods and river rushes on the banks'). On the strength of the early textual evidence (which includes three of the capital manuscripts and Servius Danielis) Mynors (1990) prints *rusti* rather than the vulgate *rusci*.[13] *Rusci*, if correct, was 'probably Ruscus aculeatus, the butcher's-broom of our gardens, a low-growing rough shrub' (Mynors 1990: 154–5).[14] In his note Mynors cites the incomplete entry in Festus p. 322.20 Lindsay (*rustum ex rubus*), and also Cato's expression *falculae rustariae* (*Agr.* 11.4), for vineyards, which 'would be hooks or knives for

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[11] See Adams (2003a: 458).   [12] See O'Hara (1996: 91–2), Horsfall (2000: 343, 446, 482).
[13] So too *FEW* X.596 n. 14 defends *rusti*.
[14] 'Butcher's broom' is the usual dictionary definition of *ruscus*. There is a description of the plant (with a textual problem) at Plin. *Nat.* 23.166, where Antonius Castor, a contemporary botanist, is quoted as equating the term with Gk. ὀξυμυρσίνη 'butcher's broom'. According to Pliny it was used in the country to make brooms, *scopae*. See André (1971: 127) on the passage of Pliny, equating the term with French *fragon épineux*. Another use of the *ruscus* is alluded to by Columella 10.374 (to make hedges). It also had medicinal properties.

cutting (*rustum*)'. While acknowledging that some have taken the word *rustum* to mean 'bramble', he concludes that the 'truth seems unattainable at present'.

There is, however, some additional evidence on the matter. A reflex of *rustum* is reported from the dialect of Naples with the meaning 'bramble', *rusta* = 'Brombeerstrauch' (*FEW* X.595);[15] cf. Corsican *rustu* 'long bramble split down the middle to serve as a tie' for faggots or the like, i.e. 'withy' (see further below for this function).[16] *Rustum* itself survives only in these places.[17] A form with change of suffix, with a long first *u* like the base-form *rustum*, *rusteum*, survives as Paduan and Vicenzan *rusa* ('bramblebush'), and also has a few reflexes in southern Gallo-Romance meaning 'shrub, bramble'.[18]

The context of the Virgilian passage should be noted. Virgil is dealing with the tying of vines (see 416), and, as Mynors notes, 'Col. 4.31.1 recognizes *rubus*, bramble, as a vine-tie'. This last passage, considered alongside the Neapolitan and Corsican reflexes, suggests that Virgil has used a localised Italian dialect word for 'bramble'. Other terms with this general meaning, apart from *rubus*, are *sentis* and *rumex*.[19] I am not suggesting that at the time when Virgil was writing *rustum* was necessarily confined to Naples. In earlier chapters we have sometimes seen that a usage with a regional restriction in the Republic or early Empire might live on for centuries in that area alone and survive in the Romance dialect that was to develop there. On the other hand we will also see evidence later in this chapter that terms restricted in distribution in modern Italian dialects were not necessarily so restricted within Italy in the Latin period. But it does seem likely that *rustum* was localised in some place or places in Italy, and the meaning of the Romance reflexes, along with the appropriateness of that meaning to the Virgilian context, gives support to the early manuscript tradition.

Ruscus, the other possibility, also survives in Romance, including Italy (*REW* 7460: e.g. Italian *rusco* 'butcher's broom'), but *rustum* seems particularly apt in the context. On the uses to which *ruscus* was put in antiquity, see above, n. 14.

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[15] See Salzano (1986) s.v. *rusta/-ìna*, glossed with 'rovo [= 'blackberry, bramble'], pruno selvatico'.

[16] See Ceccaldi (1968: 341) s.v. *rustu*, 'Ronce longue et forte fendue en son milieu pour servir de lien'; also Marchetti (2001: 509). I am grateful to Anna Chahoud for help on these matters.

[17] See also *REW* 7469, citing only the Neapolitan reflex (and a derivative). André (1985a) does not have an entry for *rustum*, but at 221 s.v. *ruscus* he refers to a form *rust* < *rustum* allegedly reflected in Venetian. His source is O. Penzig, *Flora popolare italiana* (1924), I, 424, a work to which I do not have access.

[18] See *REW* 7467, *FEW* X.595, 594, 2.a.   [19] On the latter see André (1985a: 221).

3.2 trahea

This word occurs in a passage about rustics' tackle (*arma*) at *Georg.* 1.164 (*tribulaque traheaeque*, 'threshing-sledges and drags'). This is the only certain example of the word. At Columella 2.20.4 the manuscripts offer *trahere* (Mynors 1990: 34), though *trahea* is accepted by the *OLD*. Columella is a source of information about local Italian terms, as we have seen in Chapter IV (and see below, 7). Despite its rarity, *trahea* survives in Romance, in central and southern Italian dialects (Marche, Lucca, Abruzzo; see *REW* 8840). Giammarco (1968–79: IV, 2228) cites *trajjə*, with the meaning 'tréggia, slitta senza ruote, trainata da buoi, specialmente per trasporto dei covoni'. The juxtaposed *tribula* is also represented in Italo-Romance, but in other regions as well (*REW* 8886). Italian *treggia* is interpreted as a conflation of *trahea* with *ueia*.[20]

3.3 bufo

Found at 1.184 in a catalogue of small *terrae monstra*: *inuentusque cauis bufo* ('and the *bufo* is found in holes'). *Bufo* is obscure, though its intervocalic *f* betrays a rural origin.[21] Mynors (1990: 42), basing himself on the context, argues not for the generally accepted meaning 'toad' (see *REW* 1374 and below) but for 'field-mouse, shrew', a sense attested in glossaries. In this he was following Leumann (1960: 158–61). Whatever its meaning the word was almost certainly a localised one. It appears in literature only in Virgil. Romance evidence points to its distribution but does not establish its meaning. *Bufo* has reflexes in Gallo-Romance and Italy meaning 'toad', and in the meaning 'mole' is reflected in south-western France.[22] Non-standard terms originating in Italy sometimes spread into parts of Gallo-Romance. There is no reason why the word could not have meant 'field-mouse' in an area known to Virgil, but there is no point in speculating further.

The most significant item above is the first, which suggests that Virgil has dipped into Italian regional Latin.

4 PETRONIUS

The *Cena Trimalchionis*, probably set in the region of the Bay of Naples, calls for brief comment, but I do not believe that the Latin or indeed the characters can be readily localised.[23] There is, for example, a reference to a

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[20] See Battisti and Alessio (1950–57: V, 3881).   [21] See Palmer (1954: 37).   [22] See *FEW* I.599.
[23] The diversity of the influences acting on the Latin is well brought out by Petersmann (1995).

character *Safinius* at 44.6, a name which recalls the South Picene **safinús**, an exact equivalent of the Latin *Sabini*,[24] but on the other hand the name *Trimalchio* is partly of Semitic origin (*tri + Malchio*, of a root meaning 'king'). Semitic turns of phrase have been detected in the speech of the freedmen.[25] The freedmen, mainly of Greek origin, represent a social type (Greeks, probably intended to be seen as of diverse origins, who had taken up Latin) rather than a regional type, and Greek elements in their Latin do not necessarily reflect an established variety of the language spoken in a particular place.

Learners of a second language may code-switch into, suffer interference from, or borrow ad hoc from, their first language and thereby produce an inventive mixture that is not necessarily tied to a place. I illustrate this point with one example. Niceros, the speaker who tells the tale of the werewolf, at 62.11 construes the frequentative *adiuto* 'help' with a dative complement rather than the expected accusative. There are two ways of explaining the syntax. The dative possibly reflects the influence of other Latin verbs of the same semantic field governing that case, such as *succurro, subuenio, opitulor, auxilior, auxilium fero*, or there may have been interference from Greek (cf. βοηθέω + dat.). If we opt for the second alternative, it is of interest to find the same construction with the same verb (twice) in the near-contemporary letters of Claudius Terentianus, written in Egypt (*P.Mich.* VIII.468.40–1, 471.28).[26] Greek interference also operated in Egypt, and there are other signs of it in Terentianus.[27] It follows that we should not see the dative construction as a feature specifically of, say, 'Campanian' Latin motivated by language contact in the region; rather, it would have to be taken as a feature of Greeks' Latin in general, wherever Greeks might have spoken the language. Another characteristic of Greeks' Latin not tied to any one locality will come up later (the *-(a)es* genitive singular: see X.8.3).

It would therefore be unsafe to assume without good reason that the considerable numbers of Greek (and indeed other) hapax legomena in the *Cena* were a feature of a precisely located regional form of Latin.[28]

At 37.6 a speaker who uses a number of Greek words is given the Greek adjective *saplutus* 'very rich' (Lat. *praediues, ditissimus*), which is not otherwise attested in this use in Latin. It is said that ζάπλουτος was current in southern Italian Greek dialects,[29] though it is not registered by Rohlfs

[24] See Adiego Lajara (1992: 21–2) on the word in South Picene, and in general Untermann (2000: 642), and also 641 on Oscan **safinim** (= *Samnium*).

[25] See Petersmann (1995: 538–9), Adams (2003a: 274), both with further bibliography.

[26] See Adams (2003e: 12).   [27] See Adams (2003a: 497).   [28] Cf. Petersmann (1995: 540).

[29] See Cavalca (2001: 148–9) with further bibliography.

(1964). But Biville (1990: 107) has shown that the word forms the base of certain names found in Latin inscriptions in the western Empire at some remove from southern Italy (*Saplutus* from the region of Lyons at *CIL* XIII.2851 and *Saplutius* from near Mainz at *CIL* XIII.7072), and it becomes likely that *saplutus* was a submerged popular term in use among western Greeks over a wide area.

Even a term that there is reason to see as having entered Latin from the Greek of the south of Italy may have been more widespread by the time when Petronius used it. A case in point is a derivative of *colaphus* 'blow', a noun unknown in Attic but attested in Sicily. It had already been borrowed by popular Latin at the time of Plautus, no doubt from the south by those engaged in the slave trade.[30] It occurs in the narrative at 34.2,[31] of a blow administered to a slave, a typical use reflecting the mode of entry of the term into Latin. The compound denominative *percolopabant*, which is used by a freedman at 44.5, was possibly, but not necessarily, regionally restricted, given that the base-noun spread all over the Latin-speaking world, as the Romance reflexes show (Italian *colpo*, French *coup* etc.).

One term showing the influence of southern Italian Greek that may have been restricted is *Athana* for *Athena* in the expression *Athana tibi irata sit* (58.7), where *Athana* following a word ending in *-s* is a plausible emendation of the transmitted *Sathana*.[32]

Gastra (*-um*), a borrowing from Greek (cf. γαστήρ; γάστρα is Homeric, of the lower part of a vessel bulging like a paunch), indicated a type of amphora.[33] It occurs twice in Petronius (70.6, 79.3) but hardly anywhere else. The *TLL* quotes two other examples, one from Marcellus (8.23), a Gallic writer who drew on a variety of written sources (V.3.1), the other from the fragmentary *De hortis* of Gargilius Martialis (2.5 Mazzini 1988). The origin of Gargilius (if the *De arboribus* is authentic) is uncertain.[34] It is an interesting fact that the word survives in Romance only in southern Italian dialects, including Neapolitan.[35] Moreover it is well represented in the Greek dialects of the south of Italy.[36] Like *colaphus* it looks like a borrowing into Latin from southern Italian Greek, but unlike *colaphus* it did not catch on extensively across the Latin-speaking world.

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[30] For details see Adams (2003a: 351 n. 100).
[31] See Stefenelli (1962: 45–6).   [32] See further Adams (2003a: 149).
[33] For discussion see Stefenelli (1962: 137), Cavalca (2001: 89).
[34] Possibly he was from Mauretania, but the evidence does not seem decisive to me (see Maire 2002: xi–xiv).
[35] See *REW* 3700, *TLL* VI.2–3.1701.2f., Stefenelli (1962: 137).
[36] For details see Rohlfs (1964: 102).

Mufrius at 58.13 (*mufrius non magister*) has the appearance of a dialect term (note the *f*) but there is no agreement about its meaning or origin. One view is that it is of the same root as *mufro* 'wild sheep', which is in Polemius Silvius (p. 543.10) and is reflected in Romance particularly in Sardinia and Corsica.[37] This connection has not found favour in the etymological dictionaries of Walde and Hofmann or Ernout and Meillet, and is not accepted by the *TLL* or *OLD*.[38] It was probably a localised Italian dialect word but one cannot be certain.

Wagner (1933) set out to show that many turns of phrase in the speeches of freedmen can be paralleled in modern Neapolitan dialect. He is referred to with approval by Stefenelli (1962: 15), and Petersmann (1995: 544) cited some of the parallels as an indication that the *Cena* represented the popular speech of Puteoli or thereabouts.[39] This material has its interest but is indecisive as it stands. A more systematic search for clichés and popular expressions all over the Romance world would be needed before one could with any confidence advance the argument that a particular turn of phrase was peculiar to the Bay of Naples. There is also the acute problem of establishing whether there was continuity between the time of Petronius and the modern period. An expression such as 'you wouldn't have taken bread from her hand' (37.3)[40] has a universal look to it, and if it happens to be found in Neapolitan as well as Petronius that proves nothing about the setting of the *Cena*.

In an earlier chapter (V.3.5) it was noted that the terms in Ausonius' catalogue of fish survive almost without exception in Gallo-Romance dialects, some of them only in Gallo-Romance. The components of the list if examined alongside the Romance reflexes would have suggested a Gallic origin of the list even if the author were unknown. Later in this chapter a consideration of the lexicon of the Latin translation of Oribasius will suggest similarly that the translation was done in Italy, almost certainly in the north. The terms that it contains which lived on in Romance turn out repeatedly to survive in Italy, not infrequently in the north and sometimes exclusively there. By contrast an examination of terms in Petronius with a Romance outcome would not permit us to localise the text at all. I base this statement on a reading of Stefenelli's (1962) detailed study of the colloquial lexicon of Petronius, in which he systematically sets out the pattern of survival of the terms discussed. Few survive only in Italy. Quite a few survive in places

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[37] See *REW* 5715, Walde and Hofmann (1938–54: II, 118) on the Romance survival.
[38] But see Petersmann (1995: 537–8 with n. 13).   [39] See also Catalano (1969).
[40] See Petersmann (1995: 544).

other than Italy.[41] Many survive widely across the former Empire, in Italy perhaps but other regions as well. Why can we place geographically on Romance evidence the catalogue of Ausonius and the translation of Oribasius, but not the *Cena Trimalchionis*? The reason must be chronological. At the time of Petronius the lexical choices that were later to characterise different regions of the Romance world had not yet been made. A usage that was current only in Italy in the first century AD might have spread anywhere in the Empire over the next three or four hundred years, producing reflexes in scattered parts of the Romance world from which one could not work backwards to establish its regional restriction in the first century (see above on *colaphus*). But by the fourth century, never mind the sixth, some lexical preferences must have been emerging across the Empire. That said, some usages did not spread but remained current only in their place of origin. *Athana* seems to belong in that category, and possibly *gastra*.

On the passive periphrasis *coctus fieret* at 74.4 see below, 11.2.3. See also below, 11.1, p. 459, 11.3.2.8 on *cucuma*.

5 POMPEII

Attempts to find Oscan influence on the Latin attested at Pompeii have not been successful,[42] and I do not intend to take that question up systematically here. On at least one point, however, additional evidence, some of it recent, has to be put alongside that mentioned by Väänänen. Väänänen (1966: 22) noted the frequency with which at Pompeii in verb endings of the present tense, third conjugation, *-es* and *-et* are written for *-is* and *-it*. He points out that though extant Oscan documents do not throw up examples of verbs of this category Oscan must nevertheless have preserved *e* in such verb forms. We now know that verb forms with *e* for short *i* in second- and third-person singular forms were common in substandard Latin of the early centuries AD in areas well beyond Oscan influence. A single letter from Vindolanda (III.643) has three cases of *dabes* and one each of *dabet* and *signabet*.[43] The Vindonissa tablets from Switzerland (Speidel 1996) have three examples of *dabes* (15, 31, 53). The letters of Claudius Terentianus from Egypt (*P.Mich.* VIII) have *uolueret* (468.38), *aiutaueret* (468.41) and *dicet* (471.33). Another Egyptian corpus (*O. Wâdi Fawâkhir*) has several cases of *scribes* and one of *mittes* in texts 2–4, all of them arguably intended

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[41] See e.g. Stefenelli (1962: 47) on *putidus*, 92 on *tertiarius*, 93 on *argutare*, 119 on *muttire*, 131 on *galbinus*, 144 on *basiolum*, 146 on *malo astro natus*.

[42] See the cautious article by Eska (1987); also Väänänen (1966: 130).

[43] See Adams (2003b: 533–4).

as presents. A *defixio* from Carmona (Seville) has *recipiates* (Corell 1993). The explanation from Oscan influence would be more compelling if such forms were confined to Pompeii in the early period, and if the Latin verb forms in which they occur had exact correspondents in Oscan. The evidence as it stands is susceptible of another explanation, namely that the proto-Romance merger of CL long *e* and short *i* as a form of close *e* got under way in (unstressed) final syllables.

There is a different phenomenon possibly of greater significance. Twice in Pompeian graffiti the form *futue = futui* (first person singular, perfect) occurs (*CIL* IV.1517, 2200 add. p. 215).[44] In early Latin in the first person singular of the perfect a transitional diphthongal spelling *ei* is attested, which was to become a long *i*.[45] The misspelling with *e* falls into a category that has come up several times already. The *e* represents the long close *e* that developed from the diphthong *ei* and eventually shifted to a long *i*. At II.6 we cited many examples of this *e* in different phonetic environments in republican inscriptions scattered about Italy. We also saw *testimonia* from the late Republic suggesting that the *e*-forms were considered 'rustic' at that time (see also III.4.3, p. 138). On the other hand we discussed (III.5) imperial examples such as *quase* and *sibe* that were taken merely to be old-fashioned spellings, unless they are to be interpreted in the imperial period as reflections of a new development, namely the merger of long *e* and short *i* as a close *e* (for which see the last paragraph): in words of the structure of *quasi* the long *i* arising from the *ei*-diphthong was shortened by iambic shortening and the resultant short *i* may then have opened to a close *e*. If confirmation were needed that *e*-spellings came to be adopted as old-fashioned, it can be seen in a private letter (*P. Oxy.* 44.3208) by a certain Suneros found in Egypt and possibly to be dated as early as the Augustan period (see further below, 6 [6]).[46] The orthography is archaising. The letter contains the formula *clamare . . . deuom atque hominum (fidem)* (for which see Plaut. *Aul.* 300), which is noteworthy for the archaic genitive in *-om* and the use of the artificial term *diuus* for the banal *deus*. *Diuus*, with a long *i*, derived from an earlier form *deiuos*. The *e*-spelling is more likely to have been chosen as old (i.e. as a form deriving from *ei* that had the status of being old-fashioned alongside the normal CL *i*) than as phonetic (see also III.4.3, p. 138 n. 69).

In *futui* the final vowel would not have been subject to iambic shortening. An old-fashioned spelling (with *e* rather than CL *i* for earlier *ei*) seems out

[44] See Väänänen (1966: 23). A third example has now been rejected.
[45] For the phonetic details and a few examples see Meiser (1998: 217).
[46] For a comprehensive discussion see Brown (1970).

of the question in obscene graffiti of this type. There is now a parallel spelling in a tablet from the archive of the Sulpicii at Pompeii (Camodeca 1999), dated 18 June AD 37. At *TPSulp.* 51.13 in the scriptura interior of a legal tablet written in the hand of C. Novius Eunus, a bad speller, there occurs the form *dede.* The scriptura exterior, written by a well educated scribe, has *dedi.* Eunus was not given to old-fashioned spellings; on the contrary, he spells phonetically, and was probably taking the text down from dictation.[47] *Dede* must represent what he heard. It becomes likely that in the area of Pompeii in the mid-first century AD there was a variety of speech in which the expected long final *i* (stemming from an earlier *ei* diphthong) of the first-person singular perfect ending had an open articulation that caused it to be heard as an *e.* How widespread at the time the pronunciation might have been in Italy, and whether it was heard as well in other word forms, we cannot tell. Since the hypothetical person dictating is likely to have been a scribe of some education, the spelling may represent the sounds of the speech of an educated provincial; there is no evidence that an educated Roman would have spoken in this way during the first century AD. On the contrary, a little earlier Varro was treating an *e* of this kind as rustic.

It is appropriate to wait until the revisions of *CIL* IV are published (showing many new readings) before attempting to evaluate the possible regional features of the Pompeian graffiti. Any such evaluation would only be hindered if it were undertaken on the assumption that Latin at Pompeii was markedly Oscan-influenced.

6 'campanian' latin and the johns hopkins *defixiones*

A possible feature of Campanian Latin was seen in the last section. Campanian Latin has also come up in earlier chapters (see III.6.1 on Atellan farce, III.6.10, IV.1.3.1). There must have been a variety or varieties of Latin heard in Campania (see particularly IV.1.3.1), but the materials available for identifying the features of such varieties are poor, and there has perhaps been a lack of rigour shown by those trying to find them. An apparent case of a nominative plural in *-as* in a fragment of Atellan farce (Pomponius 141) may reflect Oscan influence but is open to at least one other explanation.[48] In any case farce is the one genre in which such interference is a real possibility. Less convincing is the suggestion that some accusative forms in an official context in the archive of the Sulpicii are 'Oscan' nominatives:[49]

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[47] See the discussion of Seidl (1996).   [48] See e.g. Adams (2003a: 118–19).
[49] See Calboli (2006: 165–6).

TPSulp. 83 *in parastatica libellus f<i>xus fuit, in quo scriptum erat id quod infra scriptum est:* '*purpuras* <u>laconicas</u> <u>reliquas</u>, *quas L. Marius Agathemer C. Sulpicio Cinnamo pignori dedisse dicitur, uenib(unt) V idus Sept(embres) primas*'. The accusative can be explained from the norms of Latin syntax. It looks like a straightforward example of *attractio inversa* of the type seen e.g. at Virg. *Aen.* 1.573 *urbem quam statuo uestra est.* This construction is well attested even in late Latin,[50] and it had a place in official language.[51] Alternatively *purpuras laconicas reliquas* may be interpreted as an accusative of the rubric[52] followed by an anacoluthon. The attempt to find Campanian features in the inscriptions set up by the *Italici* on the island of Delos in the late Republic founders on the fact that the Italians were not all Campanians and included Romans.[53] In the archive of the Sulpicii again some cases of anaptyxis (e.g. *ominis* for *omnis*) in documents in the hand of C. Novius Eunus have been attributed to Oscan influence,[54] but the phenomenon is widespread in Latin and the attribution is scarcely decisive.[55] I turn then to the Johns Hopkins *defixiones*, which certainly have some linguistic oddities. Can these oddities be decisively attributed to southern Italy?

The *defixiones* were acquired by the Department of Classical Archaeology, Johns Hopkins University in 1908.[56] At the time their provenance was uncertain but they were thought to be Roman. As Sherwood Fox (1912: 11) put it, '[t]he person through whom the acquisition was made possible was unable to give a definite assurance as to their provenience, but stated his belief that they had been found at Rome'. Later in the same piece (55–7) Sherwood Fox advanced arguments in favour of a Roman origin. Confirmation was forthcoming more than ten years later. Vetter (1923: 65) revealed that two years before the acquisition of the tablets by Johns Hopkins University they had been seen and (partly) read by his friend R. Egger while they were in the possession of a dealer in antiquities in Rome.[57] The dealer revealed that they had been discovered just outside the Porta salaria. The date of the curses is thought to be the first century BC.[58]

The documents consist of five lead tablets, each cursing an individual (Plotius, Avonia, Maxima Vesonia, Aquilia and an unknown man). The texts are fragmentary but clearly contained much the same phraseology,

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[50] See e.g. the discussion by E. Löfstedt (1911: 222–6).
[51] See Rodger (2000).   [52] See e.g. Svennung (1935: 172–4).
[53] For discussion see Adams (2003a: 677–9; also 661–2).   [54] See Flobert (1995: 148–9).
[55] See the remarks of Adams (2003a: 120 n. 42).
[56] For the text see Sherwood Fox (1912). For bibliography see *CIL* I² fasc. 4, p. 967 on *CIL* I².2520 (which is a composite text of the whole corpus). Warmington (1940: 280–4) prints one of the tablets.
[57] Note Sherwood Fox's reaction to this revelation (1923: 357).
[58] For a collection of opinions about the date of the texts see Petersmann (1973: 79 with footnotes).

and can therefore be supplemented by one another. A composite text can be established.

Despite their provenance, the tablets have repeatedly been said, even in recent times and well after Vetter's revelation, to be in a variety of 'dialectal' Latin. This theory is based largely on the presence in the texts of the forms *quas* for *quae*, and also the *-rus* form *polliciarus*. Vendryes (1912: 207–8) suggested that the *-as* ending might be of Marsian origin. A recent comprehensive discussion of such forms and the *-eis* masculine nominative plural (Bakkum: 1994) has failed to find any evidence that they belonged to a particular region of Italy (see also below, X.8.4).[59] For Lazzeroni (1962: 117) the tablets were not urban but probably Campanian. On this view provenance does not matter: a text found at Rome might have been written there by someone from Campania, or written in Campania and brought to Rome.

I will concentrate here on the *-rus* ending. What is the evidence that it was Campanian or dialectal? Petersmann (1973: 86) asserted that the ending is found almost exclusively in inscriptions, and for the most part outside Rome. His list of examples (four from inscriptions, as well as *polliciarus* in the Johns Hopkins texts and an apparent example in Cato) is far from complete.[60] A Roman example (*CIL* VI.10736) is explained away as the work of a southern Italian. He concludes (88) that the ending *-rus* for *-ris* was an 'unteritalische Eigenheit', and that the author of the curse tablet was an uneducated provincial 'aus Unteritalien'. He was following Ernout (1908–9: 281), who suggested (citing a similarly restricted corpus) that the form was a feature of southern Italian 'dialect' inscriptions and concluded: 'La finale *-us* semble avoir été particulière aux dialectes de l'Italie méridionale.'

The *-rus* ending derives from the inherited second-person middle (secondary) ending *-so* (so e.g. Hom. πείθεο < -ε-σο), with the addition of *-s* from the active, and rhotacism. *-so* usually produced *-re* in Latin,[61] which itself acquired the *-s* of the active and became *-ris* by normal vowel weakening.[62] The *-rus* ending must derive from *-so-s* before the change of *o* to *e*,[63] which occurred in word-final position in Latin.[64]

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[59] It is interesting to note Kroll's scepticism (1915: 364–5) about the possible 'provincialism' of *quas*.
[60] Scholars tend to content themselves with incomplete lists of attestations. Leumann (1977) and Petersmann (1973), for example, were in a position to cite the earlier of the two instances on papyrus (see Brown 1970). Campanile (1993: 18) cited just two examples.
[61] See e.g. Sihler (1995: 475).
[62] See Sihler, last footnote.
[63] There is a good account of the form in Sommer (1914: 494). See also Leumann (1977: 517), Sihler (1995: 475–6).
[64] See Sihler (1995: 66).

I list all examples of the ending known to me:

(1) For the Johns Hopkins *defixiones* see the text referred to as 'Plotius' (Sherwood Fox 1912): *polliciarus illi te daturum t[r]es uictimas* ('promise that you will give him three offerings').[65] This is a jussive subjunctive. The same form of the same verb occurred in other curses of the same corpus. On the *i* for *e* in the third syllable see Leumann (1977: 46).

(2, 3, 4) There is an apparent literary example at Cato *Agr.* 157.8 *nullus sumptus est; et, si sumptus esset, tamen ualetudinis causa experirus* ('there is no expense involved, and even if there were you might (?) try it for the sake of your health').[66] The same form *experirus* has also sometimes been taken to lie behind the tradition at Catull. 21.6.[67] Editors usually print *haerens ad latus omnia experiris* ('clinging to his side you try everything') but G has *experibus*. Kroll (1929) dismisses the possibility that Catullus might have used such a form as 'unwahrscheinlich', but it has sometimes been felt that *experirus* cannot be ruled out with absolute certainty.[68]

The interpretation of the passage of Cato is not straightforward. On the face of it the form is a present indicative, and if so it would have to be taken as that use of the present which functions as an imperative.[69] But this usage has no literary credentials for the early period,[70] and it does not ring true for Cato, who throughout the present chapter constantly uses the *-to* form of the imperative. Could it be that, though the imperative form of such a verb is usually given as *-re*, Cato attributed an imperative function to *-rus*?[71] Various emendations have been adopted (*experirere, experire, experires, experiendus, experturus* [*es*]).[72] Another possibility is that the rather odd sentence is a late interpolation.[73]

A sentence before the example just discussed there is a clause *haec si uteris*, where the manuscript A has *uterus*, 'recte fortasse', in the opinion of Mazzarino (1982). He nevertheless prints *uteris*, and the *-rus* form must be considered uncertain.

(5) *P. Rain. Cent.* 164 (Qasr Ibrim, Egypt, first century BC) *misererus*. There is not much context, but the editor P. J. Parsons at p. 487 on

[65] On *polliciarus* see Vendryes (1912: 205), stating that the form was southern Italian and dialectal, and Petersmann (1973: 86–8).

[66] This is virtually the translation of Hooper and Ash (Loeb), but they print *experires*. Mazzarino (1982) accepts *experirus*. Till ([1935] 1968: 3) thought the form 'archaic', but the evidence that follows shows that such second persons survived in non-standard Latin until the early Empire.

[67] See the remarks of Vetter (1902: 536).   [68] See Vetter (1902: 536).

[69] For which see e.g. Hofmann and Szantyr (1965: 326–7); also, in the context of this passage, Petersmann (1973: 87 with n. 39).

[70] See Risselada (1993: 165–6).

[71] This view is advanced by Vetter (1902: 535–6).

[72] See the apparatus criticus of Mazzarino (1982).   [73] See Petersmann (1973: 87).

line 5 takes the form to be imperative. This interpretation raises the issue discussed in the previous section: was there an imperatival use of *-rus*? An alternative possibility is that the writer has used the verb *miserari* in the (jussive) subjunctive. On the relationship between *misereor* and *miseror* see *TLL* VIII.1115.43ff., noting (45f.) that in the imperative *misereor* is preferred, and that *miserere* (imp.) occurs eighty-one times. This fact might be taken to support an imperatival interpretation of the form, with *misererus* a substitute for *miserere*. The text is a private letter with colloquialisms.

(6) *P. Oxy.* 44.3208.4 = *CEL* 10 (Egypt again): *nihil ultra loquor quam [[no]] ne patiarus te propter illos perire* ('I say nothing more than that you should not let yourself perish on their account'). This is a private letter (for which see also above, p. 442) from someone with a Greek name (Suneros) to another Greek. It is attributed tentatively by the author of the editio princeps, V. Brown (1970: 136), followed by *P. Oxy.*, to the reign of Augustus. The text contains some colloquialisms and other oddities.[74] Notable is the grecising ending *Epaphraes*. This is not the pure Greek ending of the name, but a latinised pseudo-Greek ending which became common among 'Roman Greeks' (see X.8.3). Curiously, the Johns Hopkins *defixiones* also have several examples of the *-aes* genitive singular, an indication that these various texts come from the same social milieu. The name of the sender is of some interest. Brown (1970: 137) notes that *Suneros* is virtually unknown in both Greek and Latin papyri from Egypt. The only other example she found there was in the Latin fragment *P.Ryl.* 613. The name is, however, common in the epigraphy of the western Empire: examples are cited from Spain, Pompeii, Rome, Peltuinum (in the territory of the Vestini), Beneventum, Campania and Umbria. Suneros is likely to have been a Latin-speaking Greek from the west, but he obviously cannot be pinned down to southern Italy.

(7) *CIL* VI.10736 = *IGUR* 291. This is a bilingual inscription,[75] with the main part of the text (an epitaph) in Greek. The warning at the end of the Greek (μὴ ἐνοχλήσῃς τῷ τάφῳ μὴ τοιαῦτα πάθῃς περὶ τέκνων, 'do not trouble the tomb lest you suffer such things with regard to your children') is repeated in Latin, but in such a form that the Latin is not completely meaningful without the Greek: *ne sis molestus nec patiarus hoc et ollas inclusas caue* ('do not be troublesome and do not suffer this and beware of the closed *ollae*'). Here is another piece of Latin springing from a Greek community. The editions cited above do not offer a date for this inscription,

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[74] See the commentary of Cugusi (1992), 10. [75] See Adams (2003a: 35–6).

but it has been loosely dated to the second century AD.[76] *Patiarus* is present subjunctive, and the construction *ne . . . nec* is a substitute for the usual *ne . . . neue. Ne . . . nec* occurs at Catull. 61.126–8 and is attested for the first time in prose in Vitruvius (1.1.7).[77] Petersmann (1973: 86–7) advances an argument to support the view that the inscription, though found at Rome, was the work of southern Italian Greeks. The name of the mother of the dead children is Φηλῖκλα, Latin *Felicla* (*Felicula*). All quoted examples of the name, we are told, 'typically' come from southern Italy. Two examples are cited from Greek inscriptions of the south, and seven from Latin inscriptions of Pompeii. But a glance at the index of cognomina for *CIL* VI (VI.7.5) shows that the name *Felic(u)la* was extremely common at Rome: about three pages of examples are quoted. There is no reason to think that the woman was not a Roman Greek.

(8) *CIL* IV.2082 (Pompeii) *in cruce figarus*. Another curse. The form is subjunctive, and seems to be a passive. Alternatively one might translate as a middle, 'go and hang yourself'.

(9) *CIL* IV.2953 add. p. 462 (Pompeii) *C. Vibi Itale, fruniscarus s(alue?) Atia tua*. A jussive subjunctive.

(10) *CIL* IV.10144 (Pompeii) *[ ]ui non paterus et nos futuere be[ne?]*. An obscene graffito, but the meaning is not clear. *Paterus* is for *pateris*, present indicative. This is the third example that we have seen of a *-rus* form in this verb.

(11) *CIL* I².1732 = *CE* 960 (Beneventum) *tu qui secura spatiarus mente uiator / et nostri uoltus derigis inferieis* ('passer-by, you who stroll along free of care and direct your gaze at out tomb').[78] According to Bücheler, 'aetatis Caesarianae carmen'. Like the above example, this one too is an indicative.

(12) *CIL* I².1702 = *CE* 57 (Venusia, not later than the Ciceronian period, according to Bücheler). The last line is restored by Bücheler as follows: *[sic tu tueis fac] uiuos utarus*. An expression of good wishes.

(13) *CE* 1876, a funerary inscription. The text was republished by Šašel and Šašel (1986), 150. I quote the prose preamble and the first two lines of the poem: *C(aius) Iulius C(ai) f(ilius) Fab(ia) Ninica mil(es) leg(ionis) VII an(norum) XXXIX stip(endiorum) XVII h(ic) s(itus) e(st)*.

> *hospes resis[te et] tumulum contempla meum*
> <u>*lege et morarus*</u>*, iam scies quae debeas.*[79]

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[76] See Gregori and Mattei (1999: 142) on 253, Solin (1982b: II, 692, 2003: II, 750) s.v. *Melitinus*.
[77] See Hofmann and Szantyr (1965: 338).   [78] On this use of *nostri* see Bücheler on *CE* 960.
[79] 'Stranger stop and contemplate my tomb. Stay and read, and now you will know what you must suffer.'

The inscription was found near Tilurium (mod. Bosnia)[80] at the village of Vojníc Sinjski in the Roman province of Dalmatia. It commemorates a soldier of the *legio VII* described in the prose *praescriptum* as from Ninica in Cilicia (mod. Turkey). The language is formulaic. Bücheler cites *CE* 76, 77, where the 'correct' form *moraris* is used instead (in the formula *lege et moraris*).[81] *Morarus* is a present indicative of *morari* used instead of an imperative (see Bücheler on 76 *moraris*), = 'stop and read', hysteron proteron. The imperatival use of the indicative here belongs to a special type. The indicative forms *moraris/morarus* are coordinated to a preceding imperative which gives the whole verb phrase an imperatival colouring. Hofmann and Szantyr (1965: 327) cite a number of parallels, literary and inscriptional, including *CE* 90.5 *ualete et memores estis* (see Bücheler ad loc.). The *legio VII* 'was established in Dalmatia in or soon after A.D. 9, in the wake of the Pannonian uprising, and remained there until it was transferred to upper Moesia by Claudius' (Mitchell 1976: 302).[82] The inscription is probably not later than the 40s.[83] There are notable substandard forms in the text, *ossua* and *requiescum*.[84]

(14) In a curse tablet from Ostia published by Solin (1968) there is a possible case of *ocidaru(s)*. Solin (18–19) thinks that the first five letters may be an abbreviation of a third-person verb (= *occidat* or *occidant*), with the final letters RV standing for a name or names.

I offer some conclusions:

(1) The two new examples in Egyptian private letters show that it is mistaken to see the form as located mainly in verse (the view of Leumann 1977: 517). Quite apart from these instances, the form occurs in prose in the Johns Hopkins *defixiones*, in a Pompeian graffito of sexual content and in a Roman inscription.

(2) The ten examples (counting *polliciarus* once, and omitting 14 and the three possible literary examples) are geographically widespread: two are from Egypt, two from Rome, three from Pompeii, and one from each of Beneventum, Venusia and Dalmatia. Such a distribution does not favour the view that the form was a regional peculiarity of a non-Roman

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[80] So *Barrington Atlas* index.
[81] For the formula see Hernández Pérez (2001: 223). In n. 874 he dates our inscription vaguely to the first/second century AD, but see further below.
[82] See further Wilkes (1969: 95–6), Strobel (2000: 528). On the origin of the legion see Levick (1967: 201).
[83] See Fernández Martínez (1998–9: II, 246).
[84] In the latter case there has been loss of the final *-t* (a tendency already apparent in early Latin and with consequences in most of the Romance languages: see II.13 and Väänänen 1966: 70–1, 1981: 68–9) and assimilation of the final nasal to the following *m*.

dialect spoken in the south of Italy. It is of course possible that it was restricted to various regional varieties, but if so what those varieties might have been does not emerge from the evidence. Perhaps Suneros was from southern Italy, and perhaps the bilingual Roman inscription was composed by a southerner, but such speculation is idle. It is at least as likely that it was a feature of lower social dialects, as distinct from dialects tied to particular regions.

(3) Almost all examples are relatively early (republican or first century AD). An apparent exception is the Roman inscription *CIL* VI.10736, which is loosely attributed to the second century. There is no certainty about its date. The *-rus* ending, alongside *-ris*, was a redundant morpheme which lingered on until the early Empire and then apparently fell out of use. It leaves no trace in the Romance languages. Morphological redundancy, which is particularly marked in Plautus, became less usual as time passed, though anomalists were always ready to defend superfluous forms.

(4) Six of the ten examples are present subjunctives, three are present indicatives, and *misererus* is hard to classify.

(5) With the exception of *figarus*, every case is middle (i.e. deponent), and even *figarus* could be interpreted as reflexive (middle).

(6) Two of the examples have an association with Latin-speaking Greeks (the Roman inscription, and the letter from Oxyrhynchus). The Johns Hopkins *defixiones* have the grecising inflection *-aes*, as does the letter of Suneros. The letter from Qasr Ibrim comes from a setting where Greek was extensively spoken. There is a possibility that the morpheme was current in the varieties of colloquial Latin picked up by ordinary Greeks.

(7) Almost all the texts containing *-rus* have substandard or colloquial features, whether of spelling, morphology, syntax or word choice. The text-types in which the form occurs are not the products of high literary culture, but reflections of popular behaviour. There are curse tablets, curses/warnings, expressions of best wishes, private letters, and an obscene graffito. These facts, along with the point made at (6) above, suggest that this morphological archaism, which in terms of relative chronology must have preceded both *-re* and *-ris*, had survived in (some) lower social dialects until about the early Empire but had no place in the educated language.

The other features of the Johns Hopkins *defixiones* are also impossible to pin down specifically to southern areas. The *-aes* genitive form is particularly common at Rome but otherwise widespread and cannot be explained as a regionalism: see below X.8.3 and Adams (2003a: 481 n. 255).

The augmented pronominal form *illic* (*illunc*) had been common in early Latin but later was substandard. It has turned up in non-literary documents that are geographically widespread, from Pompeii (Väänänen 1966: 86), Vindolanda in Britain (Adams 1995a: 101) and Egypt (the letters of Terentianus: see Adams 1977a: 45). This distribution when considered alongside the Roman provenance of the present *defixiones* would give no support to any notion that the form was Campanian. The evidence favours its placement in lower social dialects, not in a specific regional dialect.

7 COLUMELLA

Much of the evidence provided by Columella is in the form of comment on regional usages (see IV.1.3.1–2, IV.2.2). I mention here what seems to be an unflagged regionalism.

At 5.6.2 Columella divides the elm into two types, the Gallic and the native Italian. The Gallic type is that associated with Atina, 'un toponyme du territoire vénète (Pline, *nat.* 3, 131)' (André 1987: 192). Several times in the passage (through to 9) the term *samara* (*samera*) occurs. For the meaning see 5.6.2 *Atiniam ulmum Tremelius Scrofa non ferre sameram, quod est semen eius arboris, falso est opinatus* ('Tremelius Scrofa expressed the false opinion that the Atinian elm does not bear the *samera*, which is the seed of the tree'). To judge from this passage and e.g. Plin. *Nat.* 17.76 *ulmorum, priusquam foliis uestiantur, samara colligenda est circa Martias kalendas* ('the *samara* of elms should be collected around the first of March, before the trees are clothed in leaves') the word was a general one for the seed of any elm. According to André (1987: 192) the Romance reflexes of *samara* are confined to the eastern part of northern Italy.[85] It is possible that the word (whether of Gaulish or Venetic origin, the latter favoured by André) entered Latin in the Venetic territory where the Atinian elm flourished, and scarcely, if at all, moved outside that area, except in the writings of agricultural specialists such as Tremelius Scrofa and Columella. Pliny got the word from Columella (see 16.72). However, certain doubts linger. Battisti and Alessio (1950–57: V, 3327) s.v. *sàmara* describe the term as learned ('v. dotta'; i.e. it is a botanical term). It is not registered in *REW*, and the authority of André's source (Penzig: see above, n. 17) might be questioned. It does seem likely that the word was localised at the time of

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[85] He cites for example Friuli *zamar*, *ciamar*, Udine *ciàmar*, Carniola (in what was Roman Pannonia, in the nineteenth century a province of the Austrian Empire of which the main city was Trieste) *ciùmer*.

Columella, but whether it genuinely survived in northern Italian dialects remains to be established.

8   THE *REGVLA* OF BENEDICT

In the *Regula* of Benedict *erigo* is used in the unusual sense 'remove': 57 *quod si aliquis ex eis extollitur pro scientia artis suae, eo quod uideatur aliquid conferre monasterio, hic talis erigatur ab ipsa arte* ('but if one of them [the artisans in the monastery] becomes puffed up because of his knowledge of his trade, thinking that he is contributing some profit to the monastery, this sort of person should be removed from that trade'). At *TLL* V.2.783.68ff. the usage is classified as equivalent to *eicere*, *excludere* or *deponere*. The semantic development seems to replicate that of *tollo*. *Erigo* is well attested in the sense 'raise (up)',[86] and the example quoted can be interpreted as meaning (metaphorically) 'lift out of'; so *tollo* means both 'raise' and 'remove'. The only other examples quoted by the *TLL* meaning 'remove' are from another Italian (Roman) text of much the same period, the *Liber pontificalis*, which is conventionally dated to the first half of the sixth century (530–2, according to the *Index librorum* of the *TLL*). Five such examples are cited from the work by Duchesne (1955–7: III, p. 206) with the gloss = *amouere*, in all of which the verb has a personal object and the reference is usually to the removal of a person from a privilege with a Christian association (e.g. *Lib. pont.* 37, p. 207 Duchesne *eregit Felicem de episcopatu*, 'he removed Felix from the bishopric', 50, p. 252 *eregit Mesenum et Vitalem episcopos a communionem*, 'he removed the bishops Mesenus and Vitalis from communion'). The usage is discussed in detail by Linderbauer (1922: 360) (cf. C. Mohrmann in Schmitz 1962, xx–xxi), who notes that in the Monte Cassino manuscripts of the *Regula* this word is regularly transmitted, and deduces that in Italy the word was still understood. In manuscripts from elsewhere various more banal verbs are used instead, having first no doubt been added as glosses on *erigatur*. Do we have evidence here for a distinctively Italian use of the verb which was not understood elsewhere? It would perhaps be more accurate to say that the usage had developed in the jargon of the monasteries in the sixth century (as distinct from the language of ordinary life), but it does seem to have been particular to those of Italy rather than of the whole Latin world.

Specialised usages readily develop within professional or social groups (such as agriculturalists or monks). Such innovations in antiquity did not

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[86] See *TLL* V.2.781.3ff.; also Arnaldi, Turriani and Smiraglia (1939–64: I, 199).

necessarily spread to the same groups in other localities, and terms belonging to a local variety of a professional register constitute a particular type of regionalism.

9   MISCELLANEOUS SPELLINGS

I do not deal with inscriptional spellings in this chapter. I mention here a few misspellings (none of them, however, significant) attested in other sources as well as inscriptions.

9.1   sinator *and the like*

The spellings *sinator* for *senator* and *sinatus* for *senatus* occur early, in the *Lex Iulia municipalis* of about 45 BC and in the *Lex Vrsonensis* (the law late republican but the inscription later). The closing of *e* to *i* in pretonic syllable also continued in Italian.[87] It is represented in late texts from Italy (not least in the Lombard laws).[88] But while we might say that in a text written in Italy such a spelling represents a local close pronunciation, it cannot be argued from the presence of examples of *i* for *e* in this position in a late text that the text was written in Italy.[89] The writing of vowels in unstressed syllables is chaotic in the late period, and comparable misspellings to that here also occur outside Italy.[90] In medieval legal documents the spelling is as common in Gaul as it is in Italy. Moreover it is not only in Italy that the closing is reflected; it is also found in Wallonia and Asturia.[91]

This example highlights the unsatisfactory nature of misspellings as evidence for regional variation. But it was perhaps the case that closing of *e* in pretonic position was tending to take place in Italy already by the late Republic.

9.2   *The consonant cluster* mn

Bonfante (1999: 41–2) finds an 'Italian' pronunciation already attested in Cicero, in the treatment of what he calls the 'cluster *-mn-*'. He argues that the case 'shows that (1) the splitting up into dialects of the Romania is

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[87] For a full discussion see B. Löfstedt (1961: 38–9). The evidence from Italy is presented by Rohlfs (1966: 162–3). Bonfante (1999: 15) also deals with the matter, but his Latin material is a mixed bag, not all of it strictly relevant.

[88] See the material cited by B. Löfstedt (1961: 37–8).

[89] See on this point Löfstedt, last footnote.

[90] See the inscriptional examples cited by Löfstedt (1961: 38).

[91] Details about these matters can be found in Löfstedt.

very ancient, and (2) Italian continues the, as it were, expected phonologic evolution of peninsular Latin (and especially of the Latin of the capital)'. This case does not stand up to examination.

Bonfante says (42) that the Italian treatment of the cluster was to assimilate it to *nn*, and he cites such examples as *colonna*, *donna*, *scanno*, *danno*, *sonno*.[92] This assimilation, we are told, is evidenced in Cicero (43 'Cicero's . . . pronunciation is the Italian pronunciation'). Therefore, it is implied, Roman Latin in the Republic had already fallen into what was later to be seen as an Italian pattern, whereas various other Romance languages show 'non-Roman' treatments. French, for example, has progressive assimilation (e.g. *dame*, *sommeil*),[93] whereas Daco-Romanian keeps the original cluster intact (e.g. *somn*). Those other languages showing developments derivable directly from the 'Roman' *nn* (Provençal, Catalan, Spanish, Portuguese and northern Italian dialects) are taken to display 'the expansion route followed by the Italian innovation of *mn* > *nn*'. By contrast, 'if we compare the Dalmatian *samno* and the Valachian *somn* with Ital. *sonno*, we still notice the archaism of the provincial dialects of the Empire as compared with the speech of Italy'. This presentation is doctrinaire, but not in line with Bonfante's own thesis (see VI.2) that the nature of the Romance languages reflects the date at which the provinces were colonised (see e.g. the preface, p. xvi). Certain provinces are said to preserve an 'archaic' absence of assimilation, but Ibero-Romance, which ought in keeping with Bonfante's theory to be the most archaic branch of all, given the early date of colonisation of the Iberian peninsula, shares the Italian innovation. We are therefore presented with an 'expansion route' of the Italian assimilation, which supposedly moved up through Italy into the Iberian peninsula (but bypassing Gaul). This case on its own reveals the inconsistent arguments to which one must resort to maintain the theory that the diversification of the Romance languages reflects the date of colonisation of the provinces. Sometimes Spain is 'archaic', sometimes not, and therefore an additional theory is needed to explain away evidence counter to the main theory. The additional theory here is that (sometimes) an Italian (or Roman) innovation has spread along a 'route' from the centre to some (but not all) provinces lying on that route. Here again the wave theory surfaces (see I.5). It is also a difficulty for those attaching such importance to dates of colonisation that the original consonant cluster *mn* is retained in the Romance area most recently colonised ('Daco-Romanian', in the terms of Bonfante). The reality is that mundane assimilations of the type seen in Italian and French

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[92] See also Rohlfs (1966: 381–2).   [93] See Rohlfs (1966: 381).

can arise anywhere independently at any time, and a cosmic theory has no power to explain the diversity of the Romance languages in this respect (or the diversity of the misspellings attested in inscriptions: see further below).

What is this Ciceronian evidence? Cicero in two places (*Orat.* 154, *Fam.* 9.22.2) says that the combination *cum nobis* should be avoided because it is open to an obscene interpretation (*cunno . . .*). These remarks show that the *m* of *cum* was assimilated to the following *n*, but there is a fundamental difference between the assimilation in, say, *dom(i)na > donna* and that in *cun + nobis*, and the latter has nothing to do with a specifically Roman development. In the first case the assimilation takes place within the word. In the second the final consonant of a monosyllabic preposition is assimilated in place of articulation to the consonant that follows. This second type of assimilation was the norm in 'grammatical' words, particularly monosyllables, such as prepositions, adverbs and pronouns, and it affected not only nasals but stops such as *-t* and *-d* (hence the confusion of *at* and *ad*, and forms such as *set*, *ed* and *aput*).[94] An original final *-m* in such a word is assimilated (in place of articulation) not only to a following *n*, but to other consonants as well (a fact which distinguishes the phenomenon from the word-internal 'Italian' assimilation *mn > nn*). Thus e.g. in Cicero's letter on obscenity referred to above we are told that the combination *illam dicam* might form a *cacemphaton* (i.e. be heard as *landicam* 'clitoris'): the assimilation implied shows *m > n* before an alveolar/dental stop. Or again, in *tan cito* at *O. Wâdi Fawâkhir* 2.4 the final consonant of *tan* must represent a velar nasal before the following velar consonant. Evidence could be multiplied showing that assimilation of final nasals was wider than a mere 'assimilation of the cluster *mn > nn*'. For example, final *-n* as well as final *-m* was so affected. Thus Claudius Terentianus writes *im mensem* (*P.Mich.* VIII.468.26), *im perpetuo* (468.65) and *im bia* (470.26). At Pompeii *im balneum* (*CIL* IV.2410) showing *n > m* before *b* contrasts with *tan durum* (1895) showing *m > n* before *d*.[95]

There is no reason to think that the Ciceronian phenomenon and the variants of it seen above were specific to any region in the Latin period.[96] If on the other hand we turn to genuine word-internal cases of assimilation of the cluster *mn* in the Latin period itself, we find that the evidence is impossible to classify on purely regional lines. In a Roman *carmen epigraphicum* (*CE* 1339.19) *danna* for *damna* appears to be an anticipation of the Italian

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[94] For *-t* and *-d*, which I pass over here, see e.g. Adams (1977a: 25).
[95] See Väänänen (1966: 66).
[96] See Väänänen (1966: 66) for Pompeian examples; also Dessau *ILS* III.2.827 for an assortment of examples.

danno < *damnu*, but it would be wrong to think that the assimilation had stabilised at Rome in the Latin period. Roman inscriptions have on the one hand *alunnus* (*CIL* VI.27070), but on the other *sollemmo* (VI.28117), which is in line rather with the French development.[97] There will have been chronological, social and regional variations in the treatment of the cluster before the Romance variations were established.

I conclude that the Ciceronian material cited by Bonfante is irrelevant to a later Italian development of the consonant cluster *mn*, and should not be used in the reconstruction of an expansion route of an alleged Roman innovation.

10   A MATTER OF SYNTAX

Herman (1963: 40–2) discussed the geographical distribution of the alternative constructions replacing the old accusative + infinitive, namely *scio*, *dico* etc. + *quod* versus *quia*. The material he dealt with was medieval (Merovingian, Lombard and so on) and beyond the cut-off point of this book, but the discussion is of some interest as raising issues of method. It is a familiar doctrine that in Christian texts at least the *quia*-construction largely ousts the *quod*-.[98] But Herman showed that from about the sixth century a geographical factor seems to come into play. In Merovingian texts (from Gaul) it is *quod* that is preferred, whereas in texts of much the same period from Italy and Spain *quia* predominates. Later Herman suggests (1963: 156) that this distributional feature may have left its mark in Romance. This second point is speculative, and I leave it aside. There are various observations that may be made about the regional distribution of the two constructions in Latin. First, Herman's statistics (41–2) are sketchy, and based on only a selection of texts. The figures are not high. Second, the Merovingian formulae are notoriously conservative in language.[99] It is conceivable that one construction was handed down in one tradition and the other in another. The *quod*-construction may have been more recherché and favoured for that reason by one group of compilers. Third, blanket figures are not enough in such a case. There may have been contextual factors favouring this or that construction. For example, Herman himself (42) notes a tendency for *quod* to be used with the subjunctive, *quia* with the indicative, an observation which requires a reconsideration of any bare

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[97] See Väänänen (1981: 64); note too the material in Kiss (1971: 32). B. Löfstedt (1961: 178) makes much the same point as I am making here; his work does not appear in Bonfante's bibliography.
[98] See Herman (1963: 40–1).   [99] See e.g. Banniard (1992: 287).

statistics. There may have been other determinants too, such as the nature of the head verb.

In an earlier chapter (V) the question whether late texts could be assigned a place of origin on linguistic evidence alone was addressed. I take up this question again here. There is, as I mentioned above (1), a group of late medical texts which scholars have attributed to northern Italy (usually Ravenna), and the linguistic features of a selection of these texts are discussed in some detail later in this section. I start, however, with the so-called 'Ravenna papyri'. If we did not know the provenance of the documents would we be able to assign them on linguistic grounds to Italy, or perhaps northern Italy, or even Ravenna?

11.1   *The Ravenna papyri*

I refer here to a collection of documents edited by Tjäder (1955). The corpus comprises texts to do with the imperial and royal administration, wills, a receipt and donations. The texts are known from internal evidence to have been written mainly at Ravenna, and are dated to 445–700. Most are highly formulaic and of no interest here, but text 8, a receipt from Ravenna, while containing (fragmentary) formulaic language, also has a long inventory of household items. This document is dated 17 July 564.[100] In the inventory the composer used everyday terminology. Many of the lexical items in the list are reflected in Romance languages, including dialects of Italy, and there are some terms surviving only there. The lexical importance of 8 is several times stressed by Carlton (1965). At 96, for example, writing of the second paragraph of the document (the list), he observes: '[T]he scribe, who now has no recourse either to a formularized model, or for that matter to a classical lexicon, is free to employ those terms which doubtless more accurately reflect the actual word stock then prevalent in the speech of Ravenna . . . [T]he second paragraph . . . is the best representation in our collection of "popular" speech.' I discuss some specific terms in the inventory, and later provide some statistics, on the basis of which I will comment on the methodology of placing a text geographically.

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[100] See Tjäder (1955: 235).

A suggestive item is the diminutive *butticella*, used at II.13 with the adjective *granaria* of a small barrel for holding grain. The word is attested only here, to judge from *TLL* II.2260.61f., but the base-noun *buttis* occurs three times in the same list at II.8, once with the same adjective (*butte granaria*).[101] *Buttis* is of uncertain origin,[102] but surely a loan-word. Various non-Latin names that may be of the same root (*Buttis, Buttius, Butto, Buttus*) are cited near it by the *TLL* from inscriptions. The present document is the only text from which *buttis* is quoted by the *TLL*, but it also turns up in glosses (see *TLL* II.2260.66ff.). *Buttis* is widespread in Romance, including Italy (*REW* 1427) and thus is not of primary concern here, but the diminutive survives only in Italo-Romance (see *LEI* VIII.376–7), in northern dialects (*LEI* VIII.371–3); it was also taken into standard Italian in the form *botticella*.[103] A masculine form **butticellus* is also found in some Italian dialects,[104] and this continued in Gallo-Romance (see *LEI* VIII.376–7: e.g. Old French *bucel*), probably as a borrowing from Italy (see *FEW* I.660). Carlton (1965) stresses the northern character of *butticella* (53 'The connection with N. Italy is a certainty', 56 'Dialectally [*butticella*] appears only in the north'). *Butticella* is a late innovation which must have been taken from local speech by the compiler. It is not of an old Latin root, and is unlikely at an earlier period to have been widespread. Late innovations are more reliable, as we have often seen, in placing the origin of a late text than old usages that had merely suffered shrinkage.

Diminutives in *-ellus* are a feature of the list. Another is *cucumella* (< *cucuma*), indicating a small cooking pot. It is found twice in the document, at II.7 (*cucumella una*) and II.11 (*cucumella cum manica ferrea uetere pensante libras duas semis*, 'an old cooking pot with an iron handle weighing two and a half pounds'). Only three instances of the word are cited by the *TLL* (IV.1282.9ff.), the above two and a much earlier one from a fragment preserved in the Digest (8.5.17.1) of the jurist P. Alfenus Varus of Cremona, cos. 39 BC. The word is not attested outside Italy. It does not seem to be a late innovation, unless the phraseology of Alfenus has been modified by the person responsible for the citation or the transmission of Alfenus' text. In Romance *cucumella* 'is restricted solely to Italy where it appears dialectally in widely separated regions, Pied. *cucumela* (cf *FEW*, 2, 1457a)[105] and

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[101] The form is accusative with omission of *-m*.
[102] See *TLL* II.2260.65, Walde and Hofmann (1938–54: I, 125, deriving it from Greek), Ernout and Meillet (1959: 79, 'peut-être emprunté'), *FEW* I.663, *LEI* VIII.460–1.
[103] See Battisti and Alessio (1950–7: I, 576) s.v. *botticella*[1], 'piccola "botte"; v. d'area settentrionale . . . ma arrivata a Roma alla metà del XV sec.' On its patterns of survival see also Carlton (1965: 53).
[104] See Carlton (1965: 53), *LEI* VIII.374–6.   [105] Carlton was referring to volume II.2.

kukumélla "earth pot" or "pitcher or jar", in Sonnino (S. Latium), cf *AIS* 955 and 967' (Carlton 1965: 52). *Cucumella* has a wider Romance distribution than *butticella*, but is specifically Italian. That said, it is a diminutive based on an old root and might have been coined anywhere at any time before fading out of use everywhere but in Italy. The author of document 8 was no doubt drawing on local usage; *cucuma* itself is surprisingly rare in Latin and is reflected in Romance mainly in northern Italy in its original sense (see below, 11.3.2.8), though it also has reflexes elsewhere in a derived sense as a mushroom name.[106]

Caccabellus, a diminutive of *caccabus*, is cited by the *TLL* (II.5.4ff.) only from our document (II.11 *caccauello rupto pensante libra una*, 'a broken little pot weighing one pound'), but another example adduced by Svennung (1932: 68) can be added from the Latin translation of Oribasius, itself thought to be a northern Italian composition, as we will see (below, 11.3): *Syn.* 3.211 La, p. 891 *in caccauello* (λοπάδι). *Caccabellus* survives in the primary sense only in Italian dialects (e.g. Neapolitan *caccavella*, Abruzzo *caccavielle*).[107] In the extreme north-west of Galloromania the word turns up in the derived sense 'skull'.[108] The Italian reflexes show that the word in its literal sense could not have been restricted to northern Italy, but it must have been in use there when our document was compiled. But again the root is old, and the diminutive cannot without reservation be put into the category of a late innovation restricted to a limited area.

In the same class belongs the diminutive *arcella*, denoting a small box: II.11 *id est arca claue clausa ferro legata ualente siliquas aureas duas, alia arcella minore rupta* ('that is a box shut with a key bound with iron worth two golden *siliquae*, and another, broken, smaller little box'). The context shows that the object was small. The *TLL* (II.442.11f.) cites just one example (from Augustine) indicating some sort of strongbox, and another (from an inscription) indicating a coffin (442.12f.). The reflexes belong to Italo-Romance (in which I include here Sardinian, aware that the inclusion would not be universally accepted) only. It survives in Sardinia in its primary sense (*LEI* III.1.867, citing Logudorese *arkédda* 'cassetta per conservare cereali'),[109] and also in Italian and dialects of various types of container (*LEI* III.1.861, citing forms given such meanings as 'scrigno', 'cassa', 'cassone da corredo', 'cassa da corredo', 'tramoggia'; cf. *REW* 613). The word also has reflexes in Italy denoting types of mollusc. It was no doubt in use at

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[106] See *FEW* II.2.1456–7, Stefenelli (1962: 147).
[107] See Battisti and Alessio (1950–7: I, 652), *FEW* II.1.21, Carlton (1955: 52).
[108] See *FEW* II.1.21, Carlton (1965: 51).   [109] See also Wagner (1960–4: I, 107) s.v. *árka*.

Ravenna when the document was written, but again is the type of word that might once have been more widespread.

I mention also an interesting, but marginal, item. At II.9 *falce missuria* represents *falx messoria*.[110] There are several examples of this expression (denoting a harvesting sickle) scattered about in later texts (see *TLL* VI.1.204.19ff., VIII.861.84–862.2). *Messoria* was substantivised by the abbreviation of the expression and survives almost exclusively in northern Italian dialects, for example in Piedmont (*REW* 5544; also 5545 *messuaria*; a reflex is also cited at 5544 from Asturias, the only one from outside Italy). A single example of substantival *messoria* is cited by *TLL* VIII.862.2ff., from a manuscript of the *Itala*. (*Falx*) *messoria* was in use in the region of Ravenna in the sixth century, but whether it had already disappeared elsewhere we cannot know. It is at best a weak regionalism.

This does not exhaust the content of the list. I return to it below; it has one or two other terms reflected only in Italy or almost exclusively there. The evidence seen so far is no more than suggestive. *Butticella* is the most interesting case, but the wide currency of its base (deducible from the Romance languages) and the banal diminutive formation make it less than decisive as an indication of the provenance of the text.

Not all the material relevant to the regional character of the corpus is confined to doc. 8. There is represented in several of the documents a specialised use of *massa* which appears for the first time in about the fourth century and seems to be largely confined in Latin to Italy. The meaning is sometimes defined as 'patrimony' or 'estate',[111] but a more precise definition is proposed by Niermeyer (1976: 659), who glosses his single-word definition 'patrimony' as follows: 'a more or less compact group of estates held or left behind by an important proprietor'. Typical uses of the term are to be found in doc. 1, dated 445–6, from Ravenna. Here there occur (not always in complete form) the phrases *massa Fadiliana* (5, 38), *massa Enporitana* (59), *massa Fadilianensis* (64), *massa Cassitana* (65), *massae Cassitanae et Enporitanae* (77), with *massa* accompanied by an adjective based on a place or personal (?) name. Numerous examples are collected at *TLL* VIII.430.73ff. (under the definition 'fundus cum casa, praedium')[112] and by Niermeyer (1976: 659), and these are overwhelmingly connected with Italy. Thus, though Ammianus was not himself an Italian, the estate he

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[110] See Tjäder (1955: 434 n. 40).

[111] For a discussion of the semantics of the term and a collection of attempts to define it see Carlton (1965: 73–5); see also Tjäder (1955: 398 n. 2). A typical definition is that of Arnaldi, Turriani and Smiraglia (1939–64: I, 324): 'Indefinitus agrorum modus, *tenuta*'.

[112] Criticised by Tjäder (1955: 398 n. 2) and by Carlton (1965: 73–4).

refers to at 14.11.27 was in Etruria (*natus apud Tuscos in massa Veternensi*). Italian writers who have the usage are Symmachus, Cassiodorus and Gregory the Great. The inscriptional examples cited by *TLL* VIII.431.1ff. are from Rome (*CIL* VI.31946, 32033), Trapeia in southern Italy (X.8076 *conduct(rix) m(assae) Trapeianae*: here the adjective is based on a place name) and Latium (XIV.3482, 2934.18 *ex massa Prae(nestina)*). According to *FEW* VI.1.453 this new meaning (given as 'Landgut') lives on mainly in Italy. Carlton (1965: 75) says that the term 'is not known in the sense of "estate" or "patrimony" outside of Italy' (cf. *REW* 5396). Battisti and Alessio (1950–7: III, 2383) record the sense 'insieme di beni' (cf. Tjäder's definition 1955: 398 n. 2 'Sammlung Güter') in reflexes from the fourteenth century. Tjäder ibid. says that *massa* is common in Italian place names,[113] citing *Massa Lombarda* (between Ravenna and Bologna).

Massa used thus is a regional technical term. The word was an old one, but the meaning a late innovation. The semantic development was localised (albeit over an extensive area of Italy), reflecting local conditions in that it is based on a local concept of property.[114] Its presence in the corpus would allow the documents to be assigned an Italian provenance.

The diminutive *horticellus* is cited by the *TLL* (VI.2–3.3006.48ff.) only from our corpus: docs. 21.5 (Ravenna, 625), 25.4, 5 (Ravenna, first half of the seventh century). Tjäder (1955: 466 n. 9) also cites medieval Latin evidence, remarking that the word is frequent in later Ravenna documents.[115] It has a limited Romance survival, turning up according to Battisti and Alessio (1950–7: IV, 2683) in Italy (*orticello*) from the fourteenth century; note too Carlton (1965: 21): 'it survives only in Italian'.

I return now to the receipt (8), and offer a statistical survey of the list (which extends from II.5 to II.14) showing features of the survival in Romance of the nouns that it contains. The question addressed is to what extent the words in the list survive in Italy. I first list each noun with a brief comment on its pattern of survival. If a term is reflected beyond Italo-Romance I do not give details. 'Italy' is to be understood as embracing dialects and/or standard Italian. The comments are rough and ready, in that they are based only on *REW*, a far from reliable source, but a pattern may emerge. The nouns are listed in the order in which they occur:

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[113] For this point see too Carlton (1965: 75).

[114] It has to be said that the use of the word in Latin deserves further consideration, despite the treatments of it in lexica and elsewhere. The implication of the adjectives with which it is habitually used might be investigated.

[115] Note too Battisti and Alessio (1950–7: IV, 2683): 'comune nel lat. della Toscana nei X e XI sec., succedaneo di più antico *orticulus*'.

cocliares. Italy (with change of suffix) and elsewhere.

scotella. Italy and elsewhere.

fibula. Mainly Italy.[116]

bracile. Italo-Romance (Logudorese, in Sardinia) and elsewhere.

usubandilos. The (Lombard?)[117] compound itself is not in Romance, but the first part *hosa* survives in Italy and elsewhere and the second part *band* in Italy alone.

formulas. Not in Romance.

scamnile (twice). Not in Romance.

plicton. Obscure.

camisia (twice). Italy and elsewhere.

sarica (from *serica*). Italy and elsewhere.

arca (three times). Italy and elsewhere.

claue (twice). Italy and elsewhere.

sareca (twice). See on *sarica* above.

manica (twice). Italy and elsewhere.

bracas. Italy and elsewhere.

culcita. Italy and elsewhere.

conca. Italy and elsewhere.

cucumella (twice). Italy only (see above).

orciolo (*urceolus*) (twice). Italy and elsewhere.

lucerna. Italy and elsewhere.

catenula. Not in Romance.

ferro (three times). Italy and elsewhere.

butte (three times). Italy and elsewhere.

cito (= *acetum*). Italy and elsewhere.[118]

nummos (twice). Not in Romance.

falce. Italy and elsewhere.

cuppo. Italy and elsewhere.[119]

runcilione. Perhaps related to Old Italian *ronciglio*,[120] but the relationship is problematic. Almost certainly an Italian Latin term,[121] whatever is to be made of the Romance evidence.

orcas. Italy and elsewhere.

armario. Only found as a borrowing in Italian (so too in Spanish and French).[122] Reflected in Rumanian, according to *REW*.

socas. Northern Italy and elsewhere.

sella. Italy and elsewhere.

mensa. Italy and elsewhere.

catino. Italy and elsewhere.

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[116] *REW* 3278 cites apart from Italian reflexes only a Moldavian expression.

[117] See Tjäder (1955: 433 n. 31).

[118] It is *acetum* not the truncated form of the papyri that is reflected in Romance.

[119] For a discussion see Carlton (1965: 54–6).

[120] See *REW* 7444, Carlton (1965: 16–17), the latter not coherent.

[121] See also Tjäder (1955: 434 n. 42).

[122] See *REW* 652; also Bloch and von Wartburg (1968: 37) s.v. *armoire*.

mortaria. Italy and elsewhere.

albiolo (*alueolus*). *Alueolus* is widely reflected in Italian dialects but virtually nowhere else, to judge from *REW* 391, which cites in addition only Engadine *arbuol.*

sagma. Italy and elsewhere.

agnos. Italy and elsewhere.

arcella. Italy and Sardinia (see above).

tina. Italy and elsewhere.

caccauello. Only in Italy in the literal sense (see above).

catena. Italy and elsewhere.

foco. Italy and elsewhere.

satario. Not in Romance.

cute (*cos*). Widespread in Romance, but in Italy only as a borrowing (*REW* 2275).

panario. Again widespread but in Italy only as a borrowing (*REW* 6187).

capsicio. Not in Romance, and of uncertain origin.[123]

olla. Widespread, but in Italy only as a borrowing.

talea. Only in Italy (*REW* 8538).

albio (*alueus*). Italy and elsewhere.

rapo (*rabo*).[124] Not in Romance.

modio. Italy and elsewhere.

butticella. Only in Italy (specifically in the north in dialects: see above).

mappa. Italy and elsewhere.

lena. Italy and Dalmatia.

sagello. In Gallo-Romance but not Italy.[125]

There are fifty-six words here (I count not tokens but lexemes), of which forty-four survive in Italo-Romance. That is a proportion of 78 per cent. The figure is consistent with an Italian composition of the text, but does not prove this provenance. More interesting are the items with reflexes only in Italo-Romance, into which class I put eight (*fibula, band, cucumella, albiolo, arcella, caccauello, talea, butticella*). Thus about 14 per cent of the words in the list survive only in Italy. There are few terms surviving in Romance but not including Italo-Romance: four only, i.e. 7 per cent (*armario, cute, panario, sagello*). These four terms have no unifying feature in their Romance distribution. They are not restricted, for example, to a particular area other than Italy. If, say, there were eight terms surviving only in Gallo-Romance to set aside the eight surviving only in Italo-Romance, the Italian survivals would cease to be significant. The group of items with an exclusive Italian connection is not matched by a group with an exclusive connection to another part of the Romance world, and this, along with the fact that 78 per cent of the components of the list have Italian reflexes,

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[123] See Tjäder (1955: 436 n. 51).   [124] See Tjäder (1955: 436 n. 53).

[125] See Carlton (1965: 31).

seems to me to establish that the (already known) place of composition of the text has influenced the Latin of the list. One or two of the terms (*butticella*, *socas*) survive in Italy particularly in the north, but it could not be deduced from the linguistic evidence that the documents originated in the north of Italy (let alone Ravenna). The weight of the evidence for an unspecified Italian provenance is increased by *massa* and *horticellus*, items which do not appear in the list itself.

It is worth comparing the statistics just seen with those for a different type of catalogue from a different region (Gaul), that is the catalogue of fish in Ausonius' *Mosella* discussed at V.3.5. There fourteen of the fifteen fish names survive in Gallo-Romance (i.e. 93 per cent). Four of the terms (*alausa*, *silurus*, *r(h)edo*, *umbra*) survive exclusively in Gallo-Romance (26 per cent). Finally, there is again no rival group of terms restricted to an area outside Gallo-Romance to undermine the conclusion suggested by the cluster of items exclusive to Gallo-Romance. This list could be assigned to Gaul on statistical grounds. The Italian list is not so markedly Italianate but the material is cumulative. The compound with -*band* is distinctive and the unusual term *butticella* suggestive, and *massa* points to Italy.

I would also draw attention to the remarks made earlier (4) about the pattern of survival of the colloquial elements in Petronius. Few terms survive only in Italy, and quite a few survive in places other than Italy. The regional indeterminacy of the Petronian lexicon throws into relief the coherence of the lists in Ausonius and the Ravenna papyri.

What generalisations to do with method can be made from analysis of the two lists? Lists and inventories of everyday items do not belong to high register, and low-register writing is more influenced by regional practice than high-register. Those composing literary Latin in the late period were using a timeless language uninfluenced by its regional forms. Most writing transmitted from antiquity is almost by definition literary. The impossibility of assigning most late texts a place of composition on linguistic grounds reflects their literary character. It is only special texts containing technical terms of mundane types that can offer a glimpse of localised usages. The two lists discussed above suggest the sorts of patterns that must be identifiable if one is to assign a text a place of composition by the methods discussed here: it must show a cluster of terms restricted in their survival to one Romance region, a high proportion of terms surviving in that region, if elsewhere as well, and the absence of competing clusters surviving only in another region.

The next text discussed is technical but not medical. Its provenance is not known from non-linguistic indications.

11.2 Compositiones Lucenses

This is the name given by Svennung (1941: 2) to a work surviving in the *codex Lucensis* 490 (L; Biblioteca Capitolare, Lucca), which was copied around 800 at Lucca.[126] The work was earlier referred to as *Compositiones ad tingenda musiua* (so Hedfors 1932; see too Muratori 1739a: 365). It is a miscellany of technical character offering recipes to do with dyeing, mineralogy and metal working. The question when and under what circumstances the recipes were composed is impossible to answer; technical texts were often compilations, put together by different hands and over a long period. Svennung (1941: 18) speculated that the composition of the text might have been about two hundred years earlier than the copying of the extant codex, but he provided no evidence, and the work could be just about as late as the manuscript.

It is the orthodox view that the work (or at least some of it) was composed in northern Italy.[127] Souter's suggestion (1933: 90) that it may belong to Spain was supported by no evidence, and may be disregarded. I now consider some of the evidence adduced by Svennung and discussed also by Gamillscheg (1947).

11.2.1 uuatum

A significant item is the word for 'woad'. Woad had been known in Latin since Caesar as *uitrum* (*Gall.* 5.14.3, Vitr. 7.14.2, etc.), a term belonging to the same Germanic root as Old High German *weit*, Old English *wād*.[128] Other names attested are *isatis* (ἰσάτις), of uncertain etymology,[129] and the Gaulish *glastum* (Plin. *Nat.* 22.2).[130] In the *Compositiones*, however, woad is called *uuatum* (R 1, 12, 16, al.).[131] *Vitrum* did not live on into Romance, possibly because it was a homonym of *uitrum* 'glass'.[132] It was replaced by later borrowings from Germanic. The Gallo-Romance forms go back to **waizda-*, which must have been in use among the Franks, whereas the Italo-Romance forms reflect Lombard **waid* (Piedmont *guad*, Lombard *guaa*, Bergamo *guad*).[133] *Vuatum* is a Latinisation of **waid*, and its presence

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[126] For the manuscript and editions see Svennung (1941: v). On the place and circumstances of the copying, see Svennung (1941: 2, 19–20). The text I quote is that of Hedfors (1932).
[127] See Svennung (1941: 15–18), Gamillscheg (1947: 788–9). An Italian origin was also assumed by Muratori (1739a: e.g. 389): 'Nusquam memini me videre monumentum serae antiquitatis Italicae vulgaris Linguae frustulis tam saepe immixtum.' Listing some vulgarisms (389) he compares *secundo quod* with *secondochè*.
[128] See Walde and Hofmann (1938–54: II, 806), André (1985a: 274).
[129] See André (1985a: 133).   [130] See Delamarre (2003: 180) s.v. *glaston, glasson.*
[131] See Svennung (1941: 71; also 16–17).   [132] See Walde and Hofmann (1938–54: II, 806).
[133] Details can be found in *FEW* XVII.472. The Ibero-Romance forms derive from Gallo-Romance.

seems to locate the text in Italy, in the northern Lombard regions. It is a term of familiar type, that is a localised loan-word.

11.2.2   suuentium

Also significant is *suuentium* 'often', found at L 14 *suuentium eum diuide* ('divide it often').[134] In the first century AD (most notably in Petronius) there are signs that *saepe* was receding before *subinde*, which survives widely in the Romance languages (e.g. French *souvent*);[135] *saepe* leaves no trace. But the form *suuentium* is an innovation, deriving from a comparative form *subentius*, with a suffix probably taken from *frequentius*;[136] if the final *-s* was not pronounced, it might have been falsely replaced in the written form by *-m*. What makes *suuentium* interesting is that it is reflected only in northern Italy and Rheto-Romance.[137] *Suuentium* nicely fits the bill as a criterion for placing the text. The form is extremely rare in Latin texts (it is elsewhere only in a gloss: see n. 136), and is a late innovation. It is sufficiently odd in structure not to have emerged independently in different places. Its survival in a restricted part of the Romance world points to a northern Italian composition of at least a part of the text. Scribes copying a text often introduced their own changes, and in many cases oddities probably reflect the place of copying rather than of composition (for this distinction see below, 11.5), but this change of suffix looks too radical to be a simple copyist's error.

11.2.3   fio + *past participle*

I turn to a syntactic topic. The passive is said to be expressed sometimes in the *Comp. Luc.* by *fio* + past participle, a construction which survives only in northern Italy.[138] To Gamillscheg (1947: 788) this was the most convincing proof that the work was northern Italian. Svennung quotes three examples. At L 26 (*scalda etqualiter, ut tota sca<l>data fiat*, 'heat evenly, so that it becomes in its entirety heated'; *scaldare < excaldare*) the periphrasis might have been replaced by a present passive subjunctive (*excaldetur*) without

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[134] See Svennung (1941: 147; also 16).

[135] See the discussion of this semantic field by Stefenelli (1962: 23–6). For an account of the Romance outcome of *subinde* (Gallo-Romance, Catalan: Italian *sovente* is a borrowing from Gallo-Romance) see *FEW* XII.334.

[136] Note the gloss *CGL* V.484.25 *subindius frequentius*. Words of this meaning are often in the comparative (cf. *saepius*: e.g. Stefenelli 1962: 24).

[137] For full details see *FEW* XII.334; also Rohlfs (1969a: 273), Stefenelli (1962: 24), and, more briefly, Svennung (1941: 147).

[138] See Svennung (1941: 16, 155–6), Gamillscheg (1947: 788). On the periphrasis as northern Italian see *REW* 3288, Hofmann and Szantyr (1965: 395), Rohlfs (1969a: 129–30). Michel (1997: 229) specifies (with reference to Old Genoese) that it is the future passive that is formed thus.

change to the meaning, but arguably *fiat* adds something. It appears to stress that the process of heating is to be a gradual one, working throughout the substance. At Q 26 too (*ista magmata fient ambas . . . detritum* 'those residues of unguent will both become worn away')[139] a future passive (*deterentur*) might have been substituted, but here also it seems possible to give *fio* full semantic force, again implying a gradual process. The third example is at S 14: *ad auro coquendo indicamus uobis comodo coctum fieri possit* ('for heating gold we [shall] show you how it can be heated'). Here *coctum fieri* could have been replaced by *coqui* (see further below), and in this case the periphrasis seems close to a grammaticalised passive substitute. Grammaticalisation is a slow process, and an old special nuance may long persist. It has been pointed out by Svennung ([1941](): 129 n. 64) that conventional passive forms are common in the work, and the new construction had certainly not replaced the old. The three examples above suggest that the combining of *fio* with a past participle was first motivated by a semantic nuance of *fio* but that the periphrasis was tending to be grammaticalised.

The question arises how widespread such periphrases might have been in Latin itself. The *TLL* does not treat *fio* separately, and as far as I can see has no section on possible passive periphrases formed with it. There is a discussion of the construction by Muller ([1924](): 78–82), who sees it as a late (Carolingian) development and argues that some alleged earlier examples are not what they seem. He does not, however, mention an early example found in Petronius: 74.4 *dicto citius [de uicinia] gallus allatus est, quem Trimalchio iussit ut aeno coctus fieret* ('at once a cock was produced, which Trimalchio ordered should be cooked in a pot').[140] *Coctus fieret* does not look distinguishable here from *coqueretur*, though it is tempting to say that the verb phrase had a special force, of cooking thoroughly (see the last paragraph). Petronius anticipates one of the expressions in the *Comp. Luc.* quoted above, a fact which suggests that the phraseology was formulaic.

There are some observations and data in Svennung ([1935](): 459–60). A recent discussion may be found in Cennnamo (2005: 182–7), who draws some of her material from Svennung but does not overtly consider the regional spread of the usage. There are some brief remarks by Hofmann and Szantyr ([1965](): 395), noting the usage as northern Italian in Romance but not mentioning the present text. They cite *Per. Aeth.* 35.3 *similiter et lectiones dicuntur; interpositae orationes fiunt* ('similarly too readings are said

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139 On the violation of agreement here see Svennung ([1941](): 133 §82).
140 See Stefenelli ([1962](): 138).

and prayers, interposed, are made') as one example. Cennamo (2005: 183) also accepts this case. Since the *Peregrinatio* is usually thought to have been written in the west (see V.5.5), this example if accepted at face value might be evidence that the construction was known outside Italy,[141] but I would reject the usual interpretation of the clause. *Oratio fit* (and variants) is a set phrase in the work,[142] and it is perverse not to take *orationes* as subject of *fiunt*; the participle *interpositae* goes with *orationes* rather than directly with *fiunt*. The word order too favours this interpretation (see the above translation). The only other instance quoted by Hofmann and Szantyr is from the *Mulomedicina Chironis* (307), a text with hints of an Italian connection (see XI.3.7.1): *media spina aluei similis concaua fiat, quibus et maxillae constrictae fient* ('the middle of the spine may become concave like a trough,[143] and their jaws will also become constricted'). The passage is about the onset of a disease (cf. *initium rouorosi* earlier in the passage),[144] and just as *fiat* is used with the adjective *cancaua* to bring out that point, so in the next clause *fient* with full semantic weight is used with the participle for the same reason. Nevertheless the sense would not be changed if a future passive (*constringentur*) were substituted. Vegetius indeed (2.92.2) changes to *astringuntur*. We seem to observe the same process as that seen above in the *Compositiones Lucenses*: *fio* is used with full semantic force but in a context in which the periphrasis was open to reinterpretation. Two of the examples discussed so far overlap with the future passive; I would draw attention to n. 138 on the use of the periphrasis in Old Genoese as a future passive. Various other alleged periphrases that have been noted in the *Mulomedicina* do not bear examination.[145]

One of the clearest examples adduced to date[146] is in Palladius. His origin is uncertain but he had estates in both Italy and Sardinia, and may be treated as belonging to the Italian rather than (north-)western part of the Empire (see further below, 11.4 for an 'Italian' usage in Palladius). The passage (1.39.2) is the more interesting in that its source survives:

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[141] It is a curiosity that the passage does not seem to find its way into discussions of the provenance of the *Peregrinatio*, given that it is enshrined in the standard historical grammar of Latin. It is not mentioned by Väänänen (1987), and E. Löfstedt (1911) has no note at this point.

[142] See van Oorde (1929: 144) s.v. *oratio*.

[143] The editor had to emend slightly the three words preceding *fiat*, but *fiat* itself is transmitted.

[144] *Initium* is by emendation, but it seems to be established by Vegetius' *principium*.

[145] See Ernout (1909b: 148–9) for about half a dozen such cases. They are all convincingly dismissed by Muller (1924: 81–2). The same examples are cited by Reichenkron (1933: 39–40).

[146] By Svennung (1935: 459); cf. Cennamo (2005: 183).

supra hanc straturam pilae laterculis argilla subacta et capillo constructae fiant distantes a se spatio pedis unius et semissis.

Above this paving pillars a foot and a half apart are to be constructed of bricks with kneaded clay and hair.

The ultimate source is Vitruvius 5.10.2, where the verb phrase is *pilae struantur*, but the immediate source is the abridger of Vitruvius, Cetius Faventinus (16),[147] on whom Palladius drew:[148]

Supraque laterculis bessalibus et rotundis pilae instruantur ex capillo et argilla subacta.

Above this, pillars are to be made of bricks 8 inches across and circular, with hair and kneaded clay.

It would be defensible to treat *fiant* in the passage of Palladius as the main verb, with *constructae* a detached participle ('let pillars be made, constructed of bricks . . .'), but it is obvious from the source that *constructae fiant* corresponds to *instruantur* (and Vitruvius' *struantur*) and is equivalent to *construantur*. The periphrasis is a clear-cut equivalent of a present passive (subjunctive).

Various other examples are cited by Svennung (1935: 459). He has two instances from the translation of Oribasius, a northern Italian work (see below, 11.3): e.g. *Eup.* 2.1, D IIII Aa add., p. 464 *sed mixtus ex quattuor metallicis speciebus fit* ('but it is mixed of four types of metal'). There are also three instances of a particular type in Anthimus, all of them listed by Liechtenhan (1963: 68) s.v. *facio* under the rubric 'abund. additur'. Anthimus (see V.5.1) resided in the north of Italy. In Anthimus the participle *factus* is attached redundantly to another participle, as at p. 4.16 <u>uaporatas factas</u> et in sodinga coctas utendum ('one should use [cow flesh] steamed and cooked on a *sodinga* [?]'). There is a case too in Apicius:[149] 2.2.6 *isicia de pauo primum locum habent ita, si fricta fiunt, ut callum uincant* ('rissoles of peacock hold the first place provided that their toughness is overcome by frying').[150]

The examples of the periphrasis that have so far come to light prior to the medieval period are all in texts with an Italian, or even northern Italian, connection. In most cases it would not do to say that the construction was

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[147] I quote here the text and translation of Plommer (1973).
[148] See Plommer (1973: 1–2).   [149] Cited by Reichenkron (1933: 39).
[150] The Latin here is awkwardly phrased. Clearer would have been: *si fricta fiunt ita ut callum uincant* ('if they are fried in such a way as to overcome their toughness').

grammaticalised, but it was tending that way. A number of the examples are in culinary contexts, which suggests that in origin the auxiliary had a special point, as expressing a thoroughgoing process. It is a curiosity that grammaticalised examples also turn up in Merovingian Latin (from Gaul), at the time of the Carolingian renaissance as Muller (1924: 79) puts it. The construction may have become more widespread before suffering shrinkage and living on only in northern Italy.

11.2.4   iotta

Iotta is several times used of a 'dye-bath' (D 8, 29, E 18, O 22).[151] The word is identifiable as a borrowing from Gaulish *iutta* 'bouillie, soup, gruel'. Delamarre (2003: 194) notes that the root is common in Gallic names, as *Iutuccius*, *Iutossica*, *Iutuates* ('Les Mangeurs de bouillie' [?]), *Iutu-maros* 'Grand-par-la-bouillie (qu'il mange)', etc. It survives in Celtic languages, as Old Welsh *iot* 'pulsum', Old Cornish *iot*, Old Breton *iot* 'bouillie'.[152] In the present text the term has been extended colloquially to the 'soup' in which the dyeing takes place. Only one other instance from a Latin text has been noted, in the Latin translation of Rufus of Ephesus *De podagra* (14 *iottas . . . gallinae sorbat*, of chicken broth). This translation (for which see below, 11.3.1) has been attributed to Ravenna, and we will see reasons for accepting at least that it was written in Italy (see 11.3.4.8, 11.3.5). Another example of the word can be added from the manuscript Q of the *Physica Plinii Bambergensis*, a work which has also been attributed to Italy (see below, 11.3.2.8, 11.5): 82.11 *unde et iotam bibat* ('from that let [the patient] also drink the juice'). Önnerfors (1975) changes to *aquam*, but *iotam* fits the context.[153]

   Iotta has been brought to bear on the question of the provenance of the *Compositiones* most explicitly by Gamillscheg (1947: 789), who, citing *REW* 4637 (he meant 4636), asserts that the word lives on only in northern Italian dialects ('lebt nur oberitalienisch'). That is inaccurate even on the evidence provided by *REW*, which cites reflexes from Engadine and Poitevin. There is a fuller account of the Romance survivals in the article on *jutta* in *FEW* V.90–1. Reflexes are listed not only from southern Gallo-Romance but also from early Walloon (*jouttes* 'légumes'), and from Italo-Romance not only in northern dialects but also in the south (Calabria). The word was clearly widespread in Gaul and Italy, and its presence in the *Compositiones* does not help in determining the place of composition. But it is particularly well

[151] See Svennung (1941: 38–9, 66).
[152] See Delamarre (2003: 194); also Walde and Hofmann (1938–54: I, 734).
[153] See Adams (1977c: 195).

established in northern Italian dialects, and its use in the text is at least consistent with a northern Italian origin.

11.2.5 Some spellings

Various misspellings are worthy of note. I start with *ambulla = ampulla* (β 35).[154] The form is suggestive of southern/central Italian dialects. Following a nasal voiceless stops (as in the combinations *nt*, *mp*, *nk*) were voiced, '[a] sud di una linea che va dai monti Albani fino ad Ancona attraverso l'Umbria' (Rohlfs 1966: 363). Rohlfs cites parallels from e.g. dialects of Naples and the Abruzzi. At *LEI* II.963 reflexes of *ampulla* with *b* for *p* are cited from e.g. Trasacco and L'Aquila. Most of the reflexes throughout Romance retain the *p* (elsewhere in Italy, in Gallo-Romance, Ibero-Romance, Rheto-Romance). Here then seems to be a hint of southern Italian influence which might appear inconsistent with the view that the text was composed in northern Italy. There are various ways of explaining the inconsistency. The form might be an isolated aberration, a slip of no linguistic significance. Again, since the text is a compilation, a recipe of southern Italian provenance might have found its way into the text. According to Gamillscheg (1947: 788) the form gives an indication that at least one scribe or compiler from southern Italy had a hand in the work. This is to assume that the phenomenon had the same distribution in the Latin period as it was to have in Italian dialects as attested much later. We have repeatedly argued that such an assumption is unsafe. At least the spelling is suggestive of Italy. I cannot find parallels in Latin itself; the voicing of intervocalic stops is a different phenomenon (see below). It must, however, be stressed that this misspelling, and also those noted in the next paragraph, may reflect the place of copying rather than the place of composition of the work: they may be scribal not authorial, and are thus not decisive in determining the origin of the text itself.

There are various instances in the *Comp. Luc.* of the voicing of intervocalic *c* to *g*. Svennung (1941: 107) lists examples of *agutum*, *frigare*, *defrigare*, *Grege = Grece*, *grogus = crocus*. Much of the Romance world displays such voicing, with the exception of Rumania and central and southern Italy.[155] In northern Italy in contrast with the rest of the peninsula the normal outcome of intervocalic *c* is *g*.[156] This type of misspelling establishes nothing about the provenance of the text, given that voicing is so widespread in Romance, but it is not inconsistent with northern Italian composition. *Grogus* also shows the change of *cr* to *gr* in initial position, a phenomenon exemplified also in *gribellare*, *grisopetala* and *granci* (Svennung 1941: 107).

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[154] See Svennung (1941: 107).   [155] See e.g. Väänänen (1981: 56).   [156] See Rohlfs (1966: 269).

In Italy in initial position *cr* is generally retained, except in Tuscany and elsewhere in certain words (Rohlfs 1966: 245). Rohlfs cites e.g. *grògo* (crocus) from Tuscany. Tuscan dialects occupy a place between the northern and the central-and-southern dialects.[157] Lucca, the source of the manuscript of the work, is in Tuscany. The constant misspelling of *c* with *g* is striking, and must surely betray a variety of speech (but of scribe or author?: see above) in which the original voiceless stop was voiced both intervocalically and initially before *r*. That variety might well have belonged roughly to central/northern parts of the peninsula.

No more than suggestive is the spelling *fumice* for *pumice* of pumice at Y 9 (see Svennung 1941: 106). The form shows the influence of *fumare* presumably motivated by the volcanic nature of pumice.[158] There is a parallel to *fumice* in Sardinian dialects, where *pumica* for *pumex* had clearly taken on the form *fumiga* (cf. Logudorese *pèdra vúmiga*, Campidanese *pèrda vúmiga*).[159] Wagner also cites Sicilian *fúmicia*. Such forms do not seem to turn up outside Sicily and Sardinia in Romance. The misspelling in the present text cannot be directly related to northern Italy but in a loose sense has an Italianate feel.

11.2.6   Conclusions

The most telling item above is the loan-word (in Latinised form) *uuatum*, which has the appearance of one of those borrowings that did not move from their place of entry into the language. *Suuentium*, a late innovation of a form that could not have been predicted, takes on a greater significance in that it has the same regional restriction in Romance as the above loan-word. The periphrasis with *fio* has an Italian look to it. Several of the other items discussed are consistent with northern Italian composition but indecisive in themselves, but the evidence in this text is cumulative. One or two very distinctive terms (a rare loan-word, an unusual late innovation) may be sufficient to place a text, and it is certain that at least part of this compilation was composed in Italy and probably in the north.

11.3   The Latin translations of Oribasius

I now take up the group of late medical works, all of them translated from Greek. The discussion of these will occupy sections 11.3 to 11.6.

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[157] I follow the classification of Maiden (1995: 234–5).
[158] So Wagner (1960–4: I, 555).   [159] See Wagner (1960–4: I, 555).

11.3.1   Introduction

Oribasius was the doctor of the emperor Julian (361–3). He wrote in Greek, and substantial portions of his work are extant. There also survive two Latin versions (designated Aa and La from the sigla of the two most important manuscripts) of the *Synopsis* and *Euporista*. Aa is regarded as the older version.[160] The conventional view is that the versions represent two 'revisions of a single translation made probably between AD 450 and 600' (Langslow 2000: 72). Similarly Sabbah, Corsetti and Fischer (1987: 120) refer to 'deux versions latines anciennes', 'qui pourraient n'être que deux états diversement remaniés d'une seule et même traduction de la fin du Ve ou du début du VIe s.'. Mørland (1932: 194) believed that the two redactors were working at much the same time in the same place.[161] There is a critical edition of the two Latin versions of *Synopsis* I–II by Mørland (1940),[162] and a recent edition with commentary of book I of the Latin version Aa of the *Synopsis* by Messina (2003–4). For much of the work one has to rely on the old edition of Bussemaker and Daremberg (1873, 1876). Also worth mentioning here is the Latin translation, still unpublished, that goes under the name of the *Liber medicinalis* of Pseudo-Democritus.[163] The Greek original is lost. The *Liber medicinalis* (or, to be strictly accurate, its Greek forerunner) is a compilation deriving ultimately from the *Synopsis* of Oribasius. A full and systematic discussion of the Latin translations of Oribasius would have to take the *Liber* into account.

   The current opinion is that the translations of Oribasius (I will use the singular henceforth without considering the relationship between the versions, given the view that both reflect a single earlier translation) were done at Ravenna or nearby in the north of Italy either during or shortly after the period of Gothic rule.[164] It was observed by Mørland (1932: 191 with n. 3) that several times in additions to the translation there are references to recipes acquired from individuals at Ravenna, but that no other place is named in this way. Earlier much the same point had been made by Thomas (1909: 504 n. 2), citing one passage of this type. E. Löfstedt (1959: 49) went so far as to say that 'it is not the linguistic features principally, but the frequent references to Ravenna and northern Italy . . . that render it likely that the translators either belonged to or were in some way

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[160] See Mørland (1932: 22–7), and for a useful brief overview, Langslow (2000: 71–2).

[161] See also Mørland (1940: 16).

[162] For further details of editions of the Latin versions see Sabbah, Corsetti and Fischer (1987: 120–2); also Fischer (2000: 41–2).

[163] For a discussion of the work and the issues it raises see Fischer (1994).

[164] See Thomas (1909: 504 with n. 2), Mørland (1932: 187–94; conclusion at 194).

connected with a school of medicine at Ravenna'. The question must be faced whether this rather negative view is justified, or whether there may be as well linguistic evidence pointing to the north of Italy as the source of the translation. In his concluding chapter on the origin of the translations Mørland (1932: 189–90) listed six items which he thought pointed to northern Italian composition (uses of *suffrago*, *susinarius*, *remaccinare*, *sanguinentus*, *lacrimus*, *nascentia*), several of which had already been discussed by Thomas (1909). Each of these will be considered below, but it is worth stating at once that they amount to virtually nothing. Mørland's study has its merits, but it has contributed nothing to the question whether the provenance of the translation can be established on linguistic grounds. His presentation of the Romance evidence is not reliable. There is material of superior quality in Svennung (1932).[165] Svennung did not deal systematically with the Romance outcome of the words he listed, and it is possible to expand on some of his discussions and to adduce evidence to do with the provenance of the translation. Svennung was not concerned primarily with the origin of the work, but set out to illustrate its lexical characteristics in general. He offered no summary of items bearing on the place of composition. I concentrate here on innovatory usages which seem either from their Latin distribution or from their Romance reflexes to have had a special connection with Italy. The edition cited is always that of Bussemaker and Daremberg (1873, 1876). This work is not easy to use, and I have given page numbers from volumes V and VI as appropriate.

In the following pages several other late medical works, most of them translations of Greek originals, will also come up. They show stylistic affinities with the translation of Oribasius and have also been regularly attributed to Ravenna. As such they must be considered alongside the Oribasius translation as possible specimens of Latin originating in the same part of Italy. For clarity I introduce these texts briefly at the start.

Alexander of Tralles (in the Maeander valley in the border region between Lydia and Caria) was the author of a Greek work *Therapeutica* (see Puschmann 1878–9). He is dated loosely to the sixth century AD.[166] The Greek was translated into Latin (with additions and omissions) at some time in late antiquity. A consensus has emerged, though based on speculation not hard evidence, that the translation was done soon after the Greek original was published, and possibly at Ravenna.[167] There is no

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[165] Eitrem (1932) and Bulhart (1942) do not deal with the provenance of the text. For bibliography see Mazzini (1981: 438 n. 15).

[166] See Langslow (2006: 1–4).

[167] See MacKinney (1937: 218), Cavallo (1992: 99), and now Langslow (2006: 35–6).

critical edition of the Latin translation (of which the earliest manuscript dates from about 800), but Langslow (2006) has now produced a magisterial account of the manuscripts and textual transmission, and a critical edition of sample chapters.

The Latin version of Alexander contains supplements taken from the works of two otherwise lost Greek doctors, Philumenus and Philagrius. It is unclear whether the excerpts were rendered into Latin by the translator(s) of Alexander or taken over from a pre-existing Latin translation.[168] They have been linked with the 'Ravenna circle'.[169]

Rufus of Ephesus was a physician under Trajan. His work Περὶ τῶν κατ' ἄρθρα νοσημάτων is lost but survives in a Latin translation entitled *De podagra* (Mørland 1933a), possibly of the sixth century.[170] The translation has been attributed to Ravenna.[171]

A Latin commentary on Galen entitled *Commentarii in Galeni Ad Glauconem De medendi methodo* survives in the manuscript Milan, Bibl. Ambrosiana G. 108 inf.[172] It has been edited by Palmieri (1981), who attributes it to the 'medical school of Ravenna'. On the question whether the commentary was translated from a Greek original see Palmieri (1981: 226).

I mention finally two short treatises, the *De obseruantia ciborum*, a translation, which its editor Mazzini (1984: 33) ascribes to Ravenna,[173] of a ps.-Hippocratic work Περὶ διαίτης, and a partial translation of the ps.-Hippocratic Περὶ γυναικείων entitled *De conceptu*.[174] This translation Mazzini and Flammini (1983: 44) also believe to have originated at Ravenna.

11.3.2 Northern Italian and Italian elements in the translation of Oribasius

11.3.2.1 *aciale*

'Steel' is expressed once not by the usual term *aciarium* but by *aciale*, with change of suffix:[175] *Syn.* 3.137 La, p. 877.22 *lippidas stomomatus, id est ferrugine aciales lauato* ('wash the scales of the [hammered] steel, that is the particles of the steel'; I take it that the nominal phrase in the Latin represents *ferruginem acialis* [genitive]; cf. λεπίδος στομώματος πεπλυμένης).

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[168] See Langslow (2006: 25).   [169] See Mørland (1933b: 92, 93).
[170] See Sabbah, Corsetti and Fischer (1987: 139).
[171] See Palmieri (1981: 201). Mazzini (1981: 440) includes the work in his survey of Latin medical works from Italy.
[172] See Sabbah, Corsetti and Fischer (1987: 61).
[173] See Sabbah, Corsetti and Fischer (1987: 106).
[174] See Sabbah, Corsetti and Fischer (1987: 102).   [175] See Svennung (1932: 60).

Aciarium lives on in all the Romance languages apart from northern Italian dialects and Rumanian.[176] *Aciale*, on the other hand, which does not appear in the *TLL*, is extensively reflected in the north of Italy.[177] We are fortunate to have the treatment of the term by *LEI*, which cites, for example, Old Genoese *azale* (AD 1532), Old Piedmontese *acciale* and Old Venetan *açale*.[178] There are also reflexes in areas corresponding to the old Roman provinces of Raetia and Noricum (see *LEI* I.416: e.g. Engadine *atschal*, Friulan *azzâl*, Sopraselvano *itschal*: see map 6; Engadine is the variety of Swiss Romance spoken in the Engadine valley between St Moritz and the Austrian border, and usually divided into 'Puter' and 'Vallader'), which may have formed an economic and linguistic unity with northern Italy (see *LEI* I.416). The term had also spread into Franco-Provençal (e.g. Aoste *asyel*; for this place see map 5 [Aosta]).[179] Here is a very rare and late innovation with localised reflexes: its Romance connections are exclusively with the northern part of the peninsula and just beyond.

11.3.2.2   *Iouia*

Svennung (1932: 90) cites *Syn.* 9.61 add. Aa, p. 396 (*per tres Iouias*) for the use of *Iouia* = 'Thursday' (by ellipse of *dies*; *dies Iouia* would have been an alternative to *Iouis dies*). The Italian words for 'Thursday' are derivable from three sources, *Iouis dies*, *Iouis* and *Iouia*.[180] Bruppacher's (1948) map 6 shows the survival of *Iouia* today in the western and eastern extremes of northern Italy, but there is also evidence that earlier it was found as well in the central northern part.[181] The form is reflected also in Sardinia[182] and Engadine;[183] we have just seen another case of Rheto-Romance in agreement with northern Italian dialects. The usual Italian *giovedì* derives from *Iouis dies*. Battisti and Alessio (1950–7: III, 1814) say of *giovedì* that it is a 'forma diffusa nell'Italia appenninica contro "giòbia" settentr. e march.'; see too Battisti and Alessio (1950–7: III, 1811) on *giòbia* (< *Iouia*) as northern Italian (and Sardinian). *Iouis dies* also survives widely in Romance outside Italy (e.g. French *jeudi*, Spanish *jueves*: *REW* 4594). *Iouia* is marked with an asterisk by *REW* 4591.

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[176] See *FEW* XXIV.105 s.v. *aciarium*: 'Es lebt mit ausnahme des rum. und der obitalienischen mundarten, wo die neubildung ACIALE herrscht, in der ganzen Romania' (e.g. Italian *acciaio*, French *acier*, Spanish *acero*).

[177] See especially *LEI* I.408–16; cf. *FEW* XXIV.104 and the previous footnote.

[178] See too *FEW* XXIV.104 col. 2.   [179] See *FEW* XXIV.104, *LEI* I.415.

[180] See Bruppacher (1948: 140).

[181] For further details of the situation in Italian dialects see Bruppacher (1948: 140–5).

[182] See Wagner (1960–4: I, 710) s.v. *yóvia* for the Sardinian reflexes (which have not always been accepted: see Wagner).

[183] See *REW* 4591 s.v. **jovia*; also Bruppacher (1948: 55).

11.3.2.3 *uolatica*

Volatica turns up in a specialised sense, flagged by the translator, of a type of flour ('meal', according to Souter 1949: 449; Germ. 'Mehlstaub'):[184] *Syn.* 7.20 La, p. 153 *tenuem farinam triticeam, et maxime quae dicitur uolatica* ('fine wheat flour, and particularly that which is called *uolatica*'). The sense continues in northern Italy, as Old Milanese *voládega*, *orádega*, Bergamo *olática*, Friulan *voladie*, but is not cited from elsewhere.[185]

11.3.2.4 *castenea*

The Latin word for 'chestnut tree, chestnut' (a borrowing from Greek) is *castanea*. The Romance reflexes go back to three forms, *castanea* itself (e.g. Italian *castagna*; also in Rumanian, Logudorese and Ibero-Romance), and *castenea/*castinea* (both with short vowels in the second syllable).[186] **Castinea* lives on in Alatri and Velletri (i.e. in a small area in southern Latium), while *castenea* survives in more northern dialects of Italy and in Rheto-Romance (Old Emilian *castegna*, Friulan *chastine*, Lombard, Canavese (Piedmont) *kasteña*).[187] The spelling *castenea* noted by Svennung (1932: 71) at *Eup.* 4.70 La, p. 588 can thus be related to forms of the word reflected in northern Italian dialects; and the survival of the *i/e* variants in general is exclusively Italian. The spelling with *e* also occurs at a later date in one of the Lombard laws (*Edictus Rothari* 301),[188] on which see below, 11.7.

11.3.2.5 *pumica*

Svennung (1932: 114–15) discusses the form *pumica* for *pumex*, which occurs at *Syn.* 3.85 Aa, La, p. 868. Battisti and Alessio (1950–7: IV, 3010) s.v. *pómice* cite the northern Italian reflexes Old Venetian *pómega* (AD 1319), Venetian *piera pómega*,[189] and there are also survivals, seen above, 11.2.5, of the same word in Sardinia with the initial stop converted into a spirant (see Wagner 1960–4: I, 555 s.v. *fúmiga*). *REW* 6844 also cites

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[184] See Svennung (1932: 143), deriving this substantival use of the adjective from ellipse of *farina* (see n. 3, citing ps.-Theod. Prisc. p. 302.21 for the expression *farina uolatica*).

[185] See *FEW* XIV.609 for these and 609 n. 5 for reference to further northern Italian reflexes; also, more briefly, *REW* 9432.

[186] For details see *FEW* II.1.466.

[187] I am drawing here on *FEW* (see last footnote). See also Battisti and Alessio (1950–7: I, 798) s.v. *castégna*: 'dial.; variante sett. e laz., camp. di "castagna"; lat. tardo *castinea* (Oribasio)'. There are some inaccuracies here. The form given for the Latin Oribasius is incorrect, and no distinction is made between forms with *i* and those with *e*. Note too in this respect *REW* 1742.

[188] See B. Löfstedt (1961: 312–13), with a useful discussion of the Romance outcomes of the various terms.

[189] See also Basso and Durante (2000: 200) s.v. *pómega*.

another northern reflex, Trentino *pómega*. The word represents an innova-
tion and is not widespread. Svennung (1932: 114 n. 1) lists a few parallels
for the change of form, such as **radica* from *radix*;[190] earlier in the same
work (1932: 69) he had implied that *pumica* was originally adjectival (*petra
pumica*) and had been substantivised by the ellipse of *petra* (so *calcina* from
petra calcina).

11.3.2.6   *gufus*

The fish name *gobio*, *gobius*, *gubio* etc. had many forms, as we have seen
(V.3.5). One such, *gufus*, is found at *Syn.* 4.3 Aa, p. 7 (where La has
gubus).[191] The *f* is attributed by *FEW* IV.184 to the influence of the over-
lapping fish name *sofia*.[192] *FEW* cites northern Italian reflexes of *gufus*,
namely Treviso and Bologna *gofo*. Other forms showing the *f*, from south-
ern Gallo-Romance (*FEW* IV.183, Ib: Old Provençal *gofia*, Toulouse, Tarn
gofio, Languedoc *gòfi*), and the area of Burgundy and south therefrom (*FEW*
IV.183, IIb: Burgundy *gouiffon*, Nuits *gouéfon*, Mâcon *goiffon*, Lyons *goif-
fon*), are not precisely comparable because the endings of the etymon are
different (variously *-ius*, *-ia*, *-iol-ione*).[193] The *f*-forms are found in an area
embracing the north of Italy and southern and central France, but the vari-
ant found in the Oribasius translation matches exactly only the northern
Italian reflexes.

11.3.2.7   *susinarius*

Susinarius is attested only in the Latin Oribasius, in the sense 'plum tree'
(*Syn.* 9.24 Aa, p. 324).[194] Svennung (1932: 129) shows that tree names
in *-arius* deriving from ellipse of *arbor* are common in late Latin; *arbor*
is feminine in classical Latin but often masculine in late Latin, and its
Romance reflexes are mainly masculine. *Susinarius* itself is of no direct
Romance relevance,[195] but the unattested base-forms **susina* and **susinus*
survive only in Italian and Italian dialects, of the plum.[196] It is not unlikely
that the derivative was also an Italian usage. *Susinarius* is in Mørland's list
(for which see above, 11.3.1), but he does not seem to have discussed it.

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[190] See also Thomas (1909: 510) on *filica*, *iunica*, *pulica*, *salica*, *uitica*, *ulica*, and B. Löfstedt ([1963]
2000: 40) on *murica* for *murex*.

[191] See Svennung (1932: 84).

[192] Whereas at *REW* 3815 and 3816 the *f*-forms are described as unexplained.

[193] See *REW* 3815 (*gobio*), 3816 (*gobius*).   [194] See Svennung (1932: 129).

[195] Thomas (1909: 526 n. 1) claimed that a term *susinaro* was known in Italian dialects, citing a work
of 1640, but I have been unable to establish the truth of this claim.

[196] See André (1985a: 252), *REW* 8483, Battisti and Alessio (1950–7: V, 3683) s.v. *susina*. These
works do not present a coherent picture of the situation in Italian dialects. Note Battisti and
Alessio, 'Manca nei dialetti, tolto il veneto'.

It was, however, discussed by Thomas (1909: 526), who saw it as proof that the translator was Italian, since this name of the plum was not known elsewhere.[197]

11.3.2.8 *frixoria*

I next consider a term not confined in Latin to the Oribasius translation. Svennung (1932: 81) lists several examples of *frixoria* 'frying pan' from the work (e.g. *Syn.* 9.12–14 La, p. 299)[198] without going into much detail about its Romance survival or distribution in Latin. *FEW* III.814 observes that the word 'ist besonders in Italien heimisch', and lists reflexes from all over the peninsula (and not only the north): e.g. Old Italian *frexoria*, Venetan *fersora*,[199] Corsican *frissoja*, Abruzzo *ferzora*, *fessora*, Apulian *fresole*, Calabrian *frissura*;[200] also Friulan *frissorie* and Vegliote *forsaura* (cf. *REW* 3524). It is noted that there are mere traces in Gallo-Romance (Old French, Middle French *fressouoir* 'poêle à frire'). The word seems to have been established in Italy in the late period but scarcely outside. The *TLL* (VI.1.1343.51ff.) quotes just two examples of this feminine substantive, one from the Oribasius translation, the other from Venantius Fortunatus (*Carm.* 6.8.14 *(coquus) cui sua sordentem pinxerunt arma colorem, / frixuriae cocumae scafa patella tripes*, 'whose equipment – his frying pans, cooking vessels, bowl, dish and tripod – painted him with a dirty colour'), who, we saw (V.6.4 with cross references), had a habit of using local words. Venantius was born at Treviso in northern Italy in the first half of the sixth century and educated at Ravenna, and he later moved to Poitiers. At least three of the nouns that follow *frixuriae* in his list also survive in Italo-Romance, such as *cucuma*, which, as we have seen (above 11.1), is reflected in northern Italian dialects.[201] This is the sort of low-register list of everyday objects (like that seen earlier in the Ravenna papyri) likely to contain mundane current terms, some of which would inevitably belong specifically to the locality.

Another case of *frixoria* was noted by Svennung (1932: 81 n. 2), in the translation of Rufus of Ephesus *De podagra* (for which see 11.3.1): 36 *mediocriter autem desiccat lenticla in frixoria frixa* ('lentils fried in a pan have a moderately drying effect'). The attribution of this translation to

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[197] 'Cète particularité lexicografique nous permet d'afirmer qe le traducteur était Italien, ce nom de la prune étant absolumant inconu an dehors de l'Italie.'

[198] See also Arnaldi, Turriani and Smiraglia (1939–64): I, 231).

[199] See Basso and Durante (2000: 95) s.v. *farsora, farsura, fersura*.

[200] For the last see too Rohlfs (1977: 279).

[201] *Scafa* is something of a mystery. Niermeyer (1976: 943) has an entry under *scapio* for a word also given the forms *scappo, scapto* and *scaffa* and said to mean 'bowl'. Arnaldi, Turriani and Smiraglia (1939–64: III, 106) cite examples of *scappo* = 'vasis species', comparing German *Schaff*.

Ravenna seems to be based on no evidence, but (see 11.3.4.8) there are linguistic parallels between the translation of Oribasius and that of Rufus suggestive of a common background. There is also an instance of *frixoria* in the *Physica Plinii Bambergensis* (72.1), a text which its editor ascribes unequivocally to Italy (see also above, 11.2.4):[202] *mittis in frixoriam sape sextarii partem tertiam* ('put in a frying pan a third part of a *sextarius* of must'). I will say more about the *Physica* below (11.5); if it is Italian, it has little in common with the translations of Oribasius and Rufus. *Frixoria* can also be cited from the medieval Latin of Italy. There is an example in a tenth-century treatise on falcon medicine from Vercelli in northern Italy, a text the interest of which lies not least 'in dem schon italienisch gefärbten Vulgärlatein' (Bischoff 1984: 172; cf. 174): 18 line 62 *tolle lac caprinum et mitte in frixoria munda* ('take goat's milk and put it in a clean pan').[203]

The Romance evidence suggests that *frixoria* was not restricted in Italy to the north, but its Latin attestations are all late and found in texts with a northern Italian or at least Italian connection, either certain or plausible. It was seen in an earlier section (11.1) that in the Ravenna papyri, a corpus of texts written for the most part at Ravenna, there is the odd term surviving only in northern Italian dialects, as befits the known provenance of the corpus, but that more often than not terms with an Italian connection are reflected either in the north and other parts of the peninsula as well, or exclusively in parts of Italy other than the north. The conclusion suggested by such patterns is that one should not expect to find an exact match between the geographical distribution of a term in the Latin period and that of its reflexes in Romance. A term might, for example, have been in use in the Latin period in the north as well as in other parts of Italy, only to undergo shrinkage in the north by the Romance period. We cannot deduce from the present case and similar cases discussed above (11.1) that this or that text was necessarily written in the north of Italy, but such evidence may nevertheless point to Italy more generally, and enhance the significance of other items found in the same texts, such as terms used in the north in the Latin period and surviving only in the north in Romance.

11.3.2.9   *cocotia*

From *Eup.* 2.1, A XVII La, p. 432 Svennung (1932: 72) cites a 'rustic' expression *cocotia siluatica* which is equated with *brionia* and *alba uitis*, i.e. '(white) bryony': *qui et brionia uocatur et alba uitis latine dicitur, quam*

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[202] See Önnerfors (1975: 7, 9) on the origin of the work.
[203] For the text see Bischoff (1984: 175–9).

rustici cocotia siluatica ('which is also named "bryony" and in Latin is called "white vine", and by rustics "wild *cocotia*"').[204] Aa has *cocurbita silbatica*, and there is thus established an equivalence of *cocotia* (*cucutia*) and *cucurbita*. *Vitis alba* was certainly a Latin name for white bryony (*OLD* s.v. *uitis*, 2b).[205] Moreover *cucurbita* 'gourd' is otherwise attested of bryony,[206] which is a member of the gourd family. Obviously therefore an alternative word for 'gourd' might have been used of bryony. *Cucutia* is reported as surviving in Italy (Old Italian *chochosse*, Italian *zucca*, dialects of e.g. Piedmont, Abruzzo,[207] Agnone, Naples,[208] Sicily,[209] Calabria[210]) in the senses 'gourd' or (metaphorically) 'head', but outside Italy only in Nice (*cougoussa* 'courge, tête'),[211] and Nice is traditionally a meeting point of French and Italian. The expression cited by the translator (*cocotia siluatica*) is given a precise meaning ('(white) bryony'), but it is the adjectival element that confers the specialised sense, and *cucutia* itself does seem to have been a general term for 'gourd' of restricted geographical distribution. It provides a dialectal contrast with African *gelela* (see below, VIII.4.2.5).

11.3.2.10 *faecea*

Several times the translation has an alternative to *faex*, in the form *fecias* (accusative plural): *Eup.* 4.47 Aa, p. 563, 4.48 La, p. 565. This represents *faecea*[212] or *faecia*.[213] The form is reflected almost exclusively in Italy, mainly in southern dialects[214] but also (indirectly) in more central and northern areas (Umbria, Emilia), where it was conflated with *floces* (*fièccia*).[215] *REW* also cites a reflex of *faecea* from Rheto-Romance (Engadine), a region which, as we have seen, sometimes shares features with northern Italian dialects (see above on *aciale* and *Iouia*). The evidence of this item certainly suggests an Italian, if not a northern Italian, provenance for the translation, and if the Engadine reflex is to be trusted it is not unlikely that the form was also once current in the north of Italy.

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[204] This is not the only place in the translation where a 'rustic' usage is noted. Cf. *Eup*. 4.63 Aa, p. 580 *aemodiam dentium, quam nos rustice 'spauescere' dicimus dentes* (< *expauescere*). See Svennung (1932: 77 with n. 3).

[205] See also André (1985a: 273).   [206] See André (1985a: 80) s.v. *cucurbita*, 4.

[207] See Giammarco (1968–79: I, 592) s.v. *cocuzza*.   [208] See D'Ascoli (1993: 230) s.v. *cucózza*.

[209] See Piccitto (1977–2002: I, 806–7).   [210] See Rohlfs (1977: 212) s.v. *cucuzza*.

[211] For details see *FEW* II.2.1461, Battisti and Alessio (1950–7: V, 4122). See too André (1985a: 81), *REW* 2369 (but not corresponding to *FEW* in its presentation of the Gallo-Romance material). See also Cortelazzo and Zolli (1999: 1885) reporting an alternative derivation of the Italian word (< popular Latin *tūcca(m)*).

[212] See *REW* 3139.   [213] See Svennung (1932: 80).

[214] See Battisti and Alessio (1950–7: III, 1611) s.v. *fèccia* (from the fourteenth century), *REW* 3139.

[215] See Battisti and Alessio (1950–7: III, 1635), *REW* 3139.

11.3.2.11 *spacus*

Spacus (*-m?*) 'string' is cited by Svennung (1932: 123–4) from *Eup.* 4.73 Aa, p. 594.[216] It is of unknown origin.[217] Reflexes are given by *REW* 8113 only from Italian (*spago*) and Logudorese (*ispau*),[218] but the latter may not be independent of Italian.[219] Also of interest is the diminutive **spagulum*, which is recorded by *REW* 8112 as surviving only in Friulan (*spali*). *Spacus* is said by Svennung (1932: 123 with n. 5) to occur twice in the African writer Cassius Felix, which might seem to undermine the significance of the item for our purposes, but editors do not accept the reading in either passage.[220]

11.3.2.12 *cicinus*

The form *cicinus* (*cecinus*) 'swan' (cf. *cycnus*) is quoted twice by Svennung (1932: 72) from *Syn.* 4.17 Aa, La, p. 19. There are only three examples cited by *TLL* IV.1584.73f., from Oribasius, the Gallic text the Salic law (see *Pactus legis Salicae* 7.7) and the *Carmen contra paganos* 10 (*Anthologia Latina* 4), but the last is only a variant reading and editors print *cycnum*. There is also an example in a Lombard law, *Edictus Rothari* 317,[221] a northern Italian work (see below, 11.7). The form survives in Gallo-Romance (e.g. Old French *cisne*) and in Old Italian (*cecino*, *cecero*) and northern dialects (Venetian *siézano*, Verona *sézano*).[222] Those late Latin attestations which are certain would seem to anticipate the pattern of survival in Romance.

11.3.2.13 *ceruicalis*

Ceruicalis is used of the neck (= *ceruix*) at *Syn.* 4.11 La, p. 10 (*ceruicales animalium*; Aa has *collus*, and the Greek is τράχηλοι).[223] The *TLL* s.v. *ceruical*[224] does not note such a meaning; the word usually means 'cushion, pillow'. As for Romance reflexes, Old Provençal *cervigal* has an anatomical meaning, but not quite the same one (*FEW* II.1.613, s.v. *cervix*, giving the sense as 'crâne', i.e. 'skull'; so *REW* 1845). It seems to be only in the

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[216] Aa has *ligata spaco*, La *legas cum lino*.

[217] See Ernout and Meillet (1959: 638). Speculative etymologies are reported by Walde and Hofmann (1938–54: II, 565) and *FEW* XII.132.

[218] See also Battisti and Alessio (1950–7: V, 3575).

[219] See Wagner (1960–4: I, 675) s.v. *ispáu*, citing also Campidanese *spágu*.

[220] See Rose's edition (1879), 20 p. 30.22 (*spatha*), 51 p. 135.5 (*sparto*). The recent edition of Fraisse (2002) also has *spatha* (20.3) and *sparto* (51.13).

[221] See B. Löfstedt (1961: 313).   [222] See *FEW* II.2.1605, *REW* 2435.2.

[223] See Svennung (1932: 71). André (1991) does not note our example of *ceruicales*.

[224] I take it that the plural form *ceruicales* in the translation represents a conversion to the masculine of the neuter *ceruicalia*.

Neapolitan dialect that the word survived in the sense 'neck' (*cervëcalë*).[225]
It might have been more widespread in the Latin period in this meaning
in Italy; certainly the usage, considered with other evidence, is consistent
with an Italian origin of the text.

11.3.2.14   *coxa*

Coxa, originally designating the hip, underwent various semantic shifts in
later Latin.[226] It became the word for the whole leg in just one Romance
area, the dialect of Naples (*còssa*): see map 16.[227] This sense turns up in the
Oribasius translation, at *Syn.* 7.31 Aa, La, p. 172, where *totam coxam* renders
ὅλον τὸ σκέλος.[228] There is also an example with this meaning in a medical
fragment bearing the name of Philagrius (for whom see above, 11.3.1; also
below, 11.3.4.7, 11.3.5): p. 70 Puschmann (1887) *fricatio coxarum multa et
brachiorum* ('much rubbing of the legs and arms'). André (1991: 106) cites
a similar example from an Italian text, Gregory the Great *Dial.* 4.36 (*PL*
77, p. 385C) *per coxas deorsum, per brachia trahebatur sursum* ('he was being
dragged down by the legs and up by the arms'), where again the opposi-
tion to 'arm' seems to demand the meaning 'leg'. Sometimes in the Latin
translation of Alexander of Tralles *coxa* renders σκέλος,[229] but the signifi-
cance of the equation is difficult to determine, because σκέλος is variable
in meaning, sometimes denoting the whole leg, sometimes a part of it. At
Mulomedicina Chironis 490 (*subito coxam trahit*) *coxa* also comes close to
the sense 'leg'.[230] The *Mulomedicina* has Italianate elements (see above,
11.2.3 and below, XI.3.7.1).

We saw above (11.1; also further below, this section) that the diminu-
tive *caccabellus* was used in a text known to have been written at Ravenna,
whereas its reflexes in Romance are found in more southern Italian dialects,
and from that we must conclude (cf. the remarks above on *frixoria* and its
Romance survival) that geographical restrictions observable in the distri-
bution of lexemes in medieval and later Italian dialects did not necessarily

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[225] See Battisti and Alessio (1950–7: II, 874) (also *REW* 1845), noting that this form (like the Old
Provençal form above) belongs to a popular tradition, in contrast to *cervicale*, a learned borrowing.
See too D'Ascoli (1993: 176) s.v. *cervecale*, giving the meanings 'nuca, cervice, collottola', = 'nape
of the neck'. Other Italian dialects have metaphorical (non-anatomical) meanings.

[226] See André (1991: 105–6), Adams (1995b: 396–400).

[227] See Rohlfs (1954a: 20) with map 7; also D'Ascoli (1993: 219) s.v., giving the meanings 'coscia,
gamba'.

[228] See Svennung (1932: 72–3); also Mørland (1932: 101–2).

[229] I owe this information to David Langslow, who refers to Alex. Trall. 1.60 = p. 531.8 Puschmann
(1878–9), and 1.63 = p. 541.8 Puschmann.

[230] See Adams (1995b: 400).

obtain in the Latin period four or five hundred years earlier. Thus the survival of *coxa* 'leg' in Neapolitan does not establish that the present text was written in southern Italy. Latin distributions on the one hand and Romance on the other might seem to be giving a somewhat confused picture, but the evidence continues to mount that the translation was done somewhere in the peninsula. I will return to the interpretation of the evidence at the end of this section.

11.3.2.15 *niuata*

Niuata, a substantivised adjective which would originally have accompanied *aqua*, = 'snow water', i.e. water chilled with snow or melted from snow,[231] is used (in the form *neuata*) at *Syn.* 9.10 La, p. 288 in the sense 'snow' (Aa, p. 289 *niue*).[232] Another example at *Eup.* 4.1, p. 527 is not easy to interpret. *Nevata* is attested in the sixteenth century in Tuscany in the same sense.[233]

11.3.2.16 *paparus*

An additional chapter at *Syn.* 9 add. La, p. 400 has some bird names: *de uolatilibus gallinas pullos . . . pippiones paparus fasianus*. The translation 'young goose' which is regularly assigned to *paparus*[234] derives from the sense of Italian dialect reflexes rather than from the context.[235] See Battisti and Alessio (1950–7: IV, 2756) s.v. *pàpero*, mentioning the instance in the Oribasius translation:[236] 'la v. è usato specialm. a Pisa, e in tutta l'Italia meridionale dove sostituisce il lat. tardo *auca*'.[237] Ernout and Meillet (1959) regard the name as unexplained, and *REW* 6214 places it under the verb *pappare*, but it is onomatopoeic.[238] Pisa is in Tuscany; here is another of those terms surviving in northern-central and southern parts rather than the strict north, but there is a definite Italian connection. The rarity of the word in Latin satisfies one of our criteria for identifying regionally significant terms. The only certain example pre-dating medieval Latin is that cited above (see the *TLL* article).

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231 See Svennung (1932: 100 n. 2).
232 See Svennung (1932: 100). La has *adponis stomacho uissica aqua frigida plena aut de neuata*, Aa *ponis* [misspelt] *. . . super stomacum uissicam plenam aqua frigida aut niue*.
233 See Battisti and Alessio (1950–7: IV, 2580), noting that the term is 'già nella traduzione di Oribasio'.
234 See Walde and Hofmann (1938–54: II, 249), Souter (1949: 284), Ernout and Meillet (1959: 480).
235 See the remarks of André (1967: 118).
236 First attested in 1293 according to Cortelazzo and Zolli (1999: 1127).
237 See Malagòli (1939: 261) s.v. *òa*, observing 'l'oca domestica qui si chiamo *pàpero*'.
238 See André (1967: 118), *TLL* X.1.249.32.

11.3.2.17 *pip(p)io*

One of the other bird names in the above list also has a loose association with Italy (*pippiones*), but it is not decisive for identifying the source of the text. *Pipio* (usually with one intervocalic *p* in Latin), another onomatopoeic formation,[239] indicates the young of a bird, particularly a pigeon. The form with intervocalic *p* or *pp* lived on in Italy (Old Italian *pippione*, from 1334 according to Battisti and Alessio 1950–7: IV, 2940; also some dialects, as Corsican *piuppione*).[240] The spelling with gemination in the translation seems to be a forerunner of such Italian forms. On the other hand an alternative form **piuio* (or **pibio*?)[241] is reflected in Gallo-Romance (e.g. Old French *pijon*)[242] and also northern Italian dialects.[243] The *TLL* article quotes examples of *pipio* from just three late texts apart from the translation of Oribasius. Anthimus (see p. 15.4) had connections with northern Italy (V.5.1). For the Latin translation of Alexander of Tralles see above, 11.3.1 (and also below, 11.3.4.1, 11.3.4.8 on its relationship to the translation of Oribasius). We do not know the origin of the *Historia Augusta*. To this material can be added an example from the translation of parts of Philumenus (see 11.3.1): p. 44 Puschmann (1887) *interdum columbae et maxime pipiones* ('sometimes pigeons [should be given], particularly young ones').

11.3.2.18 *machino*

Muccinatum, a misspelling of *machinatum*, occurs in the translation of Rufus *De podagra* in the sense 'milled': 35 *et orobu id est heruum muccinatum et tricoscinatum* ('and *orobos*, that is *eruum* "cultivated vetch", ground and sieved').[244] The same sense is noted in the Oribasius translation by Svennung (1932: 94–5): *Syn.* 4.35 Aa p. 38 *alfida . . . macinata* (La *antequam macenetur*).[245] The usage is dealt with at *TLL* VIII.18.11ff., where apart from the examples just cited the only comparable case (given the meaning 'molam machinariam versare' rather than 'molere') is from the *Itinerarium Antonini Placentini* rec. A 34: *asellum qui illis macinabat* ('the donkey, which was turning the mill for them'). The later, more correct,

[239] See André (1967: 130), *TLL* X.1.2189.67f. [240] For details see *FEW* VIII.557.
[241] The form with intervocalic *b* is usually reconstructed in the scholarly literature, as *REW* 6522a.2, Battisti and Alessio (1950–7: IV, 2940). But see *FEW* VIII.557 with 558 n. 9. André (1967: 130) however expresses scepticism about *piuio*.
[242] See *FEW* VIII.556. [243] See Battisti and Alessio (1950–7: IV, 2940), *FEW* VIII.558.
[244] This is the text transmitted and printed by Mørland (1933a). For the necessity of changing *muccinatum* to *maccinatum* see Svennung (1932: 95 n. 1).
[245] Earlier see Thomas (1909: 521–2).

version (rec. alt.) has rewritten the passage in such a way as to suggest that the redactor did not recognise the specialised usage: 34 *asellum qui eis cibaria deportabat* ('the donkey, which was transporting food supplies for them'). This use of the verb (= 'mill') in Romance survived in Italy and associated places (Veglia, Switzerland, Sardinia)[246] and also Rumanian.[247]

From classical Latin onwards the noun *machina* had sometimes been used of a mill (e.g. Apul. *Met.* 9.11 with *TLL* VIII.13.7ff.). Based on this was the adjective *machinarius*, which several times in the Digest is applied to *asinus*, of a donkey which turns a mill (*TLL* VIII.15.33f.), and is used occasionally in phrases of the mill itself (Apul. *Met.* 7.15 *molae machinariae*: *TLL* VIII.15.30ff.). From *machina* 'mill' there must have developed a usage *machina* 'millstone', as this meaning is found in Romance (Italian *macina*) (but not, it seems, in Latin of the period covered by the *TLL*).[248] Battisti and Alessio (1950–7: III, 2300) say of the reflexes of *machina* in the sense 'millstone': 'v. d'area italiana (nel Sud predomina *mola*) e vegliota (*mukna*)'.[249]

There is a little to go on here. It is of interest that the Oribasius translation and that of Rufus share the rare use of the verb (for which pattern see above, 11.3.2.8, and below, 11.3.4.8), which certainly has a connection with Italy, as does *machina* 'millstone', but the latter does not occur in the text. The question arises whether the earlier version of the *Itinerarium Antonini Placentini* was of Italian origin (see 11.8).

I also mention here *remaccinare*, another term which appears in Mørland's list of significant items (see above, 11.3.1).[250] However, the interpretation of the verb in the context is problematic.[251] If we were certain that it was intended to mean 'mill again' (the Greek is quite different), it would add nothing to the evidence of *machinare* itself, because such a compound does not seem to survive anywhere.

11.3.2.19   *caccabellus*

Caccabellus (*Syn.* 3.211 La, p. 891) was noted above (11.1) in a text from Ravenna and as surviving in (southern) Italian dialects.

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[246] For Sardinia see Wagner (1960–4: II, 54) s.v. *maginare*, stating 'log. sett. "macinare il grano"', but adding '= MACHINARE (*REW* 5206), ma in parte influenzato dalla voce italiana'.
[247] See Battisti and Alessio (1950–7: III, 2300–1) s.v. *macinare*, 'di area it., rum., vegl., logud. e grigione'. See also Thomas (1909: 521–2), *REW* 5206.
[248] Niermeyer (1976: 624) mentions *machinella* = 'millstone' without giving references.
[249] Cf. *REW* 5205.   [250] Following Thomas (1909: 521–2).
[251] See Svennung (1932: 116–17).

11.3.2.20 A metalinguistic comment

Finally, at *Syn.* 7.20 Aa, p. 153 there is a comment on one of the words for 'woad' (*isatis*), equating it with a Gothic term *uuisdil* which must be related to the term *uuatum* seen above (11.2.1) in the *Compositiones Lucenses*: *isates autem herba, quam tinctores herba uitrum uocant et Goti uuisdil dicunt* ('the plant *isatis* which dyers call *uitrum* and the Goths *uuisdil*').[252] Similarly Anthimus, who moved to live under the Ostrogoths in northern Italy at roughly the time when the Oribasius translation was done, in one passage ascribes a usage to the 'Goths': p. 24.1–2 *quod nos Graeci dicimus alfita, Latine uero polenta, Gothi uero barbarice fenea* ('[barley-meal], which we Greeks call *alfita* and in Latin is called *polenta* and the Goths in their barbarian language call *fenea*').[253] This item is strongly suggestive of northern Italian composition.

11.3.3 Conclusions

Nineteen words have been discussed in the previous section (I omit the metalinguistic comment), the significance of which will be analysed below. They have not been specially chosen by subterfuge to support a case that might have been undermined by a different selection. I have examined the Romance distribution of all the terms listed in Svennung's monograph (1932), and from that examination there has emerged a substantial set of items suggestive of Italian authorship. No comparable set suggesting an origin for the translation in some other region of the Romance world was found. In addition to usages surviving only or mainly in (parts of) Italy, I found numerous others surviving in Italy (including northern dialects) but in other areas as well.[254] These would provide no basis for arguing that the translation was done in Italy, but are consistent with Italian composition (cf. the discussion above, 11.1, of the list in *Rav. pap.* 8). Terms restricted in their survival to parts of the Romance world other than Italy are very difficult to find in the translation.[255]

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[252] See Svennung (1941: 17 with n. 40).   [253] See Flobert (1999: 27) on *fenea*.

[254] Into this category fall *calcina* (*REW* 1501, Svennung 1932: 69), *carpia* (*REW* 1712, Svennung 70), *galla* (*REW* 3655, Svennung 82), *grunium* (*REW* 3894, Svennung 83), *leuiare* (*REW* 5002, Svennung 92), *minimare* (*FEW* VI.2.114, Svennung 98), *muccare* (*REW* 5706, Svennung 99–100), *nucaria* (*REW* 5978, Svennung 102), *pensum* (*REW* 6394, Svennung 106), *salimuria* (*REW* 7545, Svennung 118), *suppa* (*REW* 8464, Svennung 128), *tinea* (*REW* 8746, Svennung 131), *tritare* (*REW* 8922, Svennung 134), *turbulare* (*FEW* XIII.426, Svennung 134), *uirga* 'penis' (*REW* 9361, Svennung 142), *zinzala* (*REW* 9623, Svennung 145).

[255] I note in passing that a word cited by Svennung (1932: 96) as supposedly used in the translation of Oribasius and then surviving in Ibero-Romance, *massare*, must be eliminated from the argument. On the false reading at Oribas. *Eup.* 4.21 La (the passage cited by Svennung) see *TLL* VIII.428.77 (read *assare*).

All nineteen usages are innovations of the late period, either in that they are coinages or new formations (e.g. *aciale*, *faecea*, *pumica*, *cocotia*, *paparus*, *susinarius*), or in that they display semantic changes (*uolatica*, *Iouia*, *ceruicalis* and *niuata* are all old adjectives[256] used in new substantival meanings; *coxa* and *machino* are old words with new meanings). All are very rare in Latin. I have been able to illustrate only seven of them from texts other than the Oribasius translation (*uolatica*, *frixoria*, *cicinus*, *coxa*, *pipio*, *machino* and *caccabellus*), and the attestations of four, possibly five, of these seven are in texts themselves with an Italian connection (*frixoria*, *coxa*, *pipio*, *caccabellus*; also *machino*, if one allows that Rufus *De podagra* was translated in Italy). Almost every word has a synonym or synonyms, usually much better attested than itself, and it is legitimate to describe those words with a restricted geographical distribution as 'dialect' words.

Eighteen of the nineteen words survive in Romance mainly or only in parts of Italy. The exception is *susinarius*, which does not itself live on but is based on a term that is exclusively Italian; it too can be treated as 'Italian'. Those terms (or usages) reflected only in Italy (including those northern parts falling into the area of Rheto-Romance) are: *uolatica*, *castenea*, *susina(rius)* (see above), *spacus*, *pumica* (it has Sardinian reflexes, but these can be loosely classified as belonging to Italo-Romance), *gufus*, *ceruicalis*, *coxa*, *niuata*, *paparus*, *pipio*, *caccabellus* (twelve items). Three others (*aciale*, *Iouia*, *faecea*) are reflected as well in areas of Rheto-Romance strictly lying outside Italy, but this branch is located immediately to the north of Italy and overlaps with Italo-Romance (see above on *aciale*). Thus fifteen of the nineteen usages are (loosely speaking) Italian only, if one attaches Raetia to Italy. Two other terms (*frixoria*, *cocotia*) leave insignificant traces in Gallo-Romance (*cocotia* in Nice only) but are widespread in Italy. There remain only *cicinus*, and *machino* 'mill', which has a reflex in Rumanian as well as in the regions that typify the survival of the other terms discussed here. Of the fifteen usages just classified as 'Italian', six are particular to northern dialects (*aciale*, *Iouia*, *uolatica*, *castenea*, *pumica* [but Sardinia as well], *gufus*). *Frixoria*, *cicinus* and *cocotia* are well represented in northern dialects as well as other parts of Italy. Of the four/five usages listed in the previous paragraph as attested in other Latin texts with an Italian connection, *frixoria*, *pipio* and *caccabellus* all turn up in works written in the north of Italy or composed by northern Italians, and the same may be true of *machino*. Several other usages survive in central dialects (and in some cases the south

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[256] Though *ceruicalis* is difficult to classify.

as well) (*niuata*, *paparus*). Finally, the uses of *ceruicalis*, *coxa* and *caccabellus* discussed above lived on in the south.

The evidence suggests that the translation was done in Italy and that northern Italy is a more likely provenance than any region further south. Not only is there a solid core of items surviving only in northern dialects, but there is also a group of terms found in Latin only in the Oribasius translation and in texts with a northern Italian connection. The observation about the Gothic term *uuisdil*, not to mention the references to Ravenna, must have been made by someone familiar with the Ostrogoths and with the north. The few items associated only with the south need show only that dialect features that were to emerge by the medieval period were not necessarily established by the Latin period. Almost every innovation (*castenea* and *gufus* are exceptions) is more substantial than a mere spelling change of the type that might have been perpetrated by a scribe. I conclude that Löfstedt as quoted above (11.3.1) was too sceptical about the quality of the linguistic evidence pointing to northern composition. It has to be said, however, that there are no linguistic grounds for attributing the translation specifically to Ravenna. In the present state of the evidence too much is made of a 'Ravenna school', but that is not to say that certain late medical translations did not have a common geographical origin. We will see below further signs of interconnections among various translations.

11.3.4 *Miscellaneous*

In this section I consider some miscellaneous items, several of which have turned up in discussions of the origin of the translation without justification. One or two have a certain interest but are not decisive.

11.3.4.1 *tricoscino, tricoscinum*

Svennung (1932: 133) discusses a verb *tricoscinare* = 'sieve' (ordinary Latin *cribrare*) unnoticed in the lexica[257] but common in the Oribasius translation (e.g. *Syn* 1.17 Aa, p. 818 *tritus et tricoscinatus*, La *teris . . . et tricoscinas* = κόψας καὶ σήσας). The associated noun *tricoscinum* also occurs in the work.[258] The origin of these terms was explained decisively by Niedermann (1909: 1092) and later independently by both Eitrem (1932: 76) and Svennung (1932: 133) at the same time.[259] *Tricoscinum* represents a compound *τριχο- + κόσκινον, with haplology (*tricocoscinum > tricoscinum*). The

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[257] Souter, who drew on Svennung, has an entry for *tricoscino* (1949: 429). The verb and its associated noun (see below) had earlier been discussed by Thomas (1909: 526–7), but without an explanation of the form.
[258] See Svennung (1932: 133).   [259] See also Walde and Hofmann (1938–54: II, 705).

term seems to be unattested in Greek. The meaning is 'hair-sieve'. As a parallel Svennung cites *saetacium* (see *CGL* V.59.24, where *saetacium* glosses *cribrum*), which is widely represented in the Romance languages with this sense (*REW* 7499; < *saeta*).[260]

Although neither the noun *tricoscinum* nor a corresponding compound verb occurs in Greek, κόσκινον 'sieve' does have Italian connections. The noun (cf. the verbal derivative κοσκινεύω) is found in Attic but must also have been in use in Magna Graecia, as it found its way into southern Italian Greek dialects (Bova *kòšino* 'crivello', Otranto (same form) 'crivello, setaccio').[261] The Latinised form **coscinum* must have entered local Latin, as it lived on in southern Italian dialects. Rohlfs (1964: 261) cites e.g. Lucanian *kòšinə* 'cerchio del crivello', Foggia *kòšənə*, Abruzzo (same form) and Campanian dialect *kòšəna*, 'recipiente in forma di crivello per il trasporto delle frutta', Abruzzo *kuóšənə* 'specie di canestro', Abruzzo *kùšənə* 'fiscella per la ricotta'. Note too Giammarco (1968–79: I, 606) s.v. *còscənə*, citing the form from the Abruzzo with the following definition: 'panièra formata da un cerchio di legno, sopra un fondo di sottili asserelle; il tutto fermato con nodi . . . fatti con nastro di legno' (cf. *REW* 2276).

Tricoscinare also occurs in the Latin version of Rufus *De podagra*: 35 *et orobu id est heruum muccinatum et tricoscinatum* (see above, 11.3.2.18). There are examples too of both the noun and the verb in the Latin translation of Alexander of Tralles (usually in the forms *tricocinum* and *tricocinare*).[262] Wherever this translation was done (see 11.3.1), it has linguistic similarities to both the translation of Oribasius and that of Rufus. For the verb see 1.6 extr., 1.70, 2.75 extr., 2.85, 2.252, 2.270, and for the noun 1.104 (*subtili tricocino cerne*; here abnormally the Greek [II.57.19–20 Puschmann 1878–9] has κόσκινον, whereas usually there is no such partial connection between the versions), 1.131, 1.135, 2.167, 2.183, 2.260, 2.269. The verb also occurs in a gloss (*CGL* III.606.20 *tricocinare sadaciare*; the second term represents *saetaciare*: see above).

Coscinum is thus associated with the south of Italy, but the compound noun and verb with prefix *trico-* seem to be unknown in Greek and found in just a small group of Latin translations. *Tricoscin-* was not determined by the Greek original and had therefore established itself in a variety or varieties of

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Latin. It would not be acceptable, given the absence of information about the source of the Greek compound, to use its presence in a text to argue for a southern Italian origin of that text (see further below, 11.6). It is, however, certain that the base-form *coscinum* had reached Italy, and that it turns up in no other branch of Romance.

11.3.4.2 *nascentia*

Nascentia is cited from *Syn.* 3.17, p. 854 by Svennung (1932: 100) in the sense 'Geschwür' ('ulcer, abscess, excrescence').[263] *REW* 5831 mentions only Old Italian *nascenza* (but in square brackets, as a learned borrowing). Battisti and Alessio (1950–7: IV, 2548) record *nascènza* from the fourteenth century, adding: 'escrenza (in questo senso usato nel calabr. e sic.)'. For *nascenza* (= 'tumore') in Calabria and Sicily see Rohlfs (1977: 451), Piccitto (1977–2002: III, 16). Despite these southern usages, Mørland (1932: 98) asserted not merely that *nascentia* survived only in Italy but that it was northern, and he included it in his list of items suggesting northern Italian composition (1932: 190). The significance of the Romance evidence is in any case open to doubt (learned borrowings or reflexes?), and this item should be disregarded.

11.3.4.3 *lacrimus*

Mørland (1932: 80) states that the masculine *lacrimus* is reflected in the dialect of Erto in the south Tyrol (*lagremo*: *REW* 4824). The presence of the masculine in the Oribasius translations (meaning 'white of an egg': see Svennung 1932: 91)[264] cannot be taken (with Mørland 1932: 190) as evidence for northern Italian authorship, first because the word survives in Gascony (and with the meaning 'white of an egg') in the masculine as well as the feminine,[265] and second because in manuscripts the masculine form in metaphorical uses of the word is found in texts of diverse origins, Gallic and African as well as Italian: see Flury, *TLL* VII.2.836.34ff. 'usu latiore sub II B.C descripto formae decl. secundae in schedis occurrunt apud MARCELL. med. . . . DIOSC. passim . . ., ?CAEL. AUREL. . . . ORIBAS.' The meaning exemplified at II B (838.83ff.) is defined as follows: 'gutta ex foliis, truncis, radicibus necnon fructibus plantarum stillans'. That at II C (839.58ff.) is defined as 'gutta ovi fere i.q. albumen'.

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[263] See also Mørland (1932: 98).   [264] See also Hedfors (1932: 151).
[265] See *FEW* V.121 with the examples at 2c on the same page. Both Svennung and Hedfors (see above) were aware of the Gascon reflex.

11.3.4.4   *sanguinentus*

Sanguinentus, a form said by Svennung (1932: 118) to show a contamination of *sanguilentus* and *sanguinulentus*, occurs several times.[266] Svennung's explanation is not necessarily right.[267] There is some evidence for a new suffix *-entus* arising from false analysis of forms such as *farinulentus*; this might have been interpreted as composed of *farinula + -entus* rather than *farina + -ulentus*. Thus we find *cinerentus* (*Vitae Patrum* 5.29 p. 960A) alongside *cinerulentus*. The new word *sanguinentus* (found, it seems, only in the Oribasius translation) is reflected in Italy in central and northern areas (Old Florentine *sanguinente*, Old Luccan same form, Treviso *sanguanent*).[268] Svennung mentions Old Italian *sanguinente* (citing *REW* 7570) and leaves it at that, thereby creating the impression that the item is of significance for determining the origin of the translation. Mørland (1932: 126–7, 189–90) explicitly treated the form as evidence for an Italian provenance. At 127 he misrepresented the Romance evidence, stating: 'Nur in Italien hat diese Form weitergelebt.' But *sanguinentus* is more widespread. It turns up in Catalan (*sagnent* and other forms),[269] Spanish (*sangriento*) and Portuguese (*sanguento*).[270] This case then is different from some of those seen above. *Sanguinentus* may have been in use over a wide area and then have suffered shrinkage. Its presence in the translation establishes nothing about the place of composition but is not inconsistent with Italian authorship.

11.3.4.5   *suffrago*

Mørland (1932: 102) cites examples of *suffrago* transferred from the leg of an animal ('hock', also 'inward curving back of the pastern')[271] to the bend of the knee of a human.[272] The usage is said to survive in Friulan and thus to be 'not without significance for the localisation of the translation' (so Mørland). It is true that the word is applied to humans also by the translator of Rufus *De podagra* (30),[273] but André (1991: 110) cites examples of this application from a number of later writers of different origins (e.g. Arnobius, Ammianus), and the usage may have been widespread. Moreover Mørland has not presented the Romance evidence satisfactorily.

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[266] Examples in Svennung and at Mørland (1932: 126).
[267] See the remarks at *FEW* XI.155 n. 8.   [268] See *FEW* XI.155.
[269] See Coromines (1980–2001: VII, 655–6).
[270] See Corominas and Pascual (1980–1991: V, 151) on *sangriento*: 'dal lat. vg. SANGUINENTUS . . ., de donde el cat. *sangonent*, port. *sanguento*'.
[271] See Corsetti (1982: 242–5), André (1991: 110), Adams (1995b: 408).
[272] See also Svennung (1932: 127).   [273] Cited by Svennung (1932: 127 n. 3).

REW 8433a, which he refers to, cites a reflex from the dialect of Tortosa (Catalonia) (*sofragi*).[274] Despite this Mørland (1932: 189–90) includes *suffrago* 'Kniekehle' in a list of usages surviving only in Italy (or south Tyrol and Friuli: see 1932: 189 n. 2).[275] E. Löfstedt (1959: 49) was aware of Mørland's error (see below, 11.3.4.8).

11.3.4.6 A morphological oddity

Svennung (1941: 122) draws attention to a morphological correspondence between the *Compositiones Lucenses* and the Oribasius translation. In various neuter-plural adjective–noun combinations belonging to the third declension the noun retains its classical neuter form but the adjective is in the masculine/feminine form, a phenomenon which suggests that the neuter form lingered on longer in nouns than adjectives.[276] In Oribasius there are such phrases as *folia molles* and *stercora omnes*,[277] in the *Comp. Luc. metalla debiles*, *petala subtiles*, *subtiles uitria*.[278] Such discordant phrases are by no means common in other texts (see below),[279] and the shared feature is consistent with a common origin of the two translations, as for example in a school or group of translators. However, since no one seems to have undertaken a systematic search for parallels, this evidence on its own carries no weight. The same phenomenon is found in the *Physica Plinii Bambergensis*, which, as we have seen (11.3.2.8), its editor assigns to Italy (but see below, 11.5): 17.22 *omnes uitia oculorum*; also probably 17.1 *omne uitia*.

11.3.4.7 uomica

I next consider a usage which has possible Italian connections, though not as established by direct Romance evidence. *Vomica* originally referred to a gathering of pus, boil, abscess or the like (see *OLD*), but in late medical texts it turns up with a new meaning, as an equivalent of the phonetically similar *uomitus*. The semantic change belongs to a familiar type: a word may take on the meaning of another word of similar form. The confusion can often be classified as malapropism, though there may be special factors operating in some cases, as when the two similar words have some sort of

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[274] See Coromines (1980–2001: VII, 1005) s.v. *sofraja* 'la part posterior de la cama oposada al genoll'. Coromines (1006) cites the Spanish writer Isidore, who at 11.1.107 uses *suffrago* in a way which suggests that he was thinking of the human body, as there is a contrast between the lower limbs and the arms: *suffragines, quia subtus franguntur, id est flectuntur, non supra, sicut in brachiis* ('*suffragines* [are so called] because they are "broken" below, that is bend, not above, as is the case in the arms').

[275] See also Mørland (1933a: 39) s.v. *suffrago*, 'scheint nur im Friaulischen weiterzuleben'.

[276] So Svennung (1941: 122). See also Gamillscheg (1947: 793).

[277] See also Mørland (1932: 71–2, 190). [278] See Svennung (1941: 122).

[279] See the brief remarks of Mørland (1932: 190).

semantic connection in the first place.[280] Malapropisms are committed all the time, and often harden into established usage. The phenomenon has often been noted in Latin (see above V.4.1 on the confusion of *limitaris* and *liminaris*), though the term 'malapropism' has not as far as I am aware been applied to it by anyone else.[281] Typical cases are the use of *uoluptas* for *uoluntas*, *dolor* for *dolus* and *mendum* for *mendacium*.[282]

Vomica = uomitus does not seem (on the information available: see below) to have been in use in late medical texts in general, but turns up in translations that have been associated by scholars with a single region. The African medical writers Theodorus Priscianus, Caelius Aurelianus and Soranus Latinus (Mustio) do not have it,[283] but it is frequent in works attributed to Italy. *Vomitus* on the other hand is very common in Caelius Aurelianus.[284] I stress that I am not concerned here with the old use of *uomica* = 'abscess'. This continues to be found, not least in African texts (e.g. Caelius Aurelianus: see n. 283).[285] It is as well not to be dogmatic about the distribution of *uomica = uomitus*, as there are numerous late medical translations as yet unpublished which have the usage,[286] and we do not have information about the geographical origin of these works, though Italy is an obvious candidate in at least some cases. The observations made in this section are provisional.

Vomica = uomitus is found often in the Oribasius translation.[287] Mørland cites it also from the Latin translation of Alexander of Tralles, and from the translation of Rufus *De podagra* (e.g. 20 *per uomica purgat . . . per uomica purgatio utilior est*, 'it purges by vomiting . . . purging by vomiting is more beneficial', 22 *uomicam prouocabis*). E. Löfstedt (1936: 100) notes an example in Philagrius (p. 92 Puschmann 1887 *per uomicam facienda est purgatio*, 'purging is to be carried out by vomiting'). Note too the commentary on Galen (another supposed Ravenna text: see 11.3.1) published by Palmieri (1981), p. 280.13: *iste enim per uomicam purgat. oportet ergo nos iuso euacuare per uentrem; dicimus enim quia multi sunt qui non*

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[280] See Norberg (1981: 85).   [281] See Adams (1995b: 633–5).

[282] See Adams (1976: 25) with bibliography. There are large collections of material in E. Löfstedt (1936: 93–104) and Norberg (1981). See also E. Löfstedt (1959: 156–61).

[283] An examination of the examples of *uomica* in Caelius Aurelianus collected by Bendz and Pape (1990–3: II, 1213–14) shows that none is equivalent to *uomitus*.

[284] See Bendz and Pape (1990–3: II, 1214).

[285] For a use of *uomica* in veterinary Latin, apparently indicating an abscess in the lung causing a cough and purulent discharge, see Adams (1995b: 634). For what appears to be the same usage in medical Latin see Cael. Aurel. *Chron.* 5.96, 5.97.

[286] I have been supplied by K.-D. Fischer with a considerable list of examples from such works, a few of which will be cited below.

[287] See Mørland (1932: 100–1), Svennung (1932: 144, 1935: 285, 561 with n. 1).

possunt uomere ('he purges by vomiting. But[288] we ought to purge ourselves downwards through the gut, for we say that there are many who cannot vomit'). *Vomica* here is picked up by *uomere*. Likewise in the translation of Oribasius *uomere* is the verb that corresponds to *uomica* (see Mørland 1932: 100), as too in the translation of Rufus *De podagra* (see 21 for *uomo*, twice), a fact which shows that *uomica* was chronologically prior to the verb *uomicare* (on which see further below). In the *De obseruantia ciborum* (for which see 11.3.1) note lines 417, 469 *uomicas restringit*, 594 *uomicam prouocabis*, 764 *cum per uomicam uenter fuerit uacuatus* ('when the gut has been emptied by vomiting'). There are similarities of phraseology to be seen in these several works. *Vomicam prouocabis* occurs both in the *De podagra* and the *De obseruantia ciborum*; the same phrase is also found in the unpublished *Liber passionalis* (3.3, 4, 16, 18.11) and *Galeni ad Glauconem* I (36).[289] *Per uomica(m) purgat* is in the *De podagra* and the commentary on Galen. *Per uomicam purgatio* is in the *De podagra* and Philagrius. *Per uomicam* recurs. The instance in the *De obseruantia ciborum* linked with the verb *fuerit uacuatus* (see above) resembles Orib. *Syn.* 8.18 La, p. 228 (quoted by Svennung 1935: 285) *sanat uentris euacuatio quam celeriter per uomica facta* ('evacuation of the gut effected as quickly as possible by vomiting cures [the condition]'). It is not unlikely that such phraseology comes out of a single school or circle of translators. If it is accepted that the linguistic and other arguments advanced above establish a northern Italian provenance for the Oribasius translation, it would seem likely that the other works have the same origin.

I turn now to the Romance evidence. *Vomica* does not survive, but a verb *uomicare* is widely reflected (*REW* 9451), in Italian dialects,[290] Gallo-Romance (Old French *vongier*, Old Provençal *vomegar*)[291] and Aragonese (*bomegar*, = 'escudir el agua (se dice del suelo u otra cosa saturada de la misma)',[292] i.e. of the soil or something else saturated [with water] spitting out water). Svennung (1932: 144) derives **uomicare* from the use of *uomica* discussed above, but the derivation is contested at *FEW* XIV.630 n. 3, where *uomicare* is interpreted as a variant of the frequentative *uomitare*. We cannot establish an Italian character for *uomica* on the strength of this

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[288] I take this to be the adversative use of *ergo* (see Hofmann and Szantyr 1965: 512).

[289] Information from K.-D. Fischer.

[290] See *FEW* XIV.630, Rohlfs (1977: 778) on Calabrian *vommicare*, Giammarco (1968–79: IV, 2385) on Abruzzo *vummacá*, Piccitto (1977–2002: V, 1221) on Sicilian *vummicari*; also Battisti and Alessio (1950–7: V, 4089) s.v. *vomicare*, observing: 'di area it. (it. merid.; friul. *gomià*), fr. dial. e arag.'

[291] See *FEW* XIV.629.   [292] So *FEW* XIV.630.

evidence, partly because *uomicare* might not be based on *uomica*, and partly because *uomicare* is not confined to Italy, never mind northern Italy.

Nevertheless *uomica* has a certain interest. It is a feature of the Oribasius translation, which we have found good reason to attribute to northern Italy, and is used in similar ways in various translations others have attributed to Italy/Ravenna. The correspondences between the translation of Oribasius and that of Rufus continue to accumulate (see the next section).

11.3.4.8   Some further conclusions

In this section we have seen that four of the six items listed by Mørland (see above, 11.3.1) as establishing northern Italian authorship, *nascentia*, *lacrimus*, *sanguinentus*, *suffrago*, establish nothing of the sort, and that Mørland has not presented the Romance evidence satisfactorily (see particularly 11.3.4.2 on *nascentia*). A fifth item, *remaccino*, was shown (11.3.2.18) not to stand up to scrutiny. The sixth item, *susinarius*, arguably is of (indirect) significance (11.3.2.7), but it was only listed and not discussed by Mørland. Despite Mørland's inadequate presentation of the linguistic case for northern composition his work goes on being cited with approval, as by Palmieri (1981: 200 n. 15). E. Löfstedt (1959: 49) in his discussion of Mørland's study states that 'there are some striking examples of wordforms or meanings which now seem to survive only in Italian or in the dialects of the South Tyrol', and he cites *nascentia*, *sanguinentus* and *lacrimus*, all of which we have just dismissed. He does however observe that *suffrago* in the sense 'knee-joint' not only survives in the dialect of Friuli (as Mørland would have it: see above 11.3.4.5) but also in Catalan (see above, n. 274), and he percipiently remarks that 'a closer examination might well render some of [Mørland's items of evidence] uncertain'.

Not all of the material discussed in this section (11.3.4) is valueless. There are some notable correspondences between the translation of Oribasius and that of Rufus *De podagra*. Both have the rare and unusual verb *tricoscinare* (11.3.4.1) and the use of *uomica* = *uomitus* (11.3.4.7); less striking is *suffrago* applied to the human knee-joint (11.3.4.5). We noted above (11.3.4.7) several similarities in the use of *uomica* scattered about in a group of translations conventionally attributed to Ravenna. It would be inappropriate here to accept without further consideration the assertions found in the scholarly literature about the provenance of these various works, but certainly the above list does not exhaust the similarities between the translations of Oribasius and of Rufus. It was noted earlier (11.3.2.8) that the rare late word *frixoria*, connected with the north of Italy through its appearance in Venantius, is shared by the two works, as is the even rarer

proto-Romance use of *mac(h)ino* to mean 'mill' (11.3.2.18). It must be significant that four such out of the way late innovations are common to the two translations, and it is hard to believe that the translations were done in widely separated places or at very different times.

Mørland (1933a) in the index to his edition of the Latin translation of Rufus notes a number of other usages found in Rufus and otherwise attested exclusively or almost exclusively in the Oribasius translation. I list the most striking without comment: *adhibeo* + abl., *adiutorium* masculine, *agaricus*, *anissus*, *clysteris*, *enicere* = *inicere*, *medicamen* masculine, *periculus*, *primum-uir* (with *uir* for *uer*), *quamquidem*, *salis* nominative, *stercus* masculine, *unifarinius*. A term found not only in Rufus and the Oribasius translation but also in Alexander of Tralles, Philumenus and Anthimus is *salemoria* (with various spellings).[293]

Two of the four usages discussed above (*tricoscinare*, *uomica*) do not survive in Romance and are unlikely to have been widespread in Latin, and the other two (*mac(h)ino*, *frixoria*) have a restricted area of survival with Italy most prominent. *Tricoscinare* and *uomica* are also found in the translation of Alexander of Tralles, and it is possible that the conventional wisdom about the origin of this translation (and that of Rufus) is correct: they have similarities with the translation of Oribasius, and the Oribasius does seem to be northern Italian. The translation of Rufus is too short to turn up much of significance (apart from its correspondences with Oribasius), but it is possible that when the long translation of Alexander is properly edited a detailed study of its linguistic features will throw new light on the supposed northern Italian school.[294] Langslow (2005a: 314–15) has noted some additional lexical parallels between the Latin Alexander and the Oribasius, at the same time stressing (see 314, 316) that there are differences as well, and we await a systematic study of the relationship between the two works. It is beyond my scope here to dwell on the translation techniques of these various late medical works, but in the next section I will offer a few more remarks about the similarities of phraseology that they display.

11.3.5 Appendix: some signs of linguistic unity in texts attributed to the 'Ravenna school'

I refer to 'Ravenna' only for convenience; it has been stressed above that there is no linguistic reason for attributing any of the numerous late Latin medical translations specifically to Ravenna, though there are non-linguistic

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[293] See Messina (2003–4: 192) for details.
[294] For a full discussion of the manuscript tradition and a critical edition of part of the work see now Langslow (2006).

hints that the translator of Oribasius knew the place. We have seen above some lexical similarities between the translations of Oribasius and of Rufus, and also of Alexander of Tralles. The question should be asked whether a search for features shared by those texts which editors and others have assigned to Ravenna or northern Italy might establish the existence of a style of medical writing so distinctive that it could not have developed independently in different places. Given the likelihood that the Oribasius translation was done in Italy and that it belongs to the north rather than a more southern region, distinctive features, if they could be found, linking other translations to it and to one another might provide grounds for setting up some sort of northern Italian 'school' of medical translators. A detailed study of this type would go well beyond the subject of the present book, but I make some observations on usages of the sort which I have in mind. If it were to emerge that a substantial corpus of texts was indeed likely to have been written in northern Italy, one might then set about finding isolated regionalisms in individual texts. The texts that I will consider here are, apart from Oribasius, Rufus and Alexander, the commentary on Galen edited by Palmieri (1981), the excerpts of Philagrius and Philumenus, the ps.-Hippocratic *De conceptu* and *De obseruantia ciborum*.

A curiosity is the adjective *pelagicus* applied to marine creatures, which in this application seems to be confined in Latin to texts conventionally associated with Ravenna. In extant Greek itself πελαγικός is extremely rare (one example only, from Plutarch, and not applied to fish, seems to be cited in the lexica); πελάγιος was the usual adjective. The *TLL* X.1.988.37ff. cites seven instances of *pelagicus* from the translation of Oribasius. The word has not been taken over from the Greek. At e.g. *Syn.* 4.1 Aa, p. 4 *pelagicos . . . pisces* corresponds to πελαγίων ἰχθύων, while at 4.2 Aa, p. 6 οἱ κητώδεις τῶν ἰχθύων is rendered, and at 4.5 Aa, p. 8 τὰ κητώδη (the adjective designates members of the whale family). There are two cases in the *De obseruantia ciborum*: line 290 *hi pisces leuiores sunt pelagicis* ('these fish are lighter than *pelagici*') (= in the Greek original 2.48.1, p. 170.6 Joly and Byl 1984 οἱ τοιοῦτοι τῶν ἰχθύων κουφότεροι τῶν πλανήτων), 291 *pelagici uero* (2.48.2, p. 170.7 οἱ δὲ πλανῆται). Another two are in Philagrius: p. 104 Puschmann (1887) *pisces pelagici et paludestres* ('sea fish and swamp fish'), p. 108 *pisces paludestres omnes et pelagicos*. All these instances are cited by the *TLL*; several examples can be added from the commentary on Galen: p. 271.23 *et qua re aspratiles, et non pelagicos aut fluuiales uel de stagnis?* ('and why rock-fish and not sea or river fish or those from swamps?'; also lines 27 and 29). There is a slight lack of clarity about the way in which *pelagicus* is used. In the last passage cited the *pelagici*

stand in contrast to river fish, and the word would seem to have its literal meaning. Joly and Byl (1984) translate πλανῆται (at 2.48.1–2 above) as 'ceux qui voyagent beaucoup'. These are fish which roam, and it is not only sea fish pure and simple which do that. Whales are certainly sea fish, but to designate whales 'sea fish' (see Oribasius 4.2, 4.5 above) is imprecise. There is a hint that *pelagici* (*pisces*) were not simply sea fish in all their varieties, large and small, but more especially the large long-distance travellers found in the oceans. Later in the same chapter of the *De obseruantia ciborum* (line 307) the translator used *maritimi* to render θαλάσσιοι, of salted fish from the sea: *sicciores sunt pisces salsi maritimi* = 2.48.4, p. 170.21 ξηρότατοι μὲν τῶν ταρίχων οἱ θαλάσσιοι ('of salted fish the driest are those from the sea'). How *pelagicus* came into Latin is unclear (but see below, 11.6), given its virtual absence from Greek. It is so rare in both languages that its significant presence in a small group of medical translations sharing other features suggests that those translations have the same background. Its use too in those translations is distinctive, in that the implications of the word are not always captured with a literal rendering.[295]

Git 'black cummin' appears frequently in the Oribasius translation in the form *gitter*,[296] possibly, as Mørland (1932: 97) suggests, formed on the analogy of *piper*. The term turns up as well in Rufus *De podagra* (25) and Philagrius p. 118 Puschmann (1887).

Desemel, which is rare outside the Oribasius translations,[297] is found in Rufus (27) and also in the translation of Philagrius (p. 86). Mørland also cites an example from the Latin Alexander of Tralles.

Desubito, though not remarkable in itself (it had a long history, and is well represented in Romance), is conspicuously common in the group of texts. Mørland (1932: 168) noted that it outnumbers *subito* in the translations of Oribasius, and it is found too in other texts. Note e.g. Rufus 27 twice, 28 twice, 29, Palmieri (1981), pp. 276.8, 286.8, 293.7, Philagrius p. 106 Puschmann (1887).

Another interesting case is *pro qua re* introducing a question. This occurs several times in Rufus: 12 *pro qua re pessimam existimo esse porcinam carnem? quia et humida est et conturbat uentrem* ('why do I think that pork is worst? Because it is both moist and disturbs the stomach'), 22 *pro qua re autem*

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[295] There is a term *pelaica* reflected in Romance dialects around the western Mediterranean designating small fish such as the sardine and sole (see *FEW* VIII.161), and in Switzerland designating a type of fish found in Lake Geneva (*FEW* loc. cit.). If this word is from *pelagica* (see *FEW*), it does not seem possible to relate the medical uses seen above to the very different uses of the feminine form found in Romance.

[296] See *TLL* VI.2–3.1997.67ff., Mørland (1932: 97–8).

[297] See Mørland (1933a: 37, index s.v., 1932: 168), *TLL* V.1.669.48ff.

iubeo absentium bibere? quia mihi uidetur quod et digestiones faciat et urinas mouire expediat ('why do I instruct [the patient] to drink wormwood? Because in my opinion it activates digestion and serves to induce urination'). Semantically *pro qua re* is equivalent to *quare*. In both cases the question is followed by an answer introduced by *quia*. *Pro qua re* is used in the same way in the commentary on Galen: Palmieri (1981), p. 248.8 *pro qua re solam non damus aquam . . .? sed dicimus qua re: quia aqua non nutrit* ('why do we not give water on its own . . .? I [will] say why: because water does not nourish'). Here again the question is followed by *quia*. A few lines later we find: *pro qua re enim uinum damus? propter absentem uirtutem . . . reuocamus* ('why do we give wine? Because we are bringing back . . . absent strength'). Here there is no following *quia*, but *propter* (= *propter quod*) has the same function. *Pro qua re* occurs elsewhere in the commentary (pp. 251.5, 252.3), but introducing indirect rather than direct questions. According to Hofmann and Szantyr (1965: 541), citing the first passage of Rufus above, *pro qua re* is calqued on διὰ τί. That may be so, but a translator faced by διὰ τί in his source was not constrained to render it by *pro qua re*. There were alternatives. At Rufus 25 we find instead *ex qua re?*, and *quare* itself would have served. Indeed in two of the passages of the Galen commentary just referred to (on pages 248 and 252) the writer, rephrasing the question, uses *qua re* instead of *pro qua re*, and earlier on page 248 it is *qua re* rather than *pro qua re* which intoduces a question picked up by *quia*: *qua re ergo damus plithoricis uinum? quia . . .* ('why then do we give wine to those who are plethoric? Because . . .'). It is then suggestive that *pro qua re* is used identically in the two texts. In a different, causal, sense (= *quia*) the expression turns up in medieval Latin,[298] but that is not relevant to our usage.

Several of the usages listed above, 11.3.4.8, from Mørland's index to Rufus as shared by the translations of Rufus and of Oribasius (and found, according to Mørland, nowhere or virtually nowhere else), also occur in other 'Ravenna' texts: for *periculus* see *De conceptu* 105 *grandis periculus subsequitur*, for the nominative *salis* see the Galen commentary, p. 278.32 *adhibeatur ergo salis*; and for *stercus* in the masculine see again the Galen commentary, p. 277.5 (*si durus est stercus*), where the word is in the same collocation as that at Rufus 25 (*durus fit stercus*).

Aliquis is used with a second-declension accusative form in Rufus (20 *alicum pessimum medicamen . . . leuiorem alicum medicamen*, 'a very bad medicine . . . some milder medicine'). The same form appears in the

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commentary on Galen: p. 245.6 *a uestimentis accepimus calorem alicum* ('we have received some heat from our garments'), 290.6 *si autem frigdorem alicum sentiunt* ('but if they feel some cold').

Pleonastic *plus magis* (*magis plus*) is used in much the same context in Rufus (26 *plus magis iuuat*) and the Galen commentary (p. 269.8 *magis plus ledunt quam iuuent*). Both *magis plus* and *plus magis* are well attested in the translation of Oribasius.[299]

Various neuter nouns in *-rum* turn up with nominative forms in *-er* in some of our texts. See Palmieri (1981), p. 239 for *cereber*, three times (see *TLL* III.859.6f. for a few examples of the form), and *De conceptu* 613 for *roster* (*roster ipsius concludetur*; cf. 445 *ruster amarus efficitur*). Once a neuter accusative such as *rostrum* was interpreted as masculine accusative, the way was open for the development of a new nominative by back formation: note *De conceptu* 533 *habentem rostrum minorem*.

Euentare, a denominative based on *uentus*, is defined by *TLL* V.2.1017.17f. as follows: 'ventum quasi educendo evaporare, exhalare, evacuare'. It is a favoured word in the Oribasius translation,[300] and is also quoted several times from the translation of Alexander of Tralles (*TLL* lines 20–23). The *TLL* quotes examples from no other writer. The term has, however, now turned up in the commentary on Galen (Palmieri 1981: 287.41 *si ergo innatus calor euentatus fuerit*, 'if therefore inborn heat shall have been drawn off').

11.4 The commentary on Galen

In the previous section we saw some oddities shared by the commentary on Galen with one or more of several late medical translations, those of Oribasius, Alexander of Tralles and Rufus. These shared features suggest that the commentary comes from the same milieu as the other works. Since one of them, the translation of Oribasius, seems to be northern Italian, there is a possibility that the commentary too was composed in Italy. The question arises whether the commentary has any Italianisms.

The work has a good deal of pompous phraseology typical of technical treatises, but it also shows some lapses into everyday Latin, particularly when the writer introduces a homely analogy or inserts a piece of direct speech. Note for example p. 292 .6 *sed forsitan dicat aliquis ad nos: 'ecce, nutrio, sed qualem cibum utere habeo?'* ('but perhaps someone may say to

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[299] See further Mørland (1932: 175).
[300] So Svennung (1932: 76). Cf. Mørland (1932: 141), *TLL* V.2.1017.19ff. (quoting about seven examples).

us, "Look, I am feeding [the patient?: or is *nutrio* reflexive in meaning?], but what sort of food shall/should I use?"). Here is a typical example of infinitive + *habeo* well on the way to its Romance future function but still translatable as expressing obligation/necessity (see also below, VIII.1.1, n. 14, XI.5.3);[301] by contrast at p. 254.30 (*cum coeperit uidere diuersorium in quo habet repausare*, 'and when [the donkey] catches sight of the stall in which he will rest') the periphrasis is an unambiguous future; *repausare* is also well represented in Romance, e.g. Italian *riposare*, French *reposer* (*REW* 7218).[302] Another piece of direct speech, at p. 262.48 (*iubetis me cum mensura manducare. uado commedo lenticula*, 'you order me to eat with moderation: I will go and eat lentils'), has an accumulation of colloquialisms but nothing to indicate the geographical origin of the commentary. At p. 270.11–12 there is an observation about what can only have been a localised usage (*superfusa* of watery wine),[303] but the term has no Romance outcome and cannot be tied to an area: *aquosus uinus, quod a nobis dicitur in consuetudinem 'superfusa'*, 'watery wine, which we customarily call "poured over"').

The above usages (and others could be added) show that the commentary drew on the ordinary language. That being so, the writer by definition used Latin that he heard around him, and it is not unlikely that the work contains the odd usage confined to the region in which it was written. A possible case is *laetamen* used in the sense 'manure', which occurs in the text at another point where the writer offers an analogy from mundane experience: p. 258. 39 *sed ex putredinem humorum fit calor et acredo, sicut in letamen saepius uidimus fieri* ('from rottenness of humours there arises heat and bitterness, as we have often seen taking place in manure'). *Laetamen* is reflected mainly in northern Italy (see *FEW* V.129 'lebt weiter in Italien, vor allem Oberitalien', *REW* 4845). A few traces of the word in eastern Gallo-Romance are interpreted by *FEW* as western offshoots of the northern Italian regional usage ('die westl. ausläufer der obit. wortzone'). *REW* also cites a reflex from Logudorese (Sardinia), *ledamine*.[304] In classical Latin the word occurs once in Pliny (in a passage which happens to deal with northern Italy, though there is no significance in that, as the word itself is not specified as northern Italian), but it does not have the fully developed meaning 'manure': *Nat.*18.141 *secale Taurini sub Alpibus asiam* [or *sasiam*: see IV.1.3.3] *uocant . . . nascitur qualicumque solo cum centesimo grano, ipsumque pro laetamine est* ('the Taurini at the foot of the Alps call

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301 See e.g. Adams (1991).   302 Cf. pp. 240.28, 278.25.
303 See Palmieri (1981: 226).   304 See Wagner (1960–4: II, 24) s.v. *letámine*.

rye "(s)asia" . . . It grows in any sort of soil with a hundredfold yield, and itself serves as a fertiliser'). In later Latin, now with the meaning 'manure', it occurs in Servius (who classifies it as used *uulgo*: *Georg.* 1.1 *fimus, qui per agros iacitur, uulgo laetamen uocatur*, 'dung which is scattered on the fields is popularly called *laetamen*') and Palladius (twenty-nine times), who several times substitutes the word for other terms, such as *stercus*, in his source Columella (see *TLL* VII.2.2.872.65–9).[305] On Palladius' Italian connections see above 11.2.3. There is also an example in the Italian Cassiodorus (*Var.* 8.30.2). Servius taught at Rome and knew Italy, even if his origin is unknown.[306]

11.5 Physica Plinii Bambergensis

The *Physica Plinii* is the modern title of a late medical compilation possibly put together in the fifth or sixth century.[307] Its origin can be traced back to the medical material found in Pliny the Elder, which was extracted (perhaps in the fourth century) by a compiler for ease of access and brought together in a work generally referred to as the *Medicina Plinii*. This in turn formed the basis of the *Physica Plinii*, though this latter work used other sources as well, not all of them identifiable. The *Physica Plinii* is in three main recensions, each by convention taking its name from the place of conservation of its manuscript or manuscripts. Two of these recensions, the 'Bambergensis' and the 'Florentino-Pragensis', have been separately edited, the first by Önnerfors (1975), the other by three different scholars, each of whom dealt with one of the three books of the recension.[308] The 'Bamberg' version is transmitted mainly in the manuscript Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Med. 2 (Q), but also in Bamberg Med. 1 (M, excerpts) and Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, 217 and 1396 (K, excerpts).

Önnerfors (1975: 7) regards it as certain that the *Physica Plinii Bambergensis* was written in Italy ('opus . . . in Italia conscriptum esse pro certo habeo'). A few pages later he is more explicit about what he meant by *conscriptum esse* (1975: 9): 'Dixeram supra ea me persuasione teneri non modo ipsum Γ opus primigenium sed etiam id operis exemplar, quod γ littera designaui, in Italia natum esse' ('I had said above that I am persuaded that, not only the original work Γ, but also the exemplar of the work which

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[305] See also Adams (1982b: 238–9).   [306] See Kaster (1988: 356–9).
[307] For full details and extensive bibliography see Adams and Deegan (1992: 89–91).
[308] The 'Florentino-Pragensis' will not be of concern here. For details of these editions see Adams and Deegan (1992: 90 n. 34).

I have designated γ, originated in Italy'). From the lost γ, according to Önnerfors (1975: 7), Q (see above) was copied.

There remain uncertainties about the character of the work (by which I mean the *Physica Plinii* rather than one or other of its 'recensions'), deriving not least from the decision of Önnerfors and his collaborators to edit the various recensions separately instead of setting out to produce a critical edition of the *Physica* which might have taken us as close as we could get to the original work. As it is there is no clear demarcation between the original work and its author, possible redactors who might have caused the recensions to differ from one another, and the scribes responsible for the copying of the recensions. Such are these uncertainties that it is hardly possible to talk about the geographical origin of the 'work'. Another problem arises from the fact that the *Physica* is a compilation drawn from a variety of sources, some of them lost (see Önnerfors 1975: 7 for a table of sources, among them unspecified 'alii fontes'). Any regionalism identifiable in such a compilation might come from a source and not reflect the practice of the compiler.

Önnerfors' case for the Italian origin of the work rests on two types of evidence, first verb misspellings such as omission of final *-t*, and second the use of accusative forms with nominative function (1975: 9).

To take the verb forms first, it is at once obvious that they might have been perpetrated by scribes, redactors or the original compiler, and even if they were suggestive of Italy could not reveal anything definite about the compiler himself (see also above, 11.2.2, for the distinction between scribe and compiler). But they are not particularly suggestive of Italy. The forms that Önnerfors (1975: 9) treats as significant are *indoluerin*, *uidean*, *discutiun*, *adiciun*, *tussiun* and *ducan*, all showing the omission of final *-t* in the third person plural. But in Romance it is mainly French that kept *-nt*, until the twelfth or thirteenth century, and still today in liaison (*aiment-ils*). By contrast in e.g. Provençal, Catalan and Spanish *cantant* became *cantan* and in Portuguese *cantam*.[309] If Önnerfors were attempting to locate geographically the compiler of the treatise (and he is vague about that) it is obvious that this evidence would not do, as the failure to articulate *-t* in this position must have been widespread in the late period. In claiming the misspellings as Italianate Önnerfors was drawing on B. Löfstedt (1961: 127–8), who illustrated the omission from a few Italian, particularly northern Italian, manuscripts, and referred also to examples in inscriptions. But citing the indexes to *CIL* V, IX, X and XIV Löfstedt explicitly stated that the omission

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[309] For further details see Väänänen (1981: 69).

occurs in inscriptions of Italy <u>and elsewhere</u> (127 'In Inschriften . . . begegnet mehrfach, sowohl auf italienischem Boden <u>als anderswo</u>, *-n* (und auch *-m*) statt *-nt*'; cf. the material at Kiss 1972: 46–7). As far as manuscripts are concerned, a more systematic survey would be needed if one were to maintain that *-n* for *-nt* was more distinctive of Italy than elsewhere at a particular period. In any case manuscripts are in general much later than the conjectured dates of compilation of our various late medical works, and mere misspellings need tell us only about late scribal practices and not about the origin of a compiler working possibly some centuries earlier.

Of the accusative case used for the nominative Önnerfors (1975: 9) again says that it 'Italicam originem indicare uideri', citing (18 n. 13) Josephson (1950: 182), who states that the presence of the usage in the text he is discussing indicates that it was not written in Gaul, where a distinction was maintained between the casus rectus and the casus obliqui, whereas in Italian texts from the early medieval period a confusion is found. Josephson (1950: 182 n. 3) refers in support of this remark to Norberg (1943:18, 26–7), as does Önnerfors in note 13 just referred to (adding 95–6); see also below, XI.5.3, p. 728.

In the transition to Romance there was a large-scale adoption of the accusative form for nominative, and not only in Italy.[310] If in medieval manuscripts from Gaul the confusion is avoided, that would seem to reflect scribal correctness rather than the state of the spoken language in one place as distinct from another. If we accept at its face value the claim that medieval manuscripts from Gaul preserve the distinction between nominative and accusative (and one is inclined to wonder how extensive the evidence is on which the claim is based),[311] the confusions in the *Physica Plinii Bambergensis* need only indicate that the work was copied outside Gaul in the early medieval period, not that it was composed in Italy. Moreover it is not acceptable simply to assert that in the *Physica* (or indeed any late work) the 'accusative is used for the nominative' without offering some classification of the evidence. There are many factors (other than the wholesale assumption by the accusative forms of the nominative functions) that may cause accusative forms apparently to stand for the nominative, as is clear from Norberg's discussion (1944: 21–32) of an aspect of the question. I refer, for example, to the momentary conflation of active and passive forms of expression, anacolutha, and the haphazard hypercorrect addition of a final *-m* at a time when neither final *-m* nor final

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[310] See e.g. Väänänen (1981: 115–17).

[311] Norberg himself elsewhere (1944: 27) points out that even in Gaul *-as* for *-ae* was standard by the seventh and eighth centuries.

-s was necessarily pronounced. Önnerfors (1975: 9) lists (without quoting) the following examples of the 'accusatiuus casus pro subiecto adhibitus': 3.2 *dolorem sedatur* (but this is a clear conflation of active and passive, as *sedat* is far more common than the passive in such expressions; there are several examples of the active use of the verb on the same page), 9.3 *dolore pausat* (but *pauso* is used transitively as well as intransitively in such expressions in medical Latin: see *TLL* X.1.861.11ff.), 9.12 *ad eos cui una parte capitis stupida est* (possibly a conflation of *cui una parte caput stupidum est* and *cui una pars capitis stupida est*), 35.4 *transit dolore*, 53.1 *dolore sedabitur* (conflation of active and passive again), 67.9 *locum confirmetur* (the same conflation again), 86.6 *bettonice herbe <u>puluere</u> . . . in aqua calida cyatos III potui <u>datum</u> lumbricos et tineas eicit* (but here there might simply have been a breakdown of the construction [anacoluthon]; the writer, having committed himself to a long opening accusative construction, fails to come up with an appropriate governing verb). These examples amount to little. Evidence of this quality cannot be used to argue that the work was compiled or even copied in Italy. Moreover, since Önnerfors has edited only one of the recensions, the question arises whether any of the above accusatives would be retained in a critical edition of the work based on a consideration of all the recensions.

We saw above (11.3.2.8) that the work contains an instance of *frixoria* (72.1), a word which suggests that at least the passage in which it occurs was composed in the late period in Italy. We also noted (11.2.4) a possible case of *iota* 'juice', which is consistent with but not proof of Italian composition. On the other hand at 32.9 there is a comment on an alleged Gallic usage: *item serpillum herba, que gallice lauriu dicitur* ('likewise the herb thyme, which in Gaulish is called *lauriu*'). The term does not ring true for Gaulish, and may be a textual corruption or a fabrication. Another item which might seem contrary to an Italian origin is the spelling *palfebra* for *palpebra*, which occurs twice (20.5, also 19.10 but with *ph*). *REW* 6176.3 cites reflexes from Galicia and Sardinia only, but nothing should be made of that, because the *TLL* article (X.1.160.80ff.) shows that the spelling is common in manuscripts, including those of northern Italy.

It does not seem possible to place the work geographically in its entirety, though *frixoria* points to an Italian origin for part of it. Bits and pieces have been put together from a variety of sources, and any attempt to assign the whole work to one region is misguided. One striking negative feature of the *Physica* is its lack of correspondences with the translation of Oribasius. The usages discussed above (11.3.4.8, 11.3.5) which that translation shares with other translations possibly done in Italy do not turn up in the *Physica*.

Vomitus, for example, is the usual form in the text, and *uomica* does not occur. The morphological oddity discussed above, 11.3.4.6, is found in the *Physica* as well as Oribasius and the *Compositiones Lucenses*, but a systematic search for examples in a wide range of texts does not seem to have been made and the stray examples in the *Physica* are uninformative. *Exsalatus* at 4.2 (*axungia uetere exsalatam inpone*, 'put on old axle-grease without salt') can be found in the Oribasius translation,[312] but it is also in the Gallic writer Marcellus (see *TLL* s.v. *exsalatus*) and was no doubt widespread in recipes.

Various conclusions are suggested by this section. It is necessary to distinguish between copyists and the compiler or author of a work. The distinction is not made sharply enough by Önnerfors. If there are 'Italian' scribal practices in evidence in a work they need not be relevant to the origin of the work itself but only to the origin of the medieval scribe(s) who copied it. If an alleged regional restriction in the distribution of some such practice (I am thinking, for example, of the omission of *-t* in some verb forms, which is said to be characteristic of Italian manuscripts) does not match the distribution in Romance of the phonetic feature that may lie behind it (the final *-t* alluded to was not only lost in pronunciation in Italy), then the geographical distribution of the scribal practice is unlikely to reflect regional variations in the language itself but may merely reflect regional conventions of writing. Simple spelling errors, even if they are based in speech, are poor evidence for the origin of a text because the omission of a letter or some other slight deviation is as likely to have been effected by a scribe as by the original author of a work. Finally, the contrast noted in the previous paragraph between the language of the *Physica* and that of various texts of the alleged Ravenna school is of some importance as underlining the stylistic unity of the group of translations.

11.6 Some conclusions: regional Latin and medical texts

I have concentrated in sections 11.2–5 on the question whether certain medical/technical translations thought to have been done in Ravenna can be attributed at least to northern Italy on linguistic grounds. My conclusion is that one of them, the translation of Oribasius, can, and that since it has close similarities with several other works it is likely that the whole group of texts has a common geographical origin. I now turn to the other, more important, topic of this book. Are there regional features of the

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[312] See Svennung (1932: 79).

Latin of northern Italy at the period of the medical translations, and if so can any generalisations be made about the character and determinants of regionalisms?

Normal processes of language change operate locally as well as across societies. Innovations do not necessarily spread. It is a mistake to look only for dramatic external forces or major historical events as determining the diversification of Latin, though external influences (as for example local contacts between Latin and other languages) played a part. Lexical change was taking place in the usual ways in isolated communities, sometimes in response to identifiable local conditions but sometimes unaccountably (at least from our perspective, hindered as we are by imperfect evidence), and if a change did not catch on further afield it would be classifiable as a regionalism. The evidence from northern Italy in the late period is of these types. External influences were present, but did not have much impact, at least on the medical translators. We have seen very little Germanic influence.

I start, however, with an unexpected outside influence, Greek. Three words of Greek origin with a highly unusual distribution have been noted, *tricoscinum* and the derivative verb *tricoscinare* (with Latin suffix), and the adjective *pelagicus*. These words do not appear in the Greek works being translated, and in the first two cases seem to be unattested in extant Greek. The third word seems to be attested just once in Greek. Nor do they turn up in Latin texts other than the coherent group we have been looking at. But it should cause no surprise if unusual Greek had found its way into Latin in northern Italy in about the sixth century. There was a flowering of Greek culture in Italy under Theodoric.[313] As Courcelle puts it (1969: 275), 'Hellenists were not scarce in Italy at this period, notably among diplomats and physicians, but the real artisan of the renaissance in literature and science is Boethius.' The doctor Anthimus, who has come up before, fled from Byzantium to the court of Theodoric, and he was not the only political refugee welcomed in the imperial circle (another was Artemidorus).[314] By definition the translators of Greek medical texts into Latin were bilingual. It is likely that the Greek terms lying behind the above loan-words into Latin belonged to northern Italian Greek of the time, brought in from the East (as distinct from southern Italian Greek: see above, 11.3.4.1 on *coscinum* – in contrast to *tricoscinum* – as southern). Doctors in the West had long affected a Greekness, and it is probable that the above terms were part of the late Greek-influenced medical lexicon. They did not catch on to the extent of surviving in the Romance languages, but must have had

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[313] See in particular Courcelle (1969: 273–330).   [314] See Courcelle (1969: 274).

some local currency (in Latin). New usages often come into being in special registers (see above, 8 on *erigo*), and if the users of that register are confined to a region their special usages will constitute regionalisms of a specialised kind.

Language change in Latin often takes the form of changes of suffix. For example, the adjectival suffixes *-aris* and *-arius* interchanged haphazardly.[315] Earlier we have seen examples of regional terms formed by a change of suffix (e.g. V.4.3 *granica*; also perhaps V.3.5 *uario*). Several of the regionalisms discussed in this chapter display modifications to an existing word by an (unpredictable) suffix change: thus *subinde* > *suuentium*, *aciarium* > *aciale*, *pumex* > *pumica*, *gubio/gubius* > *gufus*. Such changes were happening in speech all over the Empire all the time. If a new form hardened into an established usage in a community it became a dialect word.

Other terms discussed above are also suffixal derivatives of one sort or another, which have undergone semantic or other changes. *Frixorius* is derived by *TLL* VI.1.1343.50 from a rare noun *frixor*, but it is more likely to be based on the verb *frigo*, + *-torius/-sorius* (cf. e.g. *excisorius* from *excido* with this suffix).[316] The distinctive feature of *frixoria* is not that it was a term coined locally by suffixation (the adjective *frixorius* already existed) but that the existing suffixal derivative was substantivised in the feminine and gained currency in a limited area. *Faecea* is presumably an adjectival derivative of *faex*, substantivised in the feminine. *Niuata* is another such adjectival derivative, substantivised by the ellipse of a noun. *Ceruical* was an existing derivative of *ceruix*, which both changed meaning and changed gender.

Volaticus 'flying' was an old adjective which must have been applied in a graphic description to very fine flour prone to get into the atmosphere if moved. The application may have been made first in a special register, such as that of millers, in a particular region (the north of Italy), and then caught on in the same area. Local linguistic inventiveness is a potent factor in establishing regional terms when communications are bad, whereas today colourful coinages originating in a circumscribed region or social group are capable of spreading globally almost instantly. Another local coinage seems to have been the onomatopoeic term *paparus*.

Anatomical terms constantly undergo semantic shifts. *Coxa*, which changed meaning from 'hip' to 'thigh', is one such. It was widened semantically to cover the whole leg, surviving in this sense only in the dialect of Naples. Whether the shift originated in that area or was at first more

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[315] See e.g. Adams (1995a: 106) for some examples.   [316] For the type see Leumann (1977: 300).

widespread but then faded out in other places (shrinkage) we do not know. The change of meaning is of familiar type; *brachium*, for example, must once have designated only part of the arm before embracing the whole limb. I emphasise again that regional usages may owe their existence to mundane processes that go on repeating themselves without obvious external motivation. These processes were all the time generating new usages haphazardly here and there. Some such usages caught on locally, others spread or emerged independently in different places, and others again were ephemeral.

Laetamen is different again. Here is a rustic usage that had been around for a long time and is based on an old meaning of the adjective *laetus* 'fertile'. It seems to have remained in Italy. Most of the other usages above are late innovations.

An item of syntax was discussed in the section on the *Compositiones Lucenses*, the use of *fio* with the past participle in passive periphrases. Syntactic variation across space in the Roman Empire is difficult to find. One reason for this must lie in the influence on the written language of language standardisation, which obscured variations that might have been present in speech (see XI.5.3). Dialect words are arguably less stigmatised than local non-standard pronunciations or syntactic patterns, and more likely to get into written texts.[317] Many syntactic developments of later subliterary Latin were in any case common to the whole or most of the Latin-speaking world.[318] One thinks, for example, of the formation of the perfect with *habeo* + past participle, the new future periphrasis comprising infinitive + *habeo*, the replacement of the nominative form of many nouns by the accusative, and the assignment of various case roles to prepositions instead of inflections. Similarly we will see in a later chapter (X) that phonological developments tended to be general across the Empire. Under these circumstances, it will be suggested in Chapter X, regional variation existed mainly because common changes took place at different times and different rates in different places (see also XI.4.6).[319] It cannot be denied that there was a good deal of uniformity to Vulgar Latin as manifested in the new non-literary documents that have been turning up. This may in part have been due to the constant movement of disparate groups of speakers from the centre to the provinces, with a consequent koineisation.

It is significant, finally, that the translation of Oribasius can be attributed with some confidence to a part of Italy, the north. That this should be so

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[317] On this point see Hornsby (2006: 5).　　[318] See e.g. the list at Banniard (1992: 522).
[319] See the remarks on infinitive + *habeo* at VIII.1 n. 14.

establishes the dialectal variety of Italian Latin at this time, though we do not have enough evidence to set up detailed dialect distinctions between the 'north' and other regions.

11.7   Edictus Rothari

This Lombard legal text (see F. Bluhme, *MGH*, *Legum tom.* IV)[320] dates from the middle of the seventh century (643) and strictly lies beyond the scope of this book, but I offer a few observations. The Lombards, a Germanic people, settled in northern Italy in AD 568, and they maintained their position for about two centuries.[321] The language of the edict has been described at length by B. Löfstedt (1961). Löfstedt dealt mainly with phonology/orthography and morphology rather than lexical features. He was not concerned particularly with regional features, but touched on the subject from time to time, sometimes expressing scepticism about the use of linguistic evidence to place a late text.[322]

A notable word is that for 'uncle', *barba(s)*, *-anis*, which established itself in Italy in the late period before being largely displaced by *thius*.[323] It survives only in some northern Italian dialects (see map 15),[324] but also entered south Apulian Greek.[325] Its history in Italy displays a classic case of shrinkage, in that it had once been current in the south as well. The form, with the oblique cases showing *-an-*, suggests that it was put into the same declension class as the late type *scriba*, *scribanis*, modelled it seems on *-o*, *-onis* (cf. also the late formation in names, *-e*, *-enis*).[326] The origin of the word is disputed. It has been taken as a Germanic (Lombard) loan-word,[327] or as *barba* 'beard' used *pars pro toto* of a mature, 'respected' man, thence 'uncle'.[328] There is an example in a bilingual Latin–Hebrew inscription from Tarentum, *CIL* IX.6402 *hic requisc<it boneme>mor<ius> Samuel filius Sila<ni cu>m Ezihiel barbane suum qui uixit annos LXXXII* ('here lies Samuel of good memory, son of Silanus, with his uncle Ezechiel; he lived for 82 years'). The Hebrew version (not given in *CIL* but rendered into Latin)

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[320] For some general remarks about the work see Wormald (1999: 34–5, 39–40).
[321] On the Lombards and their language see Gamillscheg (1934–6: II, 57–229).
[322] See his 'Sachindex' p. 351 s.v. 'Lokalisierung' (adding 332–3).
[323] For details see Rohlfs (1954a: 17–18), E. Löfstedt (1959: 51), with bibliography.
[324] See Rohlfs (1954a: 17), Battisti and Alessio (1950–7: I, 429), *LEI* IV(2).1171.
[325] See Rohlfs (1954a: 17 n. 4, 1964: 79).
[326] See *LEI* IV(2).1243, and for such formations in general (with bibliography) see Adams (2003a: 491).
[327] So e.g. Rohlfs (1954a: 17).
[328] See the discussion with extensive bibliography at *LEI* IV(2).1241–3.

shows that the reference is to a paternal uncle. Cf. *Edictus Rothari* 163 *si quis in mortem parentis sui insidiatus fuerit, id est si frater in mortem fratris sui, aut barbanis, quod est patruus . . .* ('if anyone plots to kill his relative, that is if a brother (plots to kill) his brother or an uncle, i.e. a *patruus . . .*'), 164 *si quis ex parentibus, id est barbas, quod est patruus, aut quicumque ex proximis dixerit de nipote suo aut consubrino doloso animo, quod de adulterio natus sit . . .* ('if any relative, that is an uncle (i.e. a *patruus*) or any close connection says of his nephew or cousin with malicious intent that he was born of adultery . . .').[329]

It was noted earlier (11.3.2.4, 11.3.2.12) that the edict has the forms *castenea* (301) and *cicinus* (317), which are also found in the translation of Oribasius.

Taliola 'trap' (310) survives as Italian *tagli(u)ola*, a trap or snare for catching game.[330] No other examples are cited by Arnaldi, Turriani and Smiraglia (1939–64: III, 248) or Niermeyer (1976: 1012). The word, of uncertain origin, is the sort of technical term that does not spread.

There is a noun *scamara* at 5, apparently meaning 'robber' (see further below): *si quis scamaras intra prouincia caelauerit aut anonam dederit, animae suae incurrat periculum* ('if anyone conceals robbers within the province or gives them provisions, he should be at risk of his life'). Some light is thrown on the word by Eugippius *Vita Seuerini* 10.2 *quo nusquam reperto ipse quantocius Histri fluenta praetermeans latrones properanter insequitur, quos uulgus* scamaras *appellabat* ('when that man could be found nowhere he himself as quickly as possible crossed the river Danube and pursued at speed the brigands whom the populace called *scamarae*'). Eugippius was abbot of Castellum Lucullanum near Naples. He wrote his life of Severinus, an ascetic in the Roman Danubian region (Noricum), in about 511. According to Régerat (1991: 208 n. 1), citing a few other examples, *scamara* occurs 'toujours dans la région danubienne',[331] and the northern Italian example in the edict is consistent with that. *Scamara* cannot be localised on the basis of Romance evidence because it does not survive, but in the Latin period Eugippius by implication ascribes it to Noricum or thereabouts and there are also other late Danubian examples as well as the northern Italian example. It must be a loan-word that had some currency roughly in Noricum and northern Italy. Arnaldi, Turriani and Smiraglia give the meaning *speculator*, 'spy', but while that fits the example in the

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[329] See also Arnaldi, Turriani and Smiraglia (1939–64: I, 76) s.vv. *barba, barbanus*, Niermeyer (1976: 85) s.v. *barbas*.

[330] See B. Löfstedt (1961: 318–19), Battisti and Alessio (1950–7: V, 3700).

[331] For examples see Niermeyer (1976: 941–2), Arnaldi, Turriani and Smiraglia (1939–64: III, 105).

edict it does not fit the one in Eugippius, which is equated with *latrones*. Niermeyer gives the meaning as 'robber'.

I have merely scratched the surface of this text. A full study would have to consider the Lombard words and the many other words of Latin origin with varied Romance outcomes. The evidence I have looked at would have established that the work was written in Italy even if that were not already known.

11.8 Itinerarium Antonini Placentini

We saw earlier (11.3.2.18) an Italianate use of *machinor* = 'mill' (or the like) in the first version of this work, which was regularised in the later recension.

Another usage in the first edition which is regularised in the second is *regia* employed in the sense 'door of a church' (originally sc. *porta*): 44 *in Memphi fuit templum quod est modo ecclesia, cuius una regia se clausit ante Dominum nostrum*, 'in Memphis there was a temple, now a church, one door of which was shut before our Lord' (cf. rec. alt. *cuius una porta se clausit*). This survives only in Italian, including northern dialects.[332] Niermeyer (1976: 902, s.v. 1) cites Italian examples of the Latin word, but it is also found in Gregory of Tours (*Hist. Franc.* 4.13, 7.35).

At rec. A 7, p. 164.3, the writer apparently mentions one of his companions[333] who died during the pilgrimage. The man was from Placentia: *nam et ibi mortuus est Iohannes de Placentia, maritus Teclae* ('for there John of Placentia, husband of Tecla, died'). The writer was not the martyr Antoninus of Placentia himself, but possibly a native of Placentia where Antoninus was venerated.[334]

It is possible that this text is of Italian provenance, but the evidence is not decisive. A more systematic discussion of the language might turn up better evidence.

12 SOME FINAL REMARKS

We have had mixed results in this chapter in countering E. Löfstedt's scepticism about the feasibility of using linguistic features to locate a late text geographically. The Ravenna papyri, the translation of Oribasius and the *Compositiones Lucenses* have with some confidence been assigned to Italy,

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[332] See *REW* 7169a, Battisti and Alessio (1950–7: V, 3222) s.v. *règge*.
[333] So Bellanger (1902: 22).   [334] See Bellanger (1902: 20–1).

but the indications of provenance are not equally compelling in the three cases, and it may be worthwhile to consider why. It is an oddity that, although most of the documents in the collection of papyri have a stated place of origin (Ravenna), we have been unable to attribute them on linguistic grounds to the north of Italy, never mind Ravenna itself. Although there is cumulative linguistic evidence that the corpus was written in Italy rather than, say, Gaul, the evidence is less than striking. To some extent this is a reflection of the nature of the corpus. Most of the documents are in a highly formulaic language which gives nothing away about their place of origin, and we have had to fall back on an inventory found in one of the documents. This is only a page or so long and provides little to go on. Several of the lexical items in the list (*butticella*, *cucumella*, *caccabellus*) on the face of it meet criteria that have been applied in this book for identifying regionalisms that may be used to locate a text. They seem to be late innovations, are very restricted in their attestations, and survive only in Italy. But they are all formed with the same commonplace diminutive suffix. Since the base-words *buttis*, *cucuma* and *caccabus* are in two cases old and in one case (*buttis*) widespread in Romance (and therefore widespread in Latin), we cannot be sure that the diminutives had not been coined long before the Ravenna papyri were written and in different places independently. The likelihood is that the *-ellus* diminutive formation was prolific in Ravenna (we saw several other examples) and that these terms were coined roughly in the area of their survival (and we saw other signs pointing to Italy), but it is the ease with which such terms might have been coined that weakens their value as evidence. *Suuentium* in the *Compositiones Lucenses* makes a striking contrast with the diminutives. It too is extremely rare. It survives only in northern Italy and Rheto-Romance. But above all it has a highly unusual formation which conflates the base of one term meaning 'often' (*subinde*) with the suffix of another (*frequentius*). Such a conflation is unlikely to have been made all over the Empire independently, and since there is no evidence that it was made early at the centre it would not have had time to spread outwards to different parts of the Empire. Moreover the evidence of this item is reinforced by that of the loan-word meaning 'woad'. Just two pieces of evidence are sufficient to allow us to place the text, and that is because of their quality. The Oribasius translation also has some distinctive innovations, such as *cocotia* and the mysterious *spacus*, and *niuata* 'snow', a mere suffixal derivative it is true, but with a meaning that would not readily have been predicted from its origin (< *aqua niuata*, which when abbreviated might have been expected to mean 'cold water' or the like). Unusual formations and loan-words with technical meanings

from out of the way vernacular languages provide better evidence for the geographical origin of a late text than do accumulations of terms which, though they might have apparently significant distributions, are formed by such mundane processes that they might have been coined anywhere at any time.

Various stages in the development of Italian Latin, and influences acting on it, have been seen in this chapter. In the earlier period there was an apparent retention in parts of Italy of morphemes or phonemes that had elsewhere disappeared. Into this class fall the genitive in *-uis* and the long close *e* in verb forms such as *futue*. But more striking than retention was innovation, which was seen particularly in the sections on the *Compositiones Lucenses* and the Oribasius translation. Localised innovations sometimes were made first in special registers, as in the case of the new meaning of *erigo*, which emerged in Christian Latin, and possibly the periphrasis with *fio*, which is several times in culinary contexts and may have originated in the register of cooks. Greek exerted an ongoing influence on Latin in Italy. *Gastra*, for example, belonged to southern Italian Greek, and its presence twice in the narrative of Petronius may reflect the setting of the novel. Another such term noted in this chapter was *coscinum* 'sieve'. But it was not only in the south that Greek was influential. We saw various Greek words virtually unattested in Greek itself in northern Italian texts of about the sixth century, and related those to the flowering of Greek culture under Byzantine influence in the reign of Theodoric. Finally, traces of a distinction between northern Italian Latin and that further south have been noted. The Oribasius translation was obviously 'Italian', but there is a cluster of items pointing more specifically to the north, and those items tie in with the references to Ravenna in the translation. In a later chapter we will see further indications of a phonological type of an emergent north–south distinction.

Africa

I *AFRICITAS*

'African Latin', often referred to as *Africitas* and ascribed a component called *tumor Africus*,[1] has had a bad name since Kroll (1897) delivered his attack on the material adduced by Sittl (1882: 92–143) to demonstrate features of the Latin of the province. Sittl's material is indeed unconvincing,[2] but that does not mean that African Latin was without regional features. We have already seen *testimonia* which show that in antiquity itself African Latin was perceived as having distinctive characteristics. If one looks beyond the high literary texts discussed by Sittl and others as supposedly exemplifying *Africitas* to more mundane works such as medical texts and non-literary documents, one finds that it is indeed possible to attribute certain texts to Africa on linguistic grounds, and to identify some of the features of the local Latin. We will see, for example (3.4), that a medical text recently published for the first time (the so-called *Galeni liber tertius*) can with some confidence be assigned to Africa. Brock, who surpassed Kroll in the detail with which she demonstrated that Sittl's 'Africanisms' were nothing of the sort (1911: 186–229), went too far in concluding from her review of the evidence that 'African Latin was practically free from provincialism' (1911: 257), a phenomenon which she put down to the spread of education and rhetoric in Africa (257). She also asserted that African Latin 'was the Latin of an epoch rather than that of a country' (1911: 260). In this chapter I will address the question that is the title of Lancel's paper (1985): was there *Africitas*? The answer will be affirmative, but African Latin is not to be found where Sittl looked for it.

Sittl's ideas were at first remarkably influential, even after his own recantation (see n. 2), as can be seen from the pages of the *Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie*. Respectable scholars such as Thielmann (1893) and Landgraf

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[1] See e.g. Sittl (1882: 92).
[2] It is however worth stressing that Sittl himself recanted a decade later (1891: 226–7, 236).

(1896), not to mention Wölfflin (see below, 1.1), accepted Sittl's Africanisms at face value and used them to argue for the provenance of this or that text.[3] This is not the place to go into detail, given the lengths to which Kroll, Brock and others[4] went in discrediting Sittl's use of evidence, but I mention briefly the categories of Sittl's Africanisms.

First there were alleged Semitisms, such as the attachment of a genitive to the nominative of the same word (*episcopus episcoporum* etc.),[5] the use of *addo* + infinitive in the sense of *praeterea*,[6] the replacement of an adjective by the genitive of an abstract noun,[7] and a general 'predilection for abstracts'.[8] No attention was paid to the distribution of these and other usages in Latin. They are widespread, not exclusively African, and not to be attributed to Semitic influence. Mixed up with vague notions of Semitic influence there are to be found assertions of a racial type. The 'exuberance' of the African temperament supposedly caused Africans to favour the superlative or comparative over the positive, or double gradation such as *magis* + comparative.[9] Because of the 'oriental blood flowing in the veins of Africans' it was no surprise that African writers could not make a clear distinction between poetic and prosaic forms of expression.[10] A follower of Sittl, Monceaux (1894: 4), related features of African writing not only to the 'oriental imagination' and 'free indigenous temperament' but even to the African climate.[11]

Then there are grecisms, supposedly more numerous and extensive than are to be found in other areas of the west,[12] an archaic element (on which see also 1.1, p. 519 below),[13] and finally 'vulgarisms' (such as the use of *habeo* with future meaning)[14] allegedly particularly distinctive of African

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[3] See also (e.g.) Kübler (1893a: 178).

[4] See Muller (1929: 94–5), Norden (1958: 588–93), Reichenkron (1965: 287–94). There is a recent review of the whole question by Lancel (1985). See also Contini (1987: 17–19).

[5] See Sittl (1882: 94–5). But cf. Kroll (1897: 585), Brock (1911: 213–14), Lancel (1985: 167–8).

[6] See Sittl (1882: 107–8); earlier, on this 'Hebraism' see Rönsch (1875: 453).

[7] See Sittl (1882: 104–5). Cf. Brock (1911: 219).

[8] See Sittl (1882: 107). Cf. Brock (1911: 218–19).   [9] See Sittl (1882: 100).

[10] See Sittl (1882: 109). For 'Semitic blood' see also Wölfflin (1933: 194) (reprinted from his paper of 1880 on the Latinity of Cassius Felix).

[11] Quoted by Lancel (1981: 165), who at 164–5 discusses the ideologies lying behind assertions of this type.

[12] See Sittl (1882: 112) and the whole section 110–20. For a critique see Kroll (1897: 578–82), Brock (1911: 202–9).

[13] See Sittl (1882: 120–5).

[14] See Sittl (1882: 127–8). Cf. Kroll (1897: 582). *Habeo* + infinitive was to survive widely in Romance, but it is particularly well attested in African texts. See Adams (1991) on the 50+ examples in the African grammarian Pompeius. Raiskila (1990: 212) found 137 occurrences in Tertullian. Did the usage develop earlier in Africa than elsewhere? That is a view which runs consistently through Thielmann (1885) (e.g. 175, 177, 179, 180, 180–2, 192, 201–2), but would be difficult to prove and has not been proved by Thielmann. For an example in an Italian text see VII.11.4, and see in general XI.5.3 on the nature of the usage and the difficulty of attributing it originally to Africa.

texts.[15] The irrelevance of all (or most) of this material to *Africitas* was so effectively exposed by Kroll and Brock that there is no need to discuss any examples. So-called 'archaic' elements reflect the archaising tastes of many late African writers, not the state of the language in Africa,[16] and the 'African' grecisms and vulgarisms can be exemplified from all over the Empire if one takes the trouble to look.[17]

But old notions die hard. There have been attempts to hold on to some of Sittl's data as offering glimpses of local practice, and, worse, the idea that African Latin preserved features from the archaic period has resurfaced in very recent times. I discuss this revival in the next section, prefacing my remarks with a few facts about the colonisation of Africa.

1.1   African Latin as 'archaic'

The Romans formed a new province in the northern part of Tunisia at the end of the Punic Wars in 146 BC.[18] The Roman holdings went on growing over a long period. Caesar added to Africa Vetus the Numidian territory of Juba I, and founded colonies such as Clupea, Curubis and Neapolis. Under Augustus, 'the united province (Africa Proconsularis) extended from Cyrenaica to the river Amsagas. At least eleven colonies were founded in it, and the flow of Italian immigrants was substantial. Thirteen colonies were founded on the coast of Mauretania, which, however, was ruled by the client prince Juba II . . . The provincialization of North Africa was completed by Claudius with the creation of two provinces in Mauretania' (*OCD*²). It should be clear from this summary that the Roman occupation was gradual, with new settlers coming in over several centuries. Yet here too the theory that the Latin of each province reflected the state of the Latin language at the date of its first colonisation will not go away. Wölfflin, who, as we saw in chapter VI (2 n. 15, 2.8), subscribed to the theory as applied to Spain, in 1892 (470–1) asserted that the 'Latin of Plautus and Cato' came to Africa with soldiers, functionaries and traders in 146 BC and maintained itself there essentially unchanged ('und hielt sich da im wesentlichen unverändert'). He went on to modify this assertion slightly (471), raising the question whether therefore *Africitas* was the same as *sermo priscus* and allowing that developments also occurred. Wölfflin's view was strongly criticised at the time by Kroll (1897: 574, with the discussion to 578) and soon afterwards by Brock (1911: 182–3), and more recently has

[15] See Sittl (1882: 125–40). Cf. Kroll (1897: 582–3).
[16] See the discussion of Kroll (1897: 574–8).   [17] On vulgarisms see Kroll (1897: 582–4).
[18] I base the following summary on B. H. Warmington, *OCD*² s.v. 'Africa, Roman'.

been (rightly) described by Lancel (1985: 166) as 'naive', but oddly it still lingers on. Petersmann as recently as 1998 (125) not only suggested that features of African Latin can be traced back to early settlers in the second century BC (see above, VI.2.13) but also implied that Oscan left its mark as well. The notion underlying these views is that Africa existed in isolation and that the 'Latin of Plautus and Cato' was detached from developments in the language. The theory pays no attention to linguistic evidence or to the historical facts: Africa, as we have just noted, far from being cut off, was constantly receiving immigrants over a long period. Wölfflin (e.g. 1892: 474–5) cited a few terms (e.g. *perpes = perpetuus*) found in early Latin and in late African writers, but these do not represent survivals in the isolated speech of Africa. Plautine Latin in particular was studied and used as a source of recherché terms from Apuleius onwards by literary figures. Wölfflin was in effect failing to make a distinction between the ordinary Latin speech that might have produced a Romance language, and the high literary language drawn often from sources of some antiquity. It may be possible to find the odd usage attested only in high-style African writers (see below, 1.2.1), but if so such would be not regionalisms of (spoken) African Latin but modish artificial mannerisms picked up from one African writer by another.

Not all of Sittl's evidence has been totally discredited. I next discuss two items which have been treated as possibly significant.

1.2   Two usages

1.2.1   quantum etiam (= sed etiam)
Sittl (1882: 137–8) noted *quantum etiam* (= *sed etiam*, in the expression *non solum/tantum . . . quantum etiam*) as a possible Africanism found in Fulgentius. The usage was studied by Braun (1969). He observed that according to Hofmann and Szantyr (1965: 518) it is found first in Fulgentius, but was able to cite (133) earlier examples from the *Liber promissionum et praedictorum Dei*, a work written between 445 and 451 near Naples by an African author; he also found (134–5) a few other African examples. However the expression is to be explained, it must derive from some sort of conflation (see Braun 1969: 136). Braun (137–8) cites Virg. *Georg.* 4.100– 2 *mella . . . nec tantum dulcia quantum / et liquida et durum Bacchi domitura saporem* ('honey . . . not so much sweet as clear and able to subdue the harsh taste of wine'). Perhaps the 'African' expression represents a conflation of *non tantum . . . quantum* and *non tantum . . . sed etiam*, given the close- ness of meaning of *nec tantum . . . quantum* here to *non tantum . . . sed*

etiam. Lancel (1985: 173) was prepared to concede that this may be a rare case where Sittl was right. Braun raised the possibility that the expression might have been a 'provincialism'. I do not attach any weight to this item. Expressions meaning 'not only . . . but also' belong typically to literary or formal language rather than colloquial speech. The construction might have developed by means of conflation in an African writer and then been picked up by others; it is at best a 'literary regionalism'.

1.2.2 *Pluperfect subjunctive for imperfect*

Lancel (1985: 168 with n. 34) notes that proponents of *Africitas* have paid particular attention to the use of the pluperfect subjunctive for the imperfect in dependent clauses. He cites as an example Optatus 1.26 *petiit ut reuerti licuisset* ('he sought that it might be permissible to return'). The usage is dealt with by Sittl (1882: 132–4). Lancel accepts that it is found mainly, if not exclusively, in African authors ('cette pratique se rencontre très majoritairement, sinon exclusivement, dans des textes d'auteurs africains'), and to explain away its significance uses the argument that at this period there is a relative absence of non-African Latin literature to provide a comparison. To his credit, Sittl, while maintaining that it was a special feature of African Latin, had cited (133) quite a few examples from non-African writers and noted (132) that Koehler (1878: 418) had observed the usage in the *Bellum Hispaniense.*[19]

It is not clear why some have thought this usage mainly African. It is well known that the pluperfect subjunctive encroached on the imperfect in later Latin and that the encroachment left its mark on part of the Romance-speaking world. The pluperfect subjunctive was 'preserved in the west with imperfect meaning' (Elcock 1960: 142). In late and early medieval Latin pluperfect subjunctive forms with imperfect meaning turn up in texts from diverse places.[20]

2 SOME SOURCES OF INFORMATION ABOUT AFRICAN LATIN

Brock, as we saw above (1), believed that there was no sign of 'provincialism' in the Latin of Africa. It is inconceivable that in a province so long established regional dialects or accents were not to be found, and ancient

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[19] This is not the place to go into details, but Koehler's list of examples is not entirely convincing. For the usage in non-African writers see Brock (1911: 193–4).

[20] See e.g. Bastardas Parera (1953: 155–6) for examples (with further bibliography) from Spain; Adams (1976: 68) for examples from Sicily, Gaul and Italy. See further Bonnet (1890: 640), Vielliard (1927: 224), Thomas (1938: 220–2), Moignet (1959: I, 156).

testimonia suggest that Africans above all others were thought to be recognisable by their speech, and believed this to be so themselves (see XI.2). But anyone attempting to identify features of the local Latin suffers from a disadvantage compared with those investigating the provinces that were to produce Romance languages. Latin was ousted from Africa, and there is no Romance language from which one might work backwards to the Roman period.[21] It has, however, been my aim in this book to use Latin evidence as the primary source of information about the regional diversification of the language, instead of starting from the Romance languages and casting an eye backwards from time to time. There is a vast amount of Latin extant from Africa, not all of it artificial and literary. During the late period Africa was one of the main centres in which Greek medical texts were translated into Latin (another, as we saw in the last chapter, was northern Italy). Non-literary documents have turned up both on ostraca and on wood (I leave aside inscriptions for the moment, following my usual practice; African inscriptions will come up in Chapter X). Texts of these types, though containing technical terms and traditional phraseology, were not immune from the influence of the spoken language. The spread of education and rhetoric in Africa (to use Brock's phrase) affected literary compositions, not the language of mundane practical texts. It is a priori likely that such texts have usages that were not only in spoken use in Africa but also in some cases restricted to that province or even regions within it. It ought to be possible to identify them from their distribution.

But there may be more to go on. North Africa had trading connections with southern Italy and the islands of the western Mediterranean (most notably Sardinia) and also southern Iberia,[22] and it may in theory be possible to find links between the Latin attested in Africa and the Romance languages of some of these regions. Such links, if they could be found, might prompt (for argument's sake) the speculation that the 'lost' Romance language of Africa would have shared features with, say, Sardinian. Romance scholars have indeed posited features common to African Latin (or African proto-Romance) and Sardo-Romance, one of which (the nature of the vowel system) has already come up (IV.4.2) (see 4.6 below for references).

Punic went on being spoken in Africa until well into the Empire (see below, 10), and there was at least one other vernacular language, usually called 'Libyan', which was probably the precursor of Berber. Vernacular

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[21] Schmitt (2003) is a brief review of the *Romania submersa* of Africa.
[22] See the remarks of Mattingly and Hitchner (1995: 200).

loan-words, as we have often seen, were a distinctive feature of local varieties of Latin and are a criterion for placing late texts geographically. Various texts, particularly medical, can be attributed to Africa using this criterion (see below, 4.1–4), and it will emerge that African Latin even at a high educational level had taken on local words (3). Further down the social scale the element of borrowing was even more marked (6, 7). We will look at the distribution of certain non-Latin words (3, 4, 6), not all of which, though African in origin, remained restricted to Africa. The pattern of survival may point to the nature of African trading contacts with other parts of the Empire (3). Another possible clue to the character of African Latin may lie in borrowings from Latin into Berber (10.2; see also 4.7.2, 6.1). If a term with a distinctively African distribution in Latin texts turns out to be found in Berber as well we may be justified in treating it as an African regionalism.

Several of the themes adumbrated in the above paragraphs – borrowings from vernacular languages as a determinant of the regional character of provincial varieties of Latin, links between African Latin and some western Mediterranean forms of Romance as showing, if not features exclusive to *Africitas*, at least the affiliations of African Latin with the Latin of restricted parts of the Romance world – may be illustrated from the use and distribution of one vernacular word (*buda*).

3   A REVEALING LEXICAL EXAMPLE: *BUDA*

Buda as used in Latin is usually given the meaning 'marsh grass, rush, bulrush' or the like. The *TLL* has an entry for *buda* but does not offer a meaning. Lewis and Short (1879) describe the word as 'colloq., = ulva' (*ulua* = 'sedge' or the like: see further below). Ernout and Meillet (1959: 77) gloss with 'ulve, herbe des marais'. Walde and Hofmann (1938–54: I, 121) give the primary meaning as 'Schilfgras' but add a second use, = *stramentum*, 'mat'. *FEW* 1371 offers simply 'Schilf' as the meaning of the Latin etymon of the Romance reflexes (for which see below). André (1985a: 40) defines the word thus: 'plante des marais mal déterminé, dont on faisait des nattes, du genre des Joncs' (note the reference to 'mats', 'nattes' again). Most of these definitions are inadequate as a description of the ways in which *buda* is actually used in extant Latin. One might conclude from them that *buda* in Latin was a botanical term, with a weakly attested secondary meaning 'mat'. In fact there is only a single instance that is strictly botanical.

I start with two examples of the word in the African Augustine, both referring to the same incident, a humiliation inflicted on a presbyter

Marcus.[23] Augustine also describes the same event elsewhere using different, and revealing, language. The two passages with *buda* are as follows: *Epist.* 88.6 (*CSEL* 34) *presbyterum etiam quendam . . . in gurgite etiam caenoso uolutatum, buda uestitum . . . uix post dies XII dimiserunt* ('a certain presbyter . . . rolled as well in a muddy pool and clothed in a rush (?) garment . . . they reluctantly released after twelve days'); *Epist.* 105.3 (*CSEL* 34) *Marcus presbyter . . . in aqua uolutatus, buda uestitus et nescio quot dies in captiuitate retentus est* ('the presbyter Marcus . . . was rolled in water, clothed in a rush (?) garment and kept in captivity for I don't know how many days'). For the other passage see *Contra Cresconium* 3.48.53 (*CSEL* 52) *uester presbyter . . . in lacuna lutulenta uolutatus, amictu iunceo dehonestatus . . . duodecimo uix die dimissus est* ('your presbyter . . . was rolled in a muddy pool, defiled by a cloak of rushes . . . and reluctantly released on the twelfth day'). Here *buda* has been replaced by the phrase *amictu iunceo* (*iunceus* is the adjective from *iuncus*, a 'rush or similar plant, esp. as used for plaiting', *OLD*). One might be tempted to say that in the phrase *buda uestitus*, *buda* is a botanical term, and that the reference is to the victim being wrapped around by plants. But the substitution of *amictus iunceus* for *buda* in the same context in the third passage suggests that *buda* does not designate the plant as such but something made out of the plant, namely a cloak or garment of some sort.

The *Vitae patrum*, a work probably of the sixth century which was translated from Greek and retails anecdotes about the desert fathers, has the following: 5.10.76 (*PL* 73) *uidens autem Aegyptius uestitum mollibus rebus et budam de papyro et pellem stratam sub eo* ('the Egyptian, seeing him clad in soft things and his cloak (?) of papyrus and the skin spread under him . . .'). Here *buda*, with its complement *de papyro*, is obviously not a plant name but an object made of papyrus. The referent is 'clad' in soft things, and has a skin under him. It is likely by a process of elimination that the *buda* was over him, i.e. that it was a coverlet[24] or possibly again a cloak (*amictus*) thrown around his shoulders. Walde and Hofmann (1938–54: I, 121) take the reference to be to a mat, but it is the *pellis* that is under him.

The reference above to papyrus as the plant of which the *buda* is made brings me to the fourth of five examples of *buda*. *Anth. Lat.* 95.2 refers to a candle: *Niliacam texit cerea lamna budam* ('a wax sheet has covered the sedge of the Nile'). The candle is made by encasing papyrus (the wick) in layers of wax. This epigram forms a pair with 94, which describes the same process using different language: 1 *lenta paludigenam*

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[23] On the incident see Lancel (1981: 293).   [24] See Salonius (1920: 364).

uestiuit cera papyrum ('viscous wax has clothed the marsh-grown papyrus'). Here *papyrus* replaces *buda*, and establishes the sense of the phrase *Niliacam budam* in the other epigram.[25] The *buda* is not, I take it, papyrus pure and simple, but something (a wick) that has been made out of papyrus.

What conclusions can be drawn from the above evidence? First, three of the four examples are in African texts. Two are in Augustine, and the poem in the *Latin Anthology* is from a section of the compilation (78–188) of African origin,[26] probably dating from the Vandal period. The *Vitae patrum* has not, as far as I am aware, been attributed to Africa, but the object referred to has a North African connection, in that papyrus came from Egypt. Such a phrase is likely to have originated in North Africa, even if it had spread further afield. Second, *buda*, if it originally had been or still was in use as a botanical term (see further below), had developed secondary uses in African Latin, designating certain things (candle wicks, garments) made out of plants. Third, the association with papyrus is definite in two passages, and Augustine might have had in mind the same object as that in the *Vitae patrum*. But he glosses *buda* in the third passage using the adjective from *iuncus* 'rush' when he might in theory have used *papyrus* instead. I conclude that it is likely that *buda* as a botanical term (assuming that that was its primary use: see below) was variable in meaning. Marsh grasses are difficult to distinguish, and words of this semantic field tend to be similarly difficult to pin down. We have already noted the vagueness of *iuncus*, and *ulua* likewise is defined by the *OLD* as a 'collective term for various grass-like or rush-like aquatic plants, sedges, etc.' Fourth, *buda* was not only replaceable by ordinary Latin (or Greco-Latin) words or circumlocutions, but is so replaced in the work of two of the authors cited (Augustine and the African poet of the Anthology). It looks like an African dialect term, which had the advantage to the user that to replace it in the senses seen so far would usually have required a circumlocution rather than a single word.

There remains one other example of the word, in Claudius Donatus' 'Virgilian interpretations', used as a botanical term: *Aen* 2.135 *in ulua delitui: uluam plerique eam dicunt esse quam uulgo budam appellant: nos nihil dicimus interesse utrum ipsa sit an alterius generis species* ('"I hid in the sedge": many say that *ulua* is that which they commonly call *buda.* I say that it makes no difference whether it is that or a different species'). Little

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[25] I am grateful to Nigel Kay for advice about these passages. For further details see Kay (2006: 79–83).
[26] See Kay (2006: 1–13).

is known about Claudius Donatus, but he has been dated by some to the second half of the fourth century,[27] and may have written in Italy.[28] He appears to have had in mind a particular variety of sedge which cannot be identified from the context.

What stands out is the difference between the African (or quasi-African) examples seen above, all of which designate objects made out of papyrus or some similar plant, and the non-African example, which designates a plant rather than a manufactured object. The contrast shows that there were specialised African uses in the Latin period, contrasting with a use (or uses) which must have been more widespread. The usage in Claudius Donatus was certainly commonplace, because botanical reflexes of *buda* turn up in several Romance languages. *Buda* is reflected in the Iberian peninsula (Catalan *boga*),[29] in southern Occitan (e.g. Languedoc *boueso* 'massette d'eau'),[30] in Sardinia (Logudorese *buda*),[31] Corsica[32] and in southern Italian dialects (Calabrian and Sicilian).[33] The Romance reflexes denote types of marsh grasses, with, as one might expect, some variability of meaning. Catalan *boga* is defined as a 'marsh plant' (Coromines 1980–2001: II, 29 'planta de maresmes'), and equated with *balca*. The dictionary definition of both *boga* and *balca* is 'bulrush'. According to Wagner (1960–4: I, 235) Logudorese *buda* designates a marsh plant, Typha latifolia. French 'massette d'eau', the meaning given by *FEW* I.594 for the reflex in the Languedoc, means 'bulrush'. According to André (1985a: 40) Corsican *buda* designates 'jonc fleuri',[34] i.e. Butomus umbellatus, and Sicilian *buda* = 'massette', i.e. Typha angustifolia and T. latifolia. The Romance distribution of the word is consistent with an origin in Africa. *Buda* might have spread from Africa to southern Italy and Sicily and to Iberia and Provence via Sicily and Sardinia.[35] We have no evidence for the date of its currency in the Latin of any of these places.

[27] See Kaster (1988: 400), Murgia (2003: 47). I am grateful to Nicholas Horsfall for bibliographical advice.

[28] See Brugnoli (1985: 127, 129).

[29] See Coromines (1980–2001: II, 29). There is a view that Portuguese *tabúa* reflects *buda* (with the Berber feminine article as prefix): see e.g. *REW* 1371, Colin (1926: 61), Bertoldi (1937: 145), Hubschmid (1953: 27), Wagner (1960–4: I, 236), *LEI* VII.1413. Machado (1967: III, 2167), however, treats *tabua* as of obscure origin.

[30] See *FEW* I.594.   [31] See Wagner (1960–4: I, 235–6).   [32] See *LEI* VII.1409.

[33] See Rohlfs (1977: 788–9), *FEW* 1371. For a full review of the reflexes in Italo-Romance see *LEI* VII.1408–9.

[34] See *LEI* VII.1409.

[35] See *LEI* VII.1412–13: 'L'uso della pianta spiega la diffusione di un termine tecnico e di mercato oltre i limiti del continente africano nelle regioni costiere ed insulari del Mediterraneo occidentale, dalla Sicilia e dalla Calabria attraverso la Sardegna e la Corsica fino alla Provenza, alla Catalogna e al Portogallo.' See too the remarks of Bertoldi (1951: 18–19).

Further evidence for a distinctively African use of *buda* (of manufactured objects) may arguably be seen in the term *budinarius*, which has been taken to be a derivative of *buda*.[36] *Budinarius* is attested only in the African writer Cyprian: *Epist.* 42 (*CSEL* 3.2, p. 590) *abstinuimus (a communicatione) Sophronium et ipsum de extorribus Soliassum budinarium* ('we have excommunicated Sophronius and also of the exiles Soliassus the *budinarius*'). A term of this type, with suffix *-arius*, would be likely to indicate a maker of the object described by the base-noun. But what is the base? Hartel in the index to *CSEL* 3.3 (p. 413) puts a question mark against *budinarius*. At *TLL* II.2236.83 a derivation from *buda* is suggested, but again with a question mark. A straightforward *-arius* derivative of *buda* would be *budarius* not *budinarius*, the base of which would have to be *budina*. One possibility is to derive *budinarius* from a diminutive of *buda*, **budina*, which would be a formation of a type which will be seen below (4.5.1), not least in African texts (cf. e.g. *micina*). The *budinarius* would thus be a maker of small papyrus objects of one type or another.[37] Souter (1949: 33) defines *budinarius* as 'maker of rush-mats'. But we have not established a clear-cut meaning 'rush-mat' for *buda* (but see the definitions of André and Walde and Hofmann cited in the first paragraph of this section), which presumably Souter took to be the base of *budinarius*. The epistle of Cyprian offers no contextual help. A reasonable guess would be that a *budinarius* was a wick-maker (i.e. candle-maker), which I offer not with any conviction but merely *exempli gratia*. An alternative sense might be 'maker of small garments'.

There has been a tradition of treating *buda* as a loan-word into Latin from 'Libyan' or the like, as it seems to turn up in Berber with the appropriate botanical meaning (*tabuda*, the first part being the Berber feminine article;[38] cf. Arabic dialect *abuda*).[39] Vycichl (2005: 18) oddly includes *buda* in a list of Greek and Latin words borrowed in the reverse direction, that is into Berber from Latin, which cannot be correct, given that *buda* is not a native Latin word (see below). Walde and Hofmann (1938–54: I,

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[36] See e.g. Colin (1926: 61), Bertoldi (1951: 19), Walde and Hofmann (1938–54: I, 121), Lancel (1981: 293), *LEI* VII.1412 n. 17.

[37] I note as a parallel that another suffixal derivative, this time in *-osus* (*ruginosus*), has been plausibly taken (by Niedermann 1954: 334) as based on a reconstructed diminutive form of the same type, viz. **rugina*, from *ruga*.

[38] Vycichl (2005: 18) gives the meaning of the Berber as 'Art Sumpf-Pflanze (massette)'; also Colin (1926: 60), giving the meaning of one term as 'sorte de jonc à tige épaisse dont on fait des coussinets que l'on place sous le joug'.

[39] See Schuchardt (1909: 349–50), Colin (1926: 60–1), Wagner (1936: 21, 1960–4: I, 236), Nencioni (1939: 27–8), Bertoldi (1937: 145, 1951: 15 with n. 30, 18–19), Hubschmid (1953: 26–7), Lancel (1981: 293), *LEI* VII.1412.

121) for their part regard *buda* as a borrowing into Latin, but state that the source language is unknown. *Buda* has no obvious Latin or Indo-European etymology, and its very late attestation in Latin tells against the possibility that it might have been an inherited term.[40] Coromines (1980–2001: II, 29) questions the African origin of the word, and suggests instead that it may be Hispanic. This is to disregard the few facts that we know about the word. In my opinion *buda* must be a borrowing into Latin, and its appearance in texts or collocations with an African connection makes it virtually certain that the source language was spoken in North Africa. It is just the sort of word that might have been borrowed locally from a vernacular language. Various botanical terms will be discussed in this chapter which entered African Latin from local languages. In syllabic structure *buda* is similar to another plant name which, according to Dioscorides, was used by 'Africans', βοιδίν (4.153 RV θαψία . . . Ῥωμαῖοι φερουλάγω, οἱ δὲ φέρουλα σιλβέστρις, Ἄφροι βοιδίν, '*thapsia* ['deadly carrot'] . . . Romans call *ferulago* and others *ferula siluestris*, and Africans *boidin*').[41] See also below, 4.1.2 on another similar African botanical term, βοιββά. Pliny the Elder (5.37) mentions a North African town name *Tabudium*,[42] which cannot but have an African root of some sort.

The Romance reflexes correspond in meaning to the Berber terms. The African botanical term must have been carried abroad from North Africa to neighbouring Mediterranean regions and by stages further afield. In African Latin itself the word developed specialised meanings which do not seem to be represented outside Africa (except in the special case of the example in the *Vitae patrum*).

Various conclusions can be drawn from this case. First, if we accept that the botanical term *buda* was of African origin, its pattern of attestation in Romance points to the line of communications that must have existed in the later Roman period from Africa through the islands of the western Mediterranean as far as Iberia, and it should cause no surprise if we happen to find lexical connections between Africa on the one hand and one or other of the places just listed (in which I include Sardinia, which will come up again, as will Spain). The form of diffusion represented by the spread of the term is of the type described as 'parachuting' in the first chapter (I.5), and in this case it would have been traders in the substance so named who caused the diffusion of the word. For another example of transmission across space effected by an identifiable group see above, V.4.3, p. 326 on

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[40] On these points see Walde and Hofmann (1938–54: I, 121).   [41] See Bertoldi (1951: 19).

[42] On this see Desanges (1980: 400), noting that '*Abuda, tabuda* désigne chez les Kabyles le jonc de marais'.

granica. Second, it is in what I take to be its primary, botanical, meaning that the word spread abroad. Back in Africa *buda* acquired a specialised use of certain objects made of rush or papyrus, and that use constitutes an African regionalism. It was noted at I.11 that when a usage is transported to another place a regional variation may be set up if that usage undergoes a linguistic change in its place of origin but not in its new abode (see further below, 11.4.3).

It was stated above (1) that African Latin existed as a regional variety, but was not to be found in the sorts of texts in which Sittl had looked for it. In sections 4–7 I will consider some texts different in character from those that have typically been discussed in this connection. In 4 I will deal with four medical works which may be attributed to Africa on linguistic grounds, and will (at the risk of circularity) draw conclusions from them about features of African Latin. In 5 a few items from the African grammarian Nonius Marcellus will be discussed, but most will turn out to be insignificant. More interesting are two non-literary corpora with a known African provenance, the *Tablettes Albertini* (6) and the Bu Njem ostraca (7). With the exception of Nonius these texts reflect the lower social and educational dialects, and are thus likely to betray their regional origins as well.

4   SOME MEDICAL TEXTS IDENTIFIABLE AS AFRICAN ON LINGUISTIC EVIDENCE

I turn now to a group of medical texts, most without a certain provenance (Cassius Felix is an exception), which in my opinion can be assigned to Africa on internal (linguistic) evidence using criteria that have been employed elsewhere in this book. A decisive component are words of African (Punic, Libyan or the like) origin which, like many vernacular borrowings into Latin in the late period, had established no currency beyond the area of their entry into the language. In themselves such terms will constitute regionalisms in the strong sense if they turn out to have run-of-the-mill synonyms current elsewhere in Latin. But there may be other consequences of identifying a fairly mundane text as of African provenance. It may be possible to find in it other linguistic oddities (as distinct from loan-words) which constitute features of African Latin usage.

In the following discussion I include some metalinguistic comments which might have been dealt with in an earlier chapter. It is not always convenient to separate comments about a regionalism from the use of the regionalism embedded in a text without comment. A term may be used in the same text in different ways, flagged as regional or unflagged.

4.1   Mustio

There is a Latin translation (better, adaptation) attributed to a certain Mustio (or Muscio) of Soranus' *Gynaecia*, an extant work in four books, and of another, more elementary, work of question-and-answer format by Soranus, now lost.[43] The Latin (sometimes referred to as 'Soranus Latinus') is much abbreviated and often does not correspond closely to the Greek work that survives.

   The view that the translation is African is not new. André (1954b: 54) argued that Mustio was an African from the presence of *ginga* and *zenzur* in the text. The same point based on the same evidence had been made by Rose (1882: iv). I set out the details in full.

4.1.1   ginga *'henbane'*
Note p. 69.20 *aut de herbis haec epithimata fiant, hoc est portulaca, ginga, herba pulicari, zenzur* ('or from plants let the following applications be made, that is purslain, henbane,[44] *pulicaria* ['herbe-aux-puces', André 1985a: 211], *zenzur*').

   Ginga was an African word: cf. ps.-Apul. *Herb.* 4 line 26, app. crit. p. 33 Howald and Sigerist (1927), where an interpolation has *Punici gingan* as a gloss on *iosciamum* (4 line 25). For *ginga* at p. 69.20 above as an equivalent of ὑοσκύαμος see André (1954b: 54), citing the Greek p. 336.19 Rose = 3.41.7, p. 120.23 Ilberg (1927). André (1985a: 110) compares Berber *quingatt, gingez*.

4.1.2   boba *'mallow'*
For this word see p. 51.9 *ex sucis . . . radicum bobae* ('from the juice . . . of the roots of *boba*'); also p. 52.12 . . . *accipiant et radices althaeae bobae, deinde supermissa aqua decoquantur* ('they should receive . . . and also roots of marshmallow, then water should be poured over them and they should be boiled down'), = Soranus 3.13.2, p. 102.23 Ilberg (1927) ἀφέψημα . . . μολόχης ἡμέρου ἢ ἀγρίας ('a decoction . . . of cultivated or wild mallow'; μολόχη = μαλάχη, 'mallow').

   The *TLL* (II.2057.4) offers no details. André (1985a: 37), translating as 'mauves sauvages', says that the word is an African borrowing. See also André (1954b: 53–5). The word is stated to have been used by Africans at Diosc.

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[43] For the Latin see Rose (1882). The extant Greek work is published by Rose in the same volume, but the standard edition is now that of Ilberg (1927), which I quote here. For some remarks about Mustio and the relationship of his work to Soranus, see Sabbah, Corsetti and Fischer (1987: 118).

[44] French *jusquiame*: see André (1985a: 110) s.v. *ginga*.

2.118 Wellmann 1906–14: I, p. 191.15 Ῥωμαῖοι μάλβα ῥούστικα, Ἄφροι βοιββά ('The Romans call [wild mallow] *malua rustica*, the Africans call it *boibba*').

4.1.3 zenzur *'knot-grass, Polygonon aviculare'*

Zenzur occurs at pp. 69.5, 69.21, 101.17. At ps.-Apul. *Herb.* 18 line 27, app. crit. p. 55 Howald and Sigerist (1927) there is an interpolation *Punici zunzur*. On the word as African in origin see André (1985a: 279). It is equivalent to πολύγονος (cf., for the original of p. 69.21, Soranus 3.41.7, p. 120.24 Ilberg (1927) πολυγόνου).[45]

   All three words had Latin or Greco-Latin synonyms. *Malua* 'mallow', whatever its origin, was well established in Latin, and the Greek terms *hyoscyamos* and *polygonos* had both been borrowed by Latin.[46] Mustio presents himself indirectly in the preface as a man of education, in that he, unlike midwives, knows Greek (p. 3), and suggests that he will have to talk down to his expected readership (midwives) if they are to understand him. He embeds the three African terms in the text without comment, thereby showing that they were well established dialect words in Africa. We will see below (4.5.5) another word in Mustio (this time a native Latin formation rather than a borrowing) restricted to African texts; see also 4.5.6 on *ubuppa*.

4.2   Cassius Felix

There are internal reasons of a non-linguistic kind for regarding Cassius Felix as an African.[47] For example, at p. 20.16 he alludes to the *stigmata* on the faces of Moorish women in a manner suggestive of personal knowledge,[48] just as the African grammarian Pompeius refers revealingly to Moors at *GL* V.205.5–6.[49] But it is the linguistic evidence that is decisive.[50] The item (p. 32.12) *herbam putidam quam punice aturbis dicunt* ('the stinking herb which they call in Punic "aturbis"') is unlikely to have been put in a medical text anywhere but in North Africa. This word is presented as Punic but may have been in use in local Latin, given the implication that there was no obvious Latin alternative. This evidence is important as establishing the provenance of the text and it does have a

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[45] See André (1954b: 54).   [46] See André (1985a: 127, 204).
[47] See Sabbah (1985: 282–5) and now also Fraisse (2002: vii–viii).
[48] See Sabbah (1985: 285), Fraisse (2002: viii).
[49] On Pompeius as an African see Kaster (1988: 343), using the evidence just cited.
[50] Sabbah (1985: 285) is incomplete. There is a fuller list of items at Fraisse (2002: viii).

possible bearing on African Latin, but if I am right in suggesting that the word had no Latin equivalent it was not a dialect term in the strong sense. But not all the exotic terms in Cassius are of this type. There are others that might have been replaced by Latin or Greco-Latin equivalents, and these are suggestive of a local dialect influenced by the substrate languages.

4.2.1 girba

Cassius four times uses *girba* of a mortar: e.g. p. 186.6 *in girba mittes et tundes* ('put in a mortar and crush'), p. 63.5 *in girba contusis* ('when they have been crushed in a mortar'); see too pp. 70.20, 174.5, also with *mittes*. *Girba* is discussed as a Semitic term by Fraisse (2002: 72 n. 241), with bibliography. The word seems originally to have designated a leather container for liquids but then in Latin became a synonym of *mortarium*.[51]

4.2.2 zaccario

Found at p. 167.4: *primo impones herbam quam dicunt zaccarionem* ('at first put on the plant which they call *zaccario*'). André (1985a: 279) observes, 'terme sans doute africain'. He identifies it with French *gattilier*.[52] *Zaccario* is attested only in Cassius.

4.2.3 sefr(i)a

Ps.-Diosc. *Herb. fem.* 1 Kästner (1896: 590) has *echinum, quam Afri sefriam uocant* ('the *echinus* [literally 'hedgehog', a term apparently applied to a type or types of prickly thistle], which Africans call *sefria*'). At Cassius Felix p. 17.12 *sefra* is used to gloss a different term: *chamaeleontis nigri radicis id est sefra [nigra]* ('root of black chameleon, that is [black] *sefra*').[53] χαμαιλέων was a variety of thistle, so called because it changed colour. The same gloss occurs at p. 186.14. There is a difference between the gloss in ps.-Dioscorides above and the expression in Cassius. The first need not be taken as a comment on African Latin: the writer might have been giving information about Punic. Cassius, however, does not present *sefra* as an alien term; it is the Greek word that is glossed, and *sefra* seems to be treated as an everyday (Latin) term. For *sefra* as a word of African Latin see also André (1985a: 233).

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[51] On this word in Cassius Felix see also Adams (2003a: 454).

[52] See André (1954b: 63–4), Fraisse (2002: 235 n. 595), observing 'désigne peut-être le gattilier, plante des régions méditerranéennes à laquelle on attribuait des vertus calmantes'.

[53] Fraisse here (9.4 in her numeration) restores the feminine of the manuscript tradition (*cameleontae nigrae radicis id est sefra nigra*), defending her decision at 22 n. 79. *Sefra nigra* seems to be a nominative of apposition, where one might have expected a genitive in agreement with *cameleontae nigrae*.

4.2.4 c(h)erda

Another African plant name (of Punic or Libyan/Berber origin) was *c(h)erda*, for which see ps.-Diosc. *Herb. fem.* 53 Kästner (1896: 628) *(eryngion) quam Afri cherdan uocant* ('[the eringo], which Africans call *cherdà*). According to André (1985a: 62) ἠρύγγιον was equivalent to French *panicaut* ('sea holly').[54] Cassius embeds the word in the text (as distinct from employing it in a gloss) at p. 167.13 *radices cerdae quae latiora folia ostendit ruta siluestri* ('roots of the *cerda* which displays broader leaves than wild rue'). Rose's text incorporates several emendations. Fraisse (2002: 187) 69.2 prints *radices cerdae quae latioris folia ostendit rutae siluestris* ('racine de panicaut . . . qui présente les feuilles d'une rue sauvage assez large'). The word occurs at *Mul. Chir.* 944 (*sucum cerde*), where it is erroneously obelised by Oder, who suggests *cedri* in the apparatus. On the *Mulomedicina* and its origin see further below, 4.5.4, 11, p. 576, XI.3.7.1.

4.2.5 gelela

Gelela is a Semitic word[55] which turns up in Cassius in a gloss describing it as current among the *uulgus*: p. 176.17 *coloquintidis interioris carnis, quam uulgus gelelam uocat* ('the inner flesh of a gourd which the ordinary people call a *gelelà*). The only other instance of *gelela* cited by the *TLL* (VI.2–3.1726.8) is ascribed to *Afri*: ps.-Diosc. *Herb. fem.* 46 Kästner (1896: 621) *cucurbita agrestis quam Afri gelelam uocant* ('a wild gourd which the Africans call *gelelà*).[56] André (1985a: 109) added an example: *Dynamidia* 2.101 *colocynthis agria, hoc est cucurbita siluatica, id est galala* ('the wild *colocynthis*, that is the wild *cucurbita*, that is the *galala* "gourd"').[57] Here the writer gave the Greek, Latin and African terms for 'gourd'. There is now another attestation of the word (see below, next paragraph).

The above material from Cassius Felix is a mixed bag. Several of the items are glosses (*aturbis, zaccario*) which might be no more than comments on Punic words still heard in Africa. If they had entered African Latin they probably had specialised meanings which could not have been expressed in Latin or Greco-Latin, and are thus of limited interest. Other terms, however, are embedded in the text in one way or another (*girba, sefr(i)a, c(h)erda*) and are known to have had Latin or Greco-Latin equivalents; these are dialect terms of African Latin. *Gelela*, finally, occurs only in a gloss in Cassius, but we now know (from the text the *Liber tertius*: see below, 4.4)

54 Cf. André's fuller discussion (1954b: 55).
55 See André (1985a: 109), Adams (2003a: 454) with bibliography.
56 The gloss may in theory refer to a Semitic language.
57 For this work, of which there is not a critical edition, see Sabbah, Corsetti and Fischer (1987: 74), no. 226.

that the word (meaning 'gourd', and thus having mundane equivalents) had entered African Latin. Cassius' gloss *quam uulgus gelelam uocat* can be taken as an allusion to African Latin at a low social level. It may be concluded from this material that in regions where there was a substrate language borrowings to do with the local flora were likely to be taken into Latin even when there was a Latin term available (see XI.5.1 on flora), and that borrowing was particularly likely to take place at a humble social level, possibly effected in the first place by native speakers of the substrate using Latin as a second language.

It is of interest that *cerda* is in the *Mulomedicina Chironis*.

4.3   Dioscorides

Langslow (2000: 70) remarks that the Latin translation of the five books of the *Materia medica* of Dioscorides Pedanius of Anazarbus 'is of unknown provenance'.[58] It has, however, tended to be treated as of Italian origin, as by Mazzini (1981: 434–5) and Rohlfs (1969b: 29); see also Coromines (1980–2001) s.v. *dida*. In my opinion the translation is African.[59] I base this view on the fact that the translator embeds the Semitic term *girba* 'mortar' in the text without comment, just as Cassius Felix had done, and in much the same collocations. There are also some other suggestive usages in the work, as we will see below (4.5.2, 4.5.3, 4.5.5, 4.7.1, 4.7.2, 4.7.4).

Note first 2, p. 210.19 Stadler (1899): *misso in girba tunditur leuiter* ('it is put in a mortar and crushed lightly'). The Greek (2.92 Wellmann 1906–14: I, p. 172.10) is as follows: ἀθήρα δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἀληλεσμένης εἰς λεπτὸν ζέας σκευάζεται ('gruel is prepared from one-seeded wheat ground fine'). There is a difference between the Greek and the Latin. The Latin has a noun for 'mortar' (*girba*) in a verb phrase with *tunditur*, whereas the Greek has a participle ('ground') but no noun. The same verb phrase is in book 1 of the Latin: p. 71.20 Hofmann and Auracher (1883) *in girba tundes*. Here the Greek is closer (1.32.1 Wellmann 1906–14: I, p. 37.1 ἔμβαλλε εἰς ὅλμον, 'put in the mortar'). The Latin expression looks like a local one for grinding (for the phraseology see above, 4.2.1, on Cassius Felix), such that a translator might sometimes have fallen into it even when his source had no corresponding noun.[60]

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[58] For the text of the various books see Hofmann and Auracher (1883), Stadler (1899, 1901, 1902).

[59] Cf. Mihăescu (1938: 339).

[60] I note another curious usage in the translation. *Acutus* is several times used in the sense 'nail' (see Mihăescu 1938: 338): note e.g. 5, p. 204.1 Stadler (1902) *conficitur uero de acutis, id est de clauibus nauium* ('it is made from nails, that is ships' nails'). The same use of *acutus* occurs in the next sentence, and at pp. 204.7, 205.8. The Greek corresponding to the above passage (5.76 Wellmann

<div style="text-align:center">4.4   Liber tertius</div>

The *Liber tertius* is a late translation of a lost Greek therapeutic manual of the imperial period (AD 100–400). The Latin translation is transmitted as part of a late antique (or early medieval) corpus of therapeutic manuals. It is called *Liber tertius* and has been ascribed to Galen because in that corpus it follows immediately after the Latin translation of Galen's two books to Glaucon on therapy.[61] It has recently been edited from one manuscript for the first time by Fischer (2003a). The Latin has several markers of an African origin, including one of the exotic terms we saw above (4.2.5) in Cassius Felix: 44.5 *aperis gelela<m> in breui foramine et ex ea omnia quae intus sunt proicis* ('open a gourd with a small hole and get out all that is inside'). Whereas in Cassius, as we noted, *gelela* occurs only in a gloss, here it is used without comment in the body of the text. The item establishes the *Liber tertius* as an African text, at least in part.[62] *Gelela* stands in a dialectal contrast with *cocotia* (*cucutia*), another popular term for 'gourd' but in use in Italy (see VII.11.3.2.9).

<div style="text-align:center">4.5   Some further features of the above texts</div>

In the above discussion of four medical works I have concentrated on substrate elements as indicative of the provenance of the texts and as showing one feature of African Latin (borrowing from the substrate as a source of dialect terms). The works also have native Latin Africanisms. I start with a clear case in the *Liber tertius*.

4.5.1   baiae *'baths'*

The *Liber tertius* has an expression obelised by Fischer which in fact reveals the origin of the work (or part of it): 70.16, p. 330 *baiae calidae, id est aquae calidinae. Baiae*, originally the name of a fashionable place on the Bay of Naples famous for its hot springs, came to be used as a common noun meaning 'baths' in late Latin, in which sense it is securely attested only in Africa. Kay (2006: 130) cites the following examples: *Anth. Lat.* 97.1, 99.1, 101.1, 158.1, 202.1, 372.1, *ILCV* 787.1 (= Courtney 1995, 43), 788.1, *AE* 1968.610.1. I quote his comments: 'In this specialised meaning *baiae* is mostly attested in the first line of bath poems of North African provenance.

1906–14: III, p. 45.5) is σκευάζεται δ' ἐκ τῶν ναυτίλων ἥλων (see also p. 45.12). *Acutus* occurs several times in Latin in this sense (*TLL* I.468.9ff.). The usage is reflected in Italy (see *LEI* I.588–9, 591). Was it once more widespread, or was the translation of mixed origin in some sense?

[61] For a discussion of the work see Fischer (2003b).

[62] Such works tend to be compilations, with material taken from different sources.

Some examples (from *TLL* 2.1684.13f.) which might seem to be exceptions can be distinguished, because in them the noun is qualified by an adjective which indicates that the reference is to "a second Baiae". . . But *CE* 1255.3f. (= *CIL* 14.480, from Ostia), an epitaph for one Socrates of Tralles, is more problematic . . . However, it seems at least possible that "Baiae" is there the place proper, and that Socrates was commemorated for performing some official role in connection with it, it being the only activity in the epitaph which illustrates his claim to an "honorifica vita".' The connection of the usage with Africa is so strong that the phrase quoted at the start of this paragraph must have been written in Africa or by an African.

Calidinae in the same passage is recognisable as a late Latin diminutive in *-inus* of the type seen in (e.g.) *miserinus* and also Italian *poverino* (see above, 3, p. 526, on the etymology of *budinarius*),[63] and attested (e.g.) several times in the African Mustio: p. 43.1 <u>micinas in mulsa uel in condito aut in lacte infusas</u> ('little mouthfuls/crumbs dipped in hydromel or flavoured drink or milk'), 43.6 *titina* ('little teat', of a baby's drinking vessel; for the whole passage see below, 4.5.6). For other African examples see *CIL* VIII.12794 *miserinus*, and the reconstructed *rugina 'little wrinkle' which seems to lie behind the adjective *ruginosa* at Caelius Aurelianus *Acut.* 1.86.[64] Another possible African instance is *rupina*, a derivative of *rupes*, which occurs several times in Apuleius (e.g. *Met.* 6.26).[65] This diminutive suffix was not confined to Africa, as can be seen from Niedermann's collection of material (1954), but it was productive there. In Romance it developed a particular productivity in Italian and Portuguese, whereas in French it is confined to Italian loan-words.[66]

4.5.2 dulcor

Dulcor is used in the *Liber tertius* of a sweet drink or liquid:[67] e.g. 4.3 *caricas infusas in dulcore* ('figs soaked in *dulcor*'). See further 20.1, 23.3, 23.4, 25.1, 29.1, 33.5, 46.2, 54.2, 47.1, 68.3. *Dulcor*, a late word, was abstract in meaning originally, but came to be applied to a 'sweet thing' (*TLL* V.1.2199.3ff.). In the Latin translation of Dioscorides *dulcor* is used to translate γλυκύς sc. οἶνος, i.e. 'raisin wine', Lat. *passum* (see LSJ s.v. γλυκύς II, giving the meaning as 'grape-syrup'): see *TLL* V.1.2199.8–9. This usage represents a specialisation of the concrete sense mentioned above. The specialisation seems to be confined to African texts. Apart from

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[63] See Niedermann (1954), Leumann (1977: 327).
[64] For these instances see Niedermann (1954: 330, 334).   [65] I owe this suggestion to Nigel Kay.
[66] For the Romance situation see Niedermann (1954: 329 with n. 1).
[67] I owe this observation to K.-D. Fischer.

the examples in the *Liber tertius* and the translation of Dioscorides there is an example in Cassius Felix (p. 50.20). Fraisse (2002: 60 n. 201) follows Rose (1879: 233–4) in equating the word with γλεῦκος, = Lat. *mustum* ('unfermented or only partially fermented grape-juice', *OLD*; LSJ gives two meanings for γλεῦκος, 'sweet new wine' and 'grape-juice'). Neither Rose nor Fraisse offers any arguments in favour of this view, but the precise sense is not significant for our purposes. The word seems to be an African equivalent of an existing Latin term, whether that is taken to be *passum* or *mustum*.[68] The one other example cited by the *TLL* is from the so-called excerpts of Caelius Aurelianus, another text of possible African origin (but published in no critical edition).

Nouns in *-or* were favoured in the late medical language, usually denoting 'a pathological sign or symptom, a physical or mental accompaniment to disease' (Langslow 2000: 295).[69] Some of them developed concrete meanings, as Langslow (2000: 298) notes. *Dulcor* is not of the same semantic category as Langslow's terms, but in the sense noted above it does belong to medical language. If it was an Africanism, it may have been an African medical term rather than a term in widespread use.

4.5.3   acina

Another usage which the *Liber tertius* shares with several other African texts is the feminine *acina* meaning 'grape': 31.1 *nucleos acinarum quae in aqua[s] bulliunt* ('seeds of grapes which boil/are boiled in water'). Another example (at 52.5) is of indeterminate gender (*acinis*). The usual genders of the word in Latin are masculine (*acinus*) or neuter (*acinum*). The rarity of the feminine is noted at *TLL* I.414.38, and a full list of the feminine examples known at the time given at 414.51f. (see also above, VI.2.13). These comprise four examples in the translation of Dioscorides,[70] one in Caelius Aurelianus and one in Cassius Felix, all of them African works; there is also an example cited from the *Notae Tironianae*. The Romance words of this semantic field are of some interest (see too the discussion at VI.2.13). *Racemus* and *uua* survive across a wide area.[71] The feminine *acina* survives only in Sardinia and in a small pocket in northern Calabria and southern Lucania (details in Rohlfs: see map 11 here). We now have strong evidence that *acina* was current in Africa as well, though it has to be said that

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[68] At *Lib. tert.* 68.3 *dulcor* is used once and *passum* twice, in such a way as to imply a difference of meaning. *Dulcor* might have been used by different (African) writers for different things, raisin wine or must.

[69] See Langslow's discussion of the formation (2000: 293–9).

[70] See e.g. 5, p. 167.6–7 Stadler (1902) <u>*acinas*</u> *habet immaturas . . .* <u>*acinas*</u> *minutas habet et paulo maturas et nigras.*

[71] Details can be found in Rohlfs (1954a: 40).

the Sardinian feminine forms are collective in meaning ('grapes'), whereas to judge from the example quoted above *acina* if used in the singular in African Latin would have denoted a single grape (cf. the passage of Dioscorides cited at n. 70). We have already seen (3) one sign of a connection between Africa and Sardinia (*buda*, probably an African word in origin, survives in Sardinian, but elsewhere as well), and other correspondences will be discussed below (see 4.6 for references and for some reservations about the significance of such material; also, in general, XI.3.7). I pursue this theme[72] further with a more striking correspondence.

4.5.4 pala

Pala in its literal sense denoted an agricultural implement ('spade, winnowing shovel'), but in late Latin it came to be applied to the shoulder-blade.[73] There are two possible examples of the new meaning applied to animals in the *Mulomedicina Chironis* (573, 984),[74] but more striking is the distribution of the usage as it is applied to the human anatomy. The examples are all later than the *Mulomedicina*, and all in African writers. The *TLL* (X.1.97.36ff.) cites cases from Caelius Aurelianus, Vindicianus, Cassius Felix and Victor Vitensis.[75] Nor are they infrequent: I count thirteen examples in the *TLL* article. Another can be added from the *Liber tertius*: 32.1 *et dolor percutit thoracem et post palam* ('and the pain strikes the chest and then the shoulder-blade' [or 'behind the shoulder-blade']). This last case follows *scapulas* in the previous sentence; several of the examples cited by the *TLL* are supported, as it were, by the proximity of the traditional term *scapula*, as if the writer was hesitant about admitting the innovatory usage without a gloss. In the sense 'shoulder' the word survives in Romance only in Sardinia (map 12).[76]

What is to be made of the examples in the *Mulomedicina*? We saw earlier an African term in the work (*cerda*, above 4.2.4),[77] and it has been argued that it has Sardinian elements.[78] Grevander (see n. 78) may have been

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[72] See Wagner (1936: 28–30) for terms said to be shared by Sardinian and 'African Latin', as evidenced indirectly by loan-words into Berber. See also Rohlfs (1954a: 28 with n. 2).

[73] See André (1991: 86), Adams (1995b: 393–4).

[74] See the remarks of Adams (1995b: 393) on the interpretation of these examples.

[75] On the example in the last writer see Pitkäranta (1978: 118).

[76] See Rohlfs (1954a: 43, 89).

[77] *Mul. Chir.* 791 mentions a plant *barbata herba*, presumably the same one as the African *barbata* of ps.-Diosc. *Herb. fem.* 60 Kästner (1896: 632) *quam Afri barbatam uocant*. See André (1985a: 33), defining that in ps.-Diosc. as equivalent to French *orcanette*.

[78] See Wagner (1917: 235, 1921: 103), Grevander (1926: 129–40) (but not noting *pala*). There is a review of the bibliography by Cózar (2005: xix–xx). Grevander (see 130) is more cautious than to try to pin the author down to Sardinia. He speaks loosely of a wider dialect area embracing northern Italy, Spain, Sardinia and Sicily. Is North Africa to be added? See below, 9.3 and the summary at 11, p. 576; also XI.3.7.1.

thinking along the right lines when he sought to locate the text in a much wider dialect region.[79] Alternatively the compiler may have been located in a south-eastern region and have had access to remedies from adjacent parts (see below, XI.3.7.1).

4.5.5 dida

Dida, a reduplicated nursery term, is found in just two texts (and as well in a gloss), both of them African, Mustio's translation and adaptation of Soranus' work on gynaecology, and the Latin translation of Dioscorides. The word is attested in two meanings. In just one place (Mustio p. 40.3) it means 'wet nurse'; usually it refers to the breast/nipple.[80]

In the latter meaning the word occurs four times in the Latin Dioscorides. There is an example in the first book where the Greek is not extant: 1, p. 72.1–2 Hofmann and Auracher (1883) *didas pendentes colligit* ('it gathers pendulous breasts'). There are three further examples in a cluster in book 5, all of them rendering μαστός. Note e.g. 5, p. 240.9 Stadler (1902) *cum aqua tritus inpositus didas tumentes et testes curat* ('crushed with water and placed on it[81] cures swollen breasts and testicles') alongside 5.150 Wellmann 1906–14: III, p. 103.3 (λίθος γεώδης) καταχρισθεὶς δὲ μεθ' ὕδατος μαστῶν καὶ ὄρχεων παύει φλεγμονάς ('[an earthy stone] rubbed on with water stops swellings of the breasts and testicles'). The phraseology of the Latin and Greek at 5, p. 241.6 = 5.153, III, p. 104.13 is much the same as that in the passages just quoted. For the third example see 5, p. 240.5 = 5.149, III, p. 102.14–15.

In Mustio *dida* 'breast' occurs eight times (pp. 12.21, 17.1, 17.15, 37.23, 38.7, 38.24, 39.2, 42.21). *Dida* must have been in use in Africa, but it may have been more widespread than its limited appearances in Latin suggest. It seems to survive in Catalan, where its meaning, as in one of the passages of Mustio, is 'wet nurse'.[82] Catalan aside, it has to be said that not all the Romance evidence which has been adduced in relation to *dida* is convincing. There is a view that it also survives in Sardinia. André (1991: 223) cites Logudorese *dida*, to which he gives the meaning 'tétine', and Heraeus (1937: 173) also refers to a Sardinian survival. This doctrine is not accepted by Wagner (1960–64). *Dìda* = 'nurse' is cited by Wagner (1960–4: I, 466) from Campidanese, but as a borrowing from Catalan rather than a

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[79] Suggestive of Italy is the use of *famex* at *Mul. Chir.* 636, 698; for its Romance outcome see Adams (1995b: 270). See also above, 11.2.3, p. 468, 11.3.2.14.
[80] Full details may be found in Adams (2005c).
[81] The subject is missing but must be *lapis* + adjective.
[82] See Coromines (1980–2001: III, 128–30).

direct descendant of Lat. *dida*. Another term, *ḍḍèḍḍa*, meaning 'teat, nurse' in Logudorese, is explained as an abbreviation of *tittèḍḍa* (1960–4: I, 457), and Corominas[83] is criticised for interpreting the word as a reflex of the Latin *dida*.

There is another term, *titta*, which differs from *dida* in having a voiceless stop reduplicated. *Titta* is reflected all over the Romance world (e.g. Italian *tetta*, French *tette*, Catalan, Spanish, Portuguese *teta*, Logudorese *titta*). The term and its Romance survival are discussed at length at *FEW* XVII.333–9, and the Romance forms interpreted as reflecting a borrowing from Germanic. Wagner (1960–4: II, 489) s.v. *titta* questions this doctrine,[84] and rightly so, treating the term as a typical infantile formation. He also rejects attempts to derive some of the reflexes from Greek (τίτθη: so *REW* 8759.2). It is hard to believe that nursery Latin had to resort to Germanic to find a word for 'teat', or that a German loan-word would have spread so widely. More to the point, *titta* is such an obvious nursery formation that it might have arisen independently in different places, both Latin- and Germanic-speaking. For the same reason Catalan *dida* is not necessarily a direct survival of the Latin term found in our medical texts: it might simply reflect an independent late modification of *titta*. Nursery terms are variable in form.

4.5.6   ubuppa

This word is attested once,[85] in Mustio, who says that it is used by 'rustics': p. 43.6 *aliquando aquam aliquando uinum aquatius per uasculum uitreum ad similitudinem papillae formatum et pertusum, quod rustici ubuppam appellant aut titinam* ('[What shall we give the baby who is being weaned to drink?] Sometimes water, sometimes watery wine by means of the little glass vessel shaped like a nipple and pierced, which rustics call *ubuppa* or *titina* "little breast"'). The word has not been explained decisively. Medert (1911: 82; cf. 81) was inclined to equate it with *upupa* ('hoopoe'), suggesting that the vessel was named thus 'because of a likeness to the bird *upupa*'. This is implausible, given that Mustio states that the vessel resembled a nipple, *papilla*.[86] André (1978: 60–1) and Fischer (1987) related *ubuppa* to *puppa*,

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83   The reference was to the first edition of Corominas' etymological dictionary of Castilian (*Diccionario crítico etimológico de la lengua castellana* [Bern, 1954–7]). But see now Corominas and Pascual (1980–91: V, 479) s.v. *teta*, restating Corominas' old view but retracting it in brackets with reference to Wagner.

84   See also the remarks of André (1991: 223).

85   There are manuscript variants, *ubuppa, upupa* and *ut tuba*: see Medert (1911: 82).

86   For objects of this kind see Hilgers (1969: 80–1), with the illustrations at 81. See also Gourevitch (1991), with the accompanying photographs.

a reduplicated nursery term for 'breast' or 'nipple' not attested in Latin itself but reflected in Romance. If so is it a scribal misspelling, or some sort of extended form of *puppa*? Since the supposed base *puppa* begins with a stop, one might have expected an augmented form (by reduplication) to begin with the same stop (**pupuppa*). Gourevitch (1991: 118) derives the word from *uber*, but if that were correct how would the suffix be explained? Niedermann (1954: 335 n. 8) suggested that the author might have written *uuulam* (the uvula, a late term noted by Souter 1949), employing a metaphorical use of the word applied to the nipple.

Since the text was written in Africa, since Mustio elsewhere uses several African words, and since this term is ascribed to rustics, it is likely that *ubuppa* was a local African word for the object called in Latin (or a variety of Latin) *titina* ('little breast'). There is additional evidence. The African Nonius (p. 213 Lindsay) has the item: *obba, poculi genus, <u>quod nunc ubba dicitur</u>* ('*obba*, a kind of cup, which is now called *ubba*'). *Obba* is found several times in earlier Latin, of a drinking vessel (in Varro *Men.*, Laberius and Persius). It is derived tentatively by the *OLD* from the African place name *Obba* (Livy 30.7.10). But it is the second part of the sentence that is of interest. Nonius several times uses phraseology of this type when describing (it seems) current usage (see below, 5). *Vbuppa* could well be an (infantile) reduplicated derivative of *ubba*: *ubba*> **ubbubba* > *ububba* (by the 'law of *mamilla*': **mammilla* lost its first geminate because the accent of this derivative of *mamma* was on the suffix; a parallel is provided by *titina* itself, which is a derivative of **titta* and bears its accent on the suffix). The spellings in the manuscripts of Mustio cannot be trusted, and *upupa* is a variant reading.[87] Either scribes corrupted the form of *ububba*, or (equally likely) the stops in speech were subject to devoicing. Cf. *dida* as a variant form of **titta* (showing the reverse process, voicing).

Whatever the origin of *ubuppa*, it does seem to have been African, and from a low social level. *Titina* too of a feeding bottle was used by (African?) 'rustics', according to Mustio. There are several other examples of *titina* extant,[88] all of them meaning 'breast/nipple' (e.g. ps.-Theodorus Priscianus p. 276.27, *CGL* I.307.10). Was the meaning recorded by Mustio an Africanism?

4.6   Some conclusions

Fifteen words have been discussed in section 4. All but one of these (*zaccario*) might be described as dialect terms, in the sense in which that

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[87] See Medert (1911: 82).   [88] See Adams (2005c: 595) for a collection.

term has been used in this book: they had synonyms of Latin or Greco-Latin origin. Nine of them are loan-words, either from Punic or another African language, which probably entered Latin in the imperial period. A few others are native Latin words which had undergone semantic or other changes of conventional types in local Latin: *baiae* (generalisation), *dulcor* (specialisation), *acina* (change of gender), *pala* (metaphor). *Dida*, finally, is a coinage of infantile type.

Dialects once established do not harden into a fixed form. New dialects and dialect usages are constantly emerging (see I.7). The evidence that has just been presented does nothing to support the view associated with Wölfflin, that African Latin owed its features to the fossilisation of the 'Latin of Plautus and Cato' which had been brought to Africa in the Republic. The Africanisms discussed above in every case represent innovations made in Africa, many of them at a late date. While there are signs of regional variation in the Latin of Italy during the Republic, it is an absurdity to attempt to trace the regional features of the Latin of different provinces during the Empire back to an early period. In Africa, as elsewhere, the language was always in a state of flux, with innovation rather than archaism the most decisive determinant of its local characteristics at any time (see XI.4.1–2). The substrate languages were an influence on the lexicon, but unpredictable semantic changes were another factor.

I say 'unpredictable' deliberately. In any language words change meaning by classifiable processes (specialisation, generalisation, metonymy, metaphor, synecdoche etc.), but these changes occur haphazardly and are going on all the time. No theory has been advanced, as far as I am aware, that could predict when and why such a process might operate. Semantic and lexical change is best seen as an unending succession of micro-events occurring in different registers, idiolects, styles and regions. Scholars have traditionally aspired to find general causes explaining the regional features of the various provinces during the Empire, but the reality is that our 'micro-events', at least where the lexicon was concerned, were far more influential, and they went on happening as long as Latin was spoken in a region. A semantic or lexical change that took place unpredictably in a remote part of Africa need never have taken place elsewhere. The accumulation of such changes occurring in a particular province would have given the Latin of that province a distinctive character at any time.

It may be asked why Africanisms can be found so readily in medical texts when those that have been claimed for African literary texts have all been discredited. Medical texts had a practical application, and medical writers sometimes show an awareness of the lack of education of the users of their

manuals. Mustio is a case in point. In his preface he alluded to the poor education of midwives, and stated that he would use 'women's words' so that midwives could understand the treatise if it were read to them by someone literate (p. 3).[89] It is not surprising that medical writers in Africa should have used, say, local plant names, given that local, relatively uneducated, readers of their works would have been expected to incorporate the plants in remedies.

The question of the relationship between African Latin and Sardinian is problematic (see 4.5.3, 4.5.4). Further data will come up below (see 4.7.2, 9.1, 9.3), and I will return to the subject, but it is appropriate here to bring out the complexity of the connection between the two. *Buda* (see 3) is a special case, in that it designates a plant which was probably transported by trade from its African place of origin to places in the western Mediterranean. With the object would have gone the word, to Sardinia among other places. But *pala* 'shoulder(-blade)' (4.5.4) is a more difficult case to interpret. There are several ways of accounting for the coincidence of its currency in African Latin and survival in Sardinia and a few southern Italian dialects. It is easy to accept that if a plant was transported from one place to another its name might have been transported as well, but less easy to see how or why an anatomical metaphor would travel across the Mediterranean. If it did travel, there is no way of determining whether it moved from Sardinia to Africa or from Africa to Sardinia (to say nothing of southern Italy). There are other possibilities. The metaphor might once have been widespread (say, in the whole of the south of Italy, neighbouring islands and Africa, or even further afield)[90] and then have undergone the type of shrinkage I have often referred to, such that it survived only in a few scattered places. Alternatively it might have developed independently in the various places, in which case the correspondence between African and Sardinian usage would be due to chance. Or again, there may have been a genuine dialect area embracing Africa and Sardinia. The evidence is not such that we can determine what the significance is of the cluster of Latin examples in Africa and the Romance reflexes in Sardinia. I will have to state reservations about another apparent correspondence below (see 9.1 *cena pura*).

4.7   Some further, more marginal, usages

There are some other noteworthy usages in the medical texts discussed in this section. I call them 'marginal' (in significance) because their

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[89] See Adams (2005c).
[90] Grevander (1926: 130), cited above, n. 78, seems to have had in mind a dialect region of this type.

distribution may be uncertain, or because, though attested in Africa, they may not have been restricted to there. There is, however, a limited interest even to usages of the latter type. It is an intriguing question what the lexical components of 'Afro-Romance' would have turned out to be if the language had not been wiped out in Africa. Would *caballus* or *equus* have survived there? If we had good reason for thinking that it would have been the former, we would not of course have uncovered a distinguishing feature of African Latin, given that *caballus* is reflected in all Romance languages, but we would at least have found out something about the Latin spoken in Africa. I do not intend to waste space by dealing with terms as mundane as *caballus*,[91] but think it worthwhile to mention a few more striking items in our medical texts, even if they point merely to components, rather than distinguishing components, of African Latin.

4.7.1 rostrum

A curiosity of the *Liber tertius* is the frequency with which *rostrum* is used unambiguously of the human mouth; there is elsewhere usually an indeterminacy about the word when it is applied to the human anatomy, as we have seen (VI.2.6). In the sense 'mouth' the word was to survive in Old Rumanian (see VI.2.6). See 46.1 *sed <si> per rostrum, non per uentrem idem pus, id est saniem, proiecerit* ('but if through the mouth, not through the lower abdomen, he expels that pus, i.e. the gore'), 46.2 *quod si per rostrum miserit* ('but if he expels it through the mouth'), 51.2 *et <si> aperies eis rostrum, tument ambae faucium partes* ('and if you open their mouth, both parts of the throat are swollen'; at 79.3 there is the variant *quibus aperies os*; also 75.1 *cum os aperuerit, tumor magnus et rubor apparet*), 53.2 *et per rostrum sanias mittunt* ('and through their mouth they expel gore'). The only other examples which we were able to cite at VI.2.6 of *rostrum* unequivocally applied to the human mouth were both in African texts (the translation of Dioscorides and Commodian), and there can be no doubt that this specialised meaning had established itself in African Latin. *Os* too,

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[91] There are in fact examples of *caballus* even in high-style African texts, used neutrally, rather than pejoratively of low-grade animals, and these suggest that Afro-Romance would not have differed from other Romance languages in its word for 'horse'. See Pompeius *GL* V.148.32 *potest animal esse et homo, animal esse et caballus, animal esse et burdo* ('an animal might be a man, a horse, a donkey'), Luxorius 21.7 *mori praecipiti furit caballo* ('he lusts to die on a galloping horse'), 41.6 *ut miseris frangantur crura caballis* ('so that the legs of the poor horses are broken'). The last two examples refer to good-quality horses (race horses). For *burdo* 'donkey' (see Adams 1993: 55–60) in African writers see Vict. Vit. 2.27, Luxorius 79.6 *quod pater est burdo Pasiphaeque redit* ('a mule is a father and Pasiphae has returned to earth' [Rosenblum 1961]; since the mule is sterile this passage nicely reveals the meaning of *burdo*). *Burdo* must have been in use in Africa but was not a regionalism.

as we have just seen, is used for 'mouth' in the *Liber tertius* (cf. e.g. 4.5, 6.1, 24.1, 28.1, 42.6, 50.3), but the old word was obviously now rivalled in the region by *rostrum*, probably a more popular term. For another instance in a medical text see *Antidot. Brux.* p. 366.6 *ad rostrum applicas et labia inde fricas* (of testing a substance by applying it to the mouth). The provenance of this work is unknown but may be Africa. Two examples in a Bath curse tablet (*Tab. Sulis* 62.5, 9) in the verb phrase *in suo rostro deferre* refer to the thief bringing the stolen object back in his mouth; but he is almost certainly likened to a bird or animal, with the imagery still felt.

4.7.2 pullus

According to Wagner (1920b: 153) and Vycichl (2005: 28) *pullus* was borrowed by some Berber dialects with (among other senses) the meaning 'cock' (but see below, 10.2 on the problematic nature of such claims). On this distinctive usage see V.5.5.6. It survives in some Gallo-Romance dialects and in Logudorese, whereas in most of the Romance world words for 'cock' reflect either *gallus* or various onomatopoeic terms (of the type French *coq*) deriving from the sound of the cock.[92] A clear-cut example of *pullus* 'cock' is to be found in the translation of Dioscorides: see 4, p. 60.21 Stadler (1901) *a pullis comesta confortat ad pugnam* ('eaten by cocks it strengthens them for the fight'). There is a reference here to cock fighting. The Greek (4.134 Wellmann 1906–14: II, 280.10–11) is slightly more detailed, and confirms the meaning of *pullus*: ποιεῖ δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀλεκτρυόνας καὶ τοὺς ὄρτυγας μαχίμους εἶναι μειγνύμενον τῇ τροφῇ ('it makes cocks and quails warlike if mixed with their food'). The word must have had some currency in Africa in this sense.

There is an interesting comment on *pullus* in Augustine (*Quaest. Hept.* 7.25, *CSEL* 28, p. 465):[93]

an Graecae locutionis consuetudo est etiam uitulos eos appellare, qui grandes sunt? nam ita loqui uulgo in Aegypto perhibentur, sicut apud nos pulli appellantur gallinae cuiuslibet aetatis.

Or is it Greek idiom to call those (animals) calves which are fully grown? It is said that that is established usage in Egypt, just as among us hens of whatever age are called *pulli*.

This passage reveals something of the background to the semantic change 'chicken' > 'cock'. The term for 'chicken', Augustine says, could be used

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[92] See Rohlfs (1954a: 64 and map 42).
[93] The passage is cited by Wagner (1960–4: II, 319). I am grateful to Dr Manfred Flieger of the Thesaurus Linguae Latinae for tracking this passage down. Wagner's reference is not adequate.

in the plural of a collection of hens and chickens and, one assumes, cocks[94] in a farmyard (in English 'chickens' is sometimes used colloquially in the same way). One assumes that once the word became applicable to mature birds it tended, because it was masculine, to be restricted to mature male birds. Augustine seems to be saying (note *apud nos*) that the intermediate usage (*pulli* = 'domestic fowls') was current in Africa,[95] unless *nos* refers to Latin speakers as distinct from Greek (note *Graecae locutionis*). But we have seen earlier a case of the phrase *apud nos* employed by Augustine of African usage (V.3.1 on *caducarius*), and another will come up below (9.1 on *cena pura*). The evidence suggests that *pullus* was in use in Africa both of the (mature) male bird and as a collective term for the male and female of whatever age. The latter sense, however, was also current outside Africa:[96] e.g. Paul. Fest. p. 93.18 Lindsay *ut cum rustici dicunt: obsipa pullis escam* ('as when rustics say "scatter food to the chooks"').[97]

   On the other hand *gallus* occurs in an African *defixio* from Carthage: Audollent (1904), 222B *huic gallo lingua uiuo extorsi* ('from this cock I tore the tongue out while it was still alive').

4.7.3 arrugia

At Cassius Felix p. 44.16 (*ges entera id est uermiculos de arrugia . . . in oleo coques*, 'cook in oil . . . *ges entera*, that is earthworms') γῆς ἔντερα 'earthworms' is translated by *uermiculi de arrugia*. The same gloss is found at p. 61.4–5. *Arrugia* is otherwise attested in Latin only as a mining term attributed to Spanish mines by Pliny (*Nat.* 33.70, 77: see above, IV.2.3), which is given the meaning by the *OLD* 'kind of galleried mine'. It survives in dialects of northern Italy and, with a change of gender, Ibero-Romance in meanings that can be related to that in Pliny (tunnel, drain, stream): see *REW* 678. Presumably Cassius has admitted a specialised African use of the term, with the phrase perhaps literally meaning 'tunnel worm'. It is interesting to find a very rare term of obscure etymology attested in Latin only in Spain and Africa. Words did of course move from one place to the other (see 3), but it is possible in this case (given that the Spanish examples turn up centuries before the African) that *arrugia* was a Punic word which

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[94] Augustine may indeed have been using the generic plural *gallinae* to designate domestic fowls of both sexes; for this usage see *TLL* VI.2–3.1683.76ff. (= *genus gallinaceum*).
[95] See Wagner (1960–4: II, 319), quoting the passage to establish the African credentials of *pullus*.
[96] I am grateful to Friedrich Spoth of the Thesaurus Linguae Latinae for information on this point.
[97] I use an Australian (also English dialect) term here because it has a collective sense: I take it that the reference is to birds of whatever age and sex. It is however often difficult to be sure about the meaning of *pullus*, and one awaits the *TLL* article with anticipation.

had been brought to Spain by the Carthaginians before the arrival of the Romans.

4.7.4 zanda

Found in Dioscorides: 2, p. 218.8–9 Stadler (1899) *quartu genus lapati, quem multi zandam dicunt* ('a fourth kind of *lapathum* [a kind of sorrel], which many call *zanda*'). The word is not in the Greek (2.114 Wellmann 1906–14: I, 189.1–2). *Zanda*, unless it is an out-and-out corruption, looks like an exotic word, and it may again be African in some sense.

4.7.5 Conclusions

Of the terms discussed in this section the most interesting is *rostrum* in the meaning 'mouth'. The Romance evidence shows that the usage was not entirely confined to Africa, but the examples I have been able to find (in the absence of an article in the *TLL*) come almost entirely from Africa. *Pullus* throws up another connection between Africa and Sardinia, but in the meaning 'cock' the word is not confined to those two places and the coincidence tells us nothing; the usage does, however, occur only in scattered pockets. *Arrugia* as it is used by Cassius is very distinctive and likely to have been regional; it reveals a possible cause of correspondences between African and Spanish Latin.

In the next three sections I move on to three further texts of African origin which may have regional elements. Of these the most important are the second two.

5 POSSIBLE AFRICANISMS IN NONIUS MARCELLUS

It was seen earlier (4.5.6) that the African Nonius used the formula 'which is now called X' in citing a term for a drinking vessel (*ubba*) which there is reason to think was African. The question arises whether there might be embedded in his text other evidence for African usage. The matter has been discussed by Contini (1987). I include Nonius here rather than in chapter IV because, though he comments explicitly on certain usages as 'now current', he does not describe them as specifically African. In any case most of Nonius' possible Africanisms discussed by Contini (1987: 24–5) do not bear examination.

I start with *mellacium* at p. 885 Lindsay: *sapa, quod nunc mellacium dicimus, mustum ad mediam partem decoctum* ('*sapa*, which we now call *mellacium*, is must boiled down to half its volume'). *Sapa* is defined by the *OLD* as '[n]ew wine boiled down to a proportion of its original

volume'. *Mustum* is unfermented grape-juice. Nonius has clearly given *sapa* its conventional sense, and has explicitly equated *mellacium* with it. Sugar was unknown in antiquity, and honey fulfilled its role.[98] But honey was expensive and not always readily available, and concentrated boiled wines were used to adulterate it.[99] One such was *sapa*. The name *mellacium* must be related to the fact that *sapa* was mixed with honey for this purpose,[100] but the literal meaning of the term is difficult to grasp. Could it be 'ingredient mixed with honey'? Perhaps more likely is something such as 'honey syrup' (i.e. 'thing containing honey'; cf. *mustaceus*, 'containing or made with *mustum*'), comprising *mel* and *sapa*, with the word later coming to be used by synecdoche (*totum pro parte*) of just one of its ingredients.

But was *mellacium* an Africanism? If Nonius' phraseology is to be trusted (the first person *dicimus* should never be pushed too far, unless there are good reasons for doing so: see the remarks about Pompeius at IV.4.2, p. 263) the term may have been current in Africa, given the likelihood that he was speaking from personal experience, but that does not mean that it was exclusive to Africa. The *TLL* quotes only one other example of *mellacium*, from ps.-Soranus *Dol. matric.* p. 139.30 Rose (1882) *primo autem nutrix mellacium bibat* ('but first let the nurse drink *mellacium*'). The origin of this short text in the tradition of Soranus is unknown, but it is not impossible that it was African.[101] There is, however, some further evidence bearing on the distribution of the term. It is widely reflected in Romance (whence English *molasses*) of the uncrystallised syrup drained from raw sugar (Old Provençal *melessa*, Italian *melazzo*, Corsican *milazzu*, Portuguese *melaço*).[102] I take it that the term for 'honey syrup', which must have been widespread, took on a new meaning when sugar was introduced to Europe. It is just possible that the meaning given by Nonius was peculiar to Africa (on which assumption elsewhere *mellacium* would have indicated *sapa* + *mel* rather than *sapa* alone), but one cannot be sure.

Another usage cited by Contini is Nonius' comment (p. 884 Lindsay) *ocinum, quod ocimum dicimus*. Far from reporting a regionalism, Nonius has made a mistake. *Ocinum* and *ocimum* were different things. *Ocimum*, a borrowing from Greek (ὤκιμον), denoted basil.[103] The word is widespread in Latin of all periods, and was certainly not specific to Africa. *Ocinum* on

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[98] See André (1981: 186–90). [99] See in general André (1981: 189).

[100] See André (1958: 114 n. 6), commenting on Plin. *Nat.* 14.80 *omnia in adulterium mellis excogitata* ('all of these were devised to adulterate honey'). Pliny had just listed *sapa* as one such substance.

[101] I note, for example, that at p. 138.9 (the page number is misprinted as 128 in Rose 1882) the term *pipulus* is used of the *uagitus infantis*, a meaning found elsewhere only in the African Fronto (see *TLL* X.1.2190.62ff.).

[102] See *FEW* VI.1.680. [103] See André (1985a: 175), *OLD*.

the other hand is of unknown etymology, and its meaning uncertain.[104] The *OLD* defines the word with suitable vagueness as indicating a 'mixed fodder crop grown in Republican times'. The word occurs only in Cato and Varro (and in Pliny citing them).[105] It is obvious what Nonius has done. Encountering the republican term *ocinum* in Varro, whom he goes on to quote, and having no better idea of its meaning than we do, he jumped to the conclusion that it was an alternative to *ocimum*. In fact in the passage of Varro (*Rust.* 1.31.4) a clear distinction is made between *ocinum* as a fodder crop and *ocimum* as a garden herb, which Nonius has failed to note. He cannot be taken to mean that in Africa the term for 'basil' was used of a fodder crop. Contini (1987: 25) devises an implausible phonetic rule to explain the alleged development of *ocinum* to *ocimum*.

Another unsatisfactory item in Contini's list is *mafurtium*: p. 869 *ricinium, quod nunc mafurtium dicitur, palliolum femineum breue* ('*ricinium* "shawl", now called *mafurtium* "cloak", is a short female cloak'). *Mafurtium* (*mafortium*) was indeed a Semitic word[106] and may well have been in use in Africa, but (unlike its derivative *maforsenu* in the *Tablettes Albertini*: see below, 6.10) was widespread in later Latin well beyond Africa (see *TLL* VIII.49.75ff.). It has turned up, for example, in a Bath curse tablet (*Tab. Sulis* 61).

Other terms in Contini's list are *toral(e)* and *sindon*: p. 862 *plagae, grande linteum tegmen quod nunc torale uel lectuariam sindonem dicimus* ('*plagae* "counterpanes", a large linen covering which we now call *torale* "coverlet" or *lectuaria sindon* "muslin bedspread"'). Nonius is commenting on an old usage, *plaga* 'counterpane, coverlet' (*OLD* s.v. *plaga*², 3), and he gives two more modern substitutes. Both *toral* (Horace and elsewhere) and *sindon* (Martial and elsewhere) are well represented in literary texts outside Africa, and there is no reason to think that, if they were current in Africa, they were restricted to Africa; it would not be meaningful to speak of such terms as 'Africanisms'. Moreover *lect(u)arius* is widely reflected in Romance languages,[107] and as a neuter plural noun = 'bedspread' is common in later Latin, particularly in writers from Gaul or with a Gallic connection, such as Gregory of Tours, Caesarius of Arles and Venantius Fortunatus (*TLL* VII.2.1094.5ff.).

Nor is there any significance to Nonius p. 864 *paludamentum, est uestis quae nunc clamys dicitur* ('*paludamentum* "general's cloak" is a garment which is now called a *clamys* "Greek cloak"'). The stop (in *chlamys*) would

104 See André (1985a: 175).   105 See the *TLL* and also André (1985a: 175).
106 See e.g. Walde and Hofmann (1938–54: II, 9).   107 See *TLL* VII.2.1093.73ff.

never have been aspirated in Latin speech anywhere, except by the odd fanatical purist, and this spelling (if Nonius really wrote it) is common (*TLL* III.1011.72ff.). It has nothing to do with *Africitas*.

Finally, Contini mentions the form *creterra*: p. 878 *creterra est quam nunc situlam uocant*. *Creterra* is a well-attested variant of *crater* (*TLL* IV.1108.51ff.). *Situla* is widely represented in Romance (*REW* 7962).

The evidence from Nonius discussed above amounts to very little. A few of the terms might have been in use in Africa, but not only there (e.g. *mellacium, mafurtium*). The best candidate seen so far for an outright African regionalism is *ubba* (4.5.6), given that it seems to have a rustic derivative in the African medical writer Mustio.[108] There is, however, one further item (not mentioned by Contini), which will be discussed below, 9.3.

6 TABLETTES ALBERTINI

These writing tablets on wood, numbering forty-five (for which see Courtois et al. 1952), were discovered in 1928 on the boundary of Algeria and Tunisia 100 km south of Tebessa and 65 km west of Gafsa (Tripolitana: see map 3).[109] They are mainly deeds of sale in formulaic language, and are dated to the years 493–6 during the reign of Gunthamund, the third king of the Vandals. The educational level of the Latin is not high: phonetic spelling errors abound, and there is an uncertainty in the use of cases (see below, 6.5, n. 137, 7, p. 564). Despite their formulaic language, the documents contain numerous terms specific to the sales described, and these offer a glimpse of the terminology of land division and irrigation current in a remote part of the African desert. Some of these terms are of Latin origin, others are manifestly foreign (i.e. African in some sense). Several words or word meanings are peculiar to this corpus, and at least some of them must have been African regionalisms. Unfortunately the meanings are often problematic, and we usually cannot tell what might have been the ordinary Latin equivalent of a term. The assertions about meanings to be found in Courtois et al. (1952) and Väänänen (1965), who usually follows the editors closely, tend to be over-confident. Despite the problems, the terminology

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[108] Contini (1987: 25) speaks of *ubba* in relation to *obba* as a 'variante dovuta alla confluenza di *o* in *u*, secondo un fenomeno tipico del lat. volgare, ampiamente attestato dal materiale epigrafico per l'Africa del nord'. But *o* and *u* in general did not fall together; it is necessary to make distinctions between the short and long variants. The relationship between the earlier *obba* and the late *ubba* is unclear, but the form with *u* does seem to have been African.

[109] See Pavis d'Escurac (1980: 188). For a recent discussion of aspects of the tablets see Conant (2004).

for the most part seems to describe mundane features of the landscape, and there can be no doubt that everyday Latin words or circumlocutions might have been employed to indicate the same features. It is reasonable to assume that dialect words are in evidence in the corpus. I review here a selection of terms, attempting to bring out the problems of interpretation rather than assigning meanings where confidence is not justified.

6.1   centenarium

This Africanism[110] occurs three times in one text: VIII.1 *restituti de olibe de post centenariu*, 4 *particellam agri in locus qui est post centenariu* ('a parcel of land in the place which is behind the *centenarium*'), 6 *id est locus qui supradictum est post centenariu gemionem unum ubi abentur olibe arb(ores) dece . . .* ('that is the place which was mentioned above behind the *centenarium*, one *gemio* where there are ten (+) olive trees . . .'). Whatever the *centenarium* might have been (see below), it was clearly a feature of the locality, 'behind' which there was an olive grove.

Centenarium turns up as a noun almost exclusively in Africa, and it is also found as a loan-word in Latino-Punic texts. There has been some debate about its meaning. The *TLL* (VIII.814.60) takes it to indicate a type of building, perhaps a fort ('genus aedificii, fort. castri vel burgi'). Archaeologists have tended to opt for the military implication. Note e.g. Goodchild and Ward-Perkins (1949: 92): 'the name *centenarium* applied to a small *limes* outpost . . . derives from the rank of its commander'. Thus the word indicates an outpost, 'manned presumably by local levies but maintained by the military authorities' (84). *Centenarium*, we are told, derives from *centenarius*, allegedly a term for a type of centurion who was supposedly in charge of the outpost. For *centenarius* see e.g. Vegetius *Mil.* 2.8.8 *erant etiam centuriones qui singulas centurias curabant, qui nunc centenarii nominantur* ('there were also centurions who took charge of single centuries, who are now called *centenarii*');[111] according to Goodchild and Ward-Perkins (92), 'a *centenarius* was the equivalent, in a static and territorial force, of a centurion'. It is not straightforward to derive *centenarium*, of a building, from the masculine personal noun *centenarius* (but see further below, n. 122

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[110] See Adams (2003a: 232), but without a full collection of material.
[111] It is open to doubt whether *centenarius* really designated a (type of) centurion. Milner (1993: 41 n. 2), commenting on the passage of Vegetius, says: 'Probably V.'s equation, by a false etymology, *centenarius* < *centum*'. At 40 n. 8, commenting on *ducenarius*, Milner writes: 'Probably V.'s equation, by a false etymology, *ducenarius* < *ducenti*. The *ducenarius* and *centenarius* were middle-ranking late Roman NCOs in *vexillationes*.'

for a possible connection between a *centenarium* and centurions). Indeed Goodchild and Ward-Perkins themselves note it as curious that one such *centenarium* (see *IRT* 880, from Gasr Duib in Tripolitania) should have been constructed not by a *centenarius* but by a *tribunus*. Other derivations have been suggested, at least one of them absurd.[112] I will return to the origin of the word and to its attestations below, and will tentatively propose a new derivation.

The Latino-Punic examples are as follows:[113]

IRT 889, Donner and Röllig (2002), 179 (Bir Shemech)[114]
FLABI DASAMA V BINIM MACRINE FELU CENTEINARI BAL ARS ΣVMAR NAR SABAREΣ AVN.

'Flavius Dasama and his son Macrinus built <the> centenarium . . .'[115]

IRT 877, Donner and Röllig (2002), 304 (Breviglieri)
CENTENARI MV FEL THLANA MARCI CECILI BY MVPAL EF SEM [M]ACER BY BANEM BVCV BVO.

'Centenarium which built . . .'

It is conventional to take these cases as referring to fortified farmsteads (*gsur*). Fortified *gsur*-type structures, which are well documented and described, seem to have replaced open farms from the third century onwards.[116]

A *limes* fort and a fortified farm are not quite the same thing. I turn now to the Latin examples. These are mostly in uninformative inscriptions, which refer to the construction of the *centenarium* by someone or to its restoration (*CIL* VIII.8713,[117] 9010, 20215, 22763, *IRT* 880, *AE* 1942–3, 81).[118] 8713 has the noun as object of the verb phrase *a solo construxit et dedicauit*. 20215 refers to a restoration (*centenarium Aqua Frigida restituit a[tqu]e ad meli[o]rem faciem ref[o]rma[uit]*, 'he restored the *centenarium* at Aqua Frigida and remade it with a better appearance'). *IRT* 880 has the ablative absolute *constituto nouo centenario*. *AE* 1942–3, 81 refers to a

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[112] On which see Adams (2003a: 232 n. 474).

[113] For a wide-ranging discussion of the neo-Punic and Latin evidence (but missing the examples in the Albertini tablets) and the nature of such structures, see Kerr (2005). The neo-Punic cases are at 478.

[114] Here and below I cite the text of Donner and Röllig (2002).

[115] I quote the translation kindly provided by R. M. Kerr. Only the initial part of this text and the next is translated as the remainder is controversial in meaning.

[116] See Barker et al. (1996: II, 213–14), Mm 00010, (1996: II, 165–6), Lm 00003.

[117] This inscription seems to be misnumbered in *CIL* (as 8712: but there is another with the same number).

[118] See the *Barrington Atlas* index s.v. *centenarium* for the location of some of these *centenaria*.

centenarium quod Aqua Viva appellatur ('a *centenarium* called Aqua Viva') as
a solo fabricatum ('built from the ground up'). The remaining inscriptional
example (9010) is in a text referring to a construction effected by a veteran
at his own expense: *ex pr(a)ef(ecto) u(eteranus) centenarium a fundamenta
suis sumtibus fecit et dedicauit* ('X, a veteran and former *praefectus*, made
a *centenarium* from the foundations up at his own expense and dedicated
it'). This last edifice does not sound like an official military installation. On
the other hand that at 20215 cited above was restored by Aurelius Litua
governor of Mauretania and is marked by a dedication to the tetrarchs, and
thus looks to have had an official status.

There are three examples in the *Tabula Peutingeriana* (II.2, II.5, IV.1),
all in the phrase *ad centenarium* and obviously indicating some sort of
installation or station on a road. The first was in Gaul on the Spanish
border,[119] and the other two were in Africa.[120]

So far I have cited fourteen examples of *centenarium* (including the neo-
Punic instances and those in the Albertini tablets), all but one of them from
Africa. There remains a non-African instance of a slightly different type, in
the *Notitia dignitatum*: *Oc.* 33.62 *tribunus cohortis, ad burgum centenarium*.
This may be compared with *CIG* IV.8664 πύργον κεντινάρι[ον], in a
very late (Byzantine) inscription from Nicaea in Turkey. The interpretation
of these phrases is not completely clear. *Burgus* was a late Latin word of
probable Germanic origin indicating a *castellum*,[121] whereas a πύργος was
a tower (Lat. *turris*). I take it that *burgus centenarius* was the original phrase,
and that when the phrase was borrowed by Greek *burgus* was reinterpreted
as the phonetically similar πύργος. The relationship of the African noun
centenarium to the non-African phrase *burgus centenarius*, in which *centen-
arius* must be adjectival, is not certain. It seems reasonable to me to treat
centenarium as an Africanism and to separate it from the adjectival use,
which may be some sort of later development. *Centenarium* is printed in
the *Notitia* with a capital C.

It will have been seen that the meanings given to *centenarium* are variable:
'fort, fortified farm, road station'. The meanings are not, however, incom-
patible. A fortified enclosure might combine the roles of fortress, protected
farm or food source, and staging post. Whether the *centenarium* might
have had a connection with the centurionate seems to me to require fur-
ther investigation.[122] For the sake of argument I offer another etymology.

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[119] See Miller (1916: 127), and the *Barrington Atlas* map 25 H3. I am grateful to Peter Brennan and
Peter Kruschwitz for information used in this discussion.
[120] See Miller (1916: 919, 924, 940).   [121] See e.g. Ernout and Meillet (1959: 78).
[122] It has been pointed out to me by Peter Brennan that the Gallic station name *ad centenarium* noted
above in the *Tab. Peut.* has a different name in the Antonine Itinerary, namely *ad centuriones* (*Itin.*

It is linguistically impeccable, but I must leave it to archaeologists to determine whether it is appropriate to the structures that have been found.

Processes of suffixation in Latin are remarkably regular, and the semantic relationship between the term of the root and the suffixal derivative often easy to classify (one of the subjects of Leumann 1977). A substantivised neuter in *-arium* would be expected to designate the container, place or building in which the object referred to by the base of the word was stored or held. A *uiuarium* is a place where live animals (*uiui*) are kept, a *pomarium* is a fruit-shed (see further below), an *apiarium* a bee-house, an *auiarium* an aviary and a *gallinarium* a hen-house.[123] We have already seen two words of this type in an earlier chapter (V.4.1), *spicarium*, indicating a building in which corn (*spica*) was stored, and *granarium*, a granary. A slight variation on the semantic structure of the terms just listed is to be seen in another group signifying the place in which a plant was grown. *Pomarium*, for example, not only had the meaning noted above but could refer to a fruit-garden. A *rosarium* was a place where roses were grown. Cf. *seminarium, uiolarium, uiridarium, uitiarium*.[124]

Thus a *centenarium* ought to be a place in which *centenum* was stored or grown (or both). *Centenum* 'rye' is a rare word in extant Latin (*TLL* III.816.78ff. cites, apart from a gloss, just two examples: see below), but of some importance in the Romance languages. It survives in Spanish (*centeno*) and Portuguese (*centeio*),[125] whereas its synonym *secale* is widely reflected across many other areas (e.g. Italian *segola*, French *seigle*).[126] *Secale* too is rare in Latin, and that is because rye was a '"northern grain" which did not penetrate south of the Alps until late in the classical period'.[127] It is after wheat the best bread grain.[128] We referred to the only example of *secale* in classical Latin (in a metalinguistic comment by Pliny) in an earlier chapter (IV.1.3.3). One of the two examples of *centenum* is in the Prices Edict of Diocletian, in a significant collocation: 1.3 *centenum siue secale*. Here there is an implicit recognition of a regional variation. The drafter of the edict must have been aware that rye had different regional names, and accordingly he used both. The other example extant is also suggestive

Ant. 397.6 [Cuntz 1929: 61]); see too *CIL* XII, p. 666, drawn to my attention by Peter Kruschwitz). There is perhaps a hint here that a *centenarium* might have been thought of as a place containing centurions, but I cannot see any normal process of word formation by which *centenarium* (neuter) might be equated with *centuriones* (masculine). It is possible that the obscure word *centenarium* was by popular etymology connected in this part of Gaul with *centurio* and the place given a semantically transparent new name. I would also repeat (see Milner 1993, cited above n. 111) that a *centenarius* was not necessarily a centurion.

[123] For this type of formation see Leumann (1977: 298).   [124] See Leumann (1977: 298).
[125] See Corominas and Pascual (1980–91: II, 33) s.v. *centeno* for a good discussion of the term.
[126] See *REW* 7763, *FEW* XI.362 (on the reflexes of the word and its problematic origin).
[127] Moritz (1958: xxi).   [128] See Moritz (1958: xxi).

of a regional practice. In his chapter on cereals Isidore of Seville (*Etym.* 17.3.12) gives an etymology of *centenum*: *centenum appellatum eo quod in plerisque locis iactus seminis eius in incrementum frugis centesimum renascatur* ('*centenum* "rye" is so called because in many places when its seed is sown it grows again with a hundredfold increase in yield'). He never mentions *secale*, the more widespread term in Romance. His silence is a reflection of the current state of the language in the Iberian peninsula. On implicit regionalisms in Isidore see above, VI.5.3.

I tentatively suggest that, like *spicarium* in Gaul, *centenarium* was in origin a regional term for a grain store. It might then have been generalised slightly to express a fortified place where food (and grain *par excellence*) was stored (and produced).[129] Fortified grain or food depots perhaps gained in importance as conditions became more unsettled in the second and third centuries. If this derivation is correct, it would follow that, as in the Iberian peninsula, so in Africa *centenum* was the normal word for 'rye'. This interpretation gains support from the fact that *centenum* was borrowed into Berber,[130] where the loan-word has the sense 'rye'.[131] *Centenum* is one of a number of words listed by Wagner (1936: 25–7) which Ibero-Romance is said to have shared with 'African Latin' as evidenced by loan-words into Berber. The meaning of *centenarium* suggested here is easier to relate to the sense normally given to the word in the Latino-Punic texts ('fortified farmstead') than is the traditional sense '*limes* fort'.

6.2 massa

This term occurs eight times (see the index of Courtois et al. 1952: 321). Courtois et al. (1952: 197) see it as a deviant spelling of *mansus, mansa*, but in fact *massa* is a word which we have seen before in Italy (see VII.11.1), where it indicated a grand estate or assemblage of estates usually with a name. But while the word in the *Tablettes* must be the same as that in Italy and belongs to the same semantic field,[132] its meaning is different. It denotes not a *fundus* or group of *fundi* but only a small part of a *fundus*. Courtois et al. (1952: 197), referring to XVI and alluding particularly to lines 6–10 (*in fundo Tuletianos locum agri qui diccittur Siccillionis massa*

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[129] For cereals in Roman Libya see van der Veen et al. (1996: 243–4). They do not mention rye, but the borrowing of *centenum* into Berber (see the discussion following in the text) shows that it was known.

[130] See Colin (1926: 70), Wagner (1936: 25), Corominas and Pascual (1980–91: II, 33), Lancel (1981: 294 with n. 1).

[131] See Colin (1926: 70). On the problem of interpreting Latinate words in Berber see below, 10.2.

[132] See Väänänen (1965: 49–50), who interprets the word correctly.

una auiente fici aruor duas inter adfines eiusdem loci qui iungitur a meridie Victorrino, a corro Vigilliano, '[with X and Y selling] on the farm *Tuletianos* the place in the field which is called *Sicilionis*, one *massa* with two fig trees, between those bordering on that same place, which is joined to Victorinus to the south and to Vigilianus to the north-west'), observe that the *massae* of the *fundus Tuletianos* are mere divisions of the *fundus* and even of the *locus*, and that they are manifestly very small, given that the one in the above passage, for example, contains only two fig trees. Väänänen (1965: 49) defines *massa* appropriately enough in the tablets as a 'petite unité rurale, division de *fundus*'. The word is used consistently in the corpus in the same way, and had clearly developed a special local meaning. Here is evidence for the same term acquiring different meanings in two different parts of the Roman world, Italy and Africa. It is possible that as a term to do with *fundi* the word moved from Italy, where it is attested earlier, to Africa, taking on a more restricted meaning in its new abode appropriate to local conditions.

6.3 marinus

Marinus (sc. *uentus*) is constantly used in the expression *a marino*, of a point of the compass.[133] Sometimes it is coordinated with *(a) septentrione* ('north') (XIV.5, XXIV.5–6), sometimes with *(a) coro* ('north-west') (XV.18), and the sense (by a process of elimination) is therefore likely to be 'from the north-east'.[134] The *TLL* (VIII.398.39ff.) quotes just one example 'de regione caeli' (from the same corpus, it seems), cross-referring to 386.52ff., where *mare* used 'de regione caeli' (a Hebraism) is illustrated from the *Vetus latina* and Vulgate. But *marinus* should not be interpreted as a Semiticism. The Romance evidence shows that the usage must have been commonplace, taking its sense in different areas from the direction of the sea. Note Alleyne (1961: 111), commenting primarily on the usage in Gallo-Romance but with some comparative observations: 'VENTUS MARINUS, devenu simplement *marin*, a pris racine dans les régions [de la France] se trouvant directement au Nord de la Méditerranée, et a rayonné jusqu'au Massif Central. Le mot dénomme également en Catalogne un vent du Sud-Est, en Italie un vent d'Ouest ou du Sud-Ouest, suivant la position géographique des localités . . . Aussi dans le Midi de la France, *marin* désigne un vent du Sud-Est (Tarn et Aude) et un vent d'Est (Pyr.-Or.).' The meaning 'north-east (wind)' is distinctively north African, but

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[133] See Courtois et al. (1952: 322) for a full list.   [134] See Väänänen (1965: 47) s.v. *corus*.

in type the expression is mundane. The more usual word for the north-east wind was *aquilo*.

6.4 gemio

Gemio is glossed at *CGL* V.298.18 by *mac[h]eriae*. A *maceria* was a wall of stone or brick, especially 'one enclosing a garden' (*OLD*). Another gloss (*CGL* III.199.33 *fragmenta gremiones*) probably shows the same word with an intrusive *r*. The sense hinted at in the second gloss might be 'broken pieces of stone (used in the construction of a wall)', but that is guesswork. *Gemio* occurs thirteen times in the tablets.[135] Several times it is a place where there are olive trees, as at VIII.4–6 *particellam agri in locus qui est post centenariu . . . id est locus qui supradictum est post centenariu gemionem unum ubi abentur olibe arb(ores) dece . . .* ('a parcel of a field in the place which is behind the *centenarium . . .* that is the place which was mentioned above behind the *centenarium*, one *gemio* where there are ten (+) olive trees'), V.9 *gemiones duos in quo sunt in uno arb(ores) olibe sex* ('two *gemiones* in one of which there are six olive trees'), VII.6 *in quo sunt gemiones tres abientes olibe arb(ores) uiginti plus minus* (a place 'in which there are three *gemiones* having twenty olive trees more or less'). An appropriate meaning here (in view of the first gloss) might seem to be 'walled space'. Courtois et al. (1952: 196), followed by Väänänen (1965: 48) suggest the sense 'parcelle enclose par un mur en pierres sèches ou en toub'.

I have considered the possibility that *gemio* might be a measure of area, given that three times it is accompanied by the numeral *unus* (as in the first passage quoted above), which might seem an unnecessary complement for a term denoting a walled part of a field. A field might contain 'a walled space', or 'two or three walled spaces', but why add *unus* otiosely if there were only one? Certainly in the first passage quoted above (VIII.4–6) a measure of size (*gemionem unum*) in juxtaposition with *locus* would be appropriate to the context. But these are legal documents, and legal language went in for extreme precision. Even *locus* is several times accompanied by *unus* in the corpus, as are *aquaria*, *firustellum* (= *frustellum*) and *massa*. Moreover the example at IV.6–7 (*cum aquaria de gemione superiore*) cannot but indicate a place (such as a walled area) rather than a measurement, since it contains, or is the source of, water, whether *aquaria* is taken to mean 'reservoir' or 'water channel' (see below).

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[135] For a full list see Courtois et al. (1952: 320); also 196.

The expression *gemionem de riu* in a difficult context at XV.8–9 might on the face of it (given the first gloss above) refer to the wall either alongside a water channel or supporting its sides, but it is followed immediately by the expression *inter adfines eiusdem gemionis* ('within/amid those bordering on the same *gemio*'), which is more suggestive of an enclosure than of a wall. *De riu* might be a loosely attached complement referring to the site of one particular *gemio* ('the channel *gemio*', i.e. 'the *gemio* in the vicinity of the *riuus*').

Walde and Hofmann (1938–54: I, 587) were right to treat the meaning and origin of the term as uncertain. Courtois et al. (1952: 197) were confident that the word was of Berber origin, but their source for this information (197 n. 1 'le capitaine Lecointre') was not necessarily authoritative. Nevertheless *gemio* must be a loan-word (so Ernout and Meillet 1959), and an African language is the likely source.[136]

6.5 gibba

Gibba occurs at XII.7 as part of a designation of one of the features bordering on an area containing eleven olive trees and a fig tree: *inter adfines a m[eri]die gibba de buresa, ab africo Victorinus benditor, a coro aquariis et uergentibusque suis, a marino bia de buresa* ('within those bordering [on it], to the south the *gibba* of Buresa, to the south-west [the property of] Victorinus the vendor, to the north-west the reservoir/water channels (?) and the embankments, to the north-east the Buresa road').[137] It is possible that *gibba* is the Latin word, used in a unique metaphorical sense 'hillock, mound' or the like. *Gibba* is the feminine variant (see *TLL* VI.2–3.1975.20ff.) of the more usual masculine *gibbus* (*TLL* 1974.70ff.; cf. also *gibber*). These words denoted a bodily swelling or deformity, particularly a hump on the back; *gibbus* is also attested of a camel's hump (*TLL* 1975.6ff.). The *TLL* does not cite any of these terms used metaphorically of a topographical feature, but such an extension would cause no surprise.[138] If this interpretation is correct the usage would be a graphic local metaphor (perhaps alluding to the hump of a camel) replacing some such mundane term as *collis* or *agger*.

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[136] See Nencioni (1939: 34), comparing Berber *tigemmi/tagemmi*, meaning 'house' or 'small court of a house reserved for animals' (and also citing related Berber terms with slightly different meanings). See also Lancel (1981: 293 with n. 2).

[137] The case syntax is illogical here. One might have expected *aquariis* and *uergentibus* to be in the same case as *gibba* and *Victorinus benditor*, but such ineptitudes abound in the corpus.

[138] Courtois et al. (1952: 193) and Väänänen (1965: 48) appear to have taken the word this way, without being very explicit.

It is however worth noting that *Gibali* turns up as a personal name at XV.9, and the possibility cannot be ruled out that *gibba* is of African origin.

6.6   aumas

This word, discussed under the form *aumae* by Courtois et al. (1952: 196) and *auma* by Väänänen (1965: 47), always has the same *-as* ending, whether it is singular or plural, and it is likely to be a foreign word (so Väänänen 1965: 47, suggesting that it may be 'un mot punique'). The examples are: IV.5–6 *particellas agrorum id est aumas duas siui coerentes cum aquaria de gemione superiore in quibus sunt amigdale arb(ores) tres fici ar[b]ores quator p(lus) m(inus) siteciae arborem unam* ('parcels of fields, that is two *aumas* connected together, with a reservoir/water channel (?) from the upper *gemio*, in which there are three almond trees, about four fig trees, one pistachio tree'), IV.39 *[in]s[trumentu]m de aumas*, XV.8 *alio loco ibi in aumas gemionem de riu* ('in another place, in *aumas*, the *gemio* by the stream (?)'), XIX.6 *locus qui appellatur aumas aquaria una ab[e]nte acmigdila una* ('the place which is called "aumas", (with) one reservoir/water channel (?), having one almond tree').

Aumas clearly signified a place, that is part of a field, where trees were grown. Twice there is an accompanying reservoir or water channel, and at XV.8 a *riuus*. Courtois et al. (1952: 196) suggested two possible derivations of the word, first that it might represent *almae*, substantivised, indicating 'des parcelles fertiles', and second, given that it is to *aumae* and only to them that the *Tablettes* assign almond trees, that it might indicate specifically a place planted with almond trees. There is a hint in this second suggestion that in form the word might show some sort of deformation of *amygdala* (see 196 n. 5). Neither suggestion is compelling. The word cannot plausibly be related to *amygdala*, and in any case in the first passage the area is planted with a variety of trees, and in XV there is no mention of almond trees. In three of the four passages (the fourth is no more than a heading) the *aumas* seems to have a water source. It is more likely than not that *aumas* is a loan-word, perhaps denoting a parcel of land planted with trees, with a water supply.

6.7   uergentia, aquaria, lateretum

Vergentia (or *uergentes*?: the word is never in a form that reveals its gender) is found twenty times in the corpus, always in the plural (Courtois et al. 1952: 321). *Vergo* regularly means 'slope downwards', and thus *uergentia* ought

to refer to 'things sloping downwards', in the context of irrigation either channels from a reservoir or the sloping embankments of the reservoir or of the channels. Courtois et al. (1952: 203), giving the nominative as *uergentes*, take the meaning to be 'canaux d'irrigation', whereas Väänänen (1965: 51) translates the form *uergentia* as 'talus [i.e. embankment] (de canaux d'irrigation)'. Certainty is impossible. Whatever the meaning, the word, as Väänänen (1965: 51) notes, is an addendum lexicis, and must have been a local technical term.

   Vergentibus is usually coordinated either with *aquari(i)s* (e.g. XII.7 *aquariis et uergentibus suis*; cf. XV.18, XXIV.8–9) or with *lateretis aquaris* (e.g. XV.11–12 *lateretis aquaris bergentibusque suis*; cf. III.9, VII.8–9, XXI.5, 6, XXIV.6–7). *Lateretis* is obscure. It occurs a dozen times (see the index of Courtois et al. 1952: 320 s.v. *latericium*). Courtois et al. (1952: 203) and Väänänen (1965: 49) simply assume that *lateretum* is a misspelling of *latericium*, defined by Väänänen as 'côte couverte de verdure', but this is by no means certain and it is not clear what the point of such a meaning would be in the context. The *TLL* (VII.2.1002.47ff.) accepts *lateretum* at its face value, suggesting tentatively that it might be a derivative of *later* 'brick', signifying a canal made of bricks for irrigating fields ('fortasse nomen canalis e lateribus facti ad agros irrigandos'). Whatever the case, it must be a local technical term.

   The question arises whether the juxtaposed *aquari(i)s* is an adjective agreeing with *lateretis*, or a noun. Väänänen (1965: 47) opts (without discussion) for the second possibility, citing XIX.6 *aquaria una* (and assigning *aquaria* the meaning 'réservoir, rigole d'irrigation'). This interpretation is supported by III.17–18 *cum lateretis et aquaris bergentisque suis*, where *lateretis* is coordinated with *aquaris*. *Lateretum*, *aquaria* and *uergentia* must all be technical nouns from the sphere of irrigation, at least two of them probably localised. Väänänen (1965: 47) states that *aquaria* survives 'avec ce sens' in Gallo-Romance and Aragonese. This is misleadingly put. *Aquarius* (-*a*) does not, as far as I am aware, survive with the meaning 'reservoir'. The Romance details are now set out in *FEW* XXV.70–1 s.v. *aquarius*. According to *FEW aquarius* was substantivised by ellipse of *sulcus* in the expression *sulcus aquarius* 'water furrow', in some places in the expected masculine (e.g. Logudorese *abbárdzu*, for which see Wagner 1960–4: I, 38), but in Gallo-Romance (and Aragonese: *ayguera*) as a feminine; the feminine does not seem to be explained. *FEW* (70, 2b) quotes (e.g.) Old Provençal *aiguiera* 'rigole', Poitevin *aiguière* 'petite fosse', and cites, without giving the form, a reflex in the Sologne meaning 'rigole dans les champs'. *FEW* (71) says too that *aquarius canalis* also underwent an ellipse,

leaving *aquarius* substantivised as a masculine (e.g. Italian *acquaio*, Portuguese *agueiro*), and in Gallo-Romance as a feminine as well as masculine (*FEW* 71, col. 2). There must be some doubt about the exact nature of the ellipses which led to the substantival uses. *Aquaria*, for example, might well have derived from *fossa aquaria*. Whatever the case, some such meaning as 'water channel, ditch, furrow' would fit the context, and *lateretum* and *aquaria* possibly denoted two different types of channel.[139] But the meaning 'reservoir' for *aquaria* certainly cannot be ruled out. An example at XV.7 nicely reveals the ambiguity of the term: *aquaria qui de torrente lebat*. This seems to be an intransitive use of *leuare*, a verb which could mean 'raise' but also simply 'remove' (for the latter see *TLL* VII.2.1235.39ff.). The sense could be either the 'channel which is taken' (sc. *se*) from the torrent (river), or the 'reservoir which is taken/derived' therefrom.[140]

The examples of *aquari(i)s* might obviously be masculines (or neuters) rather than feminines, but the expression *aquaria una* cited above suggests that the feminine may be right in the other cases as well.

6.8   (in) pullatis

This phrase occurs four times and the variant *pullatis*, without a preposition, once (Courtois et al. 1952: 319). *In pullatis* seems to be a fossilised prepositional expression serving as the name of a place or area, in that twice it is preceded by *locus qui apellatur* (XIV.3–4, 6) and once (without the preposition) by *locus qui dicitur* (III.18–19). Place names in Latin (and Greek) often derive from prepositional expressions or locatives (cf. in the same corpus VII.10 *locus qui adpellatur sub quercu*, 'the place called "under the oak"').[141] In another passage *in pullatis* is juxtaposed with *in loco* apparently with *qui apellatur* omitted: III.22 *alio in loco in pullatis locus abiente olibe arb(ores) cinque* ('in another place, i.e. "in pullatis", a place having five olive trees'). The remaining example (XXIV.11) seems to be the same as the last. It seems reasonable to derive *pullatus* from an adjective that has been seen before (IV.1.3.1), *pullus*, which was used of friable soil in Campania, according to Columella, and survives in the south of Italy.[142] *In pullatis* would originally have been accompanied by a noun such as *agris* or *terris*. The augmented form in *-atus* recalls, for example, *caecatus*, which survived in the south of Italy (*cecato*) as a substitute for *caecus*.[143] *Pullatus*

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[139] Pavis d'Escurac (1980: 189) assumes without argument that *aquaria* means 'reservoir'.
[140] *Qui* often serves as a feminine in later Latin.
[141] See e.g. E. Löfstedt (1959: 137), Väänänen (1977: 40–4).
[142] The connection is made by Courtois et al. (1952: 201) and Väänänen (1965: 50).
[143] See Rohlfs (1954a: 35), and in general Adams (1995b: 537–9) on *-atus* as an augmentative adjectival suffix. See map 9 for *caecatus*.

may have been an African variant on *pullus*; it is interesting to note the possible connection between Calabrian usage (where *pullus* survives) and African.

6.9   termines

The word for 'boundaries' in the corpus is *termines*, never *termini*: V.8 *a meridiano nobos termines fixos* ('new boundaries fixed to the south'), V.11 *s(u)p(ra)s(criptos) termines*, IX.7–8 *a septentrione fixos nobos termines* ('new boundaries fixed to the north'). This form derives from *termen*, plural *termina*, an alternative form to *terminus*, *termini*. *Termina* (for which see III.6.3) must have been converted into a masculine, third declension (*termines*; singular **terminis, -em*).[144] *Termine* (< *terminem*) is widely reflected in Romance (*REW* 8665.2). *Termines* was undoubtedly in use in African Latin (if not restricted to that area): the same form occurs in the African inscription *ILS* 9383 from Bahira in Mauretania.

6.10   maforsenu

At I.6 in a dowry list, qualified by *unu*. It is taken to refer to a female garment covering the head and shoulders.[145] The base of this word is a familiar one (see *TLL* VIII.49.75 *mafor(t)ium, maforte* and above, 5), but with this suffix it is otherwise unattested. The form here must have been a localised one in Africa.

   Another unique item in the dowry list is *beruina* (I.11), which occurs in the context of footwear. It is possibly from *ueruex* 'castrated male sheep' (but *ueruecina* would have been expected) with ellipse of *solea*, denoting perhaps shoes or slippers of sheep skin.[146] *Veruina* ('spit', < *ueru*) is ruled out by the context. Presumably the word was a local one for an object in use locally.

6.11   Some conclusions

Thirteen words have been discussed in this section, three of them probably of African etymology (*gemio*, *aumas* and *maforsenu*), the rest Latin. Nine are unique to this corpus (the three African words, and *uergentia* and *aquaria* used as nouns,[147] *lateretum*, *pullatis*, *beruina*; also *gibba* in the sense it

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[144] See B. Löfstedt (1961: 88 n. 2), Väänänen (1965: 33); cf. the analogous material at VII.11.3.4.6.
[145] See Courtois et al. (1952: 215 n. 6), Väänänen (1965: 49).
[146] See Courtois et al. (1952: 215 n. 11), Väänänen (1965: 47).
[147] *Aquaria* does not seem to be attested as a feminine noun. The neuter *aquarium*, however, referring to a source of water or watering place, is old (see *OLD*).

has here). *Centenarium* is a known Africanism. *Massa* is used in a sense related to but different from that which it has in Italy. *Pullatis* seems to be a suffixal derivative of *pullus* used in the sense which that adjective had in southern Italy. Three of the terms (*uergentia*, *aquaria* and *lateretum*) appear to be technical terms to do with irrigation. *Marinus*, *gibba* and *pullatis* (on the interpretations put forward above) could certainly have been replaced by other Latin words (*aquilo*, *collis* and *pullus* respectively), and are thus dialectalisms. We do not know the precise meanings of *massa*, *gemio* and *aumas*, but they denoted divisions of agricultural land and could probably have been replaced at least by phrases or circumlocutions. A notable feature of the evidence is the intrusion of African (Punic?) words into the local Latin vocabulary describing the landscape. *Termines* finally belongs in the category of a usage (in this case a word form) demonstrably in use in Africa but not confined to that province (for which category see above, 4.7). Most of the other usages, as we have seen, are uniquely African.

7   THE BU NJEM OSTRACA

Along with the Albertini tablets the Bu Njem ostraca are the most significant find of subliterary Latin to have turned up in Africa. The texts were published by Marichal (1992). I have discussed the language at Adams (1994) and (2003a: 236, 455). The oasis of Bu Njem (*Golas* in the texts) is 200 km due south of Misurata in Tripolitana (see map 3, Gholaia). A detachment of *Legio III Augusta* arrived there on 24 January 201 with the task of constructing a fort. The legion was disbanded in 238 and not reconstituted until 253, and the exact nature of the garrison at Bu Njem in the early 250s, the period to which the ostraca belong, is not known.[148] Apart from the ostraca there survive from the site poems by two centurions written on stone, which I have discussed at Adams (1999). One of these, by a certain Iasuchthan, is in a markedly unidiomatic Latin which I have taken to be that of a second-language learner, a suggestion which appears to be supported by the writer's name, which is of Libyan origin and is also borne by a local camel-driver mentioned at *O. Bu Njem* 77.[149] There were African recruits stationed at Bu Njem at the time when the ostraca were written. Marichal (1992: 64–5) has shown that 11 per cent of the cognomina in the documents are Libyan or Punic in origin, and that a further 45 per cent of the Latin cognomina are specifically African. As many as 65 per cent of the cognomina have African connections.[150]

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[148] For a summary of the situation see Adams (1994: 87–8).   [149] See Adams (2003a: 455).
[150] See also Adams (1994: 88).

This is not the place to dwell on the language of the ostraca, but I would stress several features (see also Adams 2003a: 236, 455). First, the documents contain a substantial number of local (Punic or Libyan?) quantity terms, *selesua*, *sbitualis*, *siddipia*, *asgatui*, *isidarim* and *gura*.[151] Equivalents are given in *modii*, a fact which establishes that the local terms were replaceable. The circumstances under which the words were borrowed emerge from the contexts. For example, at 76 a soldier Aemilius Aemilianus reports in a letter to the commanding officer that he has dispatched back to base some *selesua* of *triticum* using the services of the camel drivers of Iddibal. Soldiers were dealing with local tribesmen and taking over key local words used in the transactions. Such borrowings were probably ephemeral (*gura* at 86, however, is not glossed into *modii*, and the word may have established itself in local Latin), but they at least show that in remote places where there were speakers of vernacular languages in contact with soldiers there would have been pressure on Latin speakers (particularly if they were themselves African and had acquired some Latin only as a second language) to adopt in Latin some of the local trading terminology. In a similarly remote spot (the pre-Sahara region in which the Albertini tablets were written) we saw that local terms to do with topography, land division and agriculture were taken over into Latin. African varieties of Latin marked by a heavy infiltration of vernacular terms must have been specially notable in rural areas.

Second, I have elsewhere stressed that there are signs in the ostraca of the use of the nominative as a sort of all-purpose case particularly where the accusative might have been expected.[152] I would not see this phenomenon as representing a distinctive African regionalism. It is more likely to be (in some cases, at least) 'learners' Latin', that is a manifestation of imperfect learning of the case system. Such imperfect learning might have shown itself wherever Latin was acquired as a second language.

I mention in passing that in some cases uses of the nominative for an oblique case might not be strictly a linguistic phenomenon but a reflection of the way in which formulaic documents were put together. There is evidence that soldiers sending back supplies to the camp were given a model-letter form in which to report their dispatches.[153] The exemplar would have had gaps which the soldier had to fill in. Thus, for example, the formula *transmisi ad te, domine, per*, which occurs a number of times, would have to be completed by a reference to the transporter employed, and the soldier might simply have filled the gap with the nominative without

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[151] See Marichal (1992: 101), Adams (2003a: 455).
[152] See Adams (1994: 96–102, 2003a: 236).   [153] See Adams (1994: 93, 96).

worrying about the syntax of the whole phrase. Curiously, there is abundant evidence for this mechanical form of composition in the *Tablettes Albertini*. These tablets are formulaic, and the nominative is constantly used to complete gaps where a detail particular to the transaction had to be inserted. I cite one illustration. There is a formula whereby the vendor of property is named, usually early in the document. The formula is intended as an ablative absolute, taking the form *uendente* or *uendentibus* followed by the name or names of the vendor. At *Tabl. Albertini* IV.2–3 there is, for example, a largely correct ablative absolute of this type: *bendente Iulio Restituto et Doṇạ[ta] ụxor eius.* Here the only certain lapse lies in the use of the appositional nominative *uxor*. But frequently the ablative participle is followed by nominatives: e.g. VI.3 *bẹndentibus Iulius Martialis et Donatilla iugaḷịs eius.* Cf. III.2, VI.3, VII.1, VIII.1– 2, X.2, XII.4, XX.2. There must have been a model document with gaps where the names appear. The drafter carelessly put in the nominative base-form without accommodating the case to the context.

Attempts have been made to find the influence of Punic on vocalic spelling in the ostraca. Lancel (1981: 280) cites an early paper by Marichal on the ostraca[154] referring to 'la confusion totale des *o* et des *u*', which is put down by Lancel to a feature of Punic, in which '[l]e son *o* et le son *u* sont très voisins'. But there is very little confusion involving *o* and *u* in the corpus,[155] and those cases which do turn up are of mundane types found all over the Empire.[156] Marichal is cautious in his later discussion (1992: 47), but is inclined to find significance in an alleged accusative plural form *camellarius* for *-os*, stating that such spellings are rare, and referring, like Lancel above, to the similarity of *o* and *u* in Punic. Two points may be made about *camellarius*. First, it is probably not accusative plural but a nominative singular (after *per*) of the mechanical type discussed in the previous paragraph.[157] Second, even if it were intended as accusative plural, such forms are not rare at all.[158] Assertions that this or that case of a misspelling in a Latin document is due to substrate influence of some sort are often wrong, and derive from a lack of familiarity with the variability of Latin spelling all over the Empire.

Finally, at 95 there is a curious construction comprising the imperative of *quaero* followed by *ad* + accusative instead of the expected accusative. I have elsewhere (Adams 1994: 91–2) tentatively put this down to Punic influence, with the preposition representing the Semitic *nota accusativi*,

[154] *CRAI* 1979, 437.   [155] For details see Marichal (1992: 47), Adams (1994: 103–4).
[156] See Adams (1994: 104).   [157] For the interpretation of the phrase see Adams (1994: 99–100).
[158] See B. Löfstedt (1961: 86–7).

but caution is advisable;[159] there may be other ways of explaining the oddity.

One is on far surer ground in stating that some of those stationed at Bu Njem were not first-language speakers of Latin. The adverbial form *bone* for *bene* in the formula *opto te bene ualere* at 109 cannot have been perpetrated by a native speaker.[160]

8 RECAPITULATION

A substantial body of lexical material with an African connection has been discussed to this point. Fifteen terms were noted at 4.6, fourteen of them described as dialect terms in the strong sense, four at 4.7, thirteen in the *Tablettes Albertini*, nine of them unique to the corpus (see 6.11), and as well there were several miscellaneous usages (notably *buda* at 3). The total is more than thirty. Quite apart from loan-words there are several native Latin words or usages (*baiae*, *pala*, *centenarium*, *acina*, *rostrum*) that are well attested in Africa but virtually nowhere else, and these are enough in themselves to make nonsense of Brock's view (see above, 1) that African Latin was 'free from provincialism'. All these usages (including *centenarium*) could no doubt have been replaced by mundane Latin words in use elsewhere. The precise meaning of *centenarium* cannot be grasped from the contexts in which it occurs, but it certainly denoted some sort of humdrum building which the language no doubt had the resources to describe in other ways. If it referred to a granary, *horreum* would have been a substitute. Most of these usages were innovations probably of imperial date made in Africa (and perhaps in one or two cases in a few other scattered places). Innovation, not conservatism or archaism, was the main factor contributing to the linguistic diversity of the provinces, and that is particularly obvious in Africa.

Punic, Libyan or other African elements penetrated Latin particularly in rural areas, to judge from the cluster of oddities in the *Tablettes Albertini* and the Bu Njem ostraca, and from the number of terms to do with flora that are of African origin, notably in medical texts. African Latin is also remarkable for its social or educational diversity. On the one hand Africa produced many writers of literary style who were untouched by local influences. But on the other hand there are extant several texts and documents from the hand of writers who had not had a literary education, and these reveal a

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[159] For further reservations about possible substrate interference in the corpus see Adams (1994: 111).
[160] See Adams (1994: 89–90).

marked intrusion of vernacular loan-words into more popular varieties of the language.

   I conclude this part of the chapter with three lexical items which have been or might be taken as having an African connection. The first and last raise again the question whether African Latin and Sardinian were related.

9   MISCELLANEOUS LEXICAL ITEMS, AND SARDINIA AGAIN

9.1   cena pura

In Sardinia the word for 'Friday' (*cenápura*) reflects *cena pura*, a name which sets Sardinia apart from other Romance languages (map 10).[161] There is a theory that the usage came to Sardinia from Africa, brought, it has been suggested, by Jews from North Africa.[162] This view might be taken to imply that *cena pura* was a usage of African Latin, shared like several others (see 4.6 for references) with Sardinian. The connection between the Sardinian name and Africa is based on a remark made by Augustine *Tract. in Ioh.* 120.5 (*CC* 36, 663): *quando iam propter parasceuen, quam coenam puram Iudaei usitatius apud nos uocant, facere tale aliquid non licebat* ('at a time when it was not permitted to do any such thing because of the *parasceue*, which the Jews among us more commonly call *cena pura*').[163] Note the use of *apud nos* here, and see above, 4.7.2. *Cena pura* in non-Christian Latin would indicate a dinner pure in the sense that it was without meat, a use found at ps.-Apuleius *Asclepius* 41, p. 86.13 Moreschini *haec optantes conuertimus nos ad puram et sine animalibus cenam* ('desiring this we turned to a dinner pure and without animal [flesh]'). Παρασκευή was a Jewish technical term for the day of 'preparation' before the sabbath of the Passover, and thence for the day before the sabbath. Associated with this was the 'pure feast', δεῖπνον καθαρόν, rendered into Latin by *cena pura*, a phrase which by a metonymy had shifted to indicate the παρασκευή itself. This meaning seems to be present in the Latin translation of Irenaeus of Lyons *Aduersus haereses*, who, though from the east, spent much of his life in Lyons, where he became bishop in the second half of the second century. The date of the Latin translation is uncertain, but it is loosely attributed to the fourth century. The distinction between the original Greek work and the Latin translation is disregarded by Bonfante (1949: 171), who states erroneously that παρασκευή was called *cena pura* by Irenaeus, 'morto verso il 200 d.C.'.

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[161] See Rohlfs (1954a: 28).
[162] For this view see Wagner (1952: 151); also Rohlfs (1954a: 28).
[163] The passage is cited, for example, by Wagner (1920b: 620), Rohlfs (1954a: 28).

Irenaeus himself used only the Greek word, which was replaced or glossed in the Latin translation by *cena pura* at a much later date. For a gloss see 5.23.2 *hoc est parasceue, quae dicitur cena pura* ('that is the *parasceue*, which is called *cena pura*'), = τουτέστιν ἐν τῇ λεγομένῃ παρασκευῇ. More interesting is an example at 1.14.6, where *cena pura* replaces *parasceue*: *et propter hoc Moysen in sexta die dixisse hominem factum, et dispositionem autem in sexta die, quae est [in] cena pura* ('and because of this Moses said that man was made on the sixth day, and the "economy" [was made] on the sixth day, which is the *cena pura*'). The Greek of the final two clauses is: καὶ τὴν οἰκονομίαν δὲ ἐν τῇ ἕκτῃ τῶν ἡμέρων, ἥτις ἐστὶν ἡ παρασκευή. Thus the Greek word is rendered by *cena pura*. The virtual equivalence of *cena pura* with 'sixth day' shows that (in the later translation) *cena pura* could in some (Judeo-Christian) circles in effect be used of 'Friday', though it would hardly have lost its religious significance.

The establishment of *cena pura* in Sardinia as the standard designation of Friday obviously owes something to the influence of early Christians and Jews on the island, who must have succeeded in having their special term adopted into general use, just as in Portugal Christians succeeded in having the pagan names for days of the week replaced by circumlocutions with *feria* (V.5.5.2). But we should not jump to the conclusion that *cena pura* was also in use in this sense in African Latin, or that the expression was transported from Africa to Sardinia. Augustine does not say that *cena pura* was in use in Africa, but only that it was in use among African Jews. Nor does he say that it meant 'Friday' (as Rohlfs 1954a: 28 appears to assume) in such Jewish communities, but only that it was used as an equivalent of *parasceue*, to which he was giving a technical sense. We not not know whether *cena pura* was ever in general use in African Latin simply as a term for a day of the week, and we do not know the stages by which the expression established itself in Sardinia. It is however true that as a technical term *cena pura* seems to be attested mainly in African texts (see *TLL* III.779.56ff.); the translation of Irenaeus has also been attributed to Africa (see Lundström 1943: 98).

Wagner (1952: 154–5) suggests (speculatively but not without some plausibility in this case) another correspondence between Sardinian and African Latin to do with the calendar.[164] The name of the month of June in Sardinia is *lámpadas*. The African writer Fulgentius refers to a 'day of the lamps' (*lampadarum dies*) dedicated (it is to be assumed in Africa) to Ceres, at the time of the reaping of the harvest: *Myth.* 1.11, p. 22.19 Helm *hanc etiam mater cum lampadibus raptam inquirere dicitur, unde et*

[164] Cf. Wagner (1960–4: II, 7–8).

lampadarum dies Cereri dedicatus est, illa uidelicet ratione quod hoc tempore cum lampadibus, id est cum solis feruore, seges ad metendum cum gaudio requiratur ('her mother is also said to search for her [Proserpina] with lamps when she is carried off, as a result of which too a "day of the lamps" has been dedicated to Ceres, no doubt for the reason that at this time the crop for harvesting is joyously sought after with "lamps", that is with the heat of the sun').[165] Wagner also cites a work on the nativity of John the Baptist which refers to a day in June at the time of the harvest called the 'lamp' in North Africa. If in Africa a day in June was called the 'day of the lamps' or more simply the 'lamp', it is not impossible that the term was generalised to describe the month, and that there was some sort of connection between this usage and the Sardinian name for June. Wagner (1952: 155–6) also finds traces of similar terminology in Iberia; Spain and Sardinia share features,[166] and it is possible that African Latin also corresponded in some ways to usage in one or both places.

9.2   pelagicus

At VII.11.3.5 we noted examples of the adjective *pelagicus* in medical translations thought to have been written in the north of Italy. In extant Greek the adjective is all but non-existent, but in the late period must have had some currency. There is also a cluster of examples in North African *defixiones*, from Hadrumetum, used rather differently from the Italian examples. In medical texts it is applied to marine creatures, whereas in the *defixiones* it is an epithet of an unnamed god, who is 'everywhere' and brings death.[167] The word occurs in a formula, *deum pelagicum aerium altissimum* ('the god who is in the sea, in the air and aloft'), as at Audollent (1904), 293A.11–12. The formula and word are not always fully preserved, but the instances are numerous:[168] see Audollent (1904), 286 B.12–13, 291A.5, B.9–10, 292B.7, 293A.11, B.8–9, 294.13, *AE* 1911, 6, B.9 (nine examples).

Pelagicus could have been replaced by *marinus* without change of sense, but it would be wrong to say that it was a 'dialect term' in Hadrumetum. Jeanneret (1918: 104) correctly observes that this Greek word, like several others in African *defixiones*, scarcely belonged to current usage but was a technical term in magic. It was localised, but in a special register. But there is good reason to believe that such special terms sometimes spread locally beyond the register in which they originated. Whatever the case, πελαγικός must have been known in African Greek.

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[165] See Hays (2004: 106 with n. 34).   [166] See also Wagner (1936: 25–8).
[167] On the god see Jeanneret (1918: 108).   [168] See Jeanneret (1918: 104), *TLL* X.1.988.41ff.

9.3 spanus

At *Mulomedicina Chironis* 960 there is a list of terms for the colours of
the horse which contains *spanus*. Wagner (1917: 235) notes that the word
survives in Sardinia (*ispanu*, *spanu*) as a colour term applied to horses ('clear
red'), and that it also lives on in Corsica as a designation of a reddish animal
colour.[169] *REW* 8118c gives only these reflexes. We have mentioned above
(4.5.4 with n. 78) the theory that there are Sardinian linguistic elements in
the *Mulomedicina*. But there is more to be said about *spanus*. It also occurs
(as Wagner points out) at Nonius Marcellus p. 882 Lindsay: *pullus color est
quem nunc spanum uel natiuum dicimus* ('*pullus* is a colour which we now
call *spanus* or *natiuus*').[170] Nonius speaks as if *spanus* was a current term
(note *nunc*), and it is natural to think that he knew it from Africa, though
I have argued (5) that sometimes a usage he had heard in Africa might
have been more widespread. If his remark is accepted at face value we have
evidence that the usage was current both in Sardinia and Africa. There is a
scattering of usages in the *Mulomedicina* with an African association, and
sometimes Sardinian as well (see 11, p. 576 for references).

10 SOME REMARKS ON PUNIC AND LIBYAN

In this chapter I have dealt extensively with African borrowings into Latin.
Here I offer a few further remarks about the possible interaction of Latin
and Punic/Libyan.

Punic lived on into the Empire. There have been editions of Punic
inscriptions by Levi Della Vida and Amadasi Guzzo (1987) and by Amadasi
Guzzo herself (1967, 1990). A useful discussion of literary evidence (in
Augustine) for the survival of Punic is to be found in W. Green (1951). For
a survey of the evidence for contact between Punic and Latin see Adams
(2003a: 200–45). Latin–Punic bilingualism is evidenced by the survival
of a substantial number of bilingual inscriptions.[171] Punic speakers were
no doubt acquiring (and shifting to) Latin over a long period, and one
might expect in their Latin, if that could be identified, signs of Punic
influence. Even first-language speakers of Latin would not have been cut
off from the lexical influence of Punic, and we have indeed already seen
the intrusion of local words into Latin, particularly but not exclusively in

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[169] See also Grevander (1926: 131), André (1949b: 72), and particularly Wagner (1960–4: I, 674) s.v.
ispánu (with details of Corsican as well).
[170] On *natiuus* see André (1949b: 72), but it is not clear to me why *spanus* and *natiuus* seem to be
equated.
[171] These are collected and discussed by Adams (2003a: 213–30).

corpora from remote areas. Potentially the best evidence that we have for
the Latin of Punic speakers might seem to be the bilingual inscriptions,
but while these reveal (for instance) shifts in naming practices in Punic
under Latin influence and the imitation of Latin formulae in Punic, there
is no evidence for influence in the opposite direction, that is of Punic
on Latin.[172] Funerary inscriptions were usually carved by professionals,
whose writing would be unlikely to show up any substrate interference. It
is a futile activity to look for 'Punic influence' in Latin inscriptions from
Africa. There also seems little point in speculating whether literary figures
such as Apuleius and Fronto were native speakers of Punic.[173] There is no
evidence on the matter, and the influences on the Latin of such writers
were purely Greco-Roman. Products of the rhetorical schools would have
been capable of excluding any trace of Punic syntactic interference from
their Latin, even if they knew Punic, or even if they were surrounded by
bilinguals themselves admitting Semitisms.

There is, however, one remarkable convergence between African Latin
(as represented in some inscriptions) and Punic, and that is in the endings of
Latin masculine names in *-us* and *-ius*. I have dealt with the phenomenon
before (Adams 2003a: 512–15) but here offer a brief summary, with a
bibliographical addition.

10.1 'Vocative' endings

In a few African inscriptions the vocative forms of Latin names in *-us* and *-ius*
(i.e. *-e* and *-i*) are used where the nominative might have been expected.[174]
There is a cluster of such names, for example, in a small bilingual corpus
of inscriptions from the catacomb at Sirte (Bartoccini 1928). There is also
a view that the Punic forms of Latin names in *-us* (i.e. -ᵓ) and *-ius* (i.e.
-y) represent the Latin vocatives in *-e* and *-i* respectively.[175] Statistically
the examples in Latin inscriptions are minute, and could not be used to
argue that African Latin in general had undergone a peculiar development,
that is the replacement of the nominative endings in masculine names by
the vocative. But it is possible that such a development had taken place in
some bilinguals' Latin, along the following lines.[176] Some Punic speakers
hearing Latin might have interpreted the vocative as being the base-form of

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[172] See the summary of Adams (2003a: 229–30).
[173] See Harrison (2000: 2). Champlin (1980: 7–8) is cautious.
[174] See Svennung (1958: 395), Adamik (1987), Petersmann (1998: 133–4), Adams (2003a: 512–13).
[175] For (the quite extensive) bibliography see Adams (2003a: 218 n. 428, 513–14 with notes).
[176] See Adams (2003a: 514–15) for a discussion of the possibilities.

names because of its frequency in conversation. They might have adopted it in their first language when using Latin names, and then transferred the forms into their Latin (cf. above, II.17).

The view that the above Punic forms of Latin names derive from the Latin vocative has been questioned by Amadasi Guzzo (1995). She argues that the Latin endings have been 'Punicised'. I quote her conclusion (504): 'I propose that the Punic spellings . . . of the endings of the Latin names in *-us* and *-ius* are not transcriptions of a definite Latin form, but adaptations of Latin suffixes (of personal names, as well as common, masculine, and neuter nouns) to Punic orthography, which reproduced them according to its own system. Their pronunciation appears to be at least similar . . . to *-e* in the case of the ending *-us* and to *-ie* for the endings *-ius/-ium*; the latter passed to *-i* in a recent period (Latino-Punic inscriptions). It is likely that these pronunciations correspond to "punicized" rather than Latin forms.' If Amadasi Guzzo's argument were accepted (and it is advanced rather tentatively), there would be no question of Latin endings entering Punic. The influence would presumably have operated in the reverse direction: 'vocatives' used as nominatives in some (bilinguals') African Latin would in reality show the Punicised endings imposed on the Latin names in Latin itself. On either view a small amount of African Latin displays a regional peculiarity which can be put down to the interaction of the two languages. On one point Amadasi Guzzo can be corrected. She states (498) that the conventional view that Latin names passed into Punic in the vocative form 'is difficult to accept because . . . there are no examples of the written use of that case in Latin or in the derived languages'. But we have just seen (above with n. 174) that that is not so. Nor does Amadasi Guzzo say what the underlying 'Punic' ending might be. The case does not seem to be decisively proven.

10.2 Evidence from Berber (?)

Berber dialects are said to contain loan-words from Latin,[177] and these (if it is accepted that they can be distinguished from loan-words from Romance)[178] ought to have information to impart about African Latin.[179] The subject has already come up in this chapter (4.7.2 *pullus*, 6.1 *centenum*,

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[177] See e.g. Laoust (1920), Wagner (1936), Rössler (1962), Lancel (1981: 292–3), Adams (2003a: 246–7) (raising some doubts), Vycichl (2005: 16–31).

[178] On this methodological problem see Adams (2003a: 246–7).

[179] For a collection of such words see Wagner (1952: 153).

centenarium). The field is a specialised one into which I am not inclined to intrude, but a few remarks may be made.

There do seem to be genuine Latin (as distinct from Romance) borrowings. A case in point is the Tashelhiyt[180] word for 'donkey', *asnus*, showing the Latin *-us* ending which does not appear in the Romance reflexes.[181]

But the other side of the coin is represented by a problematic variant of Latin *focus* that turns up in Berber. An etymon **foconem* (accusative of a nominative **foco*) has to be reconstructed to account for various Berber dialect forms.[182] Various suffixal derivatives of *focus* are attested only in Romance (see *FEW* III.658, col. 1 'Die übrigen ablt. sind erst in rom. zeit entstanden . . .'), among them *focone(m)*, described by *FEW* ibid. as 'eine neubildung mit diminutivem *-one*, die auch in Italien . . . und im iberorom. lebt'. Traces survive as well in Gallo-Romance (*FEW* III.652, col.1, no. 5). This case raises acutely the question whether the Berber forms are genuinely borrowings from Latin, or later borrowings from Romance. The failure of Semitic scholars to address this question directly undermines the significance of the Latinate element in Berber.

Attempts to establish details of the vowel system of African Latin from loan-words in Berber are bound to be unsatisfactory.[183] It is in principle impossible to reconstruct the vowel system of a lost language (in this case Latin as it was spoken in Africa) from loan-words that had passed from that language before its death into a language of a different type. Lexical borrowings from one language to another are assimilated to the phonological system of the recipient language,[184] except under very special circumstances. It is conceivable that an English speaker using a loan-word from French (e.g. *legerdemain*) might for reasons of his own attempt to preserve its Frenchness, but most speakers would anglicise. The anglicised pronunciation would be a poor guide to the sounds of the original French word if French were a lost language. This is not, however, a particularly good analogy for the complexities of the African case. We have full knowledge of the phonological system of the recipient language (English), and even with a little information about French phonology would be able to conjecture (if French had been otherwise lost) what changes English was likely to have made to the sounds of the original French term. But in the African case we know nothing about the phonological system of the recipient language (the ancient precursor of Berber) in the Roman period. It is pointless to make assertions about the African Latin vowel system based on features

[180] The Berber dialect of southern Morocco.   [181] For details see Vycichl (2005: 16, 17).
[182] See Vycichl (2005: 22–3).   [183] See the pertinent remarks of Lancel (1981: 292–3).
[184] See e.g. the remarks of Biville (1990: 49).

of Latin loan-words that turn up at a much later period in the history of Berber, particularly since there is a lingering doubt, as expressed above, about when the Latinate element in Berber got into the language. Lancel (1981: 292 with n. 5) gives a nice illustration of how misleading a superficially telling case might turn out to be. It is said that Latin *murus* (with a long *u* in the first syllable) and *ulmus* (with a short *u* in the first syllable) when borrowed by Berber show the same *u*-sound in the first syllable. One might have expected (on the evidence of most of the Romance languages) Latin long *u* to have been retained as a *u* but short *u* to have become a close *o* (CL long *o* and short *u* in most areas merged as close *o*). Was African Latin therefore an aberrant variety of the language (like that of Sardinia) in which the merger just referred to did not take place but instead long and short *u* merged as a form of *u*? (For this question see also above, IV.4.2, and below, X.5.1.2.4.) Such a conclusion cannot be safely drawn from this evidence, because, as Lancel points out, in the Berber dialects apart from Tuareg *o* and *e* have disappeared.

II CONCLUSIONS

The evidence discussed in this chapter does not allow one to put together anything even approaching a picture of the regional characteristics of African Latin, but I should stress that the chapter contains only one category of evidence. Ancient *testimonia*, which are quite extensive for Africa, have been discussed earlier, and I have for the most part left inscriptions for a later chapter.

No attempt has been made here to be comprehensive. I have offered a snapshot of three different communities (one medical, another comprising agricultural land holders in a pre-Sahara region, and the third military) in which the Latin current was well short of the literary standard. Two of these were in areas remote from urban centres. All three had been infiltrated by Punic or other African terms with more commonplace synonyms established in mainstream Latin. There is also a smattering of pure Latin words with distinctive meanings or other characteristics apparently restricted or almost restricted to African Latin. Some writers (at Bu Njem) were using Latin as a second language, and they commit typical learners' errors.

I asked at the beginning whether there was such a thing as *Africitas*. The answer is that there was, and that, given the remoteness of parts of Africa, there was probably a plurality of varieties of Latin rather than a single 'African Latin'. A military community in the desert of Tripolitana manned to some extent by local recruits picking up a second language is

likely to have shown features of language use that distinguished it from an agricultural community elsewhere in the desert composed of first-language speakers of Latin. But the evidence we have is not sufficient to permit a comparison pure and simple of the 'regional dialects' of the two places. The linguistic oddities of the one place as against the other that happen to show up in our very limited corpora of texts might reflect features of special registers rather than of regions of Africa. The terms, for example, to do with quantity measurement found at Bu Njem might not have been understood by landowners on the borders of Tunisia and Algeria, but that need only have meant that the landowners were not transporters of *triticum* and thus did not know the technical terminology of the register of such transporters. If on the other hand we knew that they always measured *triticum* in *modii*, we could say that at Bu Njem there were terms of measurement that had entered Latin in just one community, thus constituting regionalisms. It is not unlikely that the landowners used *modius* not *gura* and the rest, but I leave open the possibility that they knew the African terms as well. One thing that is certain is that in communities scattered across Africa African words had a tendency to enter Latin. Some of these, such as the botanical terms in Mustio, must have spread widely, thereby distinguishing African Latin in general from Italian Latin, Gallic Latin and so on, but one may speculate that others were in use only regionally within Africa, and these would have been dialectalisms of varieties of African Latin itself.

There is marked social variation in the Latin extant in African Latin, ranging from the artificial literary style of Apuleius to the crude use of formulaic language in the Albertini tablets and Bu Njem ostraca. The further a writer was down the educational scale the more likely he was to admit in Latin items from vernacular languages and localised Latin usages. There is a recognition in several *testimonia* cited in this chapter that 'ordinary people' might be expected to admit African oddities. At 4.2.5 it was noted that Cassius Felix ascribed *gelela* 'gourd' to the *uulgus*, which I take to mean here 'common people', and at 4.5.6 that Mustio ascribed *ubuppa* (and *titina*) to *rustici*.

The influence of Punic on Latin in Africa is identifiable almost exclusively in the lexicon. Phonetic and syntactic interference would have shown up in the speech of learners of Latin as a second language, and would, one assumes, have disappeared in the next generation when the language had been fully learnt. We saw one item of morphological significance, the use of vocative forms of names for the nominative. These are very rare, and unlikely to have been a feature of African Latin in general. What variety of the language did they belong to? If one accepts Amadasi Guzzo's explanation (1995) of

the form of Latin names as they appear in Punic, the 'vocatives' in Latin inscriptions would not be genuine vocatives at all, but would represent the transfer into Latin of a Punic (?) form of Latin names. Such transfers would have been made by Punic speakers using Latin as a second language. This regionalism of African Latin would be a regionalism of a restricted type, located in the Latin of Punic-speaking bilinguals rather than native speakers of Latin. The same would be true if the other explanation of the forms, set out at the start of 10.1, were adopted. But there remain some uncertainties about this case.

Sittl thought that he had found Semitic patterns of syntax in high-style African writers from Apuleius onwards. It was suggested earlier (1) that he had not looked for the same patterns outside Africa. It is typical of such claims that the ways in which the substrate influence might have operated are disregarded. A distinction is usually not made between native speakers of the substrate language (Punic in this case) acquiring the imperial language (Latin) as second-language learners, and native speakers of Latin supposedly influenced by the substrate. It is easy to see how someone learning Latin as a second language might have imported syntactic elements from the first, but not so easy to see why a native speaker of Latin, knowing Greek perhaps but not Punic, might display Semitic features in his Latin. How would those Semitic features have got into Latin? Not by borrowing or interference if the speaker knew no Punic. It would have to be assumed that Semitic features had found their way into local Latin, introduced first by bilinguals, and thence had been picked up by monolingual Latin speakers. There is no doubt that Punic or Libyan loan-words entered African Latin in this way, but that Punic syntactic patterns might have penetrated monolinguals' Latin in the same way is hard to believe. The African writers whose works have survived were mostly highly educated products of the rhetorical schools, writing a learned, even bombastic, variety of the language. They were well capable of resisting any alien syntactic patterns that they might (perhaps) have heard around them. Even if we allow that a writer such as Apuleius knew Punic, he too was so subtly fluent in Latin that he would not have admitted Punic constructions unless he had chosen to do so. Unlike Greek, Punic did not have the status to inspire cultivated writers of Latin to transfer its patterns into the other language as a cultural display.

Of the African usages discussed in this chapter all but one are clear-cut innovations rather than archaisms. One exception might seem to be *rostrum*, used of the human mouth. Transferred from animals to humans *rostrum* can be traced back to the early Republic, but there is a vagueness

about its meaning in the early period (VI.2.6). The precise sense 'mouth' illustrated above (4.7.1) is late.

I return to the relationship between African Latin and Sardinian. Sardinia had had a long association with Africa, since it had once been occupied by the Carthaginians, and it seems likely that trading connections were maintained (see above, n. 22). Seven pieces of evidence have come up, of various types. *Buda* is a special case. It is not only in Sardinian that it is reflected, and the route of its movement around the western Mediterranean from Africa can be tracked with some confidence. The word followed the trade in the object to which it referred. *Cena pura* is of no significance. It must have become generally current in Sardinia (as distinct from current merely as a Jewish religious term) or it would not have survived in Sardo-Romance, but there is no evidence that in Africa it was used outside Jewish circles. *Pullus* 'cock' is not confined to Sardinia in Romance, and it cannot therefore be used to argue for a special relationship between African Latin and Sardinia. The feminine use of *acina*, *pala* in the sense 'shoulder-blade' and the colour term *spanus* are all attested only in African Latin (I leave aside the origin of the *Mulomedicina Chironis*) and survive exclusively (or almost so in the case of *acina*) in Sardinia. It is hard to know what to make of these correspondences. Adjacent regions separated by a geographical divide do sometimes share linguistic features, which testify to the intercourse that took place in spite of the obstacle. British Latin shared some noteworthy usages with Gallic Latin (IX.7), and later Provençal and Catalan have shared features (see XI.3.7). It is possible that the attestation of *acina*, *pala* and *spanus* in African Latin and their survival in Sardo-Romance reflect the influence of contact between the two places. A use of the word for 'lamp' discussed above, 9.1, p. 567 is also suggestive. It is also worth noting that the *Mulomedicina Chironis*, a work which it has been suggested might have been compiled in Sardinia (see 4.5.4), has several possible African-isms, some of them shared with Sardinia (4.2.4 *cerda*, 4.5.4 *pala*, 4.5.4 n. 77 *barbata*, 8.3 *spanus*). See further below, XI.3.7.1.

Britain

I THE COMING OF LATIN TO BRITAIN

Latin reached Britain earlier than might be thought. Britain was occupied by the Romans in AD 43, but there are signs that British rulers had acquired some Latin before the conquest. The evidence is to be found in local Iron Age coin issues. I draw here on several persuasive articles by Williams (2000, 2001, 2002, 2005). The coins of a certain Tincomarus, probably a king, whose correct name has only recently been established from the discovery of a hoard of gold coins at Alton, Hampshire,[1] are of particular interest. His name has the Latin *-us* nominative inflection rather than the Celtic *-os*, but what is more striking is a coin type which has a Latin filiation, abbreviated, COM · F (= *Commi filius*), on the obverse.[2] By contrast gold coins bearing the name of the apparent father have the legend COMMIOS, with the Celtic ending.[3] There has been a switch of languages between the time of father and son. The gold coins of Commius, according to Williams (2001: 8), tend to be dated to the 30s or 20s BC. Elsewhere, commenting on Tincomarus, Williams (2002: 143) remarks that the dates of the named kings of Iron Age Britain are 'probably less secure than we like to think', but adds that 'the most sensible convention . . . places Tincomarus and Tasciovanus . . . around the end of the 1st c. B.C. in a loosely defined period between *c.*20 B.C. and A.D. 10'. It is worth quoting Williams' conclusion (2001: 10): 'What the evidence of these coins shows is that in the late first century BC between Commius and his (purported?) son Tincomarus there is a profound change in writing styles and language use, at least on coins in south-eastern Britain.' It can be added that two other putative sons of Commius from southern England, Verica and Eppillus, are also named on coins bearing the same Latin filiation on the obverse, and Verica was even given

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[1] See Cheesman (1998), Williams (2001: 9).   [2] See Williams (2001: 10, 2002: 137).
[3] For a review of this coinage see Bean (2000: 115–26).

the Latin title *rex* on some of his coins.[4] A longer Latin legend (ESICO FECIT / SVB ESVPRASTO, 'Esico made it / under Esuprastus')[5] appears on some silver coins from East Anglia attributed to the Iceni.[6] These probably date from the middle of the first century AD, admittedly just after the occupation, but are notable (if the reading is accepted) for the creative use of Latin. The *sub*-construction does not seem to appear elsewhere on coins or pots,[7] and its presence suggests a knowledge of Latin that goes beyond the mere borrowing of formulae. I mention finally some coin types of Cunobelin, who claimed to be the son of Tasciovanus (see above), which employ two-tier tablets to accommodate the words CVNO/BELINI and CAMVL/ODVNO.[8] The first has a genitive form which might be either Celtic or Latin,[9] but the second has an unambiguous Latin ablative ending, which could be interpreted either as separative ('from Camulodunum') or as locatival.

It is easy to see why the ruling classes might at an early date have wanted to associate themselves linguistically with the Romans.[10] There is a display of power inherent in the use of incomprehensible writing, which is described nicely by Williams (2002: 146) as follows: 'Writing itself was an uncommon activity in late pre-Roman Britain, and probably a fairly new one too. Its physical manifestations on coins were no doubt made all the more imposing by the very contrast between the presumably minuscule proportion of the population who could read it and the rather larger illiterate proportion who would nevertheless have recognized it and known that it was a very special thing, restricted in access to a particularly important group of people within their society, and associated on the coins . . . with the names of powerful individuals like Tasciovanus and Verica.'

The taking up of Latin further down the social scale must have been slower. We will, however, see below (4) new evidence (in curse tablets) from a later period showing that Latin eventually made headway among the local population at a fairly humble social level. The two types of evidence, from coins and curse tablets, have some importance, given that a good deal of the Latin that has survived from the Roman period in Britain (most notably the Vindolanda tablets: see below, 3) was the work not of locals but of soldiers from outside Britain. Right from the start of the occupation and

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[4] See Williams (2002: 137) for details.   [5] On the reading see Williams (2000).
[6] For further discussion see Williams (2001: 12, 2002: 147).   [7] See Williams (forthcoming).
[8] See Williams (2002: 139).
[9] For the Celtic ending see Lambert (1995: 49, 51). On such forms in pre-Roman numismatics see also Koch (1983: 202).
[10] For a general account of this matter see Creighton (2000: 146–73).

even before, the two groups, Romans and the local Celts, were in linguistic contact, and Latin must have been spreading particularly among the British elite and traders.

Once Latin spread among the Celtic population it was bound to take on regional characteristics, given that it was by definition the second language of the locals and subject to interference from Celtic. Unfortunately the sketchy evidence just reviewed for the use of Latin by Britons at an early date has nothing to reveal about regionalisms.

2 NEWLY DISCOVERED LATIN FROM BRITAIN

I remarked more than a decade ago that Britain had become the main source of new Latin (Adams 1992: 1). Jackson's monumental work (1953) on language in early Britain, which had much to say about 'British Vulgar Latin', was written well before the discovery and publication of numerous writing tablets of different types. Smith's long description (1983) of 'Vulgar Latin in Roman Britain', which dealt mainly with inscriptions on stone, has been rendered out of date by recent discoveries,[11] which are abundant even since 1992. An attempt to identify regional features in the Latin of Roman Britain must take account of the latest material, though much of it will turn out to be formulaic and unrevealing. I begin this chapter with a brief survey of the new publications. A systematic edition of the whole corpus of texts is becoming a desideratum.

The best known texts are the Vindolanda writing tablets, of which a third volume has recently been published by Bowman and Thomas (2003). The second volume appeared in 1994. I have in several places commented on possible British features of the Latin (see Adams 1995a: 127–8, 2003b: 562–3, 572), but the matter is complicated by the fact that those stationed at Vindolanda were outsiders to Britain (below, 3), and the tablets at best provide only indirect evidence for the Latin that might have been in use locally. Ink tablets of military provenance have also turned up at nearby Carlisle. These have been published with commentary by Tomlin (1998). Arguably of greater interest here are the numerous curse tablets from southern Britain mainly published by Tomlin. There are signs, as we will see (4), that at least some of these tablets emanate from a Romanised Celtic population which had not received any sort of literary education; such tablets should have traces of lower social dialects as they were spoken in Britain. The main corpus comprises the Bath curse tablets, edited by

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[11] It should be noted that the eight fascicles of *RIB* II (1990–5) (with a ninth fascicle [1995] comprising an index) have been published since Smith's paper.

Tomlin (1988); in the same volume Tomlin also listed (60–1) British curse tablets from sites other than Bath, some of them at that time still unpublished, others published (under the heading 'Inscriptions') in the section at the end of volumes of *Britannia* devoted to Roman Britain. I have discussed the language of the Bath tablets (Adams 1992), drawing attention to several possible regionalisms.[12] Another source of curse tablets has been Uley in Gloucestershire, unlike Bath a rural site 20 km from the nearest Roman towns, Cirencester and Gloucester (see Tomlin 2002: 166). Some of these texts are to be found in Tomlin (1993), but many remain unpublished. Others have been published since 1993.[13] There are also now appearing similar texts from other sites mainly in the south of England: see Hassall and Tomlin (1993: 310–13) no. 2 (Ratcliffe-on-Soar, Nottinghamshire), Hassall and Tomlin (1994: 293–7) nos. 1 (Brandon, Suffolk), 2 (Weeting with Broomhill, Norfolk), Hassall and Tomlin (1996: 443–5) no. 10 (a phylactery from West Deeping, Lincolnshire), Tomlin (1997: 455–7) no. 1 (Hamble Estuary), Tomlin and Hassall (1999: 375–9) nos.1 (London), 3 (Marlborough Downs), Tomlin and Hassall (2003: 361–2) nos 1, 2 (both City of London; cf. also no. 5, from Southwark, an inscription on marble containing a Celtic word *moritix*, on which see V.3.3.6 and below, 7.2), Tomlin and Hassall (2004: 336–7) no. 3 (Ratcliffe-on-Soar). Also worth noting are a will from North Wales published by Tomlin (2001), a legal text from London concerning the sale of a girl (Tomlin 2003), a writing tablet from the City of London apparently recording an inquiry into the ownership of a wood in Kent (Hassall and Tomlin 1994: 302–4, no. 34), and a gold amulet for health and victory written in a mixture of Latin and Greek letters from Billingford, Norfolk (Tomlin 2004).

3   THE ORIGIN OF THOSE WHO HAVE LEFT WRITING IN BRITAIN

It would be unsatisfactory to use the phrase 'Latin of Britain' in reference to the Latin that has survived from Britain. Far better is 'Latin in Britain', as Smith (1983), who entitled his paper 'Vulgar Latin in Roman Britain', was aware. He makes it clear that the title had been carefully chosen and was 'in no way a vague variant on "The V.L. of Roman Britain"' (1983: 896). The point is that much of the Latin that has survived in Britain from the Roman period was not written by an established British population which

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[12] See pp. 5 (*hospitium*), 15–17 (*baro*), 21 (*latro*).
[13] See Hassall and Tomlin (1995: 371–9) nos. 1–4, (1996: 439–41) no. 1, Tomlin and Hassall (1998: 433–4), no. 1.

might have developed a local dialect of Latin, but by outsiders who were merely visiting. The corpus of inscriptions on stone is not particularly large, and many inscriptions were set up by soldiers or traders of diverse backgrounds. Sometimes an inscription reveals the origin of the person who commissioned it, as for example *RIB* 1065, a bilingual text in Latin and Aramaic in the name of a Palmyrene Barates. If there is no indication in an inscription of where its commissioner came from, it would be unsafe to assume that he was a 'Briton', given the mobility of many of those (particularly members of the Roman army) who practised the epigraphic habit. In the case of the Vindolanda writing tablets we are on sure ground. Vindolanda was manned by the First Cohort of Tungrians, the Third Cohort of Batavians and the Ninth Cohort of Batavians,[14] and it was these groups of foreigners (or, to be more precise, the military scribes of these groups) who effected the Latin writing.

Trying to uncover distinctively British features of the Latin spoken in Britain under the Romans might therefore seem hopeless. I have, however, oversimplified the nature of the evidence, and there are some things to be gleaned from it. First, a distinction has to be made between the military writing tablets, which must be largely the work of outsiders,[15] and the curse tablets. There is reason to think that the practice of writing curses had caught on among the local population at a fairly low educational level (*defixiones* are not found at military sites), and that curse tablets were often written not by professional scribes but by the locals themselves (see below, 4). Second, we saw above (1) some evidence, albeit slight, that British upper classes were picking up Latin from as early as the first century BC, and if Tacitus is to be believed the sons of chieftains were being actively trained in Latin language and eloquence under Agricola.[16] Some Latin writing in Britain may come from these educated classes, though whether it could be identified to any extent from the inscriptions is not a question I could attempt to answer.[17] Third, military units did not exist in isolation, cut off from locals. Those serving at Vindolanda had contacts with British suppliers, and these would have been acquiring Latin to carry out their activities. Celtic would have

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[14] See Bowman and Thomas (1994: 22).

[15] Though it cannot be ruled out that recruitment increasingly took place from within the province. See the remarks of Smith (1983: 937), citing (n. 35) Dobson and Mann (1973).

[16] *Agr.* 21.1 *iam uero principum filios liberalibus artibus erudire, et ingenia Britannorum studiis Gallorum anteferre, ut qui modo linguam Romanam abnuebant, eloquentiam concupiscerent* ('moreover he began to instruct the sons of chieftains in the liberal arts, and to prefer the wits of the British to the training of the Gauls, with the result that those who recently rejected the Roman language became desirous of eloquence in it'). On this passage see Ogilvie and Richmond (1967: 227) (taking a different view of it from that adopted in the above translation), Adams (2003a: 691).

[17] There are some pertinent remarks in Smith (1983: 936–7), but he cites no evidence.

had some influence on their Latin, and they in turn would have passed on Celtic borrowings to soldiers, thereby contributing lexical features to the Latin spoken in Britain, if at first by military outsiders. Soldiers often settled in a place where they had served, marrying local women, and any lexical oddities they had picked up might thus have been passed on down the generations. There is an account at Vindolanda (*Tab. Vindol.* II.192) recording the receipt of goods from a certain Gavo. Three of the items received bear Celtic names (*bedox, tossea, sagum*: see below, 7.6), and Gavo himself has a non-Latin, probably Celtic, name. It is likely that he was a local entrepreneur supplying the Romans with goods and at the same time introducing British terms to soldiers' Latin, which, if they caught on, might have become British dialect words.[18] There is a marked Celtic element in the Vindolanda tablets (7), and this constitutes a distinctive feature of an incipient 'British Latin'.

The attempt to find linguistic features confined to the Latin of Britain has to date been based mainly on the study of Latin loan-words taken over by the Celtic population during the Roman occupation and handed down into Welsh. As far as British inscriptions are concerned, Smith's paper (1983) on Vulgar Latin in Britain turned up very little of any significance.[19] Smith offered a classification (unreliable in some details) of deviations (orthographic and morphological) from classical norms, but most of these can be paralleled right across the Empire. Later in this chapter I will look at the new writing tablets to see if they have anything to reveal relevant to the subject of this book, but I must first review the discussions of the Latin loan-words just referred to. It will be shown that Jackson (1953) imposed

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[18] See Adams (1995a: 128, 130).

[19] But see Smith (1983: 905) (on *i* for long *e*), 919 (on an alleged Celtic-influenced pronunciation [χs] for [ks]; Latin evidence is not cited), 928 (the spelling *ou* for *u* in Britain; Celtic words written in Latin script sometimes have this grapheme [see below, 7.1 on *souxtum*], which when used in a Latin word may therefore reflect the influence of the writing of Celtic), 929 (on the spelling of the name of the Celtic war-god in the dative as *Balatucairo* rather than *Balatucadro*, which is said to reflect a 'British process'). Of these items the most interesting is the first. Smith remarks (905) that it 'has been observed that in some areas, including Gaul, a very close pronunciation of *ē* often led to its representation in writing by *i*'. In Gaulish inherited long *e* closed to *i*, as for example in the word for 'king' (*rix* for *rex*) (see e.g. Lambert 1995: 41). One must be cautious in assessing cases of *i* for long *e*, as there are several determinants, depending particularly on the phonetic environment (see the caution of Marichal 1988: 58 on this point). *Filix* for *felix*, for example, might be attributed to vocalic assimilation, and *fici* for *feci* is a special case (see B. Löfstedt 1961: 24–6). But in the mixed-language pottery of La Graufesenque in Gaul in the first century AD, where Gaulish was still alive, the constant spelling *acitabulum* for *acetabulum* seems likely to reflect such a local pronunciation (see Adams 2003a: 710, 720, and above, V.2.3). The same perhaps goes for *sicreta* = *secreta* in a London *defixio* cited by Smith (*RIB* 7). Smith gives one or two other examples. But the difficulty of judging such evidence is highlighted by the maintenance of *e* in the next syllable.

a doctrinaire interpretation on the evidence he thought he had found in these borrowings.

4 EVIDENCE OF LATIN LOAN-WORDS IN BRITISH CELTIC

British Celtic contains a large number of loan-words borrowed from Latin during the Roman occupation, and these have been studied for the information they might provide about the Latin spoken in Britain.[20] According to Jackson (1953: 76) approximately 800 Latin words survived among the three Brittonic languages. The importance of these terms is nicely put by Jackson (1953: 76) thus: '[I]f a Romance language is one which has developed by the ordinary processes of linguistic growth from the colloquial Latin of a province of the Roman Empire, a small but not negligible part of the Brittonic vocabulary may be said to form a fragment of a Romance language.' The British case is not unlike the African. Both provinces were long occupied by the Romans without producing a Romance language, but the vernacular languages of both took over words from Latin. These in theory may be investigated as a source for identifying features of African or British Latin. The Celtic evidence, whatever its own shortcomings (see below), is arguably superior to the Berber, which is extremely difficult to interpret (VIII.10.2).

Jackson (1953: 86–94) discussed twelve features of the loan-words in Britain supposedly showing that 'the spoken Latin of Britain from which they were derived differed completely from that of the western Empire in general and of Gaul in particular'. The distinction stated here between British and Gallic Latin will be shown later in this chapter (7) to be at variance with the evidence thrown up by new writing tablets. Jackson goes on to say that '[s]ome of the changes in the Vulgar Latin tongue well known from Continental sources appear not to have taken place in the Latin speech from which these words found their way into British'. Jackson's twelve features have in recent decades been subjected to severe criticism, as will be seen below. At this point I will not go into detail, but will stress the general features of 'British Vulgar Latin' deduced by Jackson from his survey of the Latin loan-words. These features have an all too familiar look to them.

Jackson's view of the nature of 'British Latin' is foreshadowed at 91–2: 'Once more . . . we seem to have in the spoken Latin of Britain pronunciations which we know in some cases and can suspect in others to have

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[20] See Loth (1892), Lewis (1943), Jackson (1953: 76–80, with much of the rest of the chapter), Campanile (1969), Gratwick (1982). There is a review of the bibliography by Evans (1983: 960–3).

been those of the more educated level of society on the Continent, or at any rate to be more <u>archaic</u> than the ordinary contemporary VL. there' (my emphasis). The 'archaism' or 'conservatism' of British Latin becomes more explicit a few pages later. The difference between British spoken Latin and that of the Continent 'consists almost exclusively in this, that in these respects [just discussed] the sound-system of Latin in Britain was very archaic by ordinary Continental standards, still clinging in the fifth century to pronunciations which had gone out of colloquial use elsewhere as early in some cases as the first' (Jackson 1953: 107). The peculiarity of British Latin lay 'in its conservatism'. It was observed in an earlier chapter (VI.2) that scholars have attempted to establish the archaic character of Ibero-Romance (and, by implication, of its Latin antecedents), and here we see a similar attempt to set Britain apart from its more 'vulgar' continental neighbours. As Jackson puts it (1953: 108), '[t]o the ordinary speaker of Vulgar Latin from the Continent, the language from which the loanwords in Brittonic were derived must have seemed stilted and pedantic, or perhaps upper-class and "haw-haw"'.

Jackson bases his case on a different foundation from that used in the Spanish instance. Spanish Latin (and also, as we saw in the last chapter, African: VIII.1.1) was claimed to be archaic because it reflected the early date of the colonisation of the region. The Latin of Plautus, Cato, Lucilius and others was fossilised there, well away from the centre. Such an argument would not do in the case of Britain, to which the Romans came relatively late. Instead Jackson has Britain populated with a better class of Latin speakers, pronouncing the language in a 'haw-haw' accent, and inflicting learned pronunciations on Celts as they took over Latin borrowings. This argument is supported by a tendentious view of the spread of Latin in Britain. Latin was the language of 'the governing classes, of civil administration and of the army, of trade, of the Christian religion, and very largely (but perhaps not entirely) of the people of the towns', whereas 'the peasantry of the Lowland Zone, who constituted the great bulk of the population, spoke British and probably knew little Latin', and 'the language of the Highland Zone . . . was to all intents and purposes exclusively British' (Jackson 1953: 105). Thus (by implication) the only speakers of Latin in Britain belonged to the better educated classes, and their language use did not display the features one would expect from speakers of substandard varieties.

As was noted above, we now have a good deal more Latin from Britain than was available to Jackson, and his view of the distribution of Latin in Britain under the Romans is no longer convincing (and I am leaving

aside for the moment his 'twelve features' [see the second paragraph of this section] distinguishing British Latin from continental). A compelling case has recently been advanced by Tomlin (2002) that Latin under the Romans had made some inroads into rural areas among the Celtic (as distinct from Roman) population. Uley, as we saw, was the site of a rural shrine well away from the nearest town. The Bath and Uley curse tablets contain numerous personal names, none of them that of a Roman citizen with nomen and cognomen.[21] The names are either Celtic personal names or colourless Latin cognomina, with the Celtic names predominating slightly, by 80:70 at Bath and 15:13 at Uley;[22] but, as Tomlin adds, the true predominance of the Celtic names is greater, since Celtic names 'are latent in many of the Latin *cognomina*'. Tomlin (2002: 173) draws attention to a pewter plate from Bath inscribed in Latin with eight names (*Tab. Sulis* 30: see Tomlin 1988) of persons who are explicitly not Roman citizens. '[A]lmost everyone is identified by the name of his mother or father, in peregrine fashion, like Docilianus "son of Brucetus"', and the names are mostly Celtic. The names of the parents are usually not dependent on *filius* in the Latin manner but are attached unsupported in the genitive to the name of the son. The Latin, brief as it is, is substandard. *Matarnus* and *Patarnianus* are both spelt with *a* for *e* before *r* (for which phenomenon see below, 10.1), and *uxor* is given the phonetic (assimilated) spelling *ussor*. Tomlin further notes (2002: 174) that the Bath tablets 'do not suggest a socio-economic élite', being 'prompted by quite small sums of money'. He also argues (2002: 170) that the use of formulae in the curses and the writing itself are not suggestive of the work of a small class of professional scribes. I quote: 'The formulas . . . indicate a broad consensus of how one should address a god, but they have many variations, and there is not a single duplicated text. Moreover, at Bath, where the hands have been drawn and tabulated . . ., it can be seen that no writer is responsible for more than one tablet.'

The Latin texts from Bath and Uley, containing as they do names of the above types, are also substandard in spelling and morphology,[23] and not to be distinguished from substandard writing found elsewhere in the Empire. This is not the place to go into detail, but I cite just one text from Uley (Hassall and Tomlin 1996: 440, no. 1):

carta que Merc̣urio ḍona-
tur ut maneç̣ilis qui per[i]erunt

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[21] Tomlin (2002: 171).   [22] Tomlin (2002: 171).
[23] For such features of the Bath tablets see Tomlin (1988: 74–8); also Adams (1992).

ultiọnem requirat; qui iḷḷọṣ
inualauiit ụṭ iḷli saṇguem [e]t sanita-
tem ṭolla[t]; qui ipsos manicili[o]ṣ tulit
[u]ṭ quantociçius iḷli pareat quod
ḍeum Mercurium r[o]gamus [. .]. .ura

q[.]oṣ.nç.u[2–3]lat.

The sheet (of lead) which is given to Mercury, that for the gloves which have been
lost he may exact vengeance; that he remove blood and health from the person
who has stolen them; that to him who has stolen those gloves it may as quickly as
possible be evident what we are asking of the god Mercury . . .

Notable here are the masculine use of *manicilia*, the (possible) spelling
of this word in the second line with *e* for short *i*, the vocalic assimila-
tion in *inualauiit* (for *inuolauit*),[24] the possible omission of the final *t* in
tolla,[25] and the proto-Romance form *sanguem*. The same form is in a Bath
curse tablet (*Tab. Sulis* 44.6) and is found twice in a curse tablet from the
Hamble estuary (Tomlin 1997: 457). The editors (on the above Uley tablet,
Hassall and Tomlin 1996: 441) cite a transliterated form σαγυσημ, in an
unpublished tablet also from Uley (inv. no. 2169 (d) 1). *Sanguem* reflects a
popular tendency to standardise the number of syllables of the nominative
and oblique cases. It is a significant example, because it gives support to
Stefenelli's argument (1962: 117–18) that Romance reflexes such as Italian
sangue, French *sang*, Old Provençal, Catalan *sanc* and Portuguese *sangue* go
back not to the old neuter *sanguen* (so e.g. *REW* 7574) but to *sanguem*.
Similarly B. Löstefdt ([1979] 2000: 247) illustrates a genitive form *sanguis*
for *sanguinis* from a variety of late texts. The neuter, which is common in
early literary Latin,[26] is used by Trimalchio in Petronius' *Satyrica* (59.1),
whereas another freedman, Niceros, whose Latin is of lower level than that
of Trimalchio, twice has the masculine (62.11, 12). Stefenelli argues that
the pretentious Trimalchio has used an archaism, as distinct from a form
that was now in subliterary use. Trimalchio's Latin is portrayed by Petronius
as of 'superior' standard to that of the other freedmen;[27] and *sanguen* for
its part still turns up in the high literary language under the Empire (Stat.
Theb. 4.464).

　　These local users of Latin of the type evidenced by the text quoted above
are one of the main groups who will have transferred Latin words into

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[24] For which type see Adams (1977a: 14–17).
[25] See Väänänen (1966: 70–1) for examples from Pompeii and for the Romance situation; also Smith
　　(1983: 926) for a few British examples.
[26] See Stefenelli (1962: 117) for examples and discussion.　　[27] See e.g. Adams (2005a: 204–5).

British Celtic, and it would be implausible to suggest on this evidence that they were speaking a 'superior' variety of the language compared with varieties spoken on the Continent. Jackson's case is therefore a priori weak, even before one considers the conservative or archaic features which he claimed to have found in British Latin. There were of course educated speakers of Latin in Britain during the Roman occupation, but one should not make the assumption that all those belonging loosely to what Jackson refers to as the 'governing classes' (see above) spoke the higher social dialects. Certainly the army, as the Vindolanda tablets show, was capable of producing substandard writing alongside the more correct.[28] Locals acquiring some Latin were as likely to have been picking up the language from ordinary soldiers speaking forms of Vulgar Latin[29] as from high officials or officers from further up the educational scale.[30] As Evans (1983: 974) says, '[i]t is likely that the loans derive from a variety of levels or registers of Latin'.

5 JACKSON'S TWELVE POINTS

As we saw above, Jackson believed that he had found in the Latin loan-words in Celtic evidence that the Latin spoken in Britain differed completely from that of the rest of the western Empire and particularly of Gaul, and that the difference in general lay in the archaic or conservative character of British Latin. Curiously, Jackson's views were questioned at much the same time independently by Smith (1983: 938–48) and Gratwick (1982: 7–14). Evans (1983: 973) points out that the idea that British Latin was notably archaic and correct 'had remained virtually unchallenged' until Smith and Gratwick took the matter up. I do not intend to cover the same ground item by item, as Smith and Gratwick have effectively dismissed Jackson's case. Gratwick makes the point (see 9–10, 11–14) that Jackson does not discuss the chronology of the loan-words in Celtic. It is likely that some of the Latin survivals in, say, Welsh, look conservative (and therefore 'British', when considered alongside their continental correspondents) simply because they entered the language at an early date before this or that sound change had established itself fully in Latin; and Evans (1983: 965) makes the complementary point that many loan-words will have been relatively late, learned borrowings; these have nothing to tell us about the conservatism

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[28] See e.g. Adams (2003b: 544–5) for forms such as *habunt* and *debunt* as used even by members of the lower reaches of the officer class. Other relevant material can be found in Adams (1995a) and (2003b).

[29] For some evidence of Roman soldiers marrying local British women see Evans (1983: 976).

[30] On higher-style Latin represented in the Vindolanda tablets see Adams (2003b: 573–4).

of 'British Vulgar Latin' during the Roman period. It turns out that the
difficulty of dating borrowings from Latin into Celtic is much the same
as that of dating borrowings from Latin into Berber.[31] By contrast a large
amount of the Latinate vocabulary of the Romance languages does not
consist of loan-words borrowed at a particular point in the development of
Latin, but of terms that were always in use, from the Latin period through
to the emergence of the new languages, and constantly evolving. Such terms
are bound to show the influence of the latest developments in the Latin
language, as distinct from being fossilised with the forms they had at a
specific time of borrowing.

I will here consider a couple of Jackson's points to bring out the problems,
leaving it to the reader to consult Smith's and Gratwick's discussions for
further details.

Jackson's first point (1953: 86–7) has to do with the lack of evidence for
the mergers of long *e* and short *i* as close *e*, and of long *o* and short *u* as a
close *o*, in loan-words in British. Both mergers took place in most of the
Romance world. The absence of the latter merger is insignificant; it only
begins to turn up late and there are texts even of a late date in which *e* is
written for short *i* but short *u* remains intact (see X.2.3).[32] Smith's criticisms
(1983: 938–9) of Jackson are much to the point.[33] He notes (939) that in
British inscriptions short *i* is ten times written as *e*, and concludes from this
that the vowel change is a 'well-documented feature of British Latin'. It can
be added that there is now a cluster of such misspellings in a Vindolanda
letter (III.642),[34] though, as we have seen, the texts in the Vindolanda
archive were not written by Britons; the same may be true of inscriptions
on stone, which are thus a dubious source of information about 'British
Latin'. In fact Jackson cites only one instance of the retention of *i* in a loan-
word, of which Smith (939) has this to say: 'The one example [of *i*] which
JACKSON quotes (p. 87) is a bad one: if *fĭdes* 'faith' > W. *ffydd* (retaining *i*)
the obvious explanation which occurs to the student of Romance is that
it was either derived from, or was maintained in semi-learned form by,
Church usage.' Smith (938–9) also points out that Jackson even allows an
exception to his assertion that short *i* was unaffected in Britain, namely
*corregia from *corrigia*, 'the -*e*- being supported by Celtic derivatives'. Since

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[31] Evans (1983: 965) remarks that the 'question of the dating of the loanwords is particularly complex'.

[32] See e.g. B. Löfstedt (1961: 90), Väänänen (1966: 27), Adams (1977a: 11), Smith (1983: 903, 911).

[33] Gratwick has a long discussion bearing on the matter (1982: 33–62). He offers this conclusion
(66): 'It is only occasionally that we can definitely identify a British loanword as coming from a
distinctively correct Latin form; it is a good deal easier to say when a loanword does not.'

[34] See Adams (2003b: 533–4) for details.

the evidence for the absence of the merger is so weak, an exception is not to be taken lightly. Smith (939) also dismisses as insignificant *beneficium* > Welsh *benffyg* and later > *benthyg* 'loan', much as he had dismissed *ffydd*: '[*benffyg*] is another obvious learned word, this time with a legal air; its learned aspect is confirmed when one finds that it has left no traces as a popular word in the Romance languages'. On the other hand *pisum* 'pea' > Welsh *pys* and *papilio* 'butterfly, tent' > *pebyll* cannot be explained away as learned; as Smith (939) remarks, they 'look entirely popular'. But here the question of chronology referred to above comes up. One would need to know when they were borrowed, as the borrowing may antedate the vowel merger.

Jackson's second and third points (1953: 87) refer to much the same phenomenon, which he calls 'hiatus-filling' *u*, that is the insertion of a glide *u* ([w]) between certain vowels in hiatus. Jackson makes a distinction between the insertion of the glide in endings such as *-eus* (his second point) and its insertion in other environments (his third point). Its insertion 'in other contexts' (by which Jackson means after *u*, or, to generalise slightly, after a back vowel, and before another vowel) can be dismissed as insignificant. Its relevance to British Latin is disposed of by Smith (1983: 940), and Smith's case could be strengthened. The insertion of [w] glides after a back vowel is commonplace all over the Empire (including Britain). It is found, for example, in Africa in the ostraca of Bu Njem (see Adams 1994: 105, citing *duua* and *tuuos*). Instances occur at Pompeii, such as *CIL* IV.3730 *poueri = pueri*. *Clouaca* for *cloaca* was admitted by Varro in the *Menippea* (290), and turns up in a variety of inscriptions (see *TLL* III.1358.37ff.). For *plouebat = pluebat*, see Petron. 44.18,[35] for *puuer = puer*, *CIL* XII.6289, and for *suua = sua*, *Tab. Sulis* 31.5.[36] The forms *puuer* and *puuella* both occur in a curse tablet from the Hamble Estuary,[37] and *tuui* for *tui* is in a curse tablet from Uley.[38] Various *u*-glides are attested in the Vindolanda tablets (see Adams 1995a: 93).

Jackson's first type of hiatus-filling [w], that in an ending such as *-eus* (i.e. *-euus*), is more unusual. As an example Jackson (1953: 87, 367) cites *puteus* > Welsh *pydew*, which must derive from a form **puteuus*. What sets this case apart from those seen in the previous paragraph is the environment in which [w] occurs. In **puteuus* it is inserted after a front not a back vowel. Usually if the first vowel in hiatus is a front vowel the glide inserted is not *u* but *i* ([j]), as for example in *braciiario* for *braciario* at Vindolanda (*Tab.*

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[35] See also Kramer (2001: 51).   [36] See Adams (1992: 10).
[37] See Tomlin (1997: 455–7) no. 1.   [38] See Hassall and Tomlin (1992: 311) no. 5.

Vindol. III.646) and *balneii* at *O. Bu Njem* 7; there are several such spellings in the graffiti of La Graufesenque,[39] and another British example is cited below, 7.7. The well-attested spelling *Pompeus* for *Pompeius*, found for example at Pompeii and in Africa,[40] appears to be an inverse one in reaction against the presence of a [j] in exactly the environment in which Jackson reports [w].

Jackson returns to glides in hiatus at 365–7. He refers (365) to 'the existence in British Latin of a peculiar hiatus-filling *u̯* when one of the vowels in a Latin hiatus is *u̯*', and goes on to say that this phenomenon is not found in native British and scarcely in Vulgar Latin; it was therefore a 'special feature of the Vulgar Latin of Roman Britain'. Into this class he puts **struuo* and **destruuo* from *struo* and *destruo*, and also *puueri* from a Latino-Celtic inscription (for which corpus of texts see below, 13). But all these forms are normal for substandard Latin, in that the *u* is inserted after a back vowel, as in the material cited in the last paragraph but one (which includes *puuer* from three different places). The real question, which Jackson himself does not pose as such, is whether the insertion of *u* <u>after a front vowel</u> was a feature of British Latin.

The insertion of *u* in e.g. *puteus* does not seem to represent the normal treatment of loan-words with this structure in British Celtic. I quote Smith (1983: 939): '[S]o far as I can see, most words of this type when borrowed into Celtic followed what JACKSON himself recognized was "the normal history", lost their final syllable (because the stress fell earlier in the word) and therefore show no trace of the insertion of *u̯* in the hiatus (e.g. *cunĕus >* W. *cyn*, *extranĕus >* W. *estron*). Words with the hiatus-filling *u̯* may therefore be exceptions, not parts of an alternative norm.' It has to be said, however, that there is now a parallel for **puteuus*, this time in a British Latin curse tablet with Celtic associations (unpublished: Leicester, Burgess Street 7003).[41] This document has several Celtic names and also the form *euum* for *eum*, which seems to be unique.[42]

There are hints therefore of a distinctively British treatment of a type of hiatus, but (as yet) no more than that.[43] Certainly I have not myself found exact parallels for *euum* or *puteuus* from other areas. Admittedly sometimes

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[39] See Marichal (1988: 64), Adams (1994: 105, 2003b: 535–6).

[40] See Adams (1994: 105), with bibliography.

[41] I am grateful to Roger Tomlin for supplying me with a text of this tablet, and for giving me permission to refer to it.

[42] For misspellings of *eum* see *TLL* VII.2.457.77ff.

[43] It may be tempting to see *deuo* for *deo* (7.7) as a further British example of the phenomenon, but it is not necessarily of the same type, because the Celtic word *deuos* may sometimes have been used for Lat. *deus*.

elsewhere a glide [w] is to be found after a front vowel or front-vowel diphthong (and before a back), as in *paeuoniam* = *paeoniam* at Pompeii (*CIL* IV.8544).[44] This is not, however, a precise parallel for *euum* or *puteuus*. There is a following long back vowel (*ō*) that bears the accent. Similarly the name *Gauo*, which occurs twice in oblique cases in each of two Vindolanda tablets (II.192, 207), twice shows a glide *u* before a stress-bearing long (?) *o*; the other two instances are without the glide. A full collection of attested glides, [w] and [j], in hiatus in non-literary Latin might more clearly reveal the circumstances under which one or the other was inserted. As matters stand, the significance of the two British examples is difficult to interpret.

I have dwelt on glides in hiatus because this case brings out the need to examine substandard Latin as it is attested outside Britain. There is another reason for lingering over the subject, and that is because Hamp (1975), in an influential paper, has made much of glide insertion as a 'British regional feature'. Hamp's paper is unsatisfactory (a point which I will take up again below, 6), but it goes on being quoted with approval. A recent paper on language and literacy in Britain, for example (Hanson and Conolly 2002), accepts a view that the Latin of British inscriptions contains identifiable regional variants. I quote a few sentences: 152 'analysis of the forms of Latin which appear on inscriptions, particularly the variations in spelling which are likely to reflect differences in pronunciation, also suggests closer links to a spoken language. Indeed, E. Hamp takes the argument one stage further and, even on the basis of the relatively limited evidence from inscriptions, maintains that it is possible to detect social gradience within that spoken language, ranging from official forms <u>through British regional variants</u> to the substandard and rustically provincial speech of bilinguals'; 159 'Hamp's analysis of the epigraphic evidence suggests the presence of social gradience . . ., <u>including regional variants</u> and bilingualism' (my emphasis). Similarly Smith (1983: 894) refers to the 'very important study of E. P. Hamp', though he does several times criticise Hamp's attempts to find regional peculiarities in the British inscriptions. At 904, for example, he finds fault with Hamp's explanation of the alleged Britishness of *i* for *e* in hiatus in juxtaposition with *c* (e.g. *ociano* at *RIB* 1320, *liciat* [?] at 1486), noting that 'the phenomenon was general in V.L. as a whole'.[45] C. Thomas (1981: 69–73) by contrast expresses unqualified approval for Hamp's 'quite exceptionally important' (69) papers (see below, 6).

[44] The word is Greek (παιωνία). *TLL* X.1.75.81 also cites a spelling *pii-* from the translation of Oribasius, which I take it shows the other glide [j].

[45] See also Smith (1983: 906, 916) for further such remarks.

I quote one of Hamp's assertions: 151 'Some features were truly regional British . . . These would have included . . . intrusive *u̯*-glides.' He continues (151–2): 'Other regional features (e.g. *u̯* and several vowel qualities) seem surely to be diffusional or "areal" results of long contact with British speech habits, and no doubt also with other aspects of Insular culture.' He seems to be suggesting here that the insertion of such glides was due to local substrate influence. Later (157 n. 10) he describes the form *posuuit* as a 'normal British treatment for an inherited sequence *posuit*' (but see above, p. 589 for the commonplace insertion of [w] after a back vowel). In the same note, however, he shifts ground slightly, in saying that '[w]hile such hiatus-filling is found in Vulgar Latin . . . it seems more common in Britain than on the Continent'. The ultimate source of Hamp's assertions about the 'British' phenomenon of hiatus-filling was Jackson, but Jackson, as we saw above, explicitly rules out hiatus-filling with *u* as a 'native British' (i.e. Celtic) phenomenon (1953: 365 with n. 2). Here is a nice illustration of how readily misinformation (the view that in certain contexts the insertion of a glide [w] was a mark of British Latin) may be generalised (Hamp speaks only of 'intrusive *u̯*-glides' in general and not of the specific contexts in which they occur), elaborated on erroneously (Hamp alleges substrate influence) and then taken over uncritically and used as the basis for a sweeping generalisation (about the presence of 'regional variants' in British inscriptions). I have just used the word 'inscriptions' deliberately. Hanson and Conolly (2002) as quoted earlier refer to Hamp's discovery of 'British regional variants' in inscriptions, yet Smith (1983: 904–5) under the heading 'vowels in hiatus' cites no examples at all from British inscriptions of an inserted glide *u*.

I will not discuss the remainder of Jackson's twelve points, the significance of most of which has been refuted individually by Smith (1983: 938–42, with the summary at 943–4) and in more general terms by Gratwick (1982); cf. also Campanile (1969: 93–5, 98–9). Some of the points are trifling. Jackson disregarded the chronological consideration referred to already: a development which the language was eventually to show need not yet have taken place when a term was borrowed by Celtic. Finally, Jackson was not well informed about subliterary Latin attested outside Britain and he tended to present contrasts between 'British' and 'continental' Latin in black and white when the difference was either non-existent or blurred.

One of Jackson's phenomena is, however, treated as more significant by both Smith (1983: 944) and Gratwick (1982: 17–32). *b* and *u* ([w]), which were confused in many parts of the Empire, were kept distinct in the Latin loan-words in British Celtic. Jackson (1953: 89), for example,

cites *Veneris* > *wener > Welsh *gwener* alongside *ciuitas* > Welsh *ciwed*. I put off discussion of this matter until the next chapter (X.5), because the Latin evidence largely comes from inscriptions and raises questions about possible regional features right across the Empire and not merely in Britain.

6 'SOCIAL GRADIENCE'

Hamp's paper on 'social gradience' in British Latin was cited in the previous section. I return to it here, motivated by the influence it has had. I quote at greater length Hamp's remarks at 151 which were selectively quoted above: 'Some features were truly regional British . . . These would have included certain vowel qualities and closeness before nasals, perhaps some affection (umlaut) in penultimate vowels, intrusive *u̯*-glides, forms of the shape *defuntus* and *santus*, certain specific reassignments in noun declensions. Some of these regional features seem purely Latin, however they actually got there; e.g. *defuntus* and *sinum* could certainly not have been mistaken for Dacian nor for Dalmatian Latin.'

These remarks are incorrect. Glides in hiatus were discussed above. Here I take first the forms *defuntus* and *santus*, which are the subject of Hamp's most surprising misconception.[46] Assimilated forms such as *defuntus* and *santus* are, as Väänänen (1981: 62) puts it, 'fréquentes dans les inscriptions tardives <u>de toutes les régions</u>' (my emphasis). Since Hamp maintains that such forms could not have been mistaken for Dacian Latin, it is worthwhile to consult the standard book on the language of the Dacian inscriptions (Mihăescu 1978: 200). There we are told that the phenomenon is attested in the provinces of the south-east of Europe and that it is preserved in Rumanian. The substantial evidence cited from inscriptions includes a number of cases of both *defuntus* and *santus*.

Mihăescu also (201) deals with forms such as *sinum* (for *signum*: the form represents the sound of the velar nasal + *n*). He cites *sinifer* from Pannonia. Väänänen (1981: 49) quotes *sinnu* from *CIL* IX.2893.

Twice in British inscriptions *sanctus* is spelt *sact-* (*RIB* 924, 2044; cf. *Tab. Vindol.* III.609 *Sactius = Sanctius*), which represents an alternative treatment of the consonant cluster (i.e. omission of the nasal) to that seen above. Hamp picks these examples up from Mann (1971), and makes much of them (155; cf. 160). He transcribes the form as [saχt-], and cites Jackson

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[46] See also 155 with n. 4 for further remarks about these forms, and assertions about 'Dacian'. Hamp's account is accepted by C. Thomas (1981: 71).

(1953: 406), who says that 'Latin *nct* . . . must have been substituted by the native Brit. χ*t*, the group [nkt] being foreign to Celtic ears'. Hamp himself says (155) that [saχt-] would have sounded 'positively foreign' (to a Latin speaker elsewhere in the Empire). But what are the grounds for transcribing the stop as χ and giving it a British character? A Celt might well have pronounced the Latin word in this way, but there is no evidence that the inscriptions were written by Celts. Hamp does not consider the geographical origin of the writers of inscriptions in Britain in the Roman period. As for *sactus*, all over the Empire there was a tendency for nasals to be omitted before stops. There is, for example, a rich collection of inscriptional material in Kiss (1971: 29–30), who happens to cite a case of *sacta* from Africa (*CIL* VIII.483). Further examples are collected by Dessau in the index to *ILS* (III.2.827), and these include cases of *sacte* (4608 Germany) and *sactitati* (9206 Africa again). Diehl *ILCV* III.402 s.v. *sanctus* I.a lists six cases of *sac-*, a number of them from Africa and one (abbreviated as *sac.*) from Syracuse.[47] Comparable omissions of nasals are attested at Pompeii (Väänänen 1966: 67), in the legal documents from the archive of the Sulpicii (see Camodeca 1999) bearing the name of Novius Eunus (see Adams 1990a: 241), and at Vindolanda (Adams 1995a: 93). In Italy, Africa and Syracuse *c* would obviously not represent a Celtic spirant, and it is arbitrary to assign the *c* of, say, *sactus* one phonetic value in Britain and another in Africa. If *sactus* and such spellings occurred only in Britain that might be significant, but they are widespread.

Superficially more interesting is the form *soltum* for *sol(i)dum*, which according to Hamp (1975: 156) 'violates all forms in the history of this word in Latin'. He compares Welsh *swllt*, which is a borrowing from Lat. *soldum* showing devoicing of the stop. On the form see Jackson (1953: 432 n. 1), citing *Ox.* 2, f.44a *da mihi cibum . . . et ego dabo tibi soltum* (for which text see below). The treatment of *ld* varies in Celtic, according to Jackson, with *lt* one outcome. Hamp did not cite a reference for this use of *soltum*. If he had, he might have pointed out that the so-called *Oxoniensis posterior* (see above) is probably of the ninth or tenth centuries,[48] and cannot be used as evidence for a form of British Latin in the Roman period. It is likely that *soldum* (with syncope), borrowed into Celtic, had lost the voicing, and then been taken back into Latin in its new form in the above text.

At 158 Hamp comments on the spellings *Vlk(ano)* (*RIB* 899) and *Vltinia* (*RIB* 1545) for *Vulcano* and *Vultinia*. He states: 'These are highly

[47] Gratwick (1982: 78 n. 74) also takes Hamp to task on this point, and produces his own examples of forms such as *defuctus* and *sactus*. See too Smith (1983: 922).
[48] See Jackson (1953: 54–5), Lapidge and Sharpe (1985: 31) no. 85.

interesting, and certainly British.' But *u* (consonantal) is often left out in juxtaposition with *u* (vocalic), as in forms such as *serus* for *seruus*[49] or *Iuentius* for *Iuuentius* (*RIB* 187). Within the word the omission may represent the loss of [w] before a back vowel (so in *serus*),[50] but sometimes, as in a case such as *Iuentius*, the omission may be entirely orthographic, that is a short cut, such that the writer neglects to repeat the grapheme. Loss of [w] at the start of a word would not happen in speech, and the examples cited merely reflect the writer's failure to write *u* twice. Smith (1983: 906; see too 916 on masons cutting V instead of VV) offers much the same sceptical explanation of *VLK*, noting (906) that Hamp seemed 'mystified' by it. Smith also drew attention to the discussion of Carnoy (1906: 51–3) concerning the avoidance of the graph *uu* by Spanish stonemasons; usually *uo* was written instead of *uu*, but sometimes one *u* was omitted.

Another piece of misinformation concerns suffixation and semantics. In an earlier note Hamp (1972) had explained Welsh *diod* 'a drink' as comprising **diga* with the Latin suffix *-ata* (hence **digata*), formed 'on the model of [Latin] **buccata* [> Fr. *bouchée*]'. I have nothing to say about the reliability of this derivation. In 1975 (152) Hamp sought to relate the (supposed) formation to British Latin. He stated that what he called 'the suffix *-āt-*' 'took on productive use as a collective', citing Welsh *pyscawd* 'fish' (collective plural). He moved on to a 'sociolinguistic' generalisation based on this evidence: '[W]e may imagine that bilingual speakers in relaxed moments sprinkled their Latin so liberally with such bastard formations that only the core syntax and abstract structure could indicate which language a given sentence was spoken in.' Thus bilinguals in Britain using Latin made liberal use of an empty suffix *-at-* which made its way into Welsh. These views were accepted by C. Thomas (1981: 71), whom I quote:

Hamp points to evidence from later Welsh of widespread 'theft' of, e.g., the Latin termination *-at(us)*, tacked indiscriminately on to Latin (and British) nouns to make collectives, or give indications of measure/duration.
Examples: Welsh *pyscawd* (now *pysgod*) 'fish', coll. plur., from *piscātus* rather than *pisces*; Welsh *diod* 'drink', from British **digā*, extended to **digātā*, . . . as French *bouchée* 'mouthful' is explained from VL **bucātā*.[51]

Different suffixes have been confused. The adjectival/participial *-atus* (feminine *-ata*) may indeed be tacked on to a noun, as in *buccata*, but the suffix seen in *piscatus* (genitive *piscatus*) has no feminine and is attached to verbal not nominal roots. It is the familiar formant of abstract verbal nouns; the

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[49] See e.g. Adams (1992: 9).   [50] See Sommer and Pfister (1977: 125–6).
[51] It is not clear why Thomas puts a macron over the second *a*.

root of *piscatus* is not *piscis* but *piscari*. Thus *piscatus* is a verbal noun origi-
nally referring to the act of fishing (*TLL* X.1.2201.40 'i.q. actio piscandi'),
and in structure is quite unlike *buccata*. Nor is it a 'bastard formation'
but is perfectly normal. Like many abstract verbal nouns *piscatus* acquired
a secondary, concrete, meaning ('fish', collective), which apparently lies
behind the Welsh word. Was this use of *piscatus* 'fish' distinctively British?
It was not. The concrete sense (*TLL* ll. 48–9 'i.q. res piscando captae, capi-
endae (pisces nimirum praeter l. 51)') is attested first in Plautus (several
times), then in Turpilius, Pomponius, Cicero, Varro, Vitruvius, Apuleius
and others: it was a mundane usage from the earliest period of attested
Latin.

   The regional features of British Latin advanced by Hamp must be dis-
regarded.[52] As for 'social gradience', there would of course have been dif-
ferent social dialects heard in Britain, reflecting the different social and
educational backgrounds of speakers. Such variation is evident in the Vin-
dolanda tablets,[53] but these texts, as has been noted, were not written by
native Britons.

7   FEATURES OF THE LATIN OF BRITAIN SHARED WITH THAT OF GAUL

I take up now the new material and the evidence, such as it is, that it provides
about regional characteristics of Latin in Britain. The most striking thing
that has emerged so far is that certain usages found in Gaul are now attested
in Britain as well, but turn up nowhere else. Scepticism was expressed earlier
(4) about Jackson's idea that the Vulgar Latin of Britain was completely
different from that of the Continent, and in particular Gaul. It is now
evident that contacts between the two provinces, geographically so close
together, and their common Celtic background had had the effect of giving
Latin on the two sides of the Channel some shared features. We find the
same Celtic loan-words entering Latin in both places, though not all the
correspondences derive from the shared Celtic substratum. Whether those
using the words in question were native Gauls or Britons does not matter:
the fact remains that local conditions contributed to the Latin of these
western areas and gave it a distinctive quality. Much of the evidence has
come up in earlier chapters, but it will be useful to bring it together and
to add one or two other items, including a piece of literary evidence (7.8).

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[52] For implied scepticism about Hamp's ideas see Evans (1983: 978). Herman ([1978] 1990:
36 n. 4) was rather more explicit, referring to 'l'incursion plutôt malheureuse, dans le domaine
du latin provincial, de l'excellent linguiste qu'est E. P. Hamp'. Herman then rejected Hamp's asser-
tions about the alleged British character of certain alternative forms to *posuit*.

[53] For details see Adams (2003b: 572–5).

Recently an indication of the easy connections that must have existed across the Channel has appeared in a text from 1 Poultry in the City of London. The tablet (published by Tomlin 2003) records the purchase of a slave girl Fortunata who was by nationality a Diablinthian. I quote Tomlin (2003: 48): 'The capital of the tribe [Diablintes], *Noviodunum*, is usually identified with Jublains, and its modern location in the Département de la Mayenne, between Brittany and Normandy.' The girl had not moved far from her place of origin, across the Channel to London.

7.1 souxtum

A new piece of evidence concerns a term (*souxtum*) found for the first time at Vindolanda: *Tab. Vindol.* II.301.3 *souxtum saturnalicium (asses) IV aut sexs rogo frater explices* ('I ask, brother, that you settle the Saturnalian vessel for four or six asses'). *Souxtum* was at first explained wrongly as a Celticisation of Lat. *su(m)ptum*,[54] but it has recently (in 2000) come to light in a potters' account of about AD 150, from Vayres (Gironde), similar to those at La Graufesenque (see Lambert 2002: 80, L-27):

a. cesido	urciu	CXXI
	congialidi	XXV
	melauso	urciu LVI
	souxtu	CC
b.	scutra	V
atticco	trisextia	LXX
	congialidi	XXV
	souxtu	CXXV
ueriduco	congialidi	XIII
*b.*1	trisextia	XXX
	suxtu	C
c. cintumo	souxtu	CXXX

This account is thought to be in Gaulish rather than Latin.[55] In the left-hand column there are names of potters, and on the right lists of the objects for which they were responsible. *S(o)uxtu* (four times) can only indicate an earthenware vessel of some type,[56] and it does in fact have derivatives in modern Celtic languages (Irish *suacán*, Gaelic *suacan* 'creuset, pot, earthen furnace').[57] Latin speakers at Vindolanda arranging that most Roman of

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[54] So Adams (1996).   [55] See Lambert (2002: 82).
[56] See Lambert (2002: 82), Delamarre (2003: 280).
[57] See the discussions of Lambert and Delamarre.

events, the Saturnalia, must have been making use of a local vessel, adopting not only the object itself but also the local word for it. Here is illustrated a route by which a regional term might have found its way into Latin.

7.2   moritix

A typical item is the term *moritix* (*-ex*), literally 'sea-goer', which, superficially at least, had much the same meaning as *nauta*. The word had long been known from the Continent (Cologne), but in 2002 turned up in London (Southwark) as well (V.3.3.6). It was possibly used by traders operating across the Channel, who had drawn on the local Celtic to give themselves a technical designation. Unfortunately the details of its motivation remain obscure.

7.3   popia

Another striking term appeared in 1994 in a curse tablet from Brandon (Suffolk) published by Hassall and Tomlin (1994: 294) no. 1. The object stolen is referred to (line 4) as *popia(m) fer(re)a(m)* (I print the text of Hassall and Tomlin, but there is no need to add the final *-m* to either word). *Popia* is recognisable as a word without etymology[58] meaning 'ladle'.[59] This sense emerges from a gloss (*CGL* III.366.30 *popia* ζωμήρυσις), but more decisively from the Romance reflexes of the word. The context of the curse tablet also suits this meaning. The word is reflected only in Gallo-Romance, mostly with the meaning 'ladle'.[60] It also survives, rather less extensively, in a metaphorical meaning, in e.g. the Haute Savoie, = 'tadpole'.[61] In view of this second sense it is of interest to find that *popia* occurs in Polemius Silvius' *Laterculus* (p. 544.1), in a section with the heading (543.35) *nomina insectorum siue reptancium* (sic). In this context Polemius obviously had in mind the above metaphorical meaning, 'tadpole' or the like. We have seen (IV.3.3.3, V.3.3) that he is a source for Gallic regional Latin. This example of *popia* alongside that from Brandon establishes again the link between Gaul and Britain. *Popia* can be treated as a full dialect word for 'ladle', as there were other terms with this meaning, such as *trulla*; indeed the

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[58] No etymology is offered by Walde and Hofmann (1938–54: II, 338) or by Ernout and Meillet (1959) s.v.

[59] The word is not registered by Hilgers (1969).

[60] See *REW* 6653, *FEW* IX.176. The latter cites a considerable number of dialect reflexes. Note too Bloch and von Wartburg (1968: 494) s.v. *poche* (2), observing 'usité surtout dans les parlers de l'Est et de la région francoprovençale'.

[61] See *FEW* IX.176–7, meaning 2, with comment on the (not unusual) metaphorical transfer 'ladle > tadpole'.

Greek word cited above as glossing *popia* is itself glossed by *trulle* (sic) at *CGL* III.198.4. There is one other attestation of *popia*, in the *Testamentum Porcelli* (p. 242.9 Bücheler *et nec nominando coco legato dimitto popiam et pistillum, quae mecum attuleram*).[62] This example raises but does not resolve the question of the origin of this version of the will.[63]

7.4 baro

A correspondence between the language of some curse tablets found in Britain (mainly at Bath) and Frankish law codes from the former Gaul is to be found in the use in both of the Germanic word *baro* for 'man' in opposition to words for 'woman'.[64] Examples at Bath can be found in the index at Tomlin (1988: 262). I quote here a British curse from another place (Uley) (Hassall and Tomlin 1992: 311, no. 5):[65]

deo sancto Mercurio Honoratus.
conqueror numini tuo me per-
didisse rotas duas et uaccas quat-
tuor et resculas plurimas de
hospitiolo meo.
                    rogauerim genium nu-
minis tuui ut ei qui mihi fraudem
fecerit sanitatem ei non per-
mittas nec iacere nec sedere nec
bibere nec manducare <u>si baro</u>
<u>si mulier</u> si puer si puella si seruus
si liber nissi meam rem ad me
 pertulerit et meam concordiam

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[62] I quote the translation of Daube (1969: 80): 'And to the unmentionable cook, . . . I apportion as bequest the soup-ladle and pestle which I brought with me.'

[63] The will of Grunnius Corocotta was widely known among schoolboys, on the evidence of Jerome, who mentions it twice (see Champlin 1987: 176 for the evidence). The pig is made to say that he has brought objects *de Tebeste usque ad Tergeste*, which Daube (1969: 81 n. 1) takes to mean from Tebessa (?) in North Africa to Trieste. The will seems to be of military type (see the discussion of Daube 1969: 77–81). The context is certainly not specifically Gallic, and it is on the contrary likely that versions of the will were widely known across the Roman world. But the wording might well have varied slightly from place to place, and if a version were chanted, say, in the schools of Bordeaux a local word might have got into the tradition. Poccetti (2003b) stresses the mixed linguistic character of the *Testamentum*: it has different varieties and levels of Latin and regionalisms may deliberately have been included.

[64] For the Germanic word see *FEW* XV.68–70, and on the correspondences see Adams (1992: 15, 2003a: 449–50). See also above, VI.2.9.

[65] For further examples see Hassall and Tomlin (1989: 328) no. 2 (Uley), Tomlin (1991: 295) no. 1 (no provenance), Hassall and Tomlin (1994: 294) no. 1 (Brandon).

habuerit. iteratis praecibus ro-
go numen tuum ut petitio mea
statim pareat me uindica-
tum esse a maiestate.

Honoratus to the holy god Mercury. I complain to your divinity that I have lost two wheels and four cows and many small belongings from my house. I would ask the genius of your divinity that you do not allow health to the person who has done me wrong, nor allow him to lie or sit or drink or eat, <u>whether he is man or woman</u>, whether boy or girl, whether slave or free, unless he brings my property to me and is reconciled with me. With renewed prayers I ask your divinity that it immediately become evident that I have been vindicated by your majesty (by means of) my petition.[66]

Notable here is the series of polar contrasts starting with 'man/woman'. Cf., e.g. *Pactus legis Salicae* 31.1 *si quis <u>baronem</u> <ingenuum> de uia sua ostauerit* ('if anyone pushes from his path a [freeborn] man'), with which is juxtaposed (in the next section) 31.2 *si quis <u>mulierem</u> ingenuam . . . de uia sua ostauerit* ('if anyone pushes a freeborn woman . . . from his path'). At *Leg. Alamann.* 69, p. 136.11 *baro* is opposed to *femina*. The meaning of *baro* given by *FEW* XV.68 is 'freier mann' (cf. sect. 1a. 'Tapferer mann, mann'). Old French, Middle French *baron*, for example, is cited, and given such senses as 'homme brave, valeureux; homme' (Roland), 'homme distingué par ses hautes qualités'. *Baro* also developed the general sense 'man' in Spanish (*varón*, which can also mean 'male, boy') and Portuguese (*varão*).[67] This weakened meaning is foreshadowed in the curse tablet, whereas in the Salic law the word still retains (to judge by the epithet used at least with its feminine correspondent) something of the earlier sense. *Baro* 'free/distinguished man, man' (Lat. *uir* combines similar ideas, 'distinguished man, warrior' and 'man' versus 'woman') seems very much a north-western word, but it remains uncertain by what route it found its way into British curse tablets; it had probably been introduced to Britain by soldiers of German origin. The much earlier literary Latin word *baro*, defined by the *OLD* as 'blockhead, lout', was not of the same origin (see above, VI.2.9).

7.5 arepennis

A Celtic term to do with land measurement is recorded as a Gallic regionalism by Columella: 5.1.6 *semiiugerum quoque <u>arepennem</u> uocant (Galli)*

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[66] Translation of Hassall and Tomlin (1992), with modifications at the end.
[67] See *FEW* XV.70, Corominas (1967: 86); also, on the semantic development of the term, Gaeng (1969: 3–4).

('a half *iugerum* too the Gauls call *arepennis*'). It is compared with Irish *airchenn*[68] and has Gallo-Romance reflexes, such as Old Provençal *aripin*, Old French *arpent*, etc.;[69] it is also possibly reflected as Old Spanish *arapende* (and other spellings).[70] Examples of the word in Gregory of Tours and the Salic Law evidence its continued use in the Gallic region (see *TLL* II.506.42ff.). But it is now found in Britain as well. An example has turned up in the City of London in a stilus tablet dated 14 March 118: *cum uentum esset in rem praesentem, siluam Ve̦rlucionium, arepennia decem quinque, plus minus, quod est in ciuita̦te Ca̦ntiacorum* ('on arriving at the property in question, the wood *Verlucionium*, fifteen *arepennia*,[71] more or less, which is in the canton of the Cantiaci').[72] Terms such as this (cf. also *bracis*, *ceruesa*, below) may either have entered 'British' Latin (i.e. Latin spoken in Britain, but not necessarily by native Britons) from British Celtic, or have been brought to Britain by Latin speakers from mainland Celtic areas.

7.6 tossea, bedox

These two terms, possibly of Celtic origin and apparently designating types of textiles, appear in the same Vindolanda tablet:[73] *Tab. Vindol.* II.192 *a Gauuone bedocem . . . ̦tosseas iii . . . sagum . . . sagum . . .* (cf. 439.10). *Tossea*[74] also occurs in the so-called Thorigny inscription from Gaul (*CIL* XII.3162, found at Vieux: *. . . rachanas duas, tossiam Brit(annicam), pellem uit[uli mar]ini . . .*),[75] in a specimen of a letter addressed by a certain Tiberius Claudius Paulinus from a town Tampium somewhere in Britain. The inscription is dated AD 238. Given the adjective *Brit(annicam)* and the source of the letter it might be said that *tossea* is strictly only attested in Britain, but the letter was sent to Gaul and its content no doubt understood there. The other term occurs twice in the Greek version of Diocletian's Prices Edict in the form βέδοξ, once qualified by the adjective Γαλλικός (19.56) and once by Νωρικός (19.58). The epithets imply a mainland Celtic association for the noun.[76] *Sagum* too in the above Vindolanda tablet is a Celtic word,[77] but it had long been established in Latin.

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[68] Cf. Walde and Hofmann (1938–54: I, 66), *FEW* XXV.179, Delamarre (2003: 53) s.v. *arepennis*.
[69] See *FEW* I.135f., but particularly now XXV.177–80.   [70] On this matter see *FEW* XXV.180.
[71] The neuter use is otherwise unattested: see Hassall and Tomlin (1994: 303).
[72] See Hassall and Tomlin (1994: 303) no. 34, whose translation I have quoted.
[73] For details see Adams (1995a: 128).   [74] For which see André (1964–5:).
[75] A *racana* was some sort of over- or under-garment: see Souter (1949: 340).
[76] See Adams (1995a: 128).   [77] See Delamarre (2003: 265).

7.7   deuo = deo

We saw earlier (V.3.4) that a curse tablet from Ratcliffe-on-Soar (Notts)[78] has the sentence *quicumque illam inuolasit, a deuo mori(a)tur* ('whoever stole it may he die at the hands of the god').[79] The two victims of the theft have Celtic names (Camulorix and Titocuna; see the editors). The form *deuo*, though it might show a glide [w] inserted between two vowels in hiatus (see below), is also the Celtic form equivalent to Lat. *deus*.[80] A switch into Celtic would be plausible in such a context. The case is strengthened by *RIB* 306, which has *deuo Nodenti*, where the name of the god is Celtic and again interference (or code-switching) seems likely, despite Smith's view (1983: 917) that it is unlikely that *deuo* 'was any kind of a Celtic form'.[81] Both examples of *deuo* in British texts are in Celtic contexts. Similarly there is an anecdote from the Continent about a Gallic martyr who in a piece of direct speech appears to have used the same form.[82] If on the other hand the word is the Latin term with a glide inserted, the insertion in this environment may itself have been British, to judge from *puteuus and *euum* (see above, 5, p. 590).

7.8   bascauda

A passage of Martial considered alongside Romance evidence allows another connection to be made between Britain and Gaul: 14.99 *barbara de pictis ueni bascauda Britannis, / sed me iam mauolt dicere Roma suam* ('I, a barbarous vessel, have come from the painted Britons, but Rome already prefers to call me her own'). To Martial the word *bascauda* (along with the object referred to) was British (though now adopted at Rome). It is identifiable as a Celtic word (with the same suffix as that in *bagauda* and *alauda*) that was to survive in Old French (*baschoe*) and French dialects, = 'vessel, basket' of various kinds.[83] It must therefore have been in use in Gallic Latin as well as in Britain. The occurrence of the word at Juvenal 12.46 confirms the remark in Martial's second line.

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[78] See Hassall and Tomlin (1993: 312) no. 2.

[79] *Morior ab* (with an animate agent expressed as inflicting the death) is not usual in classical Latin (see *TLL* VIII.1493.33ff.).

[80] See Delamarre (2003: 142–3) s.v. *deuos*.

[81] Smith was seeking to counter the view of J. R. R. Tolkien (see Smith 1983: 917 n. 27 for the reference) that *deuo* in the *RIB* text, standing alongside the name of a native god, was the Celtic spelling. Smith said that Tolkien did not offer 'supporting argument', but he no doubt did not feel the need to do so.

[82] See Adams (2003a: 198), and above, V.3.4.

[83] See the discussion of Delamarre (2003: 68); also *FEW* I.267.

7.9   A consonant cluster

In an earlier chapter (V.2.3) it was noted that certain inherited consonant clusters (*ps, pt*) were modified in Gaulish by the replacement of the first element with a velar spirant represented in Latin script by *x* and Greek by χ, and that this development sometimes shows up as interference in Gallic Latin (e.g. *captiuus* > **caχtiuus*, the form lying behind Gallo-Romance reflexes).[84] According to Jackson (1953: 394; cf. 85) this same treatment of *pt* lies behind the form of certain Latin loan-words in British Celtic: *increpitus* > Middle Welsh *anghreith*, *captiuus* > Welsh *ceithiw*. Strictly this evidence tells us about Celtic not Latin, but it is obvious that a Briton would have been likely to modify the form of such words when using them in Latin, his second language.

7.10   Miscellaneous

Various other terms have been discussed in earlier chapters. Britain and Gaul, Pliny tells us, shared a Celtic term for 'marl', *marga*, which appears in several compounds (IV.3.3.8). A 'rustic' term for 'tripod', *tripetia*, was in use in parts of Gaul, according to Sulpicius Severus, and it may also have been borrowed into Welsh (see IV.3.1). If that is accepted, it must have been in use in Britain as well. Two terms of Gaulish origin for types of hunting dog, *uertragus* and *sigusius*, are attested in the Gallic texts *Pactus legis Salicae* and *Lex Burgundionum* and now also in Britain in a Vindolanda tablet (*Tab. Vindol.* III.594; see V.4.2). *Cerues(i)a* and *bracis* (and some derivatives) are well attested in Vindolanda tablets, but they also have Gallic connections (see V.5.1, V.5.3 with n. 327). It was noted above, 3 n. 19, that the closing of long *e* to *i* is attested both in Gaul and Britain. It might be added that *couinnus*, a Celtic term for a type of wagon, has now surfaced in several accounts at Vindolanda (II.597, 598);[85] in Latin literature it is a term associated with Gaul.

   It is clear from the material assembled in this section that newly discovered tablets from Britain have terms alien to mainstream Latin but found in Gaul as well. Since the Latin surviving from Britain was for the most part written not by Britons but by outsiders, these 'north-western' elements must either have been introduced by soldiers and others with a continental Celtic background, or picked up from local contacts with British Celts. Perhaps the most striking items in the section are *souxtu(m)*, *baro* and *popia*, all with claims to be considered dialect words.

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[84] On *pt* see Adams (2003a: 438 with n. 84).   [85] See Adams (2003b: 572).

8   A SPECIAL CASE: *EXCUSSORIUM* 'THRESHING-FLOOR' AND *EXCUTIO* 'THRESH'

A use of *excussorium* at Vindolanda introduces a new theme, namely the anticipation at Vindolanda of usages found in British medieval Latin many centuries later. I will return to the theme later (12). I deal here also with the verbal root of *excussorium*, *excutio* in the specialised meaning 'thresh'.

The Romance distribution of *excutio* 'thresh' is very restricted, in that the verb survives only in eastern France, Switzerland and Graubünden (*REW* 2998). A derivative, *excussorium*, has now turned up at Vindolanda in the context of threshing: *Tab. Vindol.* II.343.27–8 *fac (denarios) mi mittas ut possịṃ spicam habere in excussorio. iam autem si quit habui perexcussi* ('see that you send me some cash so that I may have ears of grain *in excussorio*. I have already threshed what I had'). The reflexes of the word in Romance (Switzerland, south-eastern France) for the most part mean 'threshing flail',[86] a meaning which in classical Latin is conveyed by *baculum* (lit. 'walking stick'), *fustis* ('cudgel') or *pertica* ('pole').[87] That cannot be the sense here: the reference must be to the threshing-floor.[88] The only example of *excussorium* (as a noun) quoted by the *TLL* (1308.45), from a gloss (*CGL* III.207.58), has nothing to do with threshing but seems to refer to a surgical instrument. I will return to *excussorium* below.

In the Vindolanda tablet just quoted the compound *perexcutio* refers to threshing. A few lines earlier *excutio* itself had been so used: 25 *bracis excussi habeo m(odios) CXIX*. There is also a sixth-century document from Orléans (*Conc. Aurel.* a. 538, p. 82, 15) which has the verbal noun *excussio* almost certainly intended to mean 'threshing': *de opere . . . rurali, id est arata uel uinea uel sectione messione excussione* ('concerning rural . . . labour, that is plough (land), the vineyard, or cutting, reaping and threshing'). The question arises whether these various Latin usages in Britain and Gaul already represent north-western regionalisms of the type seen above in 7, or whether we must disregard them in this context.

The *OLD* does not have an entry (s.v. *excutio*) specifically for the meaning 'thresh', but under the meaning (1a) 'To shake or knock out or off' quotes Varro *Rust.* 1.52.1 *seorsum in aream secerni oportet spicas, ut semen optimum*

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[86] See *REW* 2997, *FEW* III.286. In the South Tyrol the word survives with a different meaning, 'Feuerstahl', 'fire iron' (that is an iron against which flint was struck to get a spark: hence the root *excutio*), and there is an example in a Spanish medieval Latin text with this meaning: see B. Löfstedt ([1976] 2000: 206). See also *FEW* III.287 col. 1.

[87] See White (1975: 207).   [88] See Bowman, Thomas and Adams (1990: 50), Adams (1995a: 108).

habeat; e spicis in area excuti grana ('the ears should be placed apart on the threshing-floor to get the best seed; from the ears the grain should be separated on the floor'). The Loeb edition (Hooper and Ash) translates the last verb phrase as 'the grain should be threshed on the floor'. While it is obvious that the reference is to threshing, it could not be deduced solely from an example such as this that the verb without explanatory complements could yet be used in the specialised meaning 'thresh'. The *TLL* V.2.1309.32f. also quotes the example (with a few others similar: cf. 1312.57ff. and below) under a general heading, 'quatiendo removere aliquid suo loco, ut excidat' (1309.13), and it likewise has no separate section for 'thresh'. But both lexica were probably wrong not to set up a category for threshing. Note particularly the following examples from Columella (both referred to by the *TLL*), which can surely be treated as specialised in meaning: 2.10.14 *nam semina excussa in area iacebunt, superque ea paulatim eodem modo reliqui fasciculi excutientur* ('For the seeds that have been beaten out will lie on the floor, and the other bundles will be threshed out on top of them, little by little, in the same manner', Ash, Loeb), 2.20.4 *sin autem spicae tantummodo recisae sunt, possunt in horreum conferri et deinde per hiemem uel baculis excuti uel exteri pecudibus* ('If, however, the heads only are cut off they may be carried into the granary and then, during the winter, be beaten out with flails or trodden out by cattle'). The use of the verb (and of its compound) seen at Vindolanda would seem to have been established by the mid-first century AD (as shown by Columella), and probably earlier. On this evidence it might have been widespread at the time of the Vindolanda tablets (written not much later than Columella), and not necessarily confined to the north-western provinces. The restriction of *excutio* 'thresh' (and *excussorium* 'threshing flail') to parts of France and Switzerland would represent a shrinkage that might have been late.

But there is more to be said about *excussorium*. It can be seen from the *DML* 839 s.v. *excussorium* b that the word is well attested in British medieval Latin roughly a thousand years later in precisely its Vindolanda meaning '(threshing)-floor'. Two of the examples are in glossaries and the other in a narrative: Aelfric *Gl. excussorium, flor on huse* (the glossary of Aelfric, *c.* 1000), *GlH* E 740 *excusorium, pauimentum, flor* (the Harley Latin–Old English glossary, tenth century), *VSB* (Cadoc 7) 36 *ad trituratorium siue segetis excussorium, in quo manebat . . . seruus . . . auenam siccans, perrexit* ('he proceeded to the treading-floor or threshing-place for the corn, in which there remained . . . a slave . . . drying oats'). The last example is from a life of the Welsh saint Cadoc by Lifris of Glamorgan, late eleventh

century.[89] All three of these examples come from roughly the same area, embracing Wessex and South Wales.

The case of *excussorium* is distinctive, given that in the sense 'threshing-floor' it is not attested outside Britain in Latin, and that its continental Romance reflexes all differ in meaning from the British Latin examples. There seems to be a special British use of *excussorium* in evidence. One can only speculate about the relationship between the attestation at Vindolanda and those in medieval Latin. It will be argued below (12) that usages at Vindolanda apparently anticipating British medieval usages do not all fall into the same category. In the present case the conclusion seems unavoidable that *excussorium* 'threshing-floor' lived on in some sense in Britain from AD 100 to 1000, possibly in glossaries or in some sort of learned tradition.

9   ANOTHER SPECIAL CASE: *CORTICIVS*

Twice in an account at Vindolanda *saga* (military cloaks) is qualified by an adjective *corticia*: III.596 i.11 *[[saga corticia n(umero) xv s̱]]*, ii.12 *sa]ga corticia*. This can only represent *corticeus*, an adjective of material in *-eus* derived from *cortex* 'bark' (literally = 'of bark'). The original *e* in hiatus has closed to *i*, a standard feature of the Vindolanda tablets.[90] The problem to be addressed here concerns the meaning of the word in this context. Were soldiers based at Vindolanda really wearing 'bark cloaks'? Bowman and Thomas (2003: 57) observe that '[t]here are (ancient) references to clothing made of bark but only in contexts which suggest that this is regarded as a primitive practice' (Sen. *Epist.* 90.16, Arnob. *Nat.* 2.66). J. P. Wild is quoted to the effect that '*cortex* might include the bast fibres on the inside of the bark of trees which were certainly used for very fine textiles in the Swiss Neolithic before flax replaced it'. But as Bowman and Thomas imply, such evidence does not convincingly establish that bark was used for clothing in the far from primitive environment of a Roman military base in the imperial period.

I would speculatively suggest that the word means 'tanned, of leather'. Bark has traditionally been an important element in the tanning process, and this importance has had lexical consequences (not least in the languages of the British Isles), in that derivatives of terms for 'bark' have tended to take on specialised meanings related to tanning (see further below).

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[89] See Wade-Evans (1944) for the text. I am grateful to D. R. Howlett for advice on various points in this section.

[90] See Adams (1995a: 93).

The stages of tanning are described as follows by Humphrey, Oleson and Sherwood (1998: 347): 'The tanning of hides and skins . . . required an initial treatment to remove the epidermis and flesh layers of the hide, leaving the middle corium layer in a manner that opened the structure to receive the tanning agent. The application of tanning agents preserved the corium layer and made it water-proof.' One of the most common tanning agents of the type referred to has been bark, both in antiquity and later. Forbes (1966: 52) refers to bark (of the oak and spruce-fir) as a tanning agent in Roman tanneries at Mainz and Vindonissa, without being precise about his sources.[91] It is worth noting too the definitions of 'tan' in the *Shorter Oxford Dictionary* (5th edn, Oxford, 2002). The verb is defined as follows: 'Convert (skin, hide) into leather by soaking in a liquid containing tannic acid (orig. from bark) or other agents.' The noun has this definition: 'Crushed bark of oak or other trees, used as a source of tannin for converting hides into leather.'

There is an interesting use of the adjective *corticeus* itself in a twelfth-century text from Britain: William of Canterbury *Miracula S. Thomae* 6.157 *quaesito ergo corio per omnia corticeae confectionis dolia, et non inuento, 'sciebam,' inquit, 'apud te corium non posse reperiri'* ('when they had searched for the hide throughout all the vats *corticeae confectionis* [see below] and had failed to find it, he said: "I knew that the hide could not be found in your establishment"'). The passage is cited in the *DML* but misunderstood. *Corticeus* is there (s.v. b) given the sense 'made of skin', but the *confectio* contained in vats is the tanning agent in which the hides are soaked, and the phrase really means the 'bark(y) solution'; *confectio* commonly has a concrete meaning akin to this (see *DML* s.v. 2a). Bark, I stress, would not be the only component of such a (liquid) solution; the solution is <u>partly</u> of bark (see below).

I referred above to specialised uses of derivatives of words for 'bark' determined by the role of bark in tanning. Latin *cortex* was borrowed by Old Irish as *coirt* in the sense 'bark', and several of its derivatives relate to tanning. The denominative verb *coirt(ig)id* means 'tans, cures', and its participle *coirtigthe* 'tanned'.[92] Note too the adjective *coirtchide* 'tanned'.[93] In early modern Welsh the word 'bark' was borrowed from English, and it and a variety of derivatives have specialised meanings to do with tanning: thus *barc* 'bark, tan' (AD 1559), *barcer* 'barker, tanner' (1567), *barcerdy* 'tannery,

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[91] For Roman tanning see further van Driel-Murray (2000: 304–5, 2001: 60–1).

[92] Details can be found in the *Dictionary of the Irish Language, based mainly on Old and Middle Irish Material* (Dublin, 1913–76).

[93] See Bachellery and Lambert (1987) C-153.

tannhouse', *barceriaf, barciaf* 'to tan', *barciwr* 'barker'.[94] In English itself the obsolete term 'barker' = 'tanner' lives on as a surname.

I come back now to the phrase at Vindolanda. Taken literally it would have to mean 'cloaks of bark', but it is in the nature of such adjectives of material in *-eus* that they are subject to extensions or loosenings of meaning such that they need not strictly express the idea 'consisting of such-and-such' but have a variety of functions that have to be interpreted from the context. I say nothing here of the special case of Plautus, who has more than thirty such words, many of them extended in meaning in metaphorical and other ways. Plautus was a linguistic innovator, and he exploited this suffix extravagantly in ways particular to himself. But such loosenings of sense are found in other texts. I cite a few examples, quoting where appropriate the definitions of the *OLD*. *Saxeus*, for example, can be an adjective of material in the strictest sense (= 'consisting or made of stones or rock'), but it is also used more loosely with meanings that can be paraphrased as 'connected with or derived from rock' (*OLD* s.v. 2). It is this sort of weakening that I am suggesting for *corticia*. The cloaks are not made of bark in an exclusive sense, but connected with or derived from bark in the sense that bark is used in their making: they are 'barky', if not 'of bark'. To revert to an observation made above about the use of *corticeus* in William of Canterbury, the substance is not composed exclusively of bark, but bark is one of its components. On my (tentative) interpretation the writer of the account would not have been extending the meaning of the adjective on his own initiative, but adopting a special technical usage that had developed in the language of tanning, akin to the developments seen above in Old Irish: an object that had had bark applied to it in tanning was 'barky', *corticeus*. The Vindolanda tablets are full of technical usages attested for the first time. A lexical entry for *corticeus* might read: '1 of bark; 2 "barky", i.e. tanned'.

That the concept 'adjective of material' need not always be applied too strictly in interpreting the function of *-eus* adjectives may be illustrated again by the case of *uiteus* (< *uitis* 'grape-vine'), which occurs for the first time in Varro. A *colliculus uiteus* (*Rust.* 1.31.4) is not a hill composed of vines, but one covered with them ('viney'). The vines are loosely associated with the hill as distinct from being its exclusive component. Similarly the entry for *scorteus* in the *OLD* is worth consulting.

I move on to an item of British medieval evidence. The *DML* cites an example of *corticium* to which it gives the meaning 'sort of garment' (?):

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[94] For details see *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru* 257.

Pat 347 m. 20 (AD 1397) *Robertum M., mancipium aule S. Laurencii de uno corticio precii v s. deprecati* [read *depredati*] *fuerunt*. It is of considerable interest that the word is applied to garments only in two sources, the Vindolanda tablet and a British medieval text. It is possible that the object in the medieval text, whatever its precise nature, was of leather; and even if it was not, the same word occurs in the two sources in the same application. As we have seen, such lexical correspondences between early and late British Latin texts are not uncommon. It is unclear whether the Latin word had remained in use in some sense in Britain itself throughout the intervening period, or a reflex in a continental Romance language had lingered on down to the medieval period and then been reintroduced into Britain and re-Latinised.

It is a problem that leather military cloaks do not seem to be known from the Roman period. Such garments would have been appropriate to the climate of northern Britain, and leather working is well attested in the area (*corium* is common in the tablets, and the verbal noun *coriatio* has turned up: see below, 12), but in the absence of further evidence I am merely raising a possibility.

10 SOME CORRESPONDENCES BETWEEN LATIN ATTESTED IN BRITAIN AND LOAN-WORDS IN CELTIC

I consider next some features of British Latin in a weaker sense. Certain Latin terms borrowed by Celtic (i.e. Welsh), or features appearing in borrowed Latin terms, have now made an appearance in the Latin attested in Britain. The correspondences establish that these Latin words (or forms) were current during the Roman occupation, and suggest that the borrowing took place at an early period (see above, 5 on the possibility that many borrowings were late and learned). When a non-classical deformation appears both in a loan-word in Welsh and in a British Latin text it is likely that the borrowing was not a learned one. This evidence points to what would have been components of the 'lost Romance language of Britain'. The usages may not have been peculiar to 'British Romance', but they are worth listing even if not strictly regionalisms. Africa too lost its potential Romance language (see VIII.4.7).

10.1   *Opening of* e *to* a *before* r

Jackson (1953: 83) notes that various loan-words show opening of this type (e.g. *sternere* > Welsh *ystarn*, *serpens* > Welsh *sarff*), and at 280–1

he cites further examples, such as *taberna* > Welsh *tafarn*, *carcer* > Welsh *carchar*, *mercatum* > Cornish *marghas*.[95] The opening is attested sometimes in the Latin of other parts of the Empire.[96] According to Bede the Germans even in his day were called *Garmani* by the Britons: *HE* 5.9 *unde hactenus a uicina gente Brettonum corrupte Garmani nuncupantur* ('hence even to this day they are by a corruption called *Garmani* by their neighbours the Britons').[97] Smith (1983: 900) cites a few cases of such opening from Roman inscriptions of Britain, but I would disregard those instances (of which he includes a few) allegedly found in non-Latin place or personal names because of the uncertainty of the base-form. More significant is *Marcuri* at *RIB* 2503.317, which Smith was probably right to take as representing *Mercuri* (despite the guarded note of the editors of *RIB*). Even more striking is the Bath text *Tab. Sulis* 30, which comprises a list of names on a pewter plate. Notable here (as we saw above, 4) is the occurrence of two examples of opening in successive lines, in the names *Patarnianus* and *Matarnus*. The first is the more interesting in that the form *Patarnus* for *Paternus* produced Welsh *Padarn*.[98] Tomlin (1988: 146) notes that the writing is an elegant Old Roman Cursive, and dates the text to the second rather than the third century.

10.2 latro

In the Bath curse tablet *Tab. Sulis* 44.11 *latro* is used in a sense not registered either by the *TLL* or the *OLD*, namely '(sneak) thief' (= *fur*), as distinct from its usual meaning 'brigand, robber' (operating openly and using violence): *eum latr[on]em qui ṛem ipsam inuolaui̧[t] deuṣ [i]nuenia[t]* ('let the god find that thief who stole the thing'). The new sense arises by hyperbole, that is from the application of a colourful designation to a person employing stealth not force. *Fur* is the norm in British curse tablets.[99] This secondary sense of *latro* is recorded for Welsh *lleidr*, a borrowing of *latro*.[100] *Latro* survives in the meaning 'thief' in Romance, as Old French *lere* 'voleur qui dérobe furtivement' (*FEW* V.201);[101] also e.g. Italian *ladro*. *Latro* 'thief' was not a regionalism of British Latin; all that we can say is

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[95] See also Campanile (1969: 103).   [96] See e.g. Adams (1977a: 13–14).
[97] On the interpretation of this passage see Jackson (1953: 281): '[this] may be explained to mean that the Welsh still preserved the old VL. colloquial form lost on the Continent and in the Latin of the English church derived from Continental tradition'.
[98] See Jackson (1953: 280), Adams (1992: 12).
[99] See Tomlin (1988: 165) on lines 11–12 for a list of examples.
[100] See *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru* 2145; on *latro* see Adams (1992: 21).
[101] By contrast, according to *FEW* V.202, the Latin meaning 'highway robber' 'lebt nur als bezeichnung der beiden verbrecher weiter, die mit Christus gekreuzigt wurden'.

that its currency in Britain is confirmed both by the Bath example and by the loan-word, and that it would probably have become a term of British Romance. The main interest of the British example is that it appears to be the unique attestation of a meaning that must have been widespread, and shows the importance of the new British tablets as bringing to light usages that had a life exclusively at a subliterary level (see also the next item, and below, 11, with n. 106).

10.3 torta

I noted (Adams 1995a: 91) that *torta* (of a loaf or roll) occurs at *Tab. Vind.* II.180.20 in a form (with *u* in the first syllable) which is transitional between the CL form with open (i.e. short) *o* (on the assumption that the word derives from the past participle of *torqueo*) and the proto-Romance form with close *o*.[102] I did not point out that the currency of the word in Britain is further confirmed by its survival in Welsh (*torth*).[103] At *FEW* XIII.113 it is suggested that the Celtic borrowings of *torta* come via Gallo-Romance, with direct borrowing from Latin mentioned only as a secondary possibility (accompanied by a question mark). The attestation of the term as early as the second century AD at Vindolanda now makes it likely that the loan-word was an early one, from Latin. *Torta* is well attested in British medieval Latin, even in the Vindolanda form *turta*.[104] On the Continent the form *turta* is attested in the early medieval Reichenau glosses (1102 *colliridam turtam*),[105] a document known for its anticipations of Gallo-Romance (note French *tourte*, 'gros pain en forme de disque': *FEW* XIII.109). Here is another coincidence of language between early imperial tablets discovered in Britain and much later British medieval Latin (see above, 8 and below, 12).

10.4 Miscellaneous

Most of the eighteen 'characteristics of spoken everyday Imperial Latin, i.e. Vulgar Latin' (Jackson 1953: 82), which according to Jackson

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[102] On the vowel of the Romance reflexes see *FEW* XIII.113.

[103] See Loth (1892: 211), Jackson (1967: 476), Evans (1983: 969 with n. 95).

[104] See Latham (1965: 488), citing *turta* from *c*. 1250 and 1322. I have been supplied with a full collection of examples from the archive of the *DML* by D. R. Howlett, of which I quote just two. First, for the form *turta*, see the Muniments of the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury, MS Domestic Economy 120: *cordwanarius habet vij turtas*. Second, there is an interesting instance in Thomas Eccleston *De aduentu fratrum minorum in Anglia*, ed. A. G. Little (Paris, 1909), p. 11: *uidi fratres . . . comedere panem quem tortam uocant uulgariter* ('I saw the brothers . . . eating the loaf which they commonly call *torta*').

[105] For the text see H.-W. Klein (1968). For *collyrida* of a type of bread see *TLL* III.1667.60ff.

(1953: 82–6) show up in loan-words in British Celtic, are banal, but I offer a list for what it is worth of the remaining ones that can now be paralleled in attested British Latin. The monophthongisation of *ae* (Jackson's no. 7) was no doubt universal in Latin, and it is no surprise to find it reflected in loan-words. For examples from British Latin see Smith (1983: 899), Adams (1995a: 97, 2003b: 537), though the military scribes at Vindolanda usually got the spelling right. The closing of *e* in hiatus (which was followed by yodisation of the *i*) (Jackson no. 3) is well represented in British Latin: Smith (1983: 904), Adams (1995a: 93, 2003b: 537). The type of vocalic assimilation which Jackson (no.1) sees in *occasio* > **accasio* (whence Middle Welsh *achaws*) was illustrated above (see 4 on *inualauiit*) from a Uley curse tablet. It is, however, likely that *accasio* arose from a change of prefix (< *adcasio*). The pronunciation lying behind *Febrarius* > Welsh *Chwefror* (Jackson no. 4) is indirectly confirmed by the spelling *Februuar-*, which occurs three times in *Tab. Vindol.* II.186. The glide [w] 'must have been inserted (in the speech of this writer) to counter the loss of *u* after *br* in hiatus' (Adams 1995a: 93). There is no need to say more about Jackson's other categories of unremarkable Vulgar Latin phenomena. They are either insignificant, misleadingly presented or dubious. It is also worth stressing the motive of Jackson in presenting his eighteen points. He wanted his twelve distinctively 'British' phenomena, which follow immediately, to stand in contrast to the mundane features of the first list.

11   SOME CONCLUSIONS

The main lexical interest of the new material from Britain, both the Vindolanda tablets and the curse and other tablets edited by Tomlin, lies in the surfacing of subliterary terms or usages which to date had never or hardly ever made an appearance in literary texts.[106] But a usage attested only in Britain need not have been a regionalism of British Latin. Its occurrence in Britain alone may merely reflect the chance discovery in Britain of the types of informal documents likely to contain humdrum terms which, though widely used across the Empire, were rarely put into writing of a literary kind. A case in point is the use of *uectura* in the concrete sense 'wagon', which is now attested at Vindolanda (III.600) but had previously been known only from the medieval period.[107] It could not be described as

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[106] I have discussed the usages newly attested at Vindolanda in two places: see the summaries at Adams (1995a: 133, 2003b: 573–5). For the Bath tablets see Tomlin (1988) and Adams (1992). For the miscellaneous tablets one has to consult the commentaries of Tomlin, Hassall and Tomlin, and Tomlin and Hassall (see the bibliography) found in volumes of *Britannia*.

[107] For details see Adams (2003b: 559).

exclusively British, because the meaning is well represented in the reflexes of the word in the Romance languages (e.g. French *voiture*); it just happens to have come to light in Britain. One can merely say of such a usage that it was current in Britain but not restricted to that province (note similarly the material discussed in the previous section). Even if a term does not have Romance reflexes establishing its currency outside Britain, its appearance in British tablets need not establish its credentials as a regionalism of Britain. I would draw attention to *capitulare* (originally a neuter but also attested as a masculine), indicating some sort of headband (*capicularium*, with a slightly different suffix, in the Aezani copy of the Prices Edict corresponds to κεφαλόδεσμος in the extant Greek at 28.7 Lauffer 1971: see Crawford and Reynolds 1979: 176, 197), a word which is not reflected in Romance. Given the paucity of subliterary Latin surviving even in Britain the word is now remarkably well attested there. It is found at Vindolanda (III.596.5),[108] and also at Bath (*Tab. Sulis* 55), Caistor-by-Norwich,[109] Uley (unpublished)[110] and the City of London.[111] Whatever the headgear referred to, the object was clearly much used in Britain, and with it its designation. Whether the word was replaceable by a synonym we do not know, though Isidore does assert (*Etym.* 19.31.3) that *capitulare* was used *uulgo* for *capitulum* (*capitulum est quod uulgo capitulare dicunt, idem et cappa*). There is just enough evidence from outside Britain to make it unsafe to claim *capitulare* as a British regionalism. *TLL* III.349.47ff. cites, apart from Isidore, an example in the *Itinerarium Antonini Placentini* (*rec.* A 18), and there is also *capicularium* (for *capit-*) in the Prices Edict (above). Another such term is *mancilia*. It was virtually non-existent in Latin until British curse tablets started to turn up. *Manicillium* is cited just once by the *TLL*, from a gloss (*CGL* II.476.24) where it appears alongside χειρίδιον, which possibly means 'glove'. It occurs twice in a curse tablet from Uley (Hassall and Tomlin 1996: 440 no. 1), in both cases transferred into the masculine, and also in a Bath curse tablet (*Tab. Sulis* 5 *manicilia dua*), where the numeral suits the meaning 'glove' or 'mitten'. The relative 'frequency' of the term in Britain may be a cultural phenomenon reflecting the northern climate. Distinctive forms of clothing might well have been in use in Britain. We might feel differently about the regional credentials of these terms if there had survived a British Romance language and if *capitulare* and *mancilia* had been reflected there (and nowhere else).

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[108] See Bowman and Thomas (2003: 56).   [109] See Hassall and Tomlin (1982: 409) no. 9.
[110] See Tomlin and Hassall (2003: 363 n. 2–3).
[111] See Tomlin and Hassall (2003: 362) no. 2.

By contrast *excussorium* seems more distinctively British (see above, 8), in that its British meaning, which surfaces more than once in texts separated by a long period, is out of line with the meanings of the reflexes in Romance languages on the Continent.

It is again borrowed material or interference from a substrate language that provides the most securely identifiable local features of the Latin of a province. Some of these borrowings were dialect terms in the sense in which I have used that expression. There are few more commonplace terms than those meaning 'man', and there is now good evidence that in Britain the Germanic borrowing *baro* was well established in that sense. *Baro* was not restricted to Britain, but has the appearance of a north-western usage. Interference from Celtic as affecting Latin in Britain was seen at 7.7 and 7.9. *Popia* and *souxtum* also look like dialect words. The scattering of the usages discussed in section 7 across Britain and Gaul points to the close connections between the two provinces and their Celtic speakers. Soldiers of Celtic background coming to Britain might already have taken over substrate words into their Latin, and non-Celts mixing with locals in Britain would have acquired local terms themselves. Whatever the route by which such terms entered the Latin now turning up in Britain, they were likely in at least some cases to have been passed down the generations and to have become entrenched there. There is a 'north-western' feel to non-literary Latin surviving in Britain, and it may be predicted that the Celtic element will continue to grow as more writing comes to light. Indeed it has recently been suggested by P. Russell (2006) that a hitherto unexplained item in the earliest Bath curse tablet to come to light, *VILBIAM* (*RIB* 154, *Tab. Sulis* 4, found in 1880) (*qu[i] mihi VILBIAM in[u]olauit*, 'he who stole from me V.'), is a Celtic word for a sharp-pointed object, most closely represented by Middle Welsh *gwlf*. On this view the thief stole a knife or the like.

12   VINDOLANDA AND BRITISH MEDIEVAL LATIN

I have drawn attention elsewhere (as well as earlier in this chapter) to what appear to be several cases of continuity between usage at Vindolanda and that of British medieval Latin at least a thousand years later.[112] The question arises whether there is a link between the early and the medieval usages, or the similarity due to chance. Could a Latin usage have been maintained in some way in Britain for a thousand years? My answer in the paper cited in n. 112 was negative. The three examples noted there were

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[112] See Adams (2003b: 574) with cross references.

uectura ('wagon'), *braciarius* and *internumero*. To these should be added *torta* (10.3), *excussorium* (8) and *corticius* (9). I would also draw attention to the problematic *pannum ferri* in Bath curse tablets alongside *panna ferri* in British medieval Latin (see V.2.2, p. 285).

An eighth example, which brings out some of the issues, might also be noted. *Coriatio* occurs in Latin of the period covered by the *TLL* only at *Tab. Vindol.* II.343.40, in a context in which its meaning is problematic: *Frontinium Iulium audio magno licere pro coriaṭione quem hic comparauit (denarios) quinos*. For one possible interpretation of the sentence see Bowman and Thomas (1994: 328). Another, preferable, interpretation is advanced at Bowman and Thomas (2003: 159), according to which the apparent masculine relative *quem*, picking up a feminine antecedent *coriatione*, is taken as a neuter plural with hypercorrect addition of final *-m* (i.e. *que* = *quae*, + *m*). The translation becomes: 'I hear that Frontinius Iulius has for sale at a high price for leather-making (the things) which he bought here for five denarii apiece.' *Coriatio* would thus be a verbal noun based on *coriari or *coriare* 'make leather', a verb which is unattested but (like the *-tio* derivative) of normal type. *Coriatio* next turns up in 1404 in a text (*Fabr. York* 27, an account detailing repairs to York Minster) cited by the *DML* with the meaning 'covering with leather' (preceded by a question mark). The reference is to the upholstering of chairs in leather: *in coriatione et emendacione ij cathedrarum* ('in the upholstering with leather and restoration of two chairs'). The meaning here is specialised (a development out of the hypothetical primary meaning 'leather-making, tanning') and not obviously the same as that in the Vindolanda case. Moreover Niermeyer (1976: 273) cites from (Continental) medieval Latin the verb *coriare* in exactly this specialised meaning, = 'to upholster with leather'. *Coriatio* at Vindolanda looks like a straightforward coinage based on *corium* > *corio(r)*, whereas much later in medieval Latin certain derivatives of *corium* could be used in a particular way, of upholstering.

There are several factors that might have caused a chance parallelism between a usage at Vindolanda and another in the British medieval corpus. First, if a usage at Vindolanda was also current on the Continent and lived on into Old French it might have been borrowed by the British from the French (in French form) many centuries later and then re-Latinised for inclusion in a Latin text, or even taken over from Continental medieval Latin. That is almost certainly how *uectura* 'wagon' found its way into British medieval Latin. *Torta/turta* (10.3) also survived in Gallo-Romance and might have been taken back into Britain from France; alternatively it might in medieval Britain have been a Latinisation of the Welsh borrowing.

Second, words were freely coined in medieval Latin, just as they were when Latin was a living language. There is no reason why, say, *coriatio* should not have been coined independently at different periods. If the early and the medieval examples of a term differ in meaning and if they belong to a formation which was productive (as *-tio* was) it would be unconvincing to argue for a direct line of descent from the early case to the medieval. Thus, for example, *internumero* has different meanings at Vindolanda and in the medieval period,[113] and one should not relate the attestations to each other.[114] Third, a host of special factors could cause a superficial parallelism of no significance between an early and a medieval usage. In the previous section it was noted that *capitulare* meaning 'head covering' of some type was common in Britain of the Roman period. Similarly the *DML* 271 s.v. *capitularium* quotes an instance given the meaning 'head-cloth, kerchief or hat'. But a glance at the citation (from Aelfric's glossary) shows that its source was the passage of Isidore (*Etym.* 19.31.3) quoted in the last section. Aelfric was drawing on a Continental written source, and the example has nothing to do with the early examples.

It is sensible to begin by resisting the temptation in a given case to see a direct link between the Latin spoken by the invaders in the early second century and the Latin written by the British a thousand or more years later, but such a link cannot always be ruled out. It is possible, even likely, that the specialised use of *excussorium* seen at Vindolanda had been handed down within Britain in some way from the time of the Romans to the medieval period.

13   THE 'CELTIC' INSCRIPTIONS OF BRITAIN

The departure of the Romans did not mean the end of Latin in Britain. Neo-Latin, by which I mean in this context Latin used as a learned written language and maintained by scholars, record keepers, the Church, the legal profession and others, went on being used from Gildas, Bede and others down through the Middle Ages to relatively recent times. The study of medieval Latin in Britain and across the Continent would reveal regional variations even in what was predominantly a written medium. But medieval Latin is beyond the scope of this book, which is intended to be about Latin as a living language during the Roman period. In going briefly beyond the Romans I venture only as far as the so-called 'Celtic' inscriptions of Britain, which are often predominantly in Latin. Names may be in Celtic,

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[113] See Adams (2003b: 557 with n. 126).   [114] See also Adams (2003b: 574).

thereby loosely justifying the designation 'Celtic', or there may be an Ogam version as well as a Latin. Some inscriptions do not have a Latin version. The inscriptions date in many cases from the fifth to seventh centuries but go much later than that.[115] Their phonology and chronology have recently been examined by Sims-Williams (2003), who also provides (as Appendix 1) a corpus of texts. There are some recent remarks about the Latin texts in Charles-Edwards (1995). Earlier, Jackson's brief comments (1953: 166–7) on several aspects of the texts are particularly apt. The questions raised by these inscriptions are as follows. Do they provide evidence for a continuing use of Latin among the local population in the centuries immediately after the Romans? And if so are there any signs of local features in that Latin? My conclusions will be negative, but the inscriptions do have their interest and ought not to be passed over in silence.

The format of the Latin inscriptions and one distinctive structural feature are based on characteristics of the Ogam inscriptions. I quote some comments on the latter by Jackson (1953: 166): 'It is a constant characteristic of the Ogam inscriptions, whether in Britain or Ireland, that the name of the deceased is given in the genitive case, followed by MAQQI [the genitive of the word for 'son'] . . ., and the name of the father in the genitive.' As an example he cites *CIIC* 246[116] CORBAGNI MAQI BIVITI, 'of Corbagnas son of Bivitas', and explains (167) the syntax thus (convincingly): 'This regular use of the genitive in the first name clearly implies that some word is omitted on which it is dependent, meaning "(This is) the grave" or "epitaph", or "(Here lies) the body", of N. or M.'

The Latin inscriptions for their part are repeatedly in the genitive as well, and that is because the pattern of the Celtic has been followed. I quote as an illustration 449 (numbering of Macalister's corpus [1945–9], but the text can also be found in Sims-Williams, Appendix 1), a bilingual text (the Ogam printed here in bold) where the correspondence of structure is obvious: **SAGRAGNI MAQI CUNATAMI** // SAGRANI FILI CVNOTAMI. There is one further syntactic feature of the Latin that needs to be stressed. In Latin filiations of all areas and periods *filius* almost invariably follows the name of the father. Its placement here before the name is based on that of *maqi* in the Celtic, and it can be seen, loosely speaking, to be a regionalism of written Latin. I emphasise the phrase 'written Latin', because it would be foolish to deduce from an epitaph (see the

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[115] See Sims-Williams (2003: 353–68) for a list of inscriptions and proposed dates.
[116] The reference is to Macalister's corpus (1945–9).

next paragraph) that in a variety of Latin still spoken by Celts *filius* was placed before a genitive in expressions of relationship.

There are, indeed, many signs in this small corpus that Latin was imperfectly understood. In funerary inscriptions from other cultures a dead language is sometimes held on to because it is seen as appropriate to the genre or as conferring prestige on the epitaph and its subject.[117] I am not convinced by claims that Latin was still a spoken language in Britain and that the aberrant features of the syntax and morphology of some of the Latin texts reflect spoken patterns. I next consider a few other structures into which these texts fall.

(1)   334 CATACVS HIC IACIT FILIVS TEGERNACVS.

The writer has failed to put the name of the father into the genitive but has used the nominative instead (cf. 407b HIC IACIT CANTVSVS PATER PAVLINVS). Here we see a classic feature of imperfect learning: the writer knows a single case form and puts it to more syntactic uses than one. Koch (1983: 211) says of this inscription that it is 'a stunning example of archaic phonology . . . coupled with no understanding of declension'. In the Latin of those with imperfect command of the language the nominative was often used as a base-form (see above, VIII.7 with n. 152 for bibliography).

(2)   387 FIGVLINI FILI LOCVLITI HIC IACIT.

The writer (as is often the case in this tradition) knows the Latin funerary formula *hic iacet*, but has no control over the Latin case system. From his familiarity with epitaphs written in the genitive throughout but without a verb he has made the incorrect deduction that *-i* endings were the norm for Latin even if there was a verb. This type of epitaph, which reflects a conflation of two types (*Figulinus filius Loculiti hic iacet* + *Figulini fili Loculiti*), is common in the corpus (e.g. 326, 327, 386, 388, 397, 412, 428, 436), and is not consistent with knowledge of Latin as a living language. The composer has constructed his 'Latin' text through the imitation of other epitaphs, the structure of which he did not understand.

(3)   344 DERVACI FILIVS IVSTI IC IACIT.

This inscription is typical of quite a few. The name of the deceased has the usual genitive form even though there is a verb present, but the noun *filius* is correctly used in the nominative (though it does not agree in case,

as it should, with the name of the deceased) (cf. e.g. 329, 352A, 368b, 470, etc.). Some writers knew the nominative form of *filius*, but this knowledge was not accompanied by an ability to make the name and *filius* agree. But if *fili* had been written to agree with *Deruaci*, the sentence would have had no nominative form standing as subject of *iacit*.

(4)   370 HIC IACIT VLCAGNVS FI(*LI*)VS SENOMAGLI.

Occasionally an inscription is correct in case usage, but the aberrant types are more common.

(5)   329 CANNTIANI ET PATER ILLIVS MACCVTRENI HIC IACIT.
      401 BROHOMAGLI IATTI IC IACIT ET VXOR EIVS CAVNE.

These two inscriptions, which differ only slightly from (3), belong together. The syntax and morphology are correct Latin, except for the names of the deceased, which are given the typical genitive ending. It seems that stonemasons knew Latin kinship terms such as *filius, pater* and *uxor* in the nominative form but were unfamiliar with rules of concord.[118]

There are differing degrees of competence in Latin revealed by the selected inscriptions discussed here. One text (4) is correct. Others are correct except in one respect, namely that the name of the deceased, because of a tradition which began in a different type of (genitive) epitaph, is not given a nominative ending. Less correct again are those texts (2) in which both the name of the deceased and *filius* are placed in the genitive despite standing as subject of the verb *iacit*; we explained this type as due to a conflation. Finally, we saw a text which used only the nominative even of the patronymic (1).

The influence of a funerary tradition is strong: it frequently generates a string of words in *-i*, which may be made to stand as subject of a verb. Fluent users of Latin are unlikely to have admitted such a structure, and even those who 'corrected' the Latin by converting *filius* to the nominative were introducing an error of concord. I see these texts as the work of writers who were not adept at using Latin and were copying epitaphs of limited type without displaying a creative ability to use the Latin language.

It is not possible to explain the aberrations as reflecting spoken features of a living Latin: the composition is, on the contrary, mechanical. Charles-Edwards (1995: 717) offers the following explanation of a text such as 401 (5 above): 'Late British Latin must have been in the same situation as the

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[118] Kinship terms of this type were not infrequently fossilised in the nominative form in medieval Latin: see B. Löfstedt (1961: 215–17, [1976] 2000: 178).

one we find in modern Italian: -*i* was the mark of the plural of second-declension nouns, but no longer of the genitive singular.' But the ending of *fili* (2) is a genitive singular transferred illogically from one formula to another. The phrase 'late British Latin' also implies the survival of a living language, whereas these inscriptions reveal imperfect learners struggling to put together the most rudimentary of short texts within a restricted domain in a language they no longer used. Charles-Edwards is more explicit a little further on. He states, correctly, that these writers 'had not learnt their Latin from grammars', and moves on to deduce from that that 'Latin was, therefore, in the time of Voteporix [the deceased in one such inscription], a spoken language'. It is more likely that within graveyards epitaphs were copied and modified, in keeping with such snippets of information about Latin as the writer had picked up, to produce a reduced 'Latin' that was otherwise not in use. Even if it were argued that in some instances names in -*i* were conceived of as Celtic nominatives, sense would not be introduced to most of the inscriptions cited, because the contrasting case roles nominative versus genitive would not be marked, and no such explanation could account for the form of *fili* or the Latin name *Figulini* in (2). By the time when these inscriptions were written Latin was all but a dead language. Parallels, as we saw above, can be cited from the Roman period itself for the attempt to keep a dead language going for the writing of funerary inscriptions, because it was felt to be appropriate that a respected language should be used for epitaphs even after genuine knowledge of that language had been lost.

I conclude that the Latinate parts of the Celtic funerary inscriptions are not relevant to the subject of this book. Even as specimens of Latin imperfectly learnt such texts are not unique to Britain (see above on (1), with cross references).

14 HIBERNISMS IN IRISH LATIN

Hibernisms are beyond the scope of this book, but for completeness I include a few remarks with bibliography.[119] Any Irish influence on or interference in the Latin written in Ireland affected an artificial written language (Latin) used by speakers of Irish who had acquired Latin as a learned medium. All over the Continent in the medieval period there were users of Latin whose efforts at writing the language were influenced by their vernacular languages, just as those composing Latin prose in Britain today

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[119] I am grateful to Michael Lapidge for advice on bibliography.

are likely to fall into Anglicisms without even knowing it. The subject has its own interest but is not that of the present book.

There has been some scepticism about the extent of Irish interference in Irish Latin. As Bieler (1963: 37) puts it, 'Distinct Hibernicisms other than "Hibernian" spellings are fewer than one might expect.' He allows (37) the use of *alius = aliquis/quidam* under the influence of Irish *araile*, which means both *alius* and *quidam*. This Hibernism had been discussed by E. Löfstedt (1950: 47–50),[120] and is accepted as certain by B. Löfstedt (1965: 117).[121] Another such case is the use of *sentis* 'thorn' in the sense *fibula*. Note Plummer (1925: 26): 'The explanation of this extraordinary use is that in Irish *delg* means both a thorn and a pin or brooch, no doubt because thorns were the earliest kind of pins.'[122] Other Irish-inspired changes of meaning are cited from time to time.[123] Some Irish loan-words in Irish Latin texts are discussed by Herren (1984).[124] Both B. Löfstedt and Bieler are guarded about possible Irish syntactic and morphological influence on Irish Latin.[125] Löfstedt (1965: 117–19), for example, plays down the possibility that confusion of *ab*, *apud* and *cum* may be a Hibernism.[126] Bieler (1963: 38–41) discusses at length 'the present indicative of *a*-verbs used apparently with the force of the subjunctive' (38), concluding cautiously as follows (41): 'even for the penitentials some influence, at least as a contributing factor, of the Old Irish *a*-subjunctive on these Latin forms cannot be excluded'.

Bieler, quoted above, referred to Hibernian spellings. B. Löfstedt cites in this connection spellings such as *ia*, *ea* for *e* (1965: 107, 149) and *manachus* for *monachus* (1965: 97, 149). On orthography see also Herren (1982).

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[120] See the review of Delz (1952: 281), with some additional material.

[121] See also Herren (1984: 208), Adams (2003a: 466). *Alius* in this sense is a loan-translation, not a syntactic Hibernism, as B. Löfstedt takes it. For a few other loan-translations see McCone (1982: 116 n. 1), Herren (1984: 208–9).

[122] See also B. Löfstedt (1965: 133).

[123] See for example the small number of instances cited by Kerlouégan (1968: 171–2).

[124] The papers by Herren cited in this section are reprinted in Herren (1996).

[125] Orchard (1987–8) is not really about Irish regional Latin syntax. Orchard compares the frequency of certain banal phenomena (demonstratives, gerunds and gerundives) in Irish Latin and Anglo-Latin texts and finds differences, but these are stylistic differences of the written language.

[126] See also Herren (1984: 208). Charles-Edwards (1995: 717), commenting on the Irish writer Tírechán, notes that he 'writes a Latin in which Irish constructions or idioms prevail over their Latin counterparts', and he cites (717 n. 79) as illustration 24.1 (Bieler 1979: 14) *quae tenuit pallium apud Patricium et Rodanum*, which is translated by Bieler 'and took the veil from Patrick and Rodanus'. It would be difficult to explain away such a use of *apud* as ordinary Latin. This passage, as well as another with an Irish use of *apud*, is also discussed by McCone (1982: 115–16 with 116 n. 1).

Of the five regions surveyed in this and the preceding four chapters (Gaul, Italy, Spain, Africa and Britain) Britain is perhaps the most richly endowed with Latin of the sort that might be called 'non-literary'. I am referring not to inscriptions on stone but to informal writing on materials such as wood and lead. We have had to face the possibility (3, 4) that most of this writing might have been effected by non-Britons, but have argued that, though military writing was done by soldiers merely serving in Britain, there is evidence particularly in curse tablets for the spread of Latin among the Celtic population (4). It is surely no accident that both examples of *deuo = deo* (7.7) are found in texts from a Celtic milieu. These provide a glimpse of the Celtic interference that must have marked the Latin of the local population in the early days of the occupation. Evidence of a similar kind, though indirect, was seen at 7.9.

Moreover the Latin even of military units was influenced by the Celtic environment, as was seen at 7.1 in the adoption by those at Vindolanda of the Celtic term *souxtum*. *Souxtum* might be described as a dialect term not only of Latin <u>in</u> Britain but also of the Latin <u>of</u> Britain, on the assumption that soldiers had heard the word from Britons using some Latin. An alternative possibility is that some of those stationed at Vindolanda were Continentals of Celtic origin, and that they had introduced the word to their Latin before arriving in Britain. If so there was a twofold determinant of the currency of *souxtum* in British Latin: the speech habits of the Celtic outsiders would have been in line with those of Britons themselves. In section 7 about a dozen Celtic terms were discussed or referred to (and *popia* at 7.3 may well be Celtic as well), along with a Germanic term, *baro* (7.4). Given that British writing tablets, though not insignificant, are scarcely voluminous, these dozen items represent an obtrusive element of British Latin. They are the more interesting in that, as we saw (7), they turn up as well in Gaul. I referred to the Latin of Gaul and Britain as having a 'north-western' character to it, by which I meant that the common Celtic background, contacts across the Channel and the remoteness of Italy caused Gaul and Britain to develop their own linguistic features, embracing phonetic interference from Celtic and the adoption of Celtic loan-words. Several of these terms are full-scale dialect words (*baro*, *popia*, *souxtum*). *Baro* indeed was a substitute for one of the most common words in the language (*uir*). These usages shared by Gaul and Britain undermine Jackson's argument, which, as we saw (4, 5), was based on unsatisfactory

evidence, that the spoken Latin of Britain was 'completely different' from that of Gaul.

More difficult to judge are pure Latin terms that happen to be restricted to Britain. In most cases they merely represent the chance surfacing in Britain of subliterary usages known from the Romance languages to have been widespread, but one curiosity was noted (8), *excussorium* in the meaning 'threshing-floor', a meaning unattested on the Continent either in Latin or in Romance, but found in British medieval Latin as well as at Vindolanda. The usage must have been passed down in written Latin in Britain, and in the Roman period it might well have been a regionalism.

Inscriptions

I INTRODUCTION

In Chapter II republican inscriptions were discussed. Most inscriptions are from the Empire, and I now turn to these. I will also consider what I call 'non-literary' evidence, that is informal writing (some of it newly discovered) on materials other than stone (curse tablets, writing tablets, ostraca, papyri), which has not been exploited in the discussion of regional diversification, though the evidence of such texts is in some ways superior to that of inscriptions.

Spellings, particularly misspellings, as possible indicators of the phonological system have been the usual subject of surveys of inscriptions, and I will be dealing mainly with spelling here. There has been optimism that by comparing the incidence of misspellings area by area it might be possible to finds signs of the dialectalisation of Latin. Statistical surveys have been made, for example, by Gaeng (1968) (of spellings and misspellings to do with the vowel system), Omeltchenko (1977) (of spellings to do with the vowel system in areas not covered by Gaeng), Barbarino (1978) (of B and V, that is of B written for CL [w] or V written for B),[1] Herman (of a variety of phenomena in a series of papers) and Gratwick (1982) (of B and V again). It is, for instance, conceivable that a misspelling of peculiar type indicative of a feature of pronunciation might be attested in just one area (and the pronunciation reflected in the same area in Romance). But evidence of this type is lacking. Much the same types of misspellings turn up right across the Empire,[2] and the changes of pronunciation that they reveal are reflected generally in Romance rather than in particular languages. I list the main

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[1] I use the capitals B and V throughout this chapter, following the convention established by those who have written on the subject, for the graphemes that interchange in misspellings. Phonetic symbols are not satisfactory in this case as there is uncertainty about the phonetic value of, say, B when it is written for V representing original [w]: does it indicate [b], [β] or something else? See further below.

[2] The same point is made several times by Herman ([1965b 1990]: 11, 14, [1978] 1990: 36). See too Herman ([1985a] 1990: 86).

phenomena: (1) *e* for short *i*; (2) B for V; (3) closing of *e* in hiatus and the insertion of the glides *i* [j] and *u* [w] between vowels in hiatus; (4) *e* for *ae*; (5) omission of the aspirate; (6) omission of final -*m*; (7) omission of *n* before *s*; (8) omission of stops before nasals. Others could be added.

Various questions suggest themselves. How could evidence for regional variation be elicited from such widespread phenomena? Have any worthwhile discoveries about the regional diversity of the language been made, or can such be extracted from the statistics already available? How might such research be conducted in the future?

I will not be providing my own statistics but will draw on the detailed studies done by others. It is not so much the accumulation of figures that is difficult as their interpretation. The methodology of those who have compiled statistics has not always been satisfactory, and doubtful claims have been based on weak evidence. I consider it more important here to discuss methodology than to range widely over many types of misspellings.

Just two misspellings will be considered in detail, B for V and *e* for original short *i*; the rationale of choosing two errors and comparing their incidence will be explained below, 4. There is also a practical reason for comparing the misspelling *e* for short *i* with that of B for V (as distinct from using in such a comparison any of the range of other misspellings listed above), and that is because in parallel to Barbarino's detailed study of the B/V confusion there are the equally detailed studies by Gaeng and Omeltchenko of vocalic misspellings (see above). Gaeng dealt with Spain (divided into Baetica, Lusitania and Tarraconensis), Gaul (divided into Narbonensis and Lugdunensis), Italy (divided into northern, central and southern) and Rome. Omeltchenko dealt with Africa, Britain, Dalmatia and the Balkans. Barbarino for his part dealt with all the regions covered jointly by Gaeng and Omeltchenko, using the same corpora. This last point is important. Gaeng, Omeltchenko and Barbarino made their studies complement one another by using the same data and the same regional classifications. Diehl's *ILCV* was their major source of inscriptions.[3]

Since the two misspellings mentioned in the previous paragraph will be the subject of the chapter from the start, in the next section I explain the nature of the confusions lying behind the errors. I will then move on to methodological problems. The inscriptions that have survived do not readily lend themselves to the sort of investigation that might illuminate the regional diversification of Latin, and I will try to explain why.

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[3] See Gaeng (1968: 28–34), Omeltchenko (1977: 49–51), Barbarino (1978: 18–20) on the corpora.

In a later part of the chapter I will comment briefly on miscellaneous phonological, morphological and syntactic case studies. I will also consider some lexical evidence, and discuss the different types of 'variation' that one might expect to find in inscriptions.

<div align="center">2   SPECIFIC PHENOMENA</div>

2.1   The confusion of B and V

If there is any substance to the view that signs of regional variations in Latin may be detected in imperial inscriptions, evidence should be obtainable from the confusions of B and V in inscriptions and other non-literary documents. Confusion is frequent, and has long been studied.[4] A whole book on the subject was written by Barbarino (see above), who compiled statistics from the inscriptions of eight regions of the Roman Empire, distinguishing throughout between misspellings in word-initial, intervocalic and postconsonantal (i.e. post-liquid) positions. Barbarino compared correct spellings with incorrect, and worked out the percentages of errors in different parts of the Empire. He took the percentages at face value as indicating dialectal variations, without seriously acknowledging that the variations might only reflect variations in literacy, and without considering what, if anything, a rate of error of, say, 30 per cent in one place versus a rate of 10 per cent in another could reveal about the state of the language in the two places. Nevertheless his statistics are detailed and clearly set out, and may (perhaps) reveal something if evaluated by a different method (see below, 4). Herman dealt with the subject a number of times over twenty or more years, using his own statistics and methodology (for which see below, 3). Parodi long ago (1898) provided statistics based on volumes of *CIL*, and his data were used by Politzer (1952: 211–12). Baehrens (1922: 80–1) commented on the distribution of the phenomenon in inscriptions. A more recent discussion, as we saw (1), again with some statistical evidence, is that of Gratwick (1982).

The spelling confusions are usually explained (speculatively) as due to a merger of /b/ and /w/ as a bilabial fricative [β], which could not be represented precisely in the Latin script and was consequently rendered now with the one letter now with the other.[5] There is one corpus, from Africa, the Bu Njem ostraca (see Marichal 1992), in which B for V is

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[4] At least since Parodi (1898).
[5] See e.g. Väänänen (1981: 50), Herman (2000: 45–6), and in particular, on the complexity of the problem, Herman ([1965b 1990: 20–1).

common and there is also a form (17) Ṇobuemb(res), where *bu* may be an attempt to render [β].[6] The spelling B for V is far more common than V for B, as has often been noted;[7] and this continues to be so in new corpora.[8] Spelling confusion in the Roman period as it appears in inscriptions and some other documents affected B and V not only in intervocalic position but also in word-initial position and after consonants.[9] I will concentrate below on the writing of B for V, disregarding the reverse phenomenon because it is so infrequent.

In the following discussion I use capitals to indicate the graphemes *b* and *u* (see n. 1).

2.2 B and V and the Romance evidence

To put the confusions in their linguistic context I offer a few remarks about the outcomes of /b/ and /w/ in the Romance languages. The results were not straightforward. There was a degree of falling together of the original /b/ and /w/ but there are variations across the former Empire. The treatment of the two phonemes also varied according to their position in the word. I summarise, using here explicit phonemic representations because of the complexity of the developments. In general the reflexes of /b/ and /w/ remained distinct in initial position, but merged intervocalically. There are some regional differences, but this is the overall pattern.[10] I take first /b/ and then /w/.

In initial position /b/ remained largely intact: e.g. *bene* > Italian *bene*, Rumanian *bine*, French *bien*. In Spain, however, initial /b/ tended to become a bilabial fricative /β/ and fall together with /w/ in this position, which developed the same phonetic value, though old orthography has been retained. Thus *verde* (< *uir(i)dis*) and *beso* (< *basium*) have the same initial phoneme despite the spelling.[11] It is usually stated that in this

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[6] See Adams (1994: 106). Note too the form *buotun* (= *uotum*) in an inscription from Moesia Inferior, discussed by Galdi (2004: 126).

[7] For a possible reason why the one misspelling is more common than the other see B. Löfstedt (1961: 153–4), Adams (1977a: 31). For reservations see Gratwick (1982: 23).

[8] On two of which see Adams (1990a: 235, 1994: 106).

[9] On this point see Herman ([1971] 1990: 130). One should use the full body of misspellings and not restrict oneself to those occurring in the main position (i.e. the intervocalic) in which the merger was to be reflected in the Romance languages. For the Romance situation see below, 2.2.

[10] For summaries see e.g. Politzer (1952), B. Löfstedt (1961: 151), Herman (2000: 46). For the areas in which /b/ and /w/ have merged in all positions (southern Italy, Sardinia, Spain and southern France [Gascony]) see Politzer (1952: 212) and also the summary that follows.

[11] See Bourciez (1946: 407), Väänänen (1981: 50–1) and for the considerable complexities, Lloyd (1987: 239–40).

position the convergence in Spain was a late (post-Roman) one,[12] in view of the rarity of spelling confusion in Spanish inscriptions.[13] There is regional variation in Italy. Whereas in northern Italy /b/ was kept in initial position, in southern Italy it passed to the fricative /v/,[14] thereby merging with the /v/ arising from original /w/ (for which see below).[15] There is also an area in the south (southern Lucania) where initial /b/ developed not to /v/ but to /β/.[16]

   Between vowels /b/ became a fricative almost everywhere,[17] though the character of the fricative varies. It is labiodental (/v/) in e.g. French and Italian (*caballus* > *cheval*, *cavallo*) but bilabial in Spain (*caballo*).[18]

   In initial position /w/ became for the most part a fricative, labiodental (*uacca* > French *vache*, Italian *vacca*) or bilabial.

   In intervocalic position /w/ also became a fricative of the same types: e.g. *lauare* > Italian *lavare*, French *laver*, Spanish *lavar*. In some areas of southern Italy /w/ became not a labiodental fricative but the bilabial /β/.[19]

2.3   The confusion of e and i *(representing original short* i*)*

In most of the Romance languages there occurred parallel mergers in the mid-front and mid-back vowels. CL short *i* and long *e* merged as close *e*, and short *u* and long *o* merged as close *o*. A seven-vowel system (in stressed syllables; there is less clarity about developments in unstressed syllables)[20] was the result, showing both an open and a close *e*, and an open and a close *o*.[21] If these mergers had taken place in a province by the time when inscriptions were being written, we would expect to find (at least) two types of misspellings, namely the use of *e* for short *i* reflecting the change of short *i* to a close *e*, and the use of *o* for short *u* reflecting the corresponding shift of short *u* to close *o*. Both misspellings occur, but that affecting the back vowels is less frequent than *e* for *i*, probably because the merger of short *u* and long *o* occurred later than the front-vowel merger (see above, IX.5, p. 588 with n. 32).[22] I will therefore restrict myself for the purposes of the comparison which will be undertaken in this chapter to the writing of *e* for original short *i*.

[12] See e.g. Carnoy (1906: 135–6), Grandgent (1907: 133), Politzer (1952: 212), Barbarino (1978: 87), Herman (2000: 46).
[13] For the lack of evidence of confusion in initial position in Spanish inscriptions see the tables of Barbarino (1978: 82–3), and below, 5.3.
[14] See Rohlfs (1966: 194).
[15] See Rohlfs (1966: 227). For convergence in Gascony also see Herman (2000: 46).
[16] See Rohlfs (1966: 196).   [17] See e.g. Herman (2000: 46).
[18] See further e.g. B. Löfstedt (1961: 151), Herman (2000: 46).   [19] See Rohlfs (1966: 294).
[20] See Väänänen (1981: 30).   [21] See e.g. Väänänen (1981: 30), Herman (2000: 31).
[22] See B. Löfstedt (1961: 90), Gaeng (1968: 98 with n. 59).

The situation was different in Sardinia (see IV.4.2). There each of the long vowels merged with its corresponding short vowel, producing a five-vowel system.[23] In an area in which a vowel system of this type had developed one would not expect *e* to be written for short *i*, or *o* for short *u*. Sardinian inscriptions do show such confusions,[24] but the Romance vowel system may have taken a long time to solidify, and in any case we usually do not know the origins of those who drafted inscriptions.

3 MISSPELLINGS IN INSCRIPTIONS AS EVIDENCE FOR DIALECTALISATION? SOME METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

It has been assumed that if a misspelling is more frequent in one place than another there must have been some sort of difference in the speech of the two places. That is the assumption underlying the works of Gaeng (1968), Omeltchenko (1977) and Barbarino (1978). There is an obvious question raised by the assumption: how is one to determine 'frequency'?

The use of absolute figures, that is the mere counting of instances of an error without reference to the frequency of its correct alternative or some other comparandum, must be ruled out, as Herman ([1985a] 1990: 69–70) noted. The size of corpora varies, and a low figure for one region may be statistically more significant than a high figure for another. Gratwick listed the numbers of errors across various provinces (1982: 25–31) without giving figures for the corresponding correct spellings, except in the case of Rome (1982: 28–9), for which he counted correct forms of certain lexemes against incorrect, but without expressing the numbers of mistakes as a percentage of the whole. Gaeng (1968), Omeltchenko (1977) and Barbarino (1978) all counted particular errors province by province and set against them the numbers of correct spellings, presenting the errors as a percentage. Their methodology is transparent, and the data are clearly set out in tables.

Herman adopted his own method of calculating the relative frequency of 'faults' in different provinces. He did not bother with correct spellings, but instead calculated the frequency of the error in which he was interested (call it A) as a proportion of the total numbers of errors (of types, say, B to F) in a corpus,[25] or as a percentage of just one other frequently occurring error.

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[23] See Väänänen (1981: 30), Herman (2000: 32–3). [24] See Herman ([1985b] 1990: 187).
[25] The method is described at Herman ([1985a] 1990: 70); see also ([1965b] 1990: 16–17, 1971 1990: 125–6), and note e.g. the way in which the frequency of the confusion of B and V is presented at ([1965b] 1990: 19).

For example, in studying the distribution of the B/V confusion around the coasts of the Adriatic, Herman ([1971] 1990: 131–2) used the spelling change *ns > s* (in e.g. *menses > meses*) as the basis of comparison. He divided the region into three zones, that in which the number of B/V confusions did not reach 10 per cent of the number of cases of *ns > s*, that in which the number of B/V confusions was between 10 and 50 per cent of the number of cases of *ns > s*, and that in which the number of B/V confusions was higher than 50 per cent of the number of cases of *ns > s*. Like Barbarino (1978: 17–18) I do not find his methods convincing. It is in theory possible that in a (small) corpus (and the corpora from different provinces used by those attempting to deduce regional variations from inscriptions tend to be small) there may be (say) few words showing in their classical form intervocalic [w]. If there were, for argument's sake, just two such words, both with the misspelling B for V, the rate of error in the writing of -V- would be 100 per cent, but if those two errors were expressed as a percentage of the total numbers of errors (of types B to F: see above) the confusion of B and V might emerge as all but non-existent. Again, *ns* is not a particularly common consonant cluster, and it is not difficult to imagine a corpus in which few words potentially containing it happened to turn up. The frequency of the B/V error calculated by Herman's method as described above is dependent on the chance occurrence (or non-occurrence) in the corpus of words containing *ns*. The only satisfactory way of calculating the frequency of an error is to begin by identifying every single lexeme in the corpus that might have contained the error and to count the errors against correct spellings. But Herman deserves credit for the attention which he paid to the problems of method. He never studied an error in isolation, but always tried to put it in perspective by assessing it against the frequency of other errors. He used a comparative method which it might be possible to refine.

It is certainly not enough to calculate the incidence of an error province by province in the manner of Gaeng and his followers. The supposition that the differing frequencies of an error in different areas, measured against the frequencies of the corresponding correct spelling, may reveal differences in the Latin of those areas is highly questionable for various reasons.

The degree of error (expressed as a percentage) is at least as likely to reflect the educational level of writers as it is the state of the spoken language in a region.[26] Thus, while the same linguistic change might have taken place in two provinces, the writers whose efforts happen to survive

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[26] The same point is made by Herman ([1971] 1990: 125–6, [1985a] 1990: 70).

in one province might have been better educated than those working in the other. If, say, intervocalic B for V occurred in 30 per cent of cases in Africa but 10 per cent of cases in Spain in a large number of inscriptions of much the same date, could we conclude that thirty speakers out of every hundred in Africa merged the underlying phonemes but that only 10 out of every hundred in Spain did so?[27] That might be one possible cause of the variation, but without good reason for doing so it is unsafe in such a case to opt for the linguistic, as distinct from cultural, explanation. No one who has learnt to write spells phonetically all the time. Phonetic spellings when they do occur are always mixed up with correct spellings, and the proportion of the one to the other may merely reflect variations in literacy skills and not the frequency with which, say, V was pronounced as [β] in one region as distinct from another. The figure of 30 per cent need reveal no more than that of 10 per cent: there would be a presumption that in both places something had happened in speech to undermine traditional spelling, with one group of writers having a higher success rate in keeping to the old forms. The distinction between speech and writing is largely disregarded by Gaeng, Omeltchenko and Barbarino. Barbarino, for instance, is always quick to assume that spelling, even correct spelling, reflects speech. Having established, for example, that the confusion of B and V is rare in Britain, he leaps to the conclusion that the distinction between B and V in British inscriptions is a 'phonological feature', which distinguishes the 'Latin spoken in Britain from the Latin spoken throughout the greater Empire' (1978: 39). We need at least to consider the possibility that those responsible for the rather limited British corpus were of higher cultural level than drafters of inscriptions in some other areas (see below, 5.2). Gratwick too proceeds directly from the distribution of spelling mistakes to speech. After commenting on the incidence of the B/V confusion in the inscriptions of different areas he states (1982: 25): 'Together these observations

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[27] The percentages from which conclusions of this type are drawn by Gaeng and Omeltchenko are often far lower and less distinctive than those which I have just invented. I take two examples. Gaeng (1968: 68), dealing with the vocalism of the inscriptions of different parts of Italy, states: 'The almost 10% deviation in *No. Italy*, i.e. a 5% or so differential with respect to the other Italian areas during a comparable period, would point, it would seem, to a somewhat earlier merger of these two Latin vowel phonemes in this region.' A glance at the table on the preceding page shows that the percentage variations are slight and meaningless, and the tokens not numerous in any case. Even less satisfactory is the following remark by Omeltchenko (1977: 192): 'The total percentage of deviation for the three phonemes is 2.8%, calculated on 279 correct occurrences . . . and eight examples of deviation. This figure is <u>well above</u> [my emphasis] the figures derived for the percentages of deviation for African Latin (0.9%) and British pagan Latin (0.4%) and may well indicate that a merger [in Dalmatia] was going on.' The absolute numbers of errors in the three places mentioned on which these percentages were calculated are 3, 1 and 8.

are of material importance, because they point to a dialect difference within Imperial Latin.'

I conclude that a high percentage of errors of a particular type in one area compared with a moderate percentage in another or a low percentage in a third can tell us nothing about dialectalisation if considered in isolation. Nor is the failure to take into account the effect of variations in literacy the only deficiency of method to be found in statistical studies of Latin inscriptions. I list a few others.

First, percentages which look significant are often based on a ridiculously low number of tokens. For example, the percentage of cases of B for V in intervocalic position in Baetica, Spain (22.7) given by Barbarino (1978: 154) represents just five misspellings. The percentage is meaningless. Omeltchenko (1977: 104–5) states that long *e* is changed to *i* 'more in the closed syllable than in the open in Dalmatian Latin'. The percentages (same page) are 10 versus 3.9, not a significant difference in itself, but, worse, the numbers of tokens are two versus five. Gaeng, Omeltchenko and Barbarino did not investigate large corpora (such as complete volumes of *CIL*), but limited collections such as *ILCV*. This contains 5,000 inscriptions, but once these are divided up geographically the numbers from particular regions reduce to hundreds, and percentages supposedly showing variations in the rate of an error may be specious.

Second, there is a chronological problem raised by inscriptional evidence. Inscriptions of the type that contain spelling errors are often undated, and in counting misspellings in inscriptions from different regions scholars may be setting inscriptions of widely different dates alongside one another. Gaeng, Omeltchenko, Barbarino and Herman speak loosely of long periods such as the third to fourth, or fifth to sixth, centuries, or of the pre-Christian versus the Christian periods, but a small number of tokens scattered over several centuries is inadequate as evidence for regional variation. Barbarino, for example (1978: 52–3), discusses misspellings in verb forms of the type *requiebit* for *requieuit* in Dalmatia. He classifies the data into four categories, comprising examples of the fourth, fifth and sixth centuries, and undated examples. We are told that there is one case of *-ebit* for *-euit* in the fourth century, two in the fifth century and one in the sixth, with one undated (the five errors constituting 23.5 per cent of the total verb forms). Statistics of this character, recording a minute number of tokens across several hundred years, are not meaningful. The chronological difficulty inherent in such statistical comparisons is also to be seen if one contrasts two of Herman's observations about the B/V confusion. Herman ([1965b] 1990: 13) listed six corpora of Christian inscriptions which he used later

in the paper ([1965b] 1990: 19–22) in his discussion of the distribution of B/V confusions. In Rome, southern Italy and Dalmatia confusion is said to be common. By contrast, he states ([1985a] 1990: 80), confusion is almost non-existent in northern Italy, Gaul and Spain, 'surtout pendant la période <u>préchrétienne</u>' (my emphasis). But there is no point in comparing, say, Dalmatia in the late Christian period with Gaul in the pre-Christian period. The chronological basis of a similar argument by Gratwick is also problematic. Gratwick argues that in Gallia Cisalpina and the whole of the Transalpine region B for V is markedly rare, adding that 'it is not until the fifth century that examples become "common"' (1982: 32). Thus the linguistic change underlying the misspellings, though it did occur in Gaul, was later there than in some other places. But what are the early examples of confusion in the places where the confusion was widespread? A few pages earlier (27) Gratwick had stated that '[t]hroughout the second and third centuries, datable examples of these confusions are, proportionally, <u>exceedingly scarce at Rome itself</u>' (my emphasis), and yet Rome is presented (32) as a place where B for V was particularly frequent, under Greek influence (on which idea see below, 6.1). On this presentation the frequency of the phenomenon at Rome must be based on evidence either undated or later than the third century, and if we can use such late evidence for Rome why can we not use it for other provinces? It would be useful to know how many early inscriptions there are from Gaul, and the degree of spelling correctness that they show.

Third, there is the question of the origin of the writers of inscriptions. Statistical surveys are based on the assumption that the inscriptions found in an area were written by members of the local population. That assumption is unsafe. Inscriptions were often set up by military personnel, who moved freely around the Empire. In some eastern areas there were probably no established local Latin-speaking populations, but only traders or soldiers passing through; it is pointless, for example, to examine Balkan inscriptions as if they might show up features of 'Balkan Latin'. Even in the west writing that has survived may mainly have been done by outsiders to the regions in which it is found. Britain is a nice case in point. We know that much of the new Latin turning up at Vindolanda was not written by 'Britons'.

The three inadequacies of statistical studies just illustrated amount to much the same thing, and can be ascribed to a lack of what might be called 'coherent corpora'. By a 'coherent corpus' I refer to a body of texts about which we know something (as for example their date, authorship, provenance, educational level) and which belong together in one or more senses (geographically, culturally or in subject matter). I do not regard

as a coherent corpus a few dozen inscriptions of different types spread over two or three centuries and scattered about widely over a large area, whether Africa, Gaul, Spain or elsewhere. Most of the corpora used by those who have discussed (e.g.) the B/V confusion are in no sense coherent. Inscriptions separated in date by several centuries are lumped together, and we are rarely or never told anything about their dates, exact provenance, types or educational level. By contrast I would classify as coherent corpora the Vindolanda writing tablets and the Bu Njem ostraca (see VIII.7). Both come from small military outposts. Both are fairly accurately dated, to short periods, the first to the early years of the second century and the second to the late 250s. Both are written by members of identifiable military units. Both offer a snapshot of language use in a small area at a moment of time. They are a unity, in a way in which collections of inscriptions usually are not. Another coherent corpus comprises the British curse tablets (see IX.3, 4), though its unity is not as marked as that of the corpora just mentioned. In Britain curse tablets all come from non-military sites in the southern part of the country. Much the same formulae and terms recur. There is reason to think that they spring from a Celtic population which had taken up Latin (IX.4). They are generally dated to about the fourth century. The Albertini tablets are another such corpus (VIII.6). These too come from a small locality in North Africa, and are dated to a mere four-year period. All the tablets are on much the same subjects. If we had more such corpora we could compare snapshots, as it were, and a good deal might emerge about regional variations. I will make some use of these texts, but they are not well spread geographically.

In a coherent corpus even a single error may be illuminating because it has a context. In a corpus of inscriptions scattered about in place and time one is hoping to find a quantity of errors, given that an oddity without context might have a multitude of explanations. I illustrate my contention that, given a precise context, just a small piece of evidence may be revealing. In the Vindolanda tablets published down to 1995 there was not a single case of the omission of the aspirate *h* at the beginning of a word, but 111 cases of the aspirate correctly used.[28] Should we conclude, in the manner of Barbarino and others, that *h* was 'stable' in initial position at Vindolanda? The answer is no. In a letter dictated by the commanding officer Cerialis to a scribe (*Tab. Vindol.* II.234) there is a dictation error.[29] Cerialis intended *etiam* but the scribe first wrote *et hiem* and then corrected himself. It is

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[28] See Adams (1995a: 89–90).
[29] For the details see Bowman and Thomas (1994: 209), Adams (1995a: 90).

evident that Cerialis was likely to omit the aspirate in initial position in speech (at least in this word), but that a professional scribe would take the trouble to write it correctly even though he did not hear it. Here we see evidence of the way in which a good speller (the scribe was misled by the context, which has to do with bad weather) might conceal developments that had taken place in speech by his command of orthography. We do not know whether Cerialis always omitted initial *h*, or varied his practice from time to time, or omitted the aspirate in some words but not others. But this case does show that the general correctness of the corpus in this respect is not all that it might seem. It is highly unlikely that the well-educated Cerialis was the only speaker at Vindolanda who was given to the omission. Indeed the tendency for the aspirate to be dropped by those stationed there is now further confirmed by some cases of omission that have turned up at the site since 1995.[30] In a 'non-coherent' corpus individual items of evidence are not amenable to subtle explanations. Inscriptions represent a crude mass of data, and often only become numerically adequate if they are drawn from a very large area in which there would inevitably have been many localised variations which we cannot get at; scholars investigating such evidence are forced to adopt very broad geographical units as their fields of study, units corresponding for example to large modern political entities such as 'France', 'Britain', 'Spain' and 'Italy', in most of which it is certain that there would have been manifold regional variations.

4   A COMPARATIVE METHOD OF ASSESSING THE REGIONAL SIGNIFICANCE OF SPELLING ERRORS

Herman was well aware that the cultural level of the inscriptions surviving in one province might be higher than that of those surviving in another. He speaks of the danger that the investigator might be measuring degrees of culture and orthographic knowledge, not linguistic variation ([1985a]1990: 70). It is important, therefore, he states, to set the figure for one particular error against the number of errors of all other types, or at least against the number of errors of a selection of different types (see also above, 3). I agree in principle that the significance of one error can only be assessed in the light of other errors in the same corpus, though I have criticised above (3) the way in which Herman applied the principle. I intend here to test a variation on Herman's comparative method.

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[30] See Adams (2003b: 537).

The absence of an error from a corpus (or its marked infrequency) will be far more significant if the corpus is otherwise full of errors than if it shows a correctness of orthography across the board. If error *x* is well attested in Africa but not in Spain we cannot assume that the underlying sound change X had occurred in Africa but not Spain. Our Spanish corpus might be free of other errors as well, in which case we could only safely conclude that the corpus was the work of well-educated writers. If on the other hand it had an abundance of other errors but no sign of *x*, the case might be made that X had indeed not taken place in Spain. This comparative method of judging the significance of a correct spelling, that is by looking at the correctness of other types of spelling in the same corpus, can be nicely illustrated (though not in the context of regional variation) from the case of final *-s*. In many non-literary corpora *-s* is usually correctly written, but that in itself is unrevealing. But in the same corpora final *-m* is frequently omitted.[31] The treatment of the two final consonants in some corpora is so sharply contrasting that one cannot but conclude that in the speech of the writers final *-m* was lost but final *-s* retained. In the Bu Njem ostraca, for example, final *-m* is omitted forty-four times and written fifty-four times (but in eighteen or nineteen cases in the formulaic greeting *salutem*). Final *-s*, by contrast, is written 363 times but there is no certain case of omission.[32] It can with confidence be concluded that the Africans at Bu Njem articulated *s* but not *m* in final position in the word. Herman's idea of assessing the frequency of the B/V confusion around the Adriatic against the frequency of the change *ns > s* (see above, 3) was a good one, but I have suggested that his statistical method is open to criticism. He might instead have calculated the degree of the two errors. The frequency of B for V in the various Adriatic regions should have been established by comparing errors with correct spellings and presenting the errors as a percentage of the whole. The same should then have been done for *s* (< *ns*) versus *ns* correctly written. Finally a comparison of the relative frequencies of the two types of errors might have been made. I will not elaborate further on this case but will see what emerges from some other such comparisons below.

5 A COMPARISON REGION BY REGION

In this section I will look at the two misspellings identified above (2) across a number of regions. The aim will be as much to assess the workability of

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[31] For some details see Herman ([1985a] 1990: 81–2). See also Adams (1977a: 29–30, 1994: 106–7).
[32] See Adams (1994: 106–7).

the comparative method (and to consider the possible need for refinements) as to find evidence for regional variations in imperial Latin.

5.1 Gaul and Africa

According to Herman ([1983]1990: 158) there is marked confusion in the vowel graphemes *e* and *i* in Gallic inscriptions but considerable correctness in the writing of consonants. I here provide statistics taken from Gaeng (1968) and Barbarino (1978) to assess the relative correctness in Gaul of the writing of vowels on the one hand, and of V representing the semivowel [w] on the other. Barbarino and Gaeng used *ILCV* as their source of Gallic inscriptions. Both separated Lugdunensis from Narbonensis, and I follow them in this but also add the figures for the two provinces together for the sake of the comparison. Where vowels are concerned I establish the rate of error by comparing the frequency of *e* for short *i* with that of the correct use of *i*.

I stress again the principles of the comparison (see also above, 4). If there is a high level of correctness in the use of both sets of graphemes, the corpus will look like the work of competent scribes capable by their spelling ability of obscuring developments in the language. A corpus of this type is useless as evidence for regional variation. If on the other hand errors of both types are common, we can be confident that two different types of linguistic change had taken place to some extent in the province, one affecting the vowel system, the other affecting the semivowel. If it turns out that in other provinces as well both categories of error are frequent, then we have established nothing about regional variation. There is a third possible outcome of the comparison, and that is the one which arguably has the potential to reveal regional variation. If one of the two errors is frequent in the corpus but the other all but non-existent, it may be justifiable to conclude that one linguistic change had occurred in the province but not the other. If scribes or stonemasons committed one error often, their level of literacy was not high. If they avoided the other error entirely that avoidance could not be put down to spelling ability, but might be taken to suggest that the linguistic change underlying the error had not taken place where they were writing. It need hardly be pointed out that the significance of the absence of one particular error from such a corpus would be enhanced if the corpus contained not just one type of contrasting error but errors of many types.

The stonemasons of Gaul from the fourth to the seventh centuries will emerge below as incompetent in the writing of vowels but competent in

the writing of V, and that suggests that the changes affecting /w/ and /b/ were slow to take place in Gaul. Is it possible that writers who could not help betraying changes in the vowel system would be capable of concealing changes affecting /w/ and /b/, if those changes had taken place? Data of this type may open the way to the identification of regional variations. If we could find a corpus of texts of the same date from another province in which *i* representing short *i* was always correctly written but B and V often confused, we might be in a position to say that the state of the language in the two provinces differed, with the classical vowel system better preserved in the second place but certain consonants better preserved in the first. On the face of it there is such a contrasting corpus, from Africa. I first set out the details from Gaul concerning *e* and *i* for short *i* and B and V, and will then return to the reliability of such data. The question will have to be asked once the evidence is presented whether the comparative method as described in this and the previous paragraph may possibly be idealistic; see the final paragraph of 5.1.2.4 below, 5.1.3, 9, 12.

5.1.1   Gaul
The evidence for the B/V confusion and the use of *e* for short *i* in Gaul presented by Barbarino and Gaeng will be simplified here. I start with B for V.

5.1.1.1   B/V
Barbarino set out the evidence from Gaul in four tables, showing the incidence of B for V in different parts of the word, intervocalic (1978: 91), postconsonantal (1978: 94), in verb endings such as *requiebit* for *requieuit* (1978: 95), and in initial position (1978: 96). Within each table the evidence from Lugdunensis is separated from that for Narbonensis. The statistics are arranged in each table according to the rough date of the examples. There are three chronological categories, comprising tokens belonging to the fourth and fifth centuries, to the sixth and seventh centuries, and to undated inscriptions.

   The tokens are not numerous. I will first offer a rough and ready calculation of the incidence of B for V in Gaul, lumping together tokens in different positions in the word and in inscriptions of different date, and will then look in greater detail at the data.

   In Lugdunensis in the four positions listed above V is correctly used 331 times and replaced with B just nine times, a rate of error of about 2.6 per cent. The rate of error is low, but would be even lower if verb forms (of

the type *requiebit* for *requieuit*) were left out, as five of the nine errors are in that category. Without verb forms there remain four errors against 318 correct cases of V, a rate of error of 1.2 per cent. Both *requiebit* and *requieuit* existed as different tense forms, and stonemasons may simply have fallen into the wrong tense from time to time, as distinct from committing a phonetic spelling. I will cite figures for such verb forms in what follows, but am inclined to disregard them as possibly representing a type of error different from that investigated here.

In Narbonensis V is correctly used 262 times and replaced with B ten times, a rate of error of 3.6 per cent. If verb forms are left out there are 247 correct cases of V against seven cases of B for V, a rate of error of 2.7 per cent.

Overall in the two provinces there are 593 correct cases of V compared with nineteen errors, a rate of error of 3.1 per cent. If verb forms are omitted there are 565 correct cases of V against eleven errors, a rate of error of 1.9 per cent.

In the material considered by Barbarino from Gaul the B/V confusion hardly exists, but one feels some disquiet at the bundling together of tokens so widely scattered in time. I therefore turn to the material in Barbarino's first chronological category (of the fourth and fifth centuries). In the two provinces taken together in the four positions in the word listed above there are ninety-two correct cases of V in the earlier period, against two cases of B for V (one of them in a verb form). The rate of error is 2.1 per cent (or 1.1 per cent if verb forms are disregarded). Nothing much can be made of percentages based on such low numbers, but it is clear enough that in the earlier period, as later, mistakes are very rare.

In the second of Barbarino's chronological categories (of the sixth and seventh centuries) there are 164 cases of V correctly written, compared with five cases of B for V, a rate of error of about 2.9 per cent. There is no apparent diachronic change, but even if the figures had suggested one it could not have been trusted, given the paucity of tokens and their scattering over such long tracts of time.

There is a slight difference between the treatment of V in initial position (where, in Gallo-Romance, the reflexes of original /b/ and /w/ remained distinct) and that in intervocalic and other internal positions. In initial position V is written 478 times and B six (1.2 per cent), whereas in the various internal positions (intervocalic and postconsonantal) there are ninety-four cases of V correctly written and eleven cases of B for V, a rate of error of 10.4 per cent. There is perhaps a hint here of a proto-Romance distinction (with no confusion initially but some sign of a merger

elsewhere in the word), but the figures are so inadequate that no safe conclusions can be drawn from them.

It may be concluded that at least in this corpus there is little sign of the B/V confusion, but one is left wondering about the character of the faceless inscriptions that Barbarino has assessed. However, others too (using different data) have stressed the rarity of the B/V confusion in Gaul.[33] On its own this low incidence establishes nothing, because it is possible that Barbarino's corpus is correct across the board. I therefore move on to the vocalic error in the same corpus as investigated by Gaeng.

5.1.1.2   *e/i*

Gaeng (1968) divides the data for *e* versus *i* into numerous categories, giving separate statistics for each. Spellings in accented syllables are treated in a different chapter (I) from those in unaccented syllables (II). Separate figures are given for spellings in open (1968: 59–61) and closed (1968: 62–4) accented syllables, and where unstressed syllables are concerned spellings in initial (1968: 146–7), intertonic (1968: 151), penultimate (1968: 154) and final positions (1968: 160) are presented separately (I omit those in hiatus, which are a special case). Taking all these categories together one finds in the fourth to seventh centuries in the same corpus as that used by Barbarino forty-six cases of *e* written for short *i* compared with 106 correct cases of *i* in Lugdunensis, and sixty-one cases of *e* written for short *i* compared with 138 correct cases of *i* in Narbonensis. Proportionately the error occurs in 30 per cent of cases in both Lugdunensis and Narbonensis. I note in passing a remark by Omeltchenko (1977: 198): 'On the basis of Gaeng's figures, it appears that initial /ē/ and /ĭ/ of Gaul were in the process of merging, <u>this tendency being particularly prevalent in Narbonensis</u>' (my emphasis). The attempt to find dialectal differences within Gaul on the strength of inadequate figures is unacceptable.[34] Gaeng's table (1968: 147)

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[33] See Baehrens (1922: 80), Herman (1965b 1990: 19, 21, [1971] 1990: 130, [1983] 1990: 159, [1985a] 1990: 80; Herman uses phrases such as 'practically absent', 'almost non-existent' in Gaul), Gratwick (1982: 32). Gratwick (1982: 31) in fact notes forty-four cases of B for V in Cisalpina (*CIL* V) and Narbonensis (*CIL* XII), in 15,000 inscriptions, but describes the misspelling as 'markedly rare'. The total number of confusions which he observes in these two volumes is fifty-seven. It would be useful to have figures for the correct spellings. See further Pirson (1901: 61–2), listing examples but offering no statistics. It is possible that the misspelling is more frequent in the volumes of *CIL* than in Barbarino's corpus, but his are the only complete figures one has to go on.

[34] Here is another such example. Gaeng (1968: 275) observes that the spelling *i* for CL long *e* in open syllables is found in all areas, but adds the following: 'our percentage figures would seem to indicate that the area of the *Lugdunensis* – with 15.3% in IV/V century and 27.2% in VI/VII century material – is most "innovating" in this respect'. The implication is that Gallia Lugdunensis displays some sort of dialectal innovation. But a glance at the table (p. 50) on which this observation is

for initial syllable shows that *e* is written for *i* (= short *i*) five times in Narbonensis (against twenty-two cases of *i*) and twice in Lugdunensis (against sixteen cases of *i*).

The figures can be broken down further. In the earlier period (fourth and fifth centuries) in all positions of the word listed above (including stressed syllables) there are eighty-one cases of *i* (= short *i*) correctly written, against twelve cases of *e* for *i*, a rate of error of 12.9 per cent.

In the later period (sixth and seventh centuries) in all positions there are 163 cases of *i* correctly written, compared with ninety-five cases of *e* for *i*, a rate of error of 36.8 per cent. Errors seem to have increased in time. In penultimate syllables (unstressed) the change is most marked. In the earlier period in that position there are thirty-one correct cases of *i* against three cases of *e*, a rate of error of about 8.8 per cent. In the later period errors just outnumber correct cases of *i*, by 35 to 33, a rate of error of 51 per cent.

The frequency of the vocalic misspelling in Gaul is amply confirmed by Pirson's study of the Gallic inscriptions in volumes XII and XIII of *CIL*. Speaking of the misspelling in accented syllables Pirson (1901: 8) remarks: 'La fusion des deux voyelles *ĭ* et *ē* est surabondamment prouvée par les graphies en *e* pour *i* et en *i* pour *e* que fournissent en grand nombre les inscriptions de la Gaule.' There follow numerous examples of *e* for *i* in this position spread over several pages. *e* for CL short *i* is illustrated in even greater abundance from the various types of unaccented syllables at 32–6. Pirson (1901: 32) observes that Christian inscriptions of Gaul make such frequent use of this *e* that it has become 'la voyelle normale de la syllabe atone', and constitutes one of the characteristic traits of the language in the fifth and sixth centuries (in Gaul).

The misspelling showing *e* for original short *i* is thus very well represented in Gaeng's Gallic corpus, with signs of an increase in its incidence over time. It is a pity that the chronological divisions are so broad, a reflection of the inadequacy of the corpus. It is also to be regretted that details are not given about the nature of the misspellings. Not all instances of *e* for short *i* necessarily represent the same phenomenon. In a form such as *quase* (see Quint. 1.7.24) the *e* is unlikely to reflect the proto-Romance vowel merger but is an old-fashioned spelling ultimately derived from the long close *e* that sometimes developed from the original *ei* diphthong (see III.5, p. 151). In penultimate position, however (see above), it is likely that most misspellings are due to the merger of original long *e* and short *i* as a close *e*.

based shows that the percentages are meaningless. In the fourth- and fifth-century material used by Gaeng there are just two deviations (against eleven correct spellings), and in the sixth and seventh centuries just six (against sixteen correct spellings).

In a proper treatment the evidence would be set out in full and classified, and information given about individual inscriptions. Pirson (1901: 8–10) must be exempted from the criticism implied in this last sentence. He quotes numerous examples of the vocalic misspelling, and they do indeed all appear to be anticipations of the Romance merger rather than special cases of one sort or another.

5.1.2   Africa

From Africa there is superior evidence. Barbarino used the 755 North African inscriptions contained in *ILCV* (1978: 19). Omeltchenko used the same inscriptions in his study of vocalic spellings in Africa (1977: 49), and he arranged the material on the model of Gaeng (1968).[35] But there is now additional material from Africa. From here we have particularly good non-literary evidence, namely the Bu Njem ostraca and the Albertini tablets. Both of these, as was noted above, are coherent dated corpora, the first from the 250s, the other from the years 493–6. They offer a view of Latin in Africa at two different periods. In the first case the writers were Roman soldiers in a military base, but to judge by the names many of them were recruited locally. In the second they were landowners in a rural area. Both corpora are substantial in size, particularly the second. They provide a useful check on the conclusions suggested by the inscriptional evidence, and the results are striking. I start with inscriptions, dealing first with B/V and then with the writing of *e* for short *i*.

5.1.2.1   B/V

Barbarino's African statistics showing B for V are presented century by century from the third to the seventh, with figures for undated inscriptions given separately. I first follow the practice adopted above of combining the figures for the different centuries and those for the undated material. In intervocalic position B is written for V thirty-seven times and V correctly

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[35] Acquati (1971: 161–2, 165) lists several examples of *e* for short *i* in both stressed and unstressed syllables, and of *o* for short *u*, from the inscriptions of *CIL* VIII, but gives no idea of how frequent the phenomena are. The examples seem very few, given the size of the corpus. Omeltchenko's impeccable presentation of statistics is far more helpful. Lancel (1981: 278–80) makes out (without giving statistics but apparently drawing on Acquati) that vocalic confusions are common in Africa. There are two points that may be made about this claim. First, not all vocalic misspellings have to do with the structure of a vowel system; they may rather be conditioned by particular phonetic environments. For example, *uniuirsae*, discussed by Lancel at 279, merely shows the closing effect of *r* + consonant. Second, it is unsatisfactory to cite three or four tokens and to assert on that basis the frequency of vowel confusions. The corpus of African inscriptions is vast, and one needs information about correct spellings as well as incorrect if the significance of the latter is to be assessed. See also below, n. 39, for an error in Lancel's description of the evidence from Bu Njem.

written 119 times, a rate of error of 23.7 per cent (Barbarino 1978: 60). In postconsonantal position (1978: 63–4) B is written for V nineteen times and V correctly written forty-three times. The rate of error is about 30.6 per cent. In verb endings of the type *requiebit* for *requieuit* (1978: 67) B is written for V thirty-eight times and V correctly written thirty-five times, a rate of error of 52.1 per cent. In other verb endings (1978: 68) B is written for V five times and V correctly written eleven times. The rate of error is 31.2 per cent. Finally, in initial position (1978: 71) B is written for V seventy-six times and V correctly written 532 times, a rate of error of 12.5 per cent. It is obvious from the above figures that the B/V confusion was widespread in Africa (unlike Gaul), but it may be worthwhile to break the figures down further.

In the four internal positions listed above (intervocalic, postconsonantal, and two types of verb endings) V is correctly written 208 times and replaced by B ninety-nine times, a rate of error of 32.2 per cent. There seems to be a higher incidence of misspelling internally than in initial position (12.5 per cent: see above). I will return to this point below. On the other hand the figures do not yield much of interest if considered century by century. I would, however, stress that in Barbarino's corpus there is hardly any material from the third century, and no trace of B/V confusion. The Bu Njem ostraca date from the middle of the third century.

5.1.2.2 *e/i*

I turn now to the vocalic misspelling in Africa. The correctness of the African inscriptions in this respect presents a remarkable contrast with the marked frequency of the B/V confusion in the same corpus, and also with the high incidence of vocalic misspellings in Gaul as set out above. *e* for short *i* is hardly ever found in Africa. Omeltchenko (1977: 96) was prompted to say that this is an area which runs counter to the merger of the phonemes long *e* and short *i* which took place in much of the Romance world.

The figures are substantial. I give Omeltchenko's totals and percentages without excluding undated inscriptions, which throw up exactly the same result as the dated inscriptions. Omeltchenko, like Barbarino, presents the evidence century by century from the third to the seventh, with figures for the undated inscriptions given separately. In accented syllables (open) *i* for short *i* is correctly written 207 times and *e* used instead just once, a deviation of 0.5 per cent (1977: 96). Omeltchenko states (1977: 96) that the almost complete maintenance of short *i* in open syllables is indicative of a lack of merger of the two phonemes, but the accuracy of this remark needs to be assessed by the comparative method (above, 4). The correctness

in the writing of *i* might only mean that the corpus was written by well-educated writers, were it not for the frequency of errors in the use of B and V. The corpus is therefore not uniformly well spelt, and the above figures showing unvarying correctness in the use of *i* appear to take on the significance that Omeltchenko has given them. Similarly in accented syllables (closed) there are 242 correct examples of *i* against just three cases of *e*, a deviation of 1.2 per cent (1977: 98). Omeltchenko, following Gaeng but with a minor change of terminology, divides unstressed syllables into initial (1977: 190), intertonic (1977: 199), posttonic (1977: 208) and final, non-morphological (1977: 225); I leave out morphological confusions (1977: 226). Like Gaeng, he also has a category of vowels in hiatus, which I exclude. In the four types of unstressed syllables there are 971 correct cases of *i*, compared with only six cases of *e* for *i*. The rate of error in unstressed syllables is therefore 0.6 per cent. Overall in both stressed and unstressed syllables there are 1,420 correct cases of *i* representing CL short *i*, against just ten erroneous cases of *e* for *i*. The rate of error is just 0.7 per cent. The figures are so clear-cut that, taking them alongside the substantial numbers of confusions of B and V in the African corpus and the high rate of vocalic errors in the Gallic corpus, one is led to conclude that the typical Romance vowel merger in the front vowel system, which in the case of Gaul is foreshadowed in the inscriptions, had not taken place in Africa.

The correctness of the above vocalic spellings in the African inscriptions is further highlighted if one contrasts the frequency of another error discussed by Omeltchenko. The monophthongal spelling *e* of the original *ae* diphthong is extremely common in African inscriptions, in stressed syllables (Omeltchenko 1977: 352), initial position (in 68.1 per cent of cases, according to the table at Omeltchenko 1977: 357), and in inflections (Omeltchenko 1977: 364).

5.1.2.3   Non-literary documents from Africa

I now turn to the other evidence from Africa, that written on materials other than stone, the Bu Njem ostraca and the Albertini tablets. The educational level of the writing is low. In the ostraca spelling errors of practically every type abound,[36] and that is to say nothing of morphological errors, such as the use of the nominative as an all-purpose case form. For example, *e* is written for *ae* fifty-one times but the digraph used just fourteen times. I have listed (Adams 1994: 105–6) no fewer than eight types of errors affecting vowels in hiatus. Final *-m* is omitted almost as often (forty-four times) as

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[36] Full details may be found in Adams (1994: 103–8).

it is written (fifty-four times, of which examples eighteen or nineteen are in the greeting formula *salutem*, which is never misspelt).

B for V is also common. Cases of B for V (the spelling V for B does not occur) are listed by Adams (1994: 106), but these can be put into perspective by some comparative statistics. In the Bu Njem letters (74–117 on Marichal's classification, 1988), written in particularly bad Latin with numerous errors of spelling, syntax and morphology, there are twenty-eight cases of V correctly written compared with eleven cases of B for V (in all positions).[37] The misspelling occurs in 28 per cent of cases in a coherent corpus from a single milieu in the mid-third century. These figures can be broken down further. Most of the correct cases of V are in initial position (twenty of the twenty-eight).[38] By contrast most of the errors (i.e. B written for V) are in intervocalic position, i.e. seven out of eleven. In intervocalic position V is written correctly seven times (the eighth correct case of V that is not word-initial is postconsonantal, namely *Silluanus* at 95), but replaced (as we have just seen) with B seven times. Thus the rate of error intervocalically is 50 per cent, a high proportion. Though the number of tokens is small, it cannot but be concluded from such evidence that intervocalic /w/ had undergone a change in Africa by the third century. I refer to the observation made above (5.1.2.1) that in African inscriptions also the B/V confusion is less marked in initial position than internally.

Yet there is not a single case of *e* for short *i*, despite the fact (as we saw above) that vocalic and diphthongal misspellings of other types are commonplace. On a rough count I have found 183 cases of *i* correctly written for short *i*. It might be added that *o* for short *u* is also absent from the corpus.[39] There are, for example, numerous instances of an accusative singular ending *-u*, showing on the one hand the omission of *-m* but on the other the retention of the correct vowel grapheme.[40] If short *i*, as in other parts of the Empire, had merged with long *e* as a close *e*, or short *u* with long *o* as a close *o*, could such bad spellers have avoided betraying that development by at least the odd misspelling?

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[37] The eleven errors are in 84 (twice), 85 (twice), 89, 97, 101 (twice), 108, 110 (twice). The twenty-eight correct cases of V are in 76, 77 (twice), 79 (twice), 82, 83 (twice), 88, 89 (twice), 95 (three times), 97 (three times), 99 (twice), 104 (three times), 105, 106, 109 (twice), 110, 116.

[38] I class as 'initial' several cases where V is the first letter of the verbal root of a prepositional compound, as in *super-uenerunt*.

[39] See Adams (1994: 103–4). Curiously, Lancel (1981: 280), citing an article of Marichal, says that at Bu Njem there is a 'total confusion of *o* and *u*', a feature which is put down to the influence of Punic. *Fornus* for *furnus* is a special case, reflecting the conflation of *furnus* and *fornax* (see Adams 1994: 104).

[40] For the evidence see Adams (1994: 94 n. 50).

The conclusion suggested by the Bu Njem ostraca is supported by the Albertini tablets. Väänänen's discussion of the language (1965: 26–33) shows that every conceivable type of misspelling is common, with an incidence higher even than that in the Bu Njem ostraca. *e* for *ae* is constant, as is the omission of the aspirate and of final -*m*. Errors affecting vowels in hiatus are frequent.

For the confusion of B and V I do not have complete figures (but see below for some partial figures which I have compiled myself), but some eloquent details are given by Väänänen (1965: 29). Of intervocalic substitutions of B for V he notes that *olibe* (in various case forms) outnumbers *oliue* by 20:3 and that *dibersis* (etc.) outnumbers *diuersis* by 4:1. He also lists four other such misspellings in words which do not (it seems) ever appear in the correct form. On this evidence B for V between vowels markedly outnumbers V. The same substitution is also common at the start of words. *Bendo*, *bendimus* etc. outnumber *uendo*, *uendimus* by 70:53. Proportionately misspellings may be less frequent in this position than intervocalically (as at Bu Njem), to judge by the examples given. *Bictorinus* occurs four times but is outnumbered by *Victorinus* (sixteen times), and *bocabulis* occurs eight times in fifteen examples. Väänänen also lists inverse spellings (V for B) in both positions in the word. The degree of confusion is higher in the Albertini tablets than the Bu Njem ostraca.

Yet Väänänen notes no instance of *o* for short *u*, other than one in the expression *omnem pretio* (XXVI.10), which may be morphologically determined, in that accusative and ablative forms are often confused.[41] Similarly there are only two certain cases of *e* for short *i*, in *aurecularis* and *inutelem*, if Väänänen's presentation of the evidence is correct.[42] Väänänen also includes thirteen instances of *lateretis* = *latericiis* in this category, but this interpretation of *lateretis* is no longer accepted (see VIII.6.7). I stress the size of this corpus, as well as the quantity of errors of other kinds that it contains.

It may be useful if I add some statistics of my own. I chose some tablets at random (II.2b, III.3b, VI.12b, VII.14b, XI, XXII, XXV) and considered the degree of error in the writing of B/V and of short *i*. In these tablets B is written for V fifty-four times and V correctly used just fourteen times. The error turns up indifferently in initial position, between vowels and after consonants. By contrast in the same tablets *i* representing short *i* is correctly written about 182 times, compared with just one case of *e* for *i*, and that is probably to be treated as a special case (VI.12b *sibe*). This is

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[41] See Väänänen (1965: 30, 37).   [42] See Väänänen (1965: 26).

an old spelling, with the *e* originally representing the long close *e* which developed at an early period from the original *ei* diphthong (see above, III.5, p. 151). In tablet XI there are half a dozen singular verb forms ending in -*it* of the sort in which the *e*-spelling often turns up elsewhere, and in XXV such verb forms are even more numerous.

5.1.2.4 Conclusions

The extreme rarity of vocalic misspellings looks significant alongside the frequency of the B/V confusion. Equally striking is the confirmation provided by these two African non-literary corpora of the conclusion suggested by the African inscriptions. B and V are confused often in all these African sources, but there is hardly a sign of the front (or back) vowel merger that was to take place in most of the Romance world. The vowel system of African Latin must have differed from that of at least some other areas, particularly Gaul, on which we have concentrated here. On the other hand the merger lying behind the confusion of B and V seems to have taken place later in Gaul than Africa. The contrast between Africa and Gaul in both respects is marked, and points to a regional differentiation. There is a chronological overlap between the inscriptions of Gaul and Africa used by Gaeng, Omeltchenko and Barbarino, and both the Bu Njem ostraca and the Albertini tablets fall within the period of the inscriptions. The Bu Njem ostraca and the Albertini tablets, which are separated by almost 250 years, display the same features, frequency of the B/V confusion but absence of *e* for *i*, features not shared by the Gallic inscriptions. It is worthwhile to refer back to the statistics cited above from Gallic inscriptions of the fourth and fifth centuries, given that the Albertini tablets belong in that period. It was seen (5.1.1.1) that B was used for V in that period in Gaul just twice, alongside ninety-two correct cases of V; by contrast in my selective data from the Albertini tablets (see the end of the last section) B for V markedly outnumbers V correctly used. In the same Gallic inscriptions it was noted (5.1.1.2) that *e* was written for short *i* 25 per cent of the time, whereas in selected Albertini tablets *e* for *i* is non-existent.

The inscriptional material is not the only evidence for the nature of the African vowel system. Earlier (IV.4.2) some *testimonia* were presented, from Augustine and the grammarian Consentius. Augustine says that Africans could not distinguish between *ōs* and *ŏs*, which suggests that under the accent they pronounced the original long *o* and short *o* in the same way. The two words would not have been confused in most parts of the Empire, where, though phonemic oppositions of vowel length were lost, differences of quality between the long and short central vowels persisted. In most of

the Romance world CL long *o* merged with short *u* as a close *o*, whereas CL short *o* produced an open *o*. Augustine seems to be describing a different type of vowel system, one in which long and short *o* merged. Such is the vowel system of Sardinian (see 2.3), where all the classical pairs of long and short vowels merged. The inscriptional evidence from Africa is consistent with a vowel system of the Sardinian type.[43] Since short *i* is virtually never written with *e* it seems unlikely that it had merged with long *e* as a variety of *e*. Given that on Augustine's evidence the back vowel, short *o*, had merged with long *o*, it is likely that on the corresponding front-vowel axis short *e* had merged with long *e*, and short *i* with long *i* in Africa. The latter is a merger which would have had as its effect on the writing of the language the retention of *i* where CL had had a short *i*. There seems to be confirmation in the African inscriptions and non-literary corpora of Augustine's observation. I suggest then that African Latin had the same type of vowel system as Sardinian (see further IV.4.2), and that there was a regional distinction in this respect between Africa and, say, Gaul.

A possible reservation is that changes of vowel quality may be less readily perceived than consonantal changes and less often represented in writing. But the loss of phonemic oppositions of vowel length was a fundamental change, and its consequences do show up in writing in other places, and not only Gaul. There are two letters from Vindolanda in the same hand bearing the name of a certain Florus (*Tab. Vindol.* III.643), in which there are six cases of *e* for short *i* in final syllable and no cases of *i* correctly written in that position. The Vindolanda tablets are early by the standards of the inscriptions considered here. It does not matter that the writer was probably not British. Given the Batavian and Tungrian origins of the military units stationed at Vindolanda, he is likely to have come from the north-western part of the Empire, and wherever he had acquired the language a vowel merger must have been taking place, at least in final syllables. There are identical misspellings in another early imperial corpus from the north, the Vindonissa tablets from Switzerland (Speidel 1996). In these there are three instances of *dabes* for *dabis* (15.1, 31.1, 53.1), a form which also occurs three times in the letters of Florus, along with a third-person form, *dabet* for *dabit*. These cannot be classified as morphological confusions, as might have been the case if, say, *scribes* were written for *scribis* or *scribet* for *scribit*, because *dabes* and *dabet* were not existing verb forms that might have been confused with *dabis* and *dabit*. Again, there are nine cases of

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[43] The point is made a number of times also by Omeltchenko (1977: 196, 466–7).

e for short *i* in a third early corpus, this time from Egypt, the letters of Claudius Terentianus.[44] Five of these errors are again in final syllable, and of these three are in verb forms. It is a striking fact that in this small, coherent corpus there are also fourteen cases of B for V.[45] We do not know the geographical origin of Terentianus or of his scribes, but that does not matter. The important feature of the corpus is that it throws up at an early date abundant evidence for both confusions, B/V and *e*/*i*, and it thus presents a contrast with both Gaul and Africa, in each of which we have seen one confusion but not the other, with the confusion differing in the two cases. In one of our African corpora, the Albertini tablets, there are numerous cases of *i* correctly written in the final syllable of verb forms, and yet the vocalic confusion is non-existent. It seems reasonable to ascribe the absence of the error to the state of the language in Africa, not to a freak of orthography.

5.1.3 Further remarks about the comparative method

I have so far discussed the incidence of two different errors in several corpora. It has been argued that there is no point in considering the regional frequency of one error in isolation, because variations may reflect variations in the literacy of those responsible for the inscriptions in different areas. But by examining a second error we may be able to interpret the significance of the first, if only under restricted circumstances. If error 1 were frequent across the whole Empire with the exception of one region (A), where it did not occur, its absence from A might only mean that the texts were written by highly educated writers. But if another error, 2, were frequent not only elsewhere but also in A, it would be reasonable to say that the corpus of A was not the work of highly educated writers at all. The absence of error 1 would suggest that the linguistic change underlying it had not occurred in A. Comparison of the two errors would allow us to go beyond spelling to the identification of a linguistic feature of A.

But this comparative method cannot always work. I maintain that the method can only be revealing if there is a stark contrast between the frequencies of the two errors in the corpus. If error 1 is non-existent but error 2 (and ideally other errors as well) numerous, we can say that the avoidance of error 1 was not due to scribal competence. The writing of *e* for short *i* is indeed all but non-existent in our African corpus, but B for V numerous. If on the other hand error 1 were merely less frequent in percentage terms than error 2, that would not be sound evidence on which to base a claim

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[44] See Adams (1977a: 8).   [45] See Adams (1977a: 31).

that the linguistic change underlying error 1 had not taken place in area A. Percentages are unsatisfactory when they are based on small numbers of tokens, and the tokens available from *ILCV* are far from numerous. What would it show if the first error occurred 10 per cent of the time in the corpus, but the second error 30 per cent? Such contrasting percentages cannot reveal anything very precise about the state of the language. A figure of 10 per cent shows just as clearly as one of 30 per cent that a change in speech had occurred or was in progress. Different types of spelling errors cannot be expected to turn up with equal frequency in a poorly written corpus, nor can spelling ever be an accurate reflection of a spoken language. Bad spellers, pronouncing the language in exactly the same way as one another, will get things right with different degrees of success. Some may be especially prone to a particular spelling error, and others may make a special effort to avoid one type of error to which their attention has been drawn. I would suggest that a comparison of the incidence of two errors in a corpus can only throw up evidence of possible significance for our purposes if one of the errors is virtually non-existent but the other frequent.[46] Those who have studied Latin inscriptions have tended to treat as significant percentage variations of the type just used in my illustration, or even variations that are less marked, and they have usually not employed the comparative method described here at all: the frequency of single errors in isolation has been calculated for different regions of the Empire, as if it were linguistically meaningful that the B/V confusion occurred 10 per cent of the time in one place, 20 per cent of the time in a second, and 30 per cent of the time somewhere else.

Two reservations suggest themselves about the method used here. First, is it enough to assess an error in the light of just one other? I know of no statistical treatment of the incidence of a wide range of spelling errors in inscriptions from different regions (though we did see that there are important non-literary documents from Africa which have a diversity of errors), and that is why I have restricted myself to B and V and *e* and *i*, which have been dealt with in such detail by Gaeng and his followers. It is in theory possible that one of the two phenomena is a special case, such that, for example, its non-occurrence might be due to some extra-linguistic factor.

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[46] It must be added, however, that if a corpus with this pattern of errors were the work of a single writer the non-occurrence of one of the errors need not be significant. The writer might have had a personal obsession about getting one particular spelling right, against the trend of the spoken language. But if the corpus is the work of numerous hands it becomes less likely that a single persistent correct spelling among many errors of other types reflects an eccentric orthographic obsession.

Second, an arbitrary spelling policy adopted by a limited number of stonemasons' workshops might have produced an artificially high number of errors of a particular type. If, for example, a workshop somewhere followed the practice of writing *bixit* rather than *uixit*, that might have led to an inflated number of B/V confusions in our record for the place compared with confusions of *e/i*. Here is another potential weakness of purely inscriptional evidence (see also above, 3). Fortunately there are also some non-epigraphic documentary corpora, and the significance of these, particularly in Africa, is out of all proportion to their size. In Africa they give support to the evidence of the local inscriptions, and thus offer some justification for our not abandoning all hope of extracting something worthwhile from inscriptions.

We seem to have uncovered a difference between Gaul and Africa, but it is advisable to survey some other regions to see what emerges from a comparison of the two errors. I start with Britain.

5.2   *B/V and* e/ı *in Britain*

For Britain Barbarino and Omeltchenko used the same (limited) corpus consisting of 486 pagan inscriptions found in *RIB* and 77 Christian inscriptions found in Macalister (1945–9).[47]

B for V is hardly ever found in the corpus. Barbarino (1978: 31–6) notes 562 cases of V (in intervocalic position [1978: 31], after *l* and *r* [1978: 33–4], in verb endings [1978: 34] and in initial position [1978: 36]) but only four of B for V. Two of these four examples are in *RIB* 1 (*hominibus bagis bitam*), a stone which is considered to have been imported into Britain.[48] It can be added that B for V has so far failed to turn up in British curse tablets (or in the Vindolanda tablets). The phenomenon is virtually unattested in Britain.

In each of his tables Barbarino distinguishes between pagan inscriptions (of the first to the fourth century, with some undated cases) and Christian (of the fourth to the ninth century, again with some undated instances). If one disregards the Christian inscriptions, many of which are too late for our purposes, there remain in the earlier inscriptions 518 cases of V correctly written against just two cases of B for V, and those are the ones just referred to on an imported stone.

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[47] See Barbarino (1978: 18–19), Omeltchenko (1977: 49–50).
[48] See Smith (1983: 913 with n. 22).

Omeltchenko notes, across stressed syllables (1977: 96–9), and unstressed syllables embracing the initial (1977: 191), intertonic (1977: 200–1) and posttonic (1977: 209) positions, 784 examples of *i* representing CL short *i*, compared with only fourteen examples of *e* for *i*, a deviation of about 1.7 per cent. Omeltchenko follows Barbarino in separating the pagan from the Christian inscriptions, and the figures I have just given embrace both. In the earlier, pagan, inscriptions there are 743 cases of *i* correctly written against ten instances of *e* for *i*, a rate of error of 1.3 per cent.

Omeltchenko (1977: 196) suggests that Britain probably had the Sardinian type of vowel system, but such a conclusion cannot justifiably be drawn either from his survey of vocalic spellings or from a comparison of vocalic spellings with the use of V and B. The identical correctness of V and of *i* is open to the usual cultural, as distinct from linguistic, explanation. The small number of inscriptions considered might have been written by good spellers; it would be different if there were (e.g.) marked confusions of B/V to set alongside the correctness of vocalic spellings, as we saw to be the case in the African material. The point is lost on Omeltchenko, who asserts (1977: 191; cf. 196) that the correctness of vowel spellings 'is ample proof that no merger of the front vowels took place in the Latin of pagan Britain'.

But there is more to go on in Britain, as there was in Africa, namely writing tablets. I leave aside the Vindolanda tablets, which are unhelpful for our purposes, first because they were not written by members of an established British population, and second because their level of spelling correctness is so generally high that the absence of spelling errors of any one type reveals nothing about the speech of the writers.

More promising are curse tablets, which were written to some extent by ordinary members of the local population (see IX.4). I take into account here the four Uley tablets published by Tomlin (1993), the six Uley tablets published since 1993 (see above, IX.2 n. 13 for full references; here and below I give references to the 'Inscriptions' sections of *Britannia* volumes, by year and text number only: 1995, 1–4, 1996, 1, 1998, 1), a curse tablet from London Bridge published by Hassall and Tomlin (1987: 361), the ten miscellaneous tablets from scattered places published since 1993 and listed above, IX.2 (*Britannia* 1993, 2, 1994, 1, 2, 1996, 10, 1997, 1, 1999, 1, 3, 2003, 1, 2, 2004, 3), and finally the Bath curse tablets published by Tomlin (1988). I will look first at vocalic spellings and B and V, and then widen the survey by considering whether there is a significant degree of error in the writing of CL *-m* and *ae*.

Tomlin (1988: 74–5) notes a few cases of *e* for *i* in the Bath curse tablets (*nessi* 65.10, *san(g)uene* for *sanguine* 46.7). The curse tablet from London Bridge (1987, 1) has three instances of *uendicas* for *uindicas* and one of *numene* for *numine* (or *nomine*) in eight short lines. *Vendicas* anticipates the form of the reflexes in most Romance languages (see *REW* 9347). This text has five cases of *i* for short *i* alongside the four cases of *e* for *i*. Another curse tablet, from Uley (1996, 1), appears to have *manecilis* for *manicilia*. A Uley tablet (Tomlin 1993: 125, 4) has two cases of *nessi*. It was seen (5.1.2.4) that there is a cluster of examples of *e* for short *i* in a recently published Vindolanda tablet (III.643), though the writer is likely to have been an outsider to Britain. The examples of *e* for *i* noted here are not numerous, but then the corpus of British curse tablets is to date small. The evidence is beginning to mount that the usual merger had taken place in Britain but was obscured in the small corpus of inscriptions on stone by the general correctness of the spelling. Here again is to be seen the importance of new non-literary documents in allowing us to judge inscriptional spellings. It would now be unacceptable to argue, as Omeltchenko did, that Britain had a vowel system of Sardinian type. The one short curse tablet from London Bridge has more confusions of *e* and *i* than the whole of the Bu Njem ostraca put together.

But B and V are a different matter. In the twenty-one tablets listed above (i.e. not including the Bath tablets) there are forty-seven examples of V correctly written (in both initial and intervocalic positions) and no errors. Likewise in the Bath curse tablets there are no traces of the B/V confusion, as Tomlin has pointed out (1988: 75).

There seems to have been much the same state of affairs in Britain as that seen above in Gaul. There is evidence for the merger of short *i* and long *e* but none for that of *b* and consonantal *u*. But the corpus is not extensive and it is desirable to consider some other errors. If it turned out that *ae* and *-m* were always correctly used in the curse tablets the significance of the non-occurrence to date of B for V would be undermined.

Final *-m* is written sixty times in the twenty-one tablets and omitted six or seven times (1993, 2 *mola*, 1994, 1 *popia*, 1994, 2 *noue*; *fera* juxtaposed with *popia* may represent *ferream*, but there is an element of uncertainty; at 2004, 3 *ascia*, *scalpru* and *ma(n)ica* are all in a list and might have been conceived as nominatives, but even if so the second, a neuter, lacks *-m*).

The digraph *ae* turns out rarely to have been required. It is written correctly once in Uley 1 (Tomlin 1993) and at 2003, 2, and seems to occur at 1994, 1 in an unexplained series of letters, EAENEC. An uncertain term AENE. at 1995, 2 has it, and there are further cases in 1995, 4

(AEXSIEVMO, *Senebel[l]enae*). 1998, 1 has a largely illegible line contain-
ing the sequence SONAE. There is a likely counter example in the ending
of *incroinature* at 1999, 1, an unexplained word. *Que* for *quae* is certain at
1996, 1. There are seven instances of *ae* in this material, against one or two
of *e*.

  In the Bath curse tablets final *-m* is written correctly 121 times against
four omissions.[49] *ae* on my count is written twenty-eight times and replaced
by *e* five or six times.[50]

  The spelling of these curse tablets is better than might have been
expected, with the two learned graphs *ae* and *-m* outnumbering the phon-
etically determined substitutes. But there are some errors, and the spelling
in other respects is not perfect, and falls far short of the correctness of the
Vindolanda tablets. Yet B for V never occurs in curse tablets. There is a hint,
no more than that, that the merger had not taken place in Britain, but we
are at the mercy of chance discoveries, and the corpus is so far very limited.
An example or two of B for V would change the picture. Caution is also
prompted by what looks like a spelling of the inverse kind, that is V for B,
in the form *uissacio* for *bisaccium* (?) in a curse tablet from Ratcliffe-on-Soar
(*Britannia* 1993, 2). The term *bisaccium* is found in Petronius (31.9) and
reflected in Romance languages.[51] The gemination of the wrong consonant
(*s* rather than *c*) is one of the most common of spelling slips. The text has
a marked Celtic feel to it (see IX.7.7). The names of the victims are Celtic
(Camulorix and Titocuna), and the tablet also has the possible Celtic form
deuo for *deo* discussed earlier. It could not be maintained that this text was
written by someone from another province, though there remains a doubt
about the interpretation of the word.

  Finally, the evidence of loan-words into Celtic should be taken into
account in considering the status of *b* and consonantal *u* in Britain. Jackson
(1953: 89) observes that the usual Latin confusions are not 'reflected in
the loanwords in British, where Latin *v* and *b* were kept quite distinct',
and he cites in illustration of the retention of [w] *Veneris* >*wener* > Welsh
gwener and *ciuitas* > *ciwed*. *b* on the other hand went through a stage [ƀ]
then [v]. He repeats his dictum on the same page, with elaboration: 'Latin
v and intervocal *b* remained rigidly distinct in British, clearly because they
were pronounced in Britain as [ʉ] and [b] respectively . . . It is significant
that neither in the Latin inscriptions of Roman Britain . . . nor in the later

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[49] The omissions are listed by Tomlin (1988: 76).
[50] The figures that can be extracted from Tomlin's list (1988: 74) are marginally but not significantly
      different.
[51] See Adams (2003e: 18).

inscriptions of the Dark Ages . . . are there any examples of confusion of *v* and *b*.' Gratwick, however (1982: 18), dismisses the significance of this evidence. I quote: 'But this [i.e. the distinction maintained in loan-words between the reflexes of original *b* and *u*] is entirely insignificant in this context. British borrowers would always have reproduced initial Latin [b] with their own /b/, because it was a stop; and because there was no bilabial or dental voiced spirant in British, they would represent with British /w/ the first consonant of such words as Latin <VINUM, VITRUM> whether pronounced [wiːnum, witrum] or [βiːnum, βitrum]; whence in either case British [wiːnon, witron] but e.g. [buccaː] from Latin [bucca].'

5.3   Spain

Another area in which there is said to be little sign of the merger lying behind the confusion of B and V is Spain. Gratwick (1982: 31) notes seven deviations in *CIL* II (*Hispaniae*) in 6,300 inscriptions, comprising two cases of B for V in initial position and four in intervocalic position, and one intervocalic case of V for B. Herman likewise in several places emphasises the rarity of the confusion in Spain. At ([1965b] 1990: 19) he states that the percentage (of errors) in Spain is 'légèrement inférieur à 10%' (compare the figures of Barbarino given below). Later ([1985a]1990: 80) he remarked that 'surtout pendant la période préchrétienne' the confusion was almost non-existent in Spain. But doubts are raised about the accuracy of these figures by Carnoy's treatment (1906: 128–33) of the matter. He does not compile statistics but lists examples from Spain, and the deviations far outnumber seven. Barbarino's more precise figures may throw more light on the matter (see below). Once again I use a comparison to assess the significance of the B/V confusion, contrasting the frequency of B for V with that of *e* for short *i*. Both Gaeng and Barbarino give separate figures for Baetica, Lusitania and Tarraconensis. Desirable as it might be to allow for linguistic variation within a province, tokens are so few that the separation is unjustifiable.

  Barbarino's table (1978: 76) showing the frequency of B for V in inter-vocalic position in Spain has several errors. There is no heading to indicate that the table concerns the intervocalic position, and in the column listing numbers of errors B and V have been reversed. I give first the figures for B replacing V in intervocalic and initial positions (for the latter see Barbarino 1978: 83). In intervocalic position V is written correctly fifty-six times and replaced by B eleven times, a rate of error of about 16 per cent. In initial position there are hardly any errors (278 correct examples of V against two

of B). Overall in intervocalic and initial positions (334 correct examples of V versus thirteen cases of B for V) the rate of error is about 3.7 per cent. These figures can be supplemented by the figures for all such errors in interior positions, which include, as Barbarino has set out the material, postconsonantal examples (1978: 79–80) and examples in verb endings (1978: 80), as well as the intervocalic cases stated above; see also the table at 84. There are 134 correct cases of V against twenty-two of B for V, a rate of error of about 14 per cent. If the figures for interior positions are combined with those for initial, it emerges that there are 412 cases of V compared with twenty-four of B for V, a rate of error in this case of about 5.5 per cent. The percentage is not high but somewhat misleading, because misspellings in this corpus hardly occur in initial position, whereas in other positions they are fairly common. The contrast between the treatment of V in the intervocalic position and that in the initial is particularly striking.

The chronological categories used by Barbarino in this case comprise centuries IV–VI, VII and undated examples, and in the previous paragraph I combined the figures for the three. The broadness of the first category I assume reflects the lack of evidence. I now give figures for this first category alone. There are 245 cases of V correctly written, against seventeen cases of B for V. The rate of error is 6.4 per cent. In initial position there are 173 cases of V correctly written, against just a single error. By contrast in intervocalic position there are twenty-seven cases of V compared with six of B for V, a rate of error of 18.1 per cent. Overall in internal positions there are seventy-two cases of V correctly written, against sixteen cases of B for V, a rate of error again of 18.1 per cent. Again we see the contrast between initial and intervocalic positions.

I turn now to *e* for short *i*. Gaeng as usual separates vowels in accented syllables, open (1968: 59) and closed (1968: 62), from those in unaccented syllables, initial (1968: 146–7), intertonic (1968: 151) and penult (1968: 154); I exclude again examples in hiatus. He employs the same chronological divisions as Barbarino. I first combine his figures. In the three Spanish provinces taken together there are 292 correct cases of *i* (= short *i*), compared with twenty-two cases of *e* used for *i* with this value, a rate of error of 7 per cent. In the first chronological category (*s.* IV–VI) there are 175 correct cases of *i*, compared with sixteen cases of *e* for short *i*, a rate of error of 8.3 per cent. There is no significant chronological variation.

The relative frequency of B for V and of *e* for *i* in Spain is much the same, 5.5 per cent versus 7 per cent. The comparative method shows that it would be wrong to assert that B for V (or *e* for *i*) was 'rare' in this region, and to generalise from there about the state of the spoken language in Spain

compared with other areas. The lack of what I have called earlier a 'stark contrast' between the figures for the two different phenomena, along with the fairly low rate of errors of both types, suggests that this is a corpus written by stonemasons or drafters with quite good spelling skills. There is a sharp difference between the figures for Spain and those for Africa and Gaul. The high incidence of just one type of error in both the latter corpora suggests that the writers whose efforts have survived in these places were not adept at concealing phonetic changes by their spelling abilities; and thus their almost total avoidance of the other type of error (which differs in the two cases) implies that the underlying phonetic change had not occurred where they were working. By contrast the uniform figures for Spain are consistent with a conclusion that both phonetic changes had occurred there but that scribes were quite good at obscuring them. Worthy of note is the particular rarity of the B/V confusion in initial position.

5.4   Rome

Again I draw on Gaeng (1968) and Barbarino (1978), who both derived their Roman data from *ILCV*. In this case we see another contrast between the two sets of figures.

There is a marked degree of error in the writing of V. In intervocalic (Barbarino 1978: 138) and postconsonantal (1978: 140) positions and verb endings (1978: 141) V is written correctly 230 times and B written for V 176 times, a rate of error of 43 per cent. In initial position V is written correctly 680 times and replaced by B 325 times, a rate of error of 32.3 per cent (1978: 146). In all positions together the rate of error is 35 per cent. The figures show that a phonetic change had taken place, and also that the standard of spelling was not high. Barbarino in this case offers more chronological divisions (*s.* III–IV, V, VI–VII, as well as undated examples). The rate of error is high in all categories, and there is no point here in giving separate figures.

Where *e* for *i* (= short *i*) is concerned, Gaeng's figures (1968: 61, 64) show that in accented syllables (combining his figures for open and closed) there are 353 correct cases of *i* compared with only eight cases of *e* for *i*, a rate of error of 2.2 per cent. In unaccented syllables (and here as usual I combine the figures given by Gaeng for the various positions in the word, initial [1968: 147], intertonic [1968: 151] and penult [1968: 154]) there are 731 correct cases of *i* compared with thirteen cases of *e* for *i*, a rate of error of 1.7 per cent. Overall in accented and unaccented syllables together there are 1,084 cases of *i* correctly written against twenty-one cases of *e* for

i, a rate of error of just 1.9 per cent. Gaeng makes the same chronological distinctions as Barbarino, but again there is no need to go into greater detail.

The almost non-existent rate of error in the vowels when compared with the frequency of the B/V confusion is intriguing. For Africa there is evidence additional to that of inscriptions, in a comment by Augustine and in non-literary documents on materials other than stone, and it was argued that Africa probably had a Sardinian type of vowel system. It would not do to argue that for Rome, given that the usual vowel merger of long *e* and short *i* as a close *e* occurred in Italy.

5.5   Southern Italy

In intervocalic (Barbarino 1978: 106) and postconsonantal (1978: 111–12) positions and in verb endings (1978: 115) V occurs seventy times and B is written for V seventy-four times, a deviation of more than 50 per cent. In initial position V is written correctly 228 times and replaced by B ninety-six times, a rate of error of 29.6 per cent (1978: 123). Overall in all positions the rate of error is 36 per cent.

On the other hand in stressed (Gaeng 1968: 60, 63) and unstressed (1968: 147, 151, 154) syllables *i* (= short *i*) is correctly written 321 times and *e* used for *i* only nine times, a rate of error of about 2.7 per cent.

5.6   Central Italy

In intervocalic and postconsonantal positions and in verb endings V occurs ninety-two times and B is written for V twenty-two times, a rate of error of 19.3 per cent (for the page references to Barbarino see the previous section). In initial position V is written correctly 258 times and replaced by B eleven times, a rate of error of 4 per cent. In all positions together the rate of error is about 8.6 per cent.

In stressed and unstressed syllables *i* is correctly written 228 times (for the page references to Gaeng see the previous section). *e* replaces it twice, a rate of error of 0.8 per cent.

It is a curiosity that Omeltchenko (1977: 198) in reference to the 'Central Italian stability of [vowels in] initial syllables' raises the possibility of substrate (i.e. Etruscan) influence. But the treatment of the vowel we have been looking at is the same in Rome, southern and central Italy.

In northern Italy (the page references to Barbarino and Gaeng are the same again) in intervocalic and postconsonantal positions and in verb endings V occurs 123 times and B for V thirty times, a rate of error of almost 20 per cent. In initial position V is written correctly 490 times and replaced by B twenty times, a rate of error of 3.9 per cent. In all positions the rate of error is about 7.5 per cent.

In stressed and unstressed syllables *i* is correctly written 284 times, with *e* replacing it twenty-seven times, a rate of error slightly higher than that seen above in other parts of Italy (8.6 per cent).

It is worth noting an apparent distinction between northern and southern Italy which emerges from this section and 5.5 above. The B/V confusion is rare in initial position in the north, whereas it is common in that position in the south. The figures are as usual hard to interpret, but it is worth recalling (see above, 2.2) that in the Romance of Italy the merger of original /b/ and /w/ was general in the south, in that it affected initial position as well as the intervocalic, whereas in the north it took place only intervocalically. A bridge between the inscriptions considered here and the evidence of the later Romance dialects can be found in the early medieval period in Italian legal documents. B. Löfstedt (1961: 151–2) points out that in the *Edictus Rothari* (VII.11.7), written in northern Italy in the seventh century, confusion is only found between vowels. It has been shown by Politzer (1954: 96–7)[52] that in documents of the eighth and ninth centuries from southern Italy the confusion of B and V is not only intervocalic but found also in initial position and after liquids. His examination of documents both from the north and the south led him to this conclusion (1954: 97): 'This statistical picture of the eighth and ninth century documents shows quite definitely that the central Italian *lv,rv* > *lb,rb* development is part of a *b/v* merger which is general to the South, intervocalic only to the North of the Central Italian area.' The figures seem to establish the existence of a proto-Romance distinction in about the eighth century between the south and the north of Italy; and if Barbarino's figures are to be trusted that distinction is foreshadowed in earlier Latin inscriptions.

In intervocalic (Barbarino 1978: 50), postconsonantal (1978: 52) and initial (1978: 54) positions and in verb endings (1978: 52) V is

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[52] Cf. B. Löfstedt (1961: 155).

correctly written 255 times in the corpus used by Barbarino (*ILCV*) and also Omeltchenko (1977), and replaced by B twenty-one times, a rate of error of 7.6 per cent.

In accented syllables, open and closed (Omeltchenko 1977: 97, 99), and in unaccented syllables, initial (1977: 192), intertonic (1977: 202), posttonic (1977: 210) and final, non-morphological (1977: 225) there are 453 correct cases of *i* representing short *i*, and twenty-seven cases of *e* for *i*, a rate of error of 5.6 per cent. Again, as in Spain (5.3), there is not a stark contrast but a similar degree of error, and no conclusions can be drawn about the state of the language.

5.9   The Balkans

Omeltchenko (1977: 50) and Barbarino (1978: 19) as usual employed the same corpus. In intervocalic (Barbarino 1978: 40), postconsonantal (1978: 41–2) and initial (1978: 44) positions V is used correctly 240 times, and there are no cases of B for V.

There is also a high degree of correctness in the vowel spelling. In the positions listed in the previous section Omeltchenko (1977: 98, 100, 193, 203, 211, 225) found 354 correct cases of *i* representing short *i*, against just seven cases of *e* for *i*, a rate of error of just 1.9 per cent. The lack of a contrast between the two figures suggests that the inscriptions were written by stonemasons or drafters with an ability to spell. The absence of errors did not prevent Omeltchenko (1977: 193) from asserting, on the basis of five misspellings of assorted types, that the Romance merger of 'the front phonemes /ĭ/, /ē/, /ĕ/ in the Balkans was evolving in the fourth century or thereabouts'.

5.10   Conclusions

Judged by the criteria described at 5.1.3 above the inscriptions of Britain and the Balkans provide no worthwhile evidence concerning regional variation. In both corpora errors are hardly found in the writing of either *e*/*i* or B/V. The inscriptions seem to be well written, and there is no knowing what features of the local language scribes have obscured. To argue on this evidence that British Latin had a vowel system of Sardinian type would be implausible. Also uninformative are the inscriptions from Spain and Dalmatia. In these there is a higher degree of error, but not the sharp contrast in the frequency of the two errors that we have been looking for. The figures for northern Italy at first glance resemble those for Spain and

Dalmatia, but we did note (5.7) a suggestive variation in the incidence of the B/V confusion in different parts of the word. The inscriptions of central Italy present a contrast of sorts, but it is not sharp enough to justify linguistic generalisations. There is, however, more to be said about Britain, to which I will return below.

The remaining regions, in which there is a contrast of the desired type between the frequency of the two errors, are Gaul, Africa, Rome and southern Italy. A crucial point must be made about the distribution of the two errors in these places. If error 1 were non-existent everywhere and error 2 common, again there would not be evidence for regional variation. The linguistic change underlying error 1 might have been lagging behind that underlying error 2, not just here and there but everywhere. It is a different matter if error 1 is non-existent in one place but error 2 in another, and if in both places the second error is frequent enough to show that scribal competence was not high. We have established what looks like a significant difference between Gaul and Africa. In Gaul the vocalic misspelling is common but the B/V confusion rare. In Africa on the other hand the B/V confusion is common but the vocalic misspelling almost non-existent. We were able to highlight the oddity of the African situation by citing (5.1.2.4) a coherent corpus from Egypt (the letters of Claudius Terentianus) in which there are abundant cases of both types of errors. On this evidence there would appear to have been a regional variation, with the vowel systems in particular of Gaul and Africa differing over a number of centuries. A considerable part of Italy seems to align itself with Africa, though there linger some doubts about the Italian evidence concerning the vowel system (see below). What is most striking about Rome and southern Italy is the very high rate of error in the writing of V. In the whole of Italy (particularly Rome and the southern and central areas) the vocalic confusion is rare, whereas the B/V confusion is common in just the two regions, Rome and the south. It was seen above (5.7) that some early medieval documents from Italy already display a geographical split in the treatment of B and V in different parts of the word, of a sort which was to show up in Italo-Romance; and that split seems to be foreshadowed in the Latin inscriptions. The above survey of numerous provinces turned up several places in which there was a sharp variation in the incidence of the B/V confusion in word-initial position versus word-internal (5.1.1.1, 5.1.2.1, 5.1.2.3, 5.3, 5.6, 5.7).

I return to Britain, which on the inscriptional evidence would have to be eliminated from consideration. But the curse tablets which are now turning up are giving a different picture. Changes in the vowel system, of

which there is little sign in the inscriptions, are in evidence in the tablets, not least in one which has a cluster of examples of *e* for *i* suggestive of the typical proto-Romance front-vowel merger. On the other hand there is still no trace of B for V, despite the fact that the curse tablets are not uniformly well spelt. Britain on the strength of this new evidence seems to be aligned with Gaul, in having a vowel system in which short *i* and long *e* had merged, and in retaining [w]. The absence of the B/V confusion has of course been observed before, but in isolation. The vocalic misspellings now turning up are suggesting that the lack of cases of B for V may have some significance. It has to be said, however, that not many tablets have been published to date, and the picture may change. This case also highlights the unsatisfactory nature of inscriptions as evidence for the phonological system of the language. More effort goes into the drafting of an inscription intended to be on permanent display than into the writing of a private, even secret, document such as a curse tablet. Inscriptions are also difficult to date, and may throw up sufficient tokens of misspellings only if there is a lumping together of specimens widely scattered both in time and space.

The evidence from Africa is particularly good, because from there we have not only inscriptions but also two precisely dated non-literary corpora of known provenance, which abound in all types of spelling errors other than those which might be taken to reflect the proto-Romance vowel mergers. The correctness of this one type, contrasting with the high number of errors of other types (not least in the use of B and V), and also the observation by Augustine about the confusion of the words for 'bone' and 'mouth' in Africa, suggest that the usual types of vowel mergers had not taken place in Africa; and in this there seems to be a contrast with Britain and Gaul.

The material from Rome and southern Italy is difficult to interpret. The Romance evidence, which shows that the usual vowel mergers occurred in Italy, casts doubt on the reliability of the sketchy inscriptional evidence used by Gaeng and Barbarino. Unfortunately we do not have from Italy the types of non-literary documents found in Britain and Africa, and I am inclined to treat the impression given by the (very incomplete) inscriptional survey as unreliable (see above on the unreliability of British inscriptions).

A statistical survey of spelling errors ought to adhere to the following principles. The frequency of an error should be calculated as a proportion of the number of corresponding correct spellings. The frequency of one particular error should not be calculated in isolation. The degree of correctness of other spellings in the corpus needs to be established to provide a comparison with the spelling under investigation. The more numerous the other types of spellings used in the comparison the better. Finally, it is

a desideratum that the survey should examine non-literary documents as well as inscriptions on stone, because there are so many uncertainties about the provenance, date and authorship of inscriptions. But this is an ideal which often cannot be fulfilled, because of the poor survival of non-literary documents.

I now consider another aspect of the B/V confusion which might seem relevant to regional variation, namely its supposed cause. I will then move back to the vowel system and to various case studies undertaken by Herman.

6 ALLEGED CAUSES OF THE MERGER OF /b/ AND /w/

Substrate influence or, more generally, the influence of language contact, is a determinant of regional variation much favoured by classicists. If a linguistic change needs explanation there is usually another language to hand which caused it. The mechanisms by which contact might have effected the change are usually disregarded, and the contact language need not even survive to justify the powers it is accorded. The case of B and V has proved a happy hunting ground in this respect, with a variety of other languages allegedly causing the confusion. Contact with Greek, Oscan, Etruscan, Sabine and even 'Libyan', a language which, if it existed, is unattested except in a few incomprehensible inscriptions which provide no information about its phonology, has been proposed as the background to the misspellings of B and V. I start with Greek.

6.1   The influence of Greek

The idea that Greek was responsible is not a new one, but it is associated now particularly with Gratwick (1982). Earlier it had been stated by Politzer (1952: 215). Gratwick (1982) sets up a regional variation in the treatment of B and V. Confusion of B and V, it is said, is rare in the western (Celtic and Germanic) provinces, but found more often in those areas where Greek was a powerful presence. Thus by implication the Empire was split into several zones, with the influence of Greek the main determinant of the confusion in some regional forms of Latin. This opinion has been influential. Tomlin (1988: 75), for example, refers to Gratwick's demonstration that confusion 'was rare in all the western provinces until the fifth century, and that in Italy it tends to occur where Greek was widely spoken'.

I quote Gratwick's own conclusions (1982: 32): 'There is a significant local variation in its incidence [i.e. B/V confusion]. It is most frequent in those parts where we must reckon with Greek as a major language (especially

Rome, Ostia, and environs; south Italy and the islands). In Gallia Cisalpina and in the whole of Transalpine Europe <B> for <V> is markedly rare.' Earlier he had listed (as places where the confusion was exceedingly rare) 'Britain, the Spains, the Gauls, the Germanies, and Cisalpina' (1982: 25). Where Italy was concerned he had stated on the same page that 'it is in those parts where the speaking of Greek was particularly important and deeply rooted that we find the intervocalic spellings <B> for <V> (fairly common from the third century) and <V> for <B> (rare before the fourth century)'. There is then a generalisation (1982: 25): 'The variation is sufficiently well marked to imply a material difference between Transalpine Latin in general and the Latin of more directly Hellenized parts of the Empire.' The question whether correctness of spelling can be taken to imply that the writers were speaking as they spelt is not really considered. The background to the Greek influence is stated at 32 (point 9): 'Greek in Imperial times had neither [b] nor [w], only [β]'. The implication seems to be that Greeks using Latin might have been responsible for merging Latin [b] and [w] as [β]. There are indeed Greeks who write Latin in Greek script using β to represent both CL /b/ and /w/. A case in point is a certain Aeschines Flavianus, who in the second century wrote a receipt recording the sale of a female slave in the Latin language but Greek letters.[53] He used β for both *b* and consonantal *u*, except in writing his own name (Φλαουιανός). But evidence of this kind is difficult to interpret. Did Aeschines use the one letter for both original Latin phonemes because he, as a Greek, failed to make a distinction between what were still two phonemes in Latin? Or had he heard Latin speakers now using just a single phoneme? For the sake of argument I accept here at face value the idea that Greeks speaking Latin might have merged the two Latin phonemes, without trying to sort out the circularity of argument that is implicit in discussions of the Greek *beta* and Latin *b* and *u*. I merely note that the view that in later Greek β represents not a bilabial stop /b/ but a bilabial fricative is partly based on the evidence of transcriptions of Latin.[54] The real question is whether, if we allow that Greeks did merge Latin *b* and consonantal *u*, the case can be sustained that the widespread spelling confusions in imperial Latin between B and V (and the mergers, such as they are, in the Romance languages) can ultimately be traced back to the influence of Greeks or bilinguals speaking Latin.

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[53] For the text see *SB* III.1.6304; also Adams (2003a: 53).

[54] Gignac (1976: 68) accepts without discussion that Latin consonantal *u* represented a bilabial fricative by the imperial period, and therefore concludes that, since in Greek β was now used to transcribe Latin consonantal *u*, therefore the letter β in Greek represented a bilabial fricative. But we do not know the precise phonetic value of B and V in imperial Latin or the possible variations.

Gratwick's case is based on the distribution of the B/V confusion: it fails to occur in areas where Greek was not spoken but is common in those where it was. But various objections can be raised to this argument.

First, no account is taken of Africa. Africa (if one leaves aside Cyrenaica and Egypt) was not a predominantly Greek-speaking region but it is a place where the confusion of B and V is as well attested as anywhere, and from an early date (see above, 5.1.2.1, 5.1.2.3). The soldiers stationed at Bu Njem in the middle of the third century almost certainly spoke Punic or Libyan (see below). There is no reason to think that they were hellenised to the extent that a phonetic feature of Greek had been transferred into their Latin. The confusions in Africa cannot be put down to Greek influence. Those attached to substrate influence as the main determinant of linguistic change would have to find another language as influential in Africa, thereby multiplying hypotheses.

Second, the confusion is attested not only in southern Italy and at Rome, areas where its frequency might seem to fit in with the hypothesis, but also in Spain, northern Italy and central Italy, even if it is not as frequent there. In these last three regions the rate of error in the use of intervocalic V (the position which Gratwick refers to specifically in one of the passages quoted above) was in the range 16 to 20 per cent. It was also noted (5.3) that Gratwick's statistics for Spain (showing just seven errors in *CIL* II) are at variance with the findings of Carnoy (1906: 128–33), who lists far more errors in Spanish inscriptions.

Third, there remains some uncertainty about the extent of the confusion in Gaul. Gratwick himself found what seem to be fairly numerous cases of confusion (fifty-seven) in Gaul (see 5.1.1.1 n. 33), but did not provide comparative figures for the correct spellings. He also used a problematic chronological argument in playing down the significance of the Gallic evidence (see 3, p. 633).

6.2   *Other substrate languages*

The frequency of the B/V confusion in Rome and southern Italy led inevitably to the claim that it was Oscan-inspired.[55] The theory has found no favour and has been widely criticised.[56] I quote Politzer (1952: 213–14) on its drawbacks: '[T]here is no good reason for assuming an Oscan substratum for all of Sicily, Sardinia or Southern Italy and further, the Oscan

[55] See Terracini (1935–6).
[56] See Politzer (1952: 213–14), B. Löfstedt (1961: 157–8), Herman ([1965b] 1990: 21, [1971] 1990: 135), Väänänen (1966: 52). Barbarino (1978: 133) mentions the theory without expressing disapproval.

theory makes a clear case for a *b* substitution for *v* only in those words in which the Latin *v* is the reflex of an IE labialized velar. In all those words . . . the corresponding Oscan reflex is *b*: *guenio > Latin *uenio*, Oscan *benio*, etc. But in all the words in which Latin *v* is derived from the IE semivowel, the Oscan reflex is also the semivowel: Latin *via*, Oscan *vea*, etc . . . Thus, Oscan could not account for the *b* in *berecundus . . ., bia, biatores . . ., betranus . . .*, etc.'

Politzer (1954: 93) also rejects a theory that the change *rv* > *rb* in the central Italian area was due to Etruscan influence.[57] I see no point in going into details.[58]

It has been suggested that African 'betacism' was due to 'Libyan' influence.[59]

B. Löfstedt (1961: 157) refers to another theory that 'Sabine' influence was a factor.

It is not my purpose here to discuss the reason for the B/V confusion; I am concerned only with its regional distribution. Some have sought to explain it as representing a development internal to Latin. For attempts to account for the phenomenon internally see Herman (2000: 45–7), referring to a more general 'weakening' of intervocalic consonants and a 'crisis' that affected all the labials (cf. id. [1971] 1990: 131 on the 'crise des labiales'; also B. Löfstedt 1961: 150, 158 for a similar way of looking at the problem). Baehrens (1922: 79) saw change as initiated by specific phonetic environments.[60]

Theories about the causation of the B/V confusion have not contributed anything worthwhile to the question of the distribution of the phenomenon. I revert now to vocalic misspellings, and in particular to an assessment of some of the influential case studies of Herman.

7 VOCALIC MISSPELLINGS AGAIN

7.1 The 'Roman accent' and its alleged effects

Herman ([1965b] 1990: 22–4) in a discussion of vocalic misspellings (described generally as confusions between *o* and *u* and *e* and *i*) argued that he had uncovered a marked distinction between Gaul and Rome in one respect. He set out to generalise therefrom about the nature of the

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[57] Against, see also B. Löfstedt (1961: 157).
[58] For bibliography on the matter (including works by Rohlfs and Merlo, both of whom have come up before in controversy about substrate influence) see Politzer (1954: 97–8, nn. 1–3).
[59] See Lancel (1981: 281 with n. 2).
[60] See further Väänänen (1966: 52), Herman (1990: 22), Politzer (1952: 214–15), Leumann (1977: 159).

'Roman accent'.[61] He argued that vocalic confusions of the above type are much rarer under the accent at Rome than in Gaul (22 'beaucoup plus rares sous l'accent à Rome qu'en Gaule'). In Gaul (23) they occur without distinction in both accented and unaccented syllables, whereas at Rome vowels in accented syllables 'semblaient offrir une certaine résistance'. This leads to the conclusion that 'l'accent d'intensité était à notre époque plus énergique à Rome que dans les provinces, surtout en Gaule'.

But there are some problems. First, I have argued above (3, 5.1.3) that a percentage of confusions of, say, 10 per cent may be as revealing as a figure of, say, 30 per cent, with the variation explicable from variations in the educational level of different writers. A glance at Herman's percentages shows that they establish nothing substantial. The percentage (of confusions under the accent: see below on what is meant by 'percentage' in this context) is 27.6 in Gaul and 14.3 at Rome. These figures show that accented vowels were affected at Rome just as in Gaul; the difference between the percentages is not compelling. Only if there were no errors at all at Rome might one contemplate the possibility that there was something distinctive about the Roman accent. Second, the method used by Herman to produce his percentages is unsatisfactory. What he ought to have calculated is the percentage of errors as compared with correct spellings under the accent in the two places. The figure achieved in that way might have been compared with the percentage of errors versus correct spellings in unstressed syllables in the two places. Instead he counted the number of spelling errors in both stressed and unstressed syllables, with no reference to correct spellings, and calculated therefrom the percentage of errors occurring in stressed as against unstressed syllables. Third, no information is given about the nature of the texts examined. It would not be justified to conclude from such evidence that the Latin accent of Rome differed from that of Gaul.

It is worth comparing the figures for Rome and Gaul that may be extracted from Gaeng's survey (1968). As usual I concentrate on the percentage of errors showing *e* for short *i*, making a distinction between confusions in accented and in unaccented syllables.

At Rome (see 5.4) in accented syllables, open and closed, there are 353 correct cases of *i* representing short *i* in Gaeng's corpus, compared with eight cases of *e* for *i*, a rate of error of 2.2 per cent. In unaccented syllables there are 731 correct cases of *i*, compared with thirteen cases of *e*, a rate of error of 1.7 per cent.

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[61] The Roman accent is also loosely at issue in Herman ([1982] 1990: 217–31), a paper on errors of versification in African and Roman epigraphic poems. I do not find the statistical distinctions made between the two corpora in this paper decisive, and will not deal with it in detail here.

In Gaul (Narbonensis and Lugdunensis) in accented syllables there are ninety-five correct cases of *i* in Gaeng's corpus, compared with forty-two cases of *e* for *i*, a rate of error of 30 per cent. In unaccented syllables (initial, intertonic, penultimate and final: see above, 5.1.1.2 for references to Gaeng) there are 149 correct cases of *i*, compared with sixty-five cases of *e* for *i*, a rate of error of 30 per cent.

In the two regions there is no percentage difference in the rates of error in accented versus unaccented syllables. Confusion is much more common in Gaul than at Rome, as we have already seen, but there is nothing distinctive about the behaviour of vowels in accented syllables.

7.2   The Danubian provinces

In 1968 Herman wrote a paper in Hungarian on vocalic confusions in the Danubian provinces. He translated the piece himself for the collection of 1990, and it is that version which is cited here. Herman remarked (1990: 108) that Mihăescu (1960; the French version of this work had not yet appeared) had found the Latin of the Danubian provinces (Noricum, Pannonia, Dalmatia, Dacia and Moesia) to be a unity, indistinguishable from that of the rest of the Empire. Herman took the investigation further by making some comparisons between Pannonia, Regio X Italiae, Dalmatia and Dacia, concentrating on confusions of *e* and *i* and *o* and *u* (i.e. short *u*). I disregard the latter pair and mention here only the front vowels. The corpus examined (1990: 116) comprised 5,000 inscriptions from Pannonia, 3,000 from Dacia, 7,500 from Dalmatia and 6,000 from Regio X Italiae. The upshot of the investigation (see the tables at 1990: 111) was that considerable numbers of examples of *e* for short *i* were found, particularly in unstressed syllables, in Pannonia, Regio X Italiae and Dalmatia, but hardly any in Dacia. Dacia is presented as the odd province out (1990: 118). Absolute figures (of errors) are given, not proportions: correct spellings were not counted. I would not question the accuracy of the figures, but it is not clear that they can establish much. Dacia was an area where many inscriptions may have been the work not of an established Latin-speaking population but of outsiders, or speakers of other languages trying to use Latin as a second language. What is needed is an analysis of the texts themselves, and information about the origin of writers, about the dates of the inscriptions, and particularly about their level of correctness in other respects. It would not do on the basis of the information given to conclude that the vowel system of Dacia was particularly conservative, but note Herman (119): 'Avec son vocalisme nettement plus conservateur, la Dacie

constitue une unité qui se sépare assez nettement de cette région "adriatico-pannonienne".' Herman briefly addresses the question whether the Dacian inscriptions might have been generally correct. He concludes that they were not, basing himself on brief remarks about the simplification of geminates.

7.3   *Vocalic spellings around the Adriatic coast*

A comparative study was made by Herman ([1971] 1990: 138–45) of the Adriatic region, which deals mainly with confusion in the back vowel system (which he refers to as O–V). Many graphic confusions of this kind, as Herman points out (1990: 138–9), do not reflect a merger of long *o* and short *u* but are due to a variety of special factors.[62] Herman aimed to eliminate special cases and to restrict himself to cases that might reflect changes in the back-vowel system. The error which he uses in this study as the basis of comparison is the confusion of *e* and *i*, i.e. mainly the confusion of long *e* and short *i* which lies behind the close *e* of most of the Romance languages. *e* and *i* are confused far more commonly than *o* and *u*, and it has usually been held that changes in the back vowels postdated those in the front (see above, 2.3). Statistically, in a piece of text *e* and *i* are about twice as numerous as *o* and *u*, and spelling confusion reflecting changes in the vowel system would be expected to affect *e* and *i* more often than *o* and *u* (Herman 1971] 1990: 139).

The area examined consisted of the 'littoral adriatique', that is the whole region on the right-hand side of Italy from the heel up to the top and then down the coast of Dalmatia. A map is presented (1990: 140) divided into three main zones: (1) that in which, in the pre-Christian period, there are confusions of *e* and *i* but no confusions of *o* and *u*; (2) that in which the proportion of confusions of *o* and *u* to those of *e* and *i* is lower than expected; and (3) that in which the proportion of confusions of *o* and *u* to those of *e* and *i* is exactly that expected. The area of the third class is Regio X, at the top of the Adriatic around Aquileia.

Hardly any figures are given, either of tokens or as percentages. It is not made clear whether the frequency of errors affecting *o* and *u* versus those affecting *e* and *i* was calculated merely by counting errors of the first type against those of the second, or whether correct uses of *u* and *i* were set against the incorrect uses in order to produce percentages of errors of the two types; I assume, in the absence of indications to the contrary, that the

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[62] See Adams (1977a: 9–10) for the special factors in the letters of Terentianus producing such spelling variations.

first method was used. The only figures stated are at 142. There Herman mentions that there are thirty-seven errors (in the use of *o* and *u*) in Regio X and twenty-four in Dalmatia, having said that these are the only two regions in which the figures are sufficiently high to permit a classification according to whether the error is in a stressed or unstressed syllable. These are low numbers, and they raise doubts about the reliability of the survey. It is not convincing on the basis of low figures to make a distinction as subtle as that between an area in which the confusion is lower than expected, and one in which confusion is that which might have been expected. Chronology also comes into it. The confusions attested in the different regions are not necessarily of the same date. Herman ([1971] 1990: 142) treats the whole period from the first to the fourth century as an undifferentiated unity, but twenty or thirty errors scattered about over 300 years or more cannot establish anything firmly.

8   INSCRIPTIONS AND 'DIALECT GEOGRAPHY': SOME MISCELLANEOUS STUDIES

8.1   *The case of* posit

In 1961 (= 1990: 94–104) Herman tried to establish a regional feature of the Latin of part of Pannonia, and, moving outwards from there, to show the geographical spread of that feature along routes of communication. The idea that a usage may spread outwards from its place of origin, perhaps along a line of communications, is a familiar one (the wave theory or contagious diffusion: see I.5),[63] which turns up elsewhere in the literature on inscriptions.[64]

   The study concerns the distribution of the perfect form *posit* for *posuit*.[65] This is said to have an unequal distribution in Pannonia (1990: 97). Of nineteen examples, eleven (two-thirds, as Herman puts it) come from the northern part of Pannonia Superior, in what is described as the 'Vindobona–Scarabantia–Arrabona triangle' (1990: 97), or alternatively 'la Pannonie du Nord-Ouest' (97). Herman (97) enhances the statistical significance of this

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[63] See e.g. Hinskens, Auer and Kerswill (2005: 8).

[64] Barbarino (1978: 89) says that the merger of intervocalic *b* and consonantal *u* in Spain 'may be a result of a westward spread of the phenomenon from Tarraconensis'. The suggestion is unconvincing, given the figures set out on 84 showing the treatment of B and V in interior position in Spain. The 'highest deviations' (89) occur in Tarraconensis. The table shows that the tokens of B for V are ten in Tarraconensis, five in Baetica and seven in Lusitania. A theory of 'geographical spread' based on such figures can be disregarded.

[65] For possible explanations of which see Herman ([1961] 1990: 98–9).

fact by observing that only a sixth of Pannonian inscriptions comes from this triangle, and by pointing out (98) that he has found nineteen cases of the correct form *posuit* at Aquincum, which is in Pannonia Inferior. The fact remains that the figures are small, and if eleven examples of *posit* are in the north-west of the province, eight are not.

Herman then notes (1990: 100–1) that there are twenty examples of *posit* in Dalmatia, half of which are at Salona. A 'certain proof' is offered (101) of a 'contact linguistique immédiat entre Salone et la Pannonie du Nord-Ouest', in the form of an inscription showing that the *ala Pannoniorum* had spent time in Dalmatia, 'vraisemblablement à Salone ou dans sa proximité'. Moreover two inscriptions of the *ala Pannoniorum* found at Arrabona in northern Pannonia have the form *posit*. The impression is left that the form was transported from one place to the other by the military. This is not impossible, but it is only part of the story, as we will see. I mention in passing that a workshop of stonemasons acting for the *ala* might have had a convention of using *posit*, and if so the geographical distribution of the form in inscriptions of the *ala* need have nothing to do with the linguistic geography that appears in the title of Herman's paper.

Herman moved on (1990: 101–2) to northern Italy, which bordered on Pannonia Superior. To the north of the mouth of the Po there is a cluster of examples of *posit*, at Ateste, where *posit* outnumbers *posuit* by 6:3. Not far from Ateste, at Patavium, there are a further three cases of *posit* against eight of *posuit*. The conclusion is stated that there was a region not far from the frontiers of Pannonia, on the principal artery which connected Pannonia to Italy, where *posit* was the dominant form. In a later paper and alluding to the same data Herman ([1983] 1990: 177) referred to what he called the 'microtechnique of linguistic geography'. The isogloss linking the north-west of Pannonia, part of Dalmatia and parts of northern Italy is taken to be a reflection of 'la grande voie commerciale menant d'Italie vers le Nord', and a further generalisation is offered: the case is presented as 'un exemple du mécanisme particulier du rayonnement linguistique de l'Italie vers les provinces'. It is thus from Italy rather than Pannonia that the innovation spread.[66]

The wave theory was Herman's inspiration in his attempt to show the spread of an aberrant form along a line of communications. But the defective evidence thrown up by the chance survival of inscriptions does not always justify this type of analysis. Are the conclusions suggested or implied by the paper justified?

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[66] For the same claim see Herman ([1968] 1990: 120).

The problem is that Herman has not presented all the evidence to do with *posit*, and has played the significance of some of it down, if only by silence. *Posit* is not an isolated form confined to certain adjacent areas, namely parts of Pannonia, Dalmatia and northern Italy. It is from *posit*, not *posuit*, that almost all the Romance reflexes derive, as Herman himself notes (95–6). It follows that the form must have been widespread in speech, whatever the attestations in inscriptions, which depend on the accidents of survival, might suggest. A full discussion of the form would include a complete collection of examples. One awaits the appearance of the relevant fascicule of the *TLL*, but I note here that there is a cluster of examples in Britain,[67] well away from the influence of Pannonia or northern Italy. Diehl in the index to *ILCV* (III.567) lists five examples, four of them from Rome: 462, 4049A, 4105, 4376A; I have not been able to locate his fifth example. Neue and Wagener (1892–1905: III, 398–9) cite no fewer than sixty-five inscriptional examples, from *CIL* I, II, III, V, VI, VIII, IX, and a few miscellaneous collections. These are from scattered places, and Herman has been selective in presenting the data. There is, it is true, a cluster of republican (?) examples published in *CIL* I² from the territories of the Marsi (1769), the Paeligni (1780, 1800) and the Vestini (1809), and it is possible that the form had its origin in the regional Latin of that part of Italy, but it is not satisfactory to construct a wave phenomenon based on a small selection of the extant examples.

8.2   The prothetic vowel

Lancel (1981: 281) gives an illustration of the difficulty of relating inscriptional spellings to developments which show up in Romance. He points out that Prinz (1938: 106) found 125 examples of prothetic *i* (as in a form such as *istercus* for *stercus*) in the inscriptions of Italy and only seven in Spain, 'when it is known that the Romance outcome presents an inverse situation'.[68] But figures of this kind reveal nothing in isolation. As B. Löfstedt (1961: 107) points out, in *CIL* there are 39,340 inscriptions from Rome but only 6,350 from Spain. If usage was the same in the two places, Rome would be bound to present many more examples than Spain. Gaeng's findings (1968: 264) are much the same as those of Prinz. He says that the prothetic vowel is common in Italy, particularly at Rome, but rare in Iberian material and practically non-existent in Gaul, where he found only one certain

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[67] See Smith (1983: 933 γ).

[68] For details of the phenomenon in some other provinces see Omeltchenko (1977: 418–22). On its rarity in the Balkan provinces see Galdi (2004: 143 n. 302).

example. Herman ([1983]1990: 159) observes that the rarity of the phenomenon in Gaul is astonishing when one considers the future evolution of French.[69] It might be added that Gaeng produces abundant evidence for other types of vocalic misspellings from Gaul (5.1.1.2). Therefore the lack of evidence for prothesis may well represent a state of the language, during a period well before the emergence of Romance, distinguishing Gaul from, say, Rome. Rome for its part (see 5.4) has very little evidence for vocalic confusions of the other type dealt with here (*e* for *i*). The comparative method as we have presented it would thus seem to establish a contrast between Gaul and Rome, with the one showing confusion of *e* and *i* but not prothesis, the other prothesis but not confusion of *e* and *i*. It may be added that in Africa, where in the corpora looked at there is hardly any evidence of *e* for *i*, prothesis is attested. For examples in the Bu Njem ostraca (of *iscire* for *scire*) see Adams (1994: 106), and for the numerous cases in the Albertini tablets see Väänänen (1965: 32). These absences of symmetry between different provinces in the treatment of different phenomena do seem to reveal regional differences, but it has to be said in this case that the 125 examples for the whole of Italy represents a minute number.

8.3   -es, -aes

I have discussed elsewhere (2003a: 479–86) the origin of the *-aes* genitive singular ending, which appears particularly in female nomina of Latin origin possessed by Greeks (who also usually have a Greek cognomen), but turns up in other words as well. It was taken to be a Latinisation of the Greek *-es* which will first have entered Latin texts in Greek servile names. This is not the place to dwell on the question of origin, or to make a distinction between the two spellings. I lump the two forms together and concentrate on their distribution. The subject could do with a full investigation, which is beyond my scope here. Geographically the spellings are widespread, without being ubiquitous. According to Gaeng (1977: 28) they are particularly common in the central and southern Italian areas, including Rome,[70] but are absent from northern Italy and parts of Spain (Tarraconensis and Lusitania), and found only rarely elsewhere in Spain (Baetica) and in Gaul. Smith (1983) records no example from Britain. The

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[69] See also Herman ([1965b] 1990: 22).

[70] A good deal of Italian evidence will be found in Adams (2003a: 479–81, 483–4), where further bibliography is cited. There is an example at *TPSulp.* 82 (*libertaes*), and several examples in the Johns Hopkins *defixiones* (see Sherwood Fox 1912, *CIL* I².2520), which are thought to be Roman (see above, VII.6).

forms are common in the Danubian and Balkan provinces,[71] and turn up in Egypt.[72] For example, the genitive form *Epaphraes* occurs at Oxyrhynchus (*P. Oxy.* 44.3208) in a letter written in Latin by a man with a Greek name (Suneros). This case is decidedly odd, and suggests the productivity of the ending. The genitive of Ἐπαφρᾶς would be expected in Greek to have the form Ἐπαφρᾶ.[73] Greek personal names in *-as* regularly lost the final *-s* in Latin,[74] and the nominative *Epaphra* is well attested in Latin inscriptions (e.g. *CIL* X.2039a *L. Allius Epaphra*).[75] Its Latinate genitive would be expected to be *Epaphrae*. The addition of the *-s* in the papyrus represents a grecising of the ending but the result is not really Greek. This is a manifestation of the 'creative' influence of Greek on Latin.[76]

There seems to be a significance to the distribution of the forms, in that they predominate in areas where Greek was strong, but in the absence of a full collection and classification of the data it is unwise to be dogmatic. It is possible that the endings are not regionalisms in the strict sense but forms which developed in Greek communities and were liable to be heard wherever there were Greeks using Latin. On this view they would characterise the usage of a social group rather than of certain regions as a whole. Two examples have recently turned up outside Greek areas in the Vindonissa tablets from Switzerland (3 *Supero, eq(uiti) alaes I Flauies*: see Speidel 1996: 99), and there is a case in the Albertini tablets from Africa.[77] In an earlier chapter (V.2.2) an inscription on a bowl from Noricum was quoted containing the form *Verecundaes*.

8.4   -as

Another morpheme that one might be tempted to classify as regionally restricted is the *-as* nominative plural of the first declension, which possibly survives in part of the Romance world (e.g. *stellas* > French *étoiles*, Spanish *estrellas*, Sardinian *istellas*; contrast Italian *stelle*).[78] In inscriptions *-as* forms construed as nominatives occur in Rome, northern Italy (on Italy see also VII.6), occasionally in Spain, quite often in Eastern Europe and in Africa,[79]

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[71] See Mihăescu (1978: 218), Gaeng (1984: 9–10), Galdi (2004: 14–18, 19–22).
[72] See Adams (2003a: 485–6).   [73] See Brown (1970: 138).
[74] See Adams (2003a: 372 with n. 138).   [75] See Fraser and Matthews (1997: 144).
[76] See Adams (2003a: 816 col. 2) s.v. 'interference' for this phenomenon.
[77] See Väänänen (1965: 34).
[78] But possibly the western forms merely reflect the Latin accusative plural.
[79] For details see Hehl (1912: 37–9), Gerola (1950: 328–9), Gaeng (1977: 46–51, 1984: 19–22), Omeltchenko (1977: 379–81), Mihăescu (1978: 219–20), Herman ([1984] 1990: 59–60, [1985a] 1990: 84), Galdi (2004: 59–60).

but not in Gaul (despite the survival of the form in Gallo-Romance). In Gaul, according to Gaeng (1984: 21 n. 38),[80] they are not only absent from inscriptions but do 'not surface in texts before the seventh century'. But this last assertion is to disregard the evidence of Anthimus (sixth century), who was influenced by Gallic Latin (see V.5.1) and has *-as* forms often.[81] Herman ([1984] 1990: 60) mentions '[l]e retard de la Gaule' in this respect, and elsewhere ([1985a] 1990: 84), referring to what he calls a 'propriété géographique', speaks of the existence of 'une zone . . . balkano-italo-africaine' in the use of the form *-as*. But there is now some new evidence from Gaul. Already in the first century AD there are examples of *-as* in the graffiti of La Graufesenque, in both Gaulish and Latin texts, in lists of objects in which, at this site, the nominative is the usual case.[82] The ending of the nominative plural in Gaulish was *-as*,[83] and at the pottery that morpheme was transferred by the Gaulish potters into their Latin. The ending may have lived on in substandard Latin in the region but have been stigmatised there because of its Gaulish association. The case does suggest that a single form may have more than one origin.[84] *-as* nominatives in Rome and Africa could not be derived from Gaulish, but those in Gaul can, particularly as found in a Gaulish pottery.

8.5   *The dative of possession in Balkan Latin*

In the epigraphy of Dalmatia funerary inscriptions often have a posses-sive dative of the name of the deceased attached to a word for 'coffin, tomb', as e.g. at *CIL* III.9537 (Salona) *arca Saturnino militi Salonitano*.[85] Mihăescu (1960: 156) cited eighteen such cases (cf. id. 1978: 245), almost all of the Christian period, and the usage has received a detailed treatment from Herman ([1965a] 1990: 315–20).[86] The dative of possession is a commonplace construction, but is highly unusual outside this area in such contexts in funerary inscriptions.[87] Herman noted (320) that the tendency to use the dative in this function was favoured in this region of the Balkans 'par certains facteurs de caractère local, en particulier par l'incertitude

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[80] See also Norberg (1943: 28–9), Gerola (1950: 329, 329–30).   [81] See Flobert ((1999: 22, 27).
[82] See Marichal (1988: 74–5), Adams (2003a: 722).   [83] See Lambert (1995: 55, 57).
[84] I have above (6.1, p. 665) criticised the multiplying of hypotheses in explaining aberrant forms, but there is a reason for seeing the influence of Celtic on Latin in this case: the pottery at La Graufesenque was bilingual.
[85] Cited by Herman ([1965a] 1990: 315).
[86] There is now a fuller presentation of material in Galdi (2004: 105–6, 190; cf. 433–4).
[87] See Herman ([1965a] 1990: 319–20) for a review of the frequency of the construction in some other areas.

morphologique et syntaxique qui entourait les noms de personne illyriens et illyro-celtiques lorsqu'ils étaient adoptés dans les textes latins'. It would seem possible on this evidence that the possessive 'dative' was frequent in speech as well in this region in the Latin form of local names.

9   SOME CONCLUSIONS

Can inscriptions turn up evidence for the regional diversification of Latin? The answer is a guarded yes, particularly if the inscriptions from a region can be supplemented by non-literary documents. Inscriptions are less satisfactory if they have to be used on their own, because they are scattered about, often undated, and probably composed in many cases by outsiders to the areas in which they were found.

The study of misspellings in inscriptions can easily degenerate into the study of variations in literacy. Herman was aware of the problem, but his own methods are open to criticism. His method of undertaking small-scale comparisons (his 'microtechnique') of one restricted area with another, counting misspellings of one type or another but rarely if ever setting them alongside the corresponding correct spellings, has not succeeded in establishing convincing regional variations. I have spent much space in this chapter in describing a comparative method and in stressing its limitations.

The material from Africa has turned out to be revealing. There are more vocalic misspellings of the type considered in this chapter in a single British curse tablet eight lines long than in the whole of the Bu Njem ostraca. The corpus of African inscriptions used by Omeltchenko similarly produces only a tiny handful of such misspellings. The inscriptional and non-literary evidence ties in with an observation by Augustine, and these various hints point to an African vowel system which differed from that of Gaul. Where the B/V confusion is concerned, Britain still stands apart from much of the rest of the Empire, but the texts are not extensive and current impressions may turn out to be false. A distributional peculiarity within Italy in the inscriptions considered by Barbarino hints at a split that was to emerge between the north and the south, a split that is already apparent in some early medieval legal documents. Gaul seems to be distinct from Africa not only in its vowel system but also in the treatment of B/V.

In the last two sections (7, 8) most of the cases discussed turn out to have no relevance to the regional diversification of Latin. With some hesitation I suggest the possibility that the phenomena discussed at 8.2, 8.3 and 8.5 may be significant.

The way forward might lie in more comparative studies of the type described earlier in the chapter. But it is the shortage of non-literary documents of the sort extant in Africa and Britain that impedes progress. Nevertheless enough has been said to suggest that the Latin of the Empire as evidenced by sources of these types was not a unity.

I leave spellings now and turn briefly to the lexicon. I will make a distinction between genuine regional usages (those grounded in local varieties of speech) and 'inscriptional' or 'pseudo'-regionalisms (those peculiar to epigraphy without any basis in local speech). The remainder of the chapter is intended to illustrate a few types of phenomena, not to present a systematic survey of all the inscriptions of the Empire, which is beyond my scope and might not turn up much, given that the language of epigraphy is so formulaic. One or two regionalisms of this type have been presented in earlier chapters (see VI.5.2 *paramus*).

10 LEXICON

There are bound to be regional words in inscriptions particularly from the fringes of the Empire. I will confine myself to two terms which I have dealt with before from Germanic parts of the Roman world.[88] These will have been introduced to Latin by speakers bilingual in Germanic and Latin.

A case in point is *socerio/suecerio*, which is attested just five times in inscriptions (*CIL* III.5622 Noricum, III.5974 Raetia, V.8273 Aquileia, XIII.8297 Cologne, *AE* 1945, 101 Ramasse in the province of Gallia Lugdunensis). The discussion of Deman (1981) has made it clear what the word means. Note Deman (1981: 205): 'SOCERIO, dans les cinq inscriptions latines où le mot est attesté, désigne *le frère ou la soeur du mari ou de la femme*, et, le plus souvent . . ., *le frère de la femme*' (i.e. 'brother-in-law'). The word is attested either in Germanic regions or their environs. Deman (1981: 208) has argued that *suecerio* 'serait un nom germanique à thème consonantique en *-io(n)-* correspondant à l'indo européen **swekuryo-*'. The spelling *suecerioni* is found in one of the inscriptions (*CIL* III.5974). It is probably a close reflection of the Germanic form; the alternative *socerio* has been Latinised under the influence of *socer*. Examples of the word tend to be in sepulchral inscriptions originating from the families of military men. Germanic speakers who had learnt Latin in the army may have been responsible for the introduction of the term to Latin (their second language).

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[88] See Adams (2003a: 447–8).

Brutes (*bruta*), which, like *suecerio*, is attested only in the inscriptions of a coherent region (Noricum, Aquileia and the Balkans, areas which were Germanic-speaking or bordering on German regions),[89] was a Germanic word (Frankish *brûd*)[90] meaning 'daughter-in-law' or 'young married woman, jeune mariée', found for example in Old English *bryd*; cf. Old High German *brût*. It came into French (*bru* 'belle-fille'), probably via the Latin borrowing from Germanic. In Latin it was a rival of *nurus*.[91] The word did not fill a gap in Latin, and it is likely to have been introduced by Germanic speakers who spoke some Latin.

For other regional terms attested in the Latin of Noricum see above, V.2.2 (*panna*), V.5.2 (*craxantus*).

11 'inscriptional' or 'pseudo'-regionalisms

In inscriptions there is a special type of regionalism. In some areas certain formulae or terms caught on in local funerary epigraphy. If such an expression is also found in another, distant, part of the Empire there is sometimes evidence that the writer of the inscription came from the region in which the expression originated. It would be wrong to refer to such usages as 'regionalisms' in the sense in which that term might be used by a dialect geographer, because funerary formulae often have no currency in speech but are features solely of a specialised written register. They do however have their interest, and are prone to misinterpretation as genuine local terms. I will cite a few examples below.

It is also well known that official terminology may vary region by region, but not in ways that could possibly reflect dialect differences. Weaver, for example (1972: 78–80), has pointed out variations in status nomenclature in the Familia Caesaris. As he puts it (79), forms with *Caes.* (which may be accompanied by *n.* [for *nepos*], *ser.* [for *seruus*], *u.* [for *uerna*] or several combinations of these elements) predominate at Rome, whereas in North Africa there is a high proportion of cases of the form *Aug. ser.*, 'which scarcely occurs at all elsewhere in the provinces' (80). However such variations are to be explained (if at all) they cannot be related to local varieties of speech. There are comparable regional variations in formulaic language in Greek papyri, as for example in consular epithets.[92]

I list below a few (non-official) oddities from Latin inscriptions. Regional variation in the formulae of inscriptions is a large field of study in its own right, which I cannot go into in detail here.

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[89] See *FEW* XV.304 s.v. *brûdi*. See *CIL* III.4746, 12377, 12666.   [90] See Gamillscheg (1970: 415).
[91] For details see *FEW*, above, n. 89.   [92] See e.g. Gonis (2005: 183 nn. 1, 2).

11.1 ex uotum

The evidence for this formula, a substandard variant of the usual *ex uoto*, is collected and discussed by Diehl (1899: 31–2).[93] It is associated particularly with the Balkan provinces of Macedonia and Moesia Inferior. There are six examples attested, two from Moesia Inferior itself (*CIL* III.12442, 12466), and one from Macedonia (III.642). There are two examples at Rome (VI.31164, 31165), 'quorum auctores sunt Moesiae inferioris' (Diehl 1899: 32). The remaining example is from Spain (II.5136).

11.2 uiuo suo

This puzzling alternative to the normal formula *se uiuo* has most recently been studied by Galdi (2000). There are fifteen occurrences, twelve of them in Moesia Inferior and another at Timacum Minus in Moesia Superior not far from Moesia Inferior.[94] The remaining two examples are both from Gallia Cisalpina (*CIL* V.8747 = *ILCV* 472 Concordia, *CIL* V.6244 = *ILCV* 811 Mediolanum), but, as may be deduced from Diehl's commentary,[95] both texts reveal associations with the eastern Empire, and the writers were probably familiar with the formula from Moesia. The second has *VIVOSOSIBI* (so *CIL*), which Diehl prints (plausibly) as *uiuo so sibi*.[96] However *uiuo suo* is to be explained (see Galdi), it will not have been rooted in local speech but must be some sort of analogical development or misunderstanding which caught on in the epigraphy of a region.

11.3 Some terms for 'tomb' and the like

A term for 'tomb, coffin' which is found almost exclusively in African inscriptions is *cupula* (*TLL* IV.1438.57ff.).[97] There are a couple of examples at Rome (*CIL* VI.2734, 13236), but more than twenty in Africa.[98] The first Roman example is in a formula found in Africa (with *cupulam* standing as object of a perfect form of *facio*). The *OLD* defines the term (s.v. 2) as indicating a 'niche in a *columbarium*', but that is not right. *Cupula* literally means 'little barrel', and there can be no doubt that it describes a distinctive

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[93] See also Galdi (2004: 134).
[94] For details see Galdi (2000: 80), and the discussion and collection of material which follows at 81–91.
[95] The point is made by Galdi (2000: 80 n. 18).   [96] *So* is a reduced form of *suo*.
[97] I am grateful to Andrew Wilson for advice on this matter.
[98] See Schmidt (1866–7), Kübler (1893a: 188), and particularly Euzennat, Marion and Gascou (1982: 367), who on no. 648 note that there are twenty-six examples in *CIL* VIII. See also *AE* 1985, 954 and 2000, 1798 (where *c. f.* is taken to stand for *cupulam fecit*).

type of African stone coffin, usually plastered over with stucco or cement, with a 'half-barrel upper structure . . . supported on a rectangular base' (Mattingly 1992: 256).[99] Mattingly (256–7) has photographs of such a cupula tomb from Leptiminus in Tunisia.[100] The word is appropriate to the shape of the object, and in that sense it can be said that the usage was determined by a local burial custom. But stone coffins may come in a variety of shapes (see n. 99) and still be designated 'coffins'. Even this African type could have been referred to by a generic term, and accordingly the term as well as the object might arguably be characterised as region-specific. It is of note that *sarcophagus* is rare in Africa. There are about forty examples at Rome, about thirteen in Gaul and numerous in the eastern provinces (see V.1). By contrast just one example from Africa is noted in the index to *CIL* VIII, suppl. part 5, p. 352. *Cupula* then has a better claim to be considered a regionalism than the expression in the previous section, but it has to be allowed that it is primarily the structure, not the word, that is regional.

Another localised word for tomb was τάφος, used both in Greek and Latin epitaphs in the Jewish community at Venusia in southern Italy.[101] It occurs in Greek epitaphs at Noy (1993), 42, 44, 45 (?), 53, 62, 64, 65, 69, 70, 71, 72, 79, 94, 95, 97, 99 and 101, and in (transliterated) Latin at 59 and 61. The word was the standard one for 'tomb' in the formulaic funerary Greek used by the community (which may not have used Greek for any other purposes), and it was taken over into Latin when Latin was used instead. Since the Latin examples are in transliterated form rather than the Latin alphabet, both inscriptions may have been intended as an approximation to Greek by writers who did not know the language but wanted to follow the convention of the community in using 'Greek' for epitaphs (for the use of a script to suggest a language see II.18). This then is not a regionalism in any general sense, but a localised usage in a formulaic, almost secret, written language.

Note too the expression *locus aeternus* of a tomb, twice in African inscriptions from Hr. el Garra (Byzacena), *CIL* VIII.197, 202 (*hunc habes aeternum locum*). The expression is not cited by the *TLL* either s.v. *locus* (VII.2.1579.84ff., 1580.52ff.) or s.v. *aeternus* (I.1145.78ff.; *domus* and *sedes*

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[99] A variant on this type from another area (Portugal) has the form of a wine barrel lying on its side on a low base. For a photograph of a specimen see Toynbee (1971) plate 81, with the discussion at 253.

[100] See too Schmidt (1866–7) with the illustration at 165. On the type of monument see also Gsell (1901: II, 46–7); further bibliography is at Euzennat, Marion and Gascou, above, n. 98.

[101] On the word see Noy (1993: 61–2).

with *aeterna* are common). In this case one drafter may have coined the expression and used it more than once, or had his phrase imitated by someone else.

My final case brings out the difficulty of interpreting such evidence.

11.4 A plural use of pater

In Spanish the plural of the word for 'father' (*los padres*) can be used in the sense 'parents, father and mother'. There is an interesting discussion of the equivalent use of *patres* by Fahnestock and Peaks (1913),[102] which must be supplemented now by *TLL* X.1.674.72ff. Fahnestock and Peaks found forty-three examples of the usage, only four of them literary (but see now *TLL* 674.75ff., dividing the literary cases into *ancipitia* and *certiora*).[103] Of the thirty-nine epigraphic examples the great majority (thirty-five) come from the Gallic territory: four from Cisalpine Gaul, two from Narbonensis, one from Lugdunensis, five from Upper Germany and twenty-three from Belgic Gaul, no fewer than fifteen of these last from Trier. Apart from these cases Fahnestock and Peaks cite (81) one example only from each of Italy, Africa, Dacia, and Germania Inferior. The *TLL* (675.18f.) also notes that 'in titulis' the usage is mainly found in Gaul and Germany, and dates such cases mainly to the fourth and fifth centuries. Fahnestock and Peaks (82) note that the usage is not found in inscriptions of the Greek east.

Various things are noteworthy about these data. It would be wrong to conclude from the Romance survival of *patres* in this sense, in Spain alone, that it was in use in the Latin period only in Spain. This case favours caution in arguing backwards from Romance reflexes to the state of the language in the Latin period. It cannot be assumed that, if a usage is restricted in its geographical distribution in Romance, it was restricted to the same areas in Latin itself. As has repeatedly been stressed in this book, shrinkage in the distribution of a usage often took place. And what are we to make of the lack of examples of *patres* in the epigraphy of, say, Italy? Was the usage unknown there? Such a conclusion would be unwarranted. The usage is after all not found in the epigraphy of Spain, and yet it survives in Ibero-Romance, and must have been current there in the spoken language. Why is *patres* so common in the inscriptions of Gaul but so infrequent elsewhere? Was the

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[102] See also Mariner Bigorra (1960: 232).

[103] Under *certiora* only five examples are cited. The usage is well represented in Ausonius. Note for example VIII.19 Green 1991: *pappos auiasque trementes / anteferunt patribus seri, noua cura, nepotes* ('grandchildren when eventually they come, a new cause of anxiety, prefer their shaky grandfathers and grandmothers to their parents'). Green (1991: 291) cites two further examples from Ausonius.

usage current in the spoken language there in the fourth and fifth centuries, or was epigraphic usage detached from that of speech? Epigraphic evidence may give a misleading impression of the regional variation of Latin. Turns of expression catch on in the epigraphy of particular areas, not because they were necessarily widespread in the speech of the area, but because they had found their way into local stonemasons' handbooks or been copied from one tombstone in another. Once an individual comes up with a quirky usage in a graveyard others in the locality may follow him. The frequency of *patres* in Trier is striking. A glance at the examples listed by Fahnestock and Peaks (81 n. 27) shows that many of them are in the formula *patres (titulum) posuerunt*, and the reason for the local frequency of the usage becomes clear. It was embedded in a local funerary formula which was used over and over again.

12   FINAL REMARKS

'Micro-studies', whereby a few inscriptions from a restricted area are compared with a few from another area, have emerged in sections 7 and 8 as unsatisfactory. It may be possible to establish whatever one wants from carefully selected items of evidence of limited quantity. The statistics of Gaeng, Omeltchenko and Barbarino are at least systematic, even if all three took percentages at face value and made no use of a comparative method. Some contrasts have been established between provinces, with the evidence from Africa being the most interesting. There are also signs that certain changes that were to affect much of the Latin-speaking world had a different chronology in different places. The front-vowel merger seems to have occurred earlier in Gaul than in several other places (and may not have taken place in Africa).

I asked at the start of the chapter how such research might be conducted in the future. I would first suggest that comparisons should be widened in scope. Multiple types of errors, always contrasted statistically with the corresponding correct forms, might be examined province by province. Second, greater rigour is needed to establish better corpora of dated inscriptions which might be compared region by region. The reader should be given details about the inscriptions used in any survey, and not left in the dark by assertions, for example, about the 'rarity' of such and such a phenomenon in the 'early' inscriptions of Gaul. If dated inscriptions were listed and classified, such that like was put alongside like, it might be possible to move towards the coherent bodies of evidence that I have treated as a desideratum.

It remains a problem of the statistical study of inscriptions as the case has been presented here that one is forced to argue from silence, that is from the non-occurrence of certain errors in corpora otherwise full of mistakes. The corpora we possess have survived by chance and are not a systematic record of language use in any area. There is a fragility to the argument that the African vowel system did not merge long *e* and short *i*, and the argument could be undermined by new discoveries.

Conclusion

In this chapter I review some of the findings and themes of the book.

I 'UNITARY' AND 'DIFFERENTIAL' THEORIES

Väänänen (1983) pointed out that it is possible to distinguish between two theories that have been advanced to account for the transition from a single language, Latin, apparently without regional variations, to the regional diversity of Romance.[1] He calls them (1983: 481) the 'thèse unitaire' and the 'thèse différencielle', the first favoured by Latinists and the second by Romance philologists. According to the first Latin showed no variations until very late. According to the second Latin had local variations 'from the imperial period, and in any case well before 600' (Väänänen 1983: 490). The metalinguistic evidence presented in this book makes nonsense of the unitarian thesis, and the differential thesis as formulated by Väänänen just quoted is itself not satisfactory, because the regional diversity of the language can be traced back at least to 200 BC and was not a new development of the Empire. That is not to say that the Romance languages were in any sense being foreshadowed already in 200 (though we will see some continuities below, 3.5). The patterns of local diversity in 200 were not the same as those to be found a millennium or more later, but the essential point is that the language always showed regional as well as social, educational and stylistic variations. The nature of the diversity was not static but went on changing. The Romance languages in the modern sense came into being not as a result of a sudden historical event, but when some regional varieties were codified in writing and particularly when certain of them acquired the status of standard languages. The changing patterns of variation can up to a point be seen from an analysis of the metalinguistic evidence, to which I now turn.

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[1] See also I.1 n.1.

2 METALINGUISTIC COMMENTS: SOME PATTERNS

It was remarked in the first chapter (I.2) that dialects without literary status tend to remain nameless, but that observers if pressed may refer to the speech of this or that town or locality. In Chapters III and IV many observations by ancient commentators assigning usages to particular places were noted from the early Republic through to late antiquity. It may be useful to classify these chronologically to see if the concept of regional particularity changed in time. In the following table I list the places referred to by observers province by province from the second century BC to the fourth/fifth century AD. A distinction is made where appropriate between 'provinces, regions' in the most general sense (Africa, Gaul, also Italy) and specific places therein (see too III.9.2; also IV.1.3.7).

Second century BC

Parts of Italy
Praeneste (Latium)[2]

First century BC

Parts of Italy
Sora (Volscian territory)[3]
Latium (Formiae, Fundi, Tusculum, Lanuvium, Praeneste, as well as unspecified places)[4]
Falerii[5]
Sabine territory (including Reate)[6]
Cisalpine Gaul (Placentia, Patavium)[7]
Campania[8]

Parts of Spain
Corduba[9]

First century AD

Parts of Italy
Campania[10]
Apulia[11]
Territory of the Umbri[12]
Territory of the Tusci[13]
Territory of the Marsi[14]
Territory of the Aequi[15]

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[2] See III.3, 6.11, 8.1, 8.2.   [3] See III.4.1.   [4] See II.11, III.6.2, 6.3, 6.4, 6.5, 6.11.
[5] See III.6.4, 6.5.   [6] See III.6.6, 6.8.   [7] See III.4.3, 5, 6.9.   [8] See III.6.10.
[9] See III.4.3, 6.5.   [10] See IV.1.3.1.   [11] See IV.1.3.6.   [12] See IV.1.3.3.
[13] See IV.1.3.3.   [14] See IV.1.3.2, 1.3.3.   [15] See IV.1.3.2.

Territory of the Veneti[16]
Sabine territory[17]
Altinum, Cisalpine Gaul[18]
Territory of the Taurini, Cisalpine Gaul[19]
Unspecified parts[20]

Italy in general
Opposed to Africa[21]
Opposed to Gaul[22]

Parts of Spain
Bilbilis (opposed to Rome)[23]
Cadiz[24]
Baetica[25]
NW Spain[26]

Spain in general
Not in an explicit contrast[27]
Opposed to Africa[28]

Parts of Gaul
Arles[29]
Narbonensis[30]

Gaul in general
Not in an explicit contrast[31]
Opposed to Italy (see above with n. 22)

Africa
See above on 'Italy in general' and 'Spain in general'

Third (?) century AD

Parts of Italy
Campania[32]
Territories of the Vestini and Marrucini[33]

Fourth and fifth centuries AD

Parts of Italy
Cisalpine Gaul[34]
Roman plebs[35]
rustics[36]

Italy in general
Not in an explicit contrast[37]

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[16] See IV.1.3.2, 1.3.3.   [17] See IV.1.3.3.   [18] See IV.1.3.2.
[19] See IV.1.3.3.   [20] See IV.1.3.2.   [21] See IV.1.2.4.   [22] See IV.1.3.4.   [23] See IV.1.2.1.
[24] See IV.2.2.   [25] See IV.2.2.   [26] See IV.2.3.   [27] See IV.2.1.   [28] See IV.2.3.
[29] See IV.3.3.3.   [30] See IV.1.3.6.   [31] See IV. 1.3.6, 3.3.4, 3.3.5.   [32] See IV.1.3.1.
[33] See IV.1.3.1.   [34] See IV.3.3.1.   [35] See IV.1.2.12.2.   [36] See IV.1.3.1.   [37] See IV.1.3.5.

Opposed to Gaul[38]
Italians opposed to Greeks[39]
Opposed to Africa[40]
Opposed to Spain and Gaul[41]
Juxtaposed with Pannonia[42]

Parts of Gaul
Aquitania opposed to rural Gaul[43]
Northern Gaul[44]

Gaul in general
Opposed to Rome[45]
Gallic Latin opposed to correct 'Roman' Latin[46]
See above on 'Italy in general'

Africa in general
Not in an explicit contrast[47]
See above on 'Italy in general'

Spain in general
Not in an explicit contrast (but by implication opposed to Rome)[48]
See also above on 'Italy in general'

There are patterns here. In the second and first centuries BC there is frequent reference to the usage of places in the vicinity of Rome, most notably Falerii, some towns and the countryside of Latium, and regions or towns in the territories of the Volsci and the Sabines. Sometimes commentators looked further afield in Italy, most notably to Cisalpine Gaul, which had been Romanised from about 200 BC but in the late Republic retained linguistic features that struck Romans (or adoptive Romans). There is also the occasional reference to Campania. In this material the only allusion to a place outside Italy is to Corduba, which had been occupied from roughly the middle of the second century BC but must have had, or had a reputation for having, distinctive linguistic features by the late first century BC, as it is mentioned by both Cicero and Varro. Cicero's disparaging remarks (III.4.3), vaguely about accent, are uninformative, but Varro's precise comment (III.6.5) on the retention there of the original meaning of *cenaculum* throws up an instance of an often mentioned characteristic of colonial language varieties, namely their tendency to preserve the odd usage that had been lost after the time of colonisation at the imperial

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[38] See IV.3.3.2. [39] See IV.1.2.12.1. [40] See IV.1.2.3. [41] See IV.1.3.4.
[42] See IV.1.3.5. [43] See IV.3.1. [44] See V.4.1 (Sidonius). [45] See IV.1.2.2, 1.2.7.
[46] See IV.3.2. [47] See IV.4.1, 4.2, 4.3, 4.4, VIII.4.2.3, 4.2.4.
[48] See IV.2.1. I am referring to an anecdote in the *Historia Augusta* about Hadrian; it may reflect attitudes at the time of composition of the text.

centre itself (see I.6 and the discussion of Spanish 'archaism' at VI.2; also below, 4.1).

By the first century AD the practice of Latium, Falerii and the territory of the Volsci disappears from view. Cisalpine Gaul still comes up. Between this time and the third century there is information about Campania and the territories of the Marrucini, Vestini, Marsi, Aequi and Apuli. The silence about Latium is consistent with a dialect levelling in the region imposed by the influence of the nearby city of Rome (on the influence of cities see further below, 3.2, 4.5). Presumably local features were now more noticeable to Romans and the educated in the speech of communities beyond Latium, particularly in the mountainous central regions and in the east.

From the first century a new development makes itself felt. The practice of Italians, referred to in general terms (usually as *Itali*) without being pinned down to any locality, attracts comment either in its own right or in contrast with that of provincials such as Gauls, Africans or Spaniards, themselves designated in similarly general terms. Such contrastive observations become common in the later period (fourth and fifth centuries).

What is to be made of these general comparisons? Were standardised versions of the language already emerging in the different provinces, in early anticipation of the modern standard languages of France, Italy and Spain? A linguistic explanation of this type would be difficult to sustain (see 5.2). Standard Italian, for example, is a relatively modern phenomenon, reflecting the rise in status of just one of a number of dialects that had developed out of Latin (see below, 3.2, 5.2). Even in the Latin period it has been easy to establish that the language (in e.g. Italy) was not a unity. The *Compositiones Lucenses* and translations of Oribasius (VII.11.2–3) can be attributed on linguistic grounds to the north of Italy, and given that that is so, it follows that Latin in the north (one can be no more specific than that) differed from that further south. In Italian Latin inscriptions there already appears to be an anticipation of a Romance regional variation within Italy in the treatment of original /b/ and /w/ (see X.5.5–5.7). In about the third century AD Julius Romanus found a morphological feature distinguishing the Latin of the Marrucini and Vestini from that of Romans (IV.1.3.1) at much the time when others were speaking vaguely of 'Italians' as if their speech were uniform.

It is more reasonable to argue that the use of these comprehensive terms reflects a sense that Spain, Gaul, Italy and so on were recognisable political or geographical entities such that any of those living there might be referred to as Spaniards, Gauls and Italians even though there were cultural and linguistic variations within each place. An Italian hearing peasants from

Baetica use a word current nowhere else in Spain might loosely write that 'Spaniards' say such and such without even considering whether Spaniards elsewhere said the same thing. An educated Gallic professor from Aquitaine in the fourth century AD would have spoken Latin more like that of an educated Roman than of a Gallic peasant from an area where Gaulish was still living, but both the peasant and the rhetorician could be bracketed together as Gauls: distinctive usages of each alike might have elicited an outsider's comment of the form 'Gauls say X'. Nevertheless this early and increasing tendency to refer in general terms to the speech of Italians, Gauls, Africans and Spaniards, contrasting the groups one with another, provides the background to the eventual emergence of named varieties such as Italian, French and Spanish, each of which in reality embraces considerable localised diversity. There was a feeling that Italy, Gaul, Spain and Africa should differ from one another in speech, and that is an expectation in which the germ of the later named standard languages may be detected. I return to this matter later in the chapter (5.2).

A feature of late *testimonia* to do with Africa is that Africans (above all Augustine) not infrequently comment on their own regional usage, using the first person, either of a verb ('we say') or of a pronoun ('among us' this or that is said). *Apud nos*, Augustine says, the word *caducarius* is used of an epileptic (V.3.1). The same phrase is employed by Augustine of a use of *pullus* (VIII.4.7.2), and of a Jewish African usage (VIII.9.1). Augustine, using the first-person pronoun (*me . . . ipsum*), revealed that he was faulted for 'certain sounds' by Italians (IV.1.2.3). He allows the possibility that 'you' (presumably including himself in the generalising second person) may fall into a pronunciation of *cano* showing lengthening of the first vowel, and defends the habit against the efforts of grammarians, with an allusion no doubt to the difficulty experienced by 'African ears' of distinguishing long and short vowels (IV.4.2). Nonius Marcellus says (VIII.9.3) that 'we now say' (*nunc . . . dicimus*) *spanus* of a certain colour. He uses the same phrase of a use of *mellacium* (VIII.5).[49] Such remarks show a self-awareness (though admittedly the implication of such first person plurals as *dicimus* is variable: see IV.4.2 p. 263). For the most part commentators from elsewhere in the Empire were interested in the distinctiveness of the speech of others. They found fault with deviations from what they regarded as a norm, or if adopting a neutral stance at least drew attention to the oddity of others' usages (see further below, 3.2). Provincials such as the Gallic orators in the corpus

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[49] For a similar remark by a Spanish writer, Isidore, commenting on a point of Spanish Latin, see IV.2.4 (*nominamus*).

of Latin panegyrics (IV.1.2.2) who apologised for the 'inferiority' of their Latin were usually speaking tongue in cheek, and were well aware that they sounded more Roman than the Romans. That indeed was a way of praising a provincial (see IV.1.2.1, 1.2.4, 1.2.7, 1.2.9). Africans (if Augustine is anything to go by) in the fourth and fifth centuries seem rather to have accepted that they were different, and it is their own distinctiveness that they thought worthy of comment, and even of defending (see IV.1.2.3 on this last point). You cannot avoid the effects of your (African) upbringing, Augustine tells his mother (IV.1.2.3). He himself, despite the pressure to change, had been unable to eliminate his African vices. Augustine's remarks cannot but be taken to show that African Latin even of the highly educated was recognisably different. I will come back to African Latin below, and to possible koineisation there (3.8).

It is deducible from the above table that there were changing patterns of variation observed by speakers themselves over the long period from the end of the third century BC to the fifth century AD. Speakers commenting on their own language cannot always be trusted, but the sheer mass of metalinguistic evidence to do with regional Latin, and the coherence of the patterns the evidence throws up, establish that real regional differences were to be heard.

I have argued throughout this book that all-embracing factors (such as the date of the occupation of the different provinces) will not explain the regional diversity of Latin or of its Romance outcomes. I will come later (4) to a general discussion of the factors generating diversity, but here I highlight some themes in the regional history of Latin. A comprehensive history of regional Latin cannot be written because the evidence does not allow it, but it is at least possible to offer as it were a series of snapshots and to bring out some general tendencies.

3 SOME ASPECTS OF THE HISTORY OF REGIONAL LATIN

3.1 *Diversity and language contact in republican Italy*

In the early period Latin was just one of a number of Italic (and other) languages spoken in Italy. There were discrete communities whose languages or dialects had had time to develop in isolation. Early inscriptions written in forms of Latin show a variability of spelling and morphology suggestive at first sight of dialect variation and of the effects of language contact, but the evidence turns out to be tantalisingly imperfect.

It is possible to list from the republican inscriptions of places such as Praeneste, Pisaurum, the territory of the Marsi and so on morphological

and phonetic features that appear to be deviant alongside the norms we are conditioned to attribute to Rome, and thereby to construct a model of the 'Latin of Praeneste' and other places. Such studies have been undertaken.[50] In an earlier chapter (II.21, p. 112) I listed half a dozen apparent oddities attested in the inscriptions of Praeneste. The implication of such lists is always that the Latin of Rome was different, and closer to classical Latin. But a fuller collection of the evidence shows in virtually every case that the features that one may be inclined to ascribe to Praenestine or other local varieties turn up in many other places, including usually Rome itself. The unfortunate fact is that the inscriptional evidence for Latin at Rome in the early period is poor and comparative studies are often indecisive. It is easy to fall into the trap of assuming, in the absence of evidence, that the Roman equivalent of, say, a 'Praenestine' morpheme would have been that of classical Latin. Another problem is that early inscriptions tend to be religious. Deviant morphemes and the like may be located exclusively in religious words (see particularly II.5, and the conclusions at II.21, p. 113), and it is possible in some cases that the evidence is throwing up features of an archaising religious register, not of regional Latin. In about the second century BC Praenestines had a reputation at Rome for using a distinctive form of Latin (III.3), but we are not in a position to construct a list of what its distinguishing features were. Even the opening in hiatus exemplified in *conea* as reported by Plautus, though undoubtedly Praenestine, was not exclusively such (II.9).

The evidence from Falerii is superior (see II.18 for details). The history of the place and its language is interesting, and suggests general remarks about the early regional diversification of Latin. At Falerii Veteres it seems that a language different from Latin was once spoken. It is attested at least as early as the sixth century BC. In 241 BC the Romans destroyed the town and moved the inhabitants to a new town nearby, Falerii Novi. The later inscriptions are in Latin (II.18). If we allow that early Faliscan was a distinct language, then a language shift to Latin had taken place under the influence of Rome. If on the other hand early Faliscan was merely a dialect, it was swamped by (city) Latin, just as in Latium after the first century BC distinctive features of local forms of speech ceased to strike observers (see 2). It is a commonplace of dialect studies that dialect diffusion takes place from influential cities into the hinterland (see I.5 and below, 3.2, 4.5), with the consequence that in the hinterland a new regional variety emerges, combining features of the city dialect with retentions from its

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[50] See e.g. Coleman (1990), Peruzzi (1990). For a discussion of 'Praenestine dialect' with special reference to possible Etruscan interference, particularly in the form of some names, see Mancini (1997).

own past. That is what happened at Falerii Novi. The late inscriptions discussed at II.18 have input from the Roman official language but some retentions as well, notably the maintenance even in Roman official terms of the non-urban monophthong *e* for the original diphthong *ai*, and the omission of final *-r* in *uxo*, a feature not found in other forms of Latin. A variant treatment of final *-r* in official terms such as *pr(a)etor* was also seen, namely its appearance in writing as *d* (*pretod*), which may reflect an attempt to counter the localised loss, in an official term of urban origin, by means of a weakly articulated tapped *r* heard as a *d*. This phenomenon is peculiar to Falerii Novi. The Latin inscriptions also make use of the old Faliscan script and features of orthography (II.18), retentions which reveal local pride in the earlier culture. People with a marked historical identity tend to esteem their local speech, and that is a reason why old features may be retained even when the speakers are exposed to the dialect or language of a more powerful group.[51] Faliscans had a strong culture showing the influence of Etruria, and there must have been an abiding memory of the destruction of their old town.

Similarly as Umbrians, Oscans and others switched to Latin they sometimes retained in the new language features of the old, and those retentions (like *uxo* above) constituted localised features of Italian varieties of Latin. We saw several examples in the second chapter. An inscription from the territory of the Vestini (II.10.3) and another from the territory of the Paeligni (II.10.5) have a mixture of Oscan and Latin features explicable from the retention of Italic elements as the switch to Latin was made. Three provincial Latin inscriptions, from the territories of the Marsi, Paeligni and Vestini, retain the Oscan form of the name of Hercules (II.15). Two Latin inscriptions, one from Lucus Feroniae and the other from the Venetic territory, retain local non-Latin words (II.16). The *Lex Lucerina* from Luceria in Apulia has verb forms (*fundatid, parentatid*) regarded as showing Oscan morphological influence, and also the spelling *stircus* for *stercus*, which seems to have been non-Roman (II.12).

These cases are all relatively straightforward, in that the texts are basically in Latin and the alien elements are usually not only identifiable as non-Latin but also attributable to the influence of specific Italic languages. The various inscriptions are specimens of (ephemeral) regional forms of Latin that might have been heard in parts of Italy at the time of language shift. But sometimes an apparent non-urban feature in an inscription, though it corresponds exactly to an Italic feature attested in the Italic language of the

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[51] See the remarks of Hornsby (2006: 28).

same region, cannot so neatly be attributed to the Italic-influenced Latin of that region. I illustrate this point from the territory of the Marsi (for details see II.6.1). An Italic (i.e. non-Latin, 'Marsian') inscription from the region has the dative *Ioue* (with a form of *e* in the ending derived from the diphthong *ei*). Two Latin inscriptions from the same territory have the same ending in the same divine name. In the Latin inscriptions the form looks to be another retention, perhaps a feature of the local Latin. But the problem is that this type of dative ending, along with *e* for *ei* in other parts of the word, is widespread and found well beyond the territory of the Marsi, even at Rome. We cannot therefore speak of a defining dialectal feature of Marsian Latin. Was the form dialectal anywhere, or might it represent a chronological stage in the development of the diphthong in Latin in general?

Various other forms raise similar problems of interpretation. An inscription from the territory of the Marsi has the form *qestur* for Latin *quaestor* (II.11.5 [i]). In its monophthong and ending it is identical to the Umbrian form of the word, and the ending is also the same as the Oscan. It again looks like a retention from that mixed Italic branch represented by Marsian. Similarly an inscription from Ortona dei Marsi has a monophthongised dative form of a name, *Vesune* (II.11.5 [v]), and the name turns up in the same form in an Italic (Marsian) inscription from the same territory. This too in the Latin text is surely a retention. These inscriptions and other bits and pieces suggest that Marsian agreed with Umbrian in converting the *ai* diphthong into a monophthong represented by *e*, and that the monophthong was the norm too in the local Latin, just as at Spoletium in Umbria a *Lex sacra* written in Latin has the forms *cedito* and *cedre* (for *caidito* and *caidere*), both with what looks like the Umbrian monophthong (II.11.6 [i]). However, it would not do to say that the monophthong was exclusively a dialect feature of Marsian and Umbrian Latin acquired from the substrate, because *e*-forms are scattered about Italy in many areas, including (on the testimony not least of Varro) Latium (see in general II.11), and also (to judge from some fragments of Atellan farce) areas in which Oscan was spoken (see III.6.1 and below).[52] We can say of the monophthong in the Republic that it was non-Roman (Varro makes an explicit contrast in this respect between rural Latium and the city: see II.11), but cannot be precise about its distribution in regional Italy; nor can we attribute its emergence in Latin decisively to the influence of the Marsian and Umbrian types of

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[52] Note too that a little later *e* for *ae* is found in the Latin graffiti of Pompeii, an Oscan area: see Väänänen (1966: 23–5).

Italic that had *e* rather than *ai*. It may have appeared independently in Latium, though it is easy to fall back on a wave theory, with the starting point of the change in an Italic region.

The case of *ai/ae* and its monophthongisation on its own shows that there were dialect variations in republican Italy marked by differences of pronunciation, with Rome distinguishable from other regions, even if the situation in those regions remains shadowy. The Latin even of nearby Latium differed from that of Rome. The *testimonium* of Varro just alluded to shows that, and Varro's remark is confirmed by inscriptions. Varro gives other pieces of lexical information which establish the distinctiveness of the Latin of certain towns of Latium, and the several observations about Praenestine Latin confirm the general point. Cicero too has much to say about the sounds of Latin outside the city.

Substrate influence comes into it, but it is not the whole story. The lexical and accent features of Latium and other areas near Rome (such as Sora) cannot plausibly be put down en masse to Italic influence. The best evidence for interaction between Latin and Italic languages comes in mixed-language inscriptions, which must be the work of communities undergoing language shift. The mixing in these texts is likely to have been ephemeral, in that it would have disappeared in later generations when the shift was complete and the substrate dead. The view that the Oscan vowel system determined that of Vulgar Latin (and was passed on to most of the Romance languages) is far-fetched, and pays no attention to the late chronology of the 'vulgar' vowel mergers that typify Romance in comparison with classical Latin (see II.8).

Certain early genres of drama are also revealing of diversity within republican Italy (and attitudes to it). Between about 200 BC and the middle of the last century BC audiences at Rome were presented with rustic characters on stage (in the palliata and Atellan farce) who were made to speak differently from Romans and held up for ridicule (the evidence is discussed at II.6, III.3, III.6.1). Truculentus, for example, in Plautus' play mishears *eiram* as *eram* (II.6) and thereby inflicts an unintended sexual interpretation on another speaker's words, no doubt to the accompaniment of hilarity. It is not easy to explain the joke, but it is possible that the original performer articulated a sound that was familiar to the audience from rural life.

The importance of this literary evidence is twofold. First, it shows that there existed outside Rome rustic forms of speech that were so recognisable that they could be parodied on stage. Such evidence is better than that provided by the spelling of inscriptions or the assertions of grammarians or

purists, whose judgment may not be trustworthy. If rustic speech did not differ from urban there would be no point is making a joke of it.

Second, the speech of such rustics is treated as funny before an audience. An attitude is implied, which was influential in the history of regional Latin. I have referred to the linguistic influence of Rome on its rural surrounds, an influence that shows up in the Latin of Falerii. Rural speakers in many societies are reported as being embarrassed about their speech in relation to that of a neighbouring city (see e.g. I.5 n. 34), and that embarrassment is a factor motivating their adoption of urban features and suppression of inherited features of their own dialect. Embarrassment is enhanced by the ridicule they are subjected to for their rustic ways. As Hornsby (2006: 28), speaking of a different region and time (modern northern French), puts it, 'negative attitudes to a region or city tend to engender similar negative attitudes to local varieties, which are not infrequently adopted by the speakers themselves'. Already at the time of Plautus conditions were right for the inhabitants of rural Latium and elsewhere to be moved to accommodate their speech to that of Rome, an accommodation that at first might have produced a mixed speech, with urban features grafted on to old dialect features.

The four items of evidence that Varro provides about Atellan farce (III.6.1), and particularly rustic characters therein, are every bit as interesting as the Plautine evidence. They encapsulate the linguistic features that the genre must have had when it was transported in Latin form to Rome and presented life in an Italian town. The odd Oscan word was used (*Casnar*, almost certainly an alternative name for the old man Pappus), but the one phonetic feature mentioned by Varro (the monophthong *e* for original *ai*), though not urban in the republican period, was not Oscan either; Oscan is thought to have retained the *ai* diphthong. Rustics in farce of the Sullan period were probably not portrayed as speaking an artificial confection of Latin and Oscan, but Latin with a colouring of genuine rustic features of its own. The use of *iubilo* in the senses 'shout, call (to)', perhaps 'rebuke' attributed to a writer of Atellana, Aprissius, is of particular interest (III.6.1). The verb survives in such senses in the Romance dialects of Sardinia, which was occupied early in the Republic (third century BC). Used thus *iubilo* is non-existent in city Latin, and Varro does indeed attribute it to rustics. The accuracy of his remark gains support from the Sardinian survival. The usage must have reached Sardinia with early Latin-speaking newcomers and taken root. Sardinia was never a place of high status in Roman eyes, and the usage is likely to have been brought to the island by speakers of non-prestigious varieties of Latin.

This early phase in the regional history of Latin is marked by interaction between the Latin of the city and that of Latium and elsewhere in the environs of Rome. Rural Latin was being disparaged at Rome by the end of the third century BC, and that disparagement went on to the late first century. There was pressure on outsiders to take up urban features. Another influence was language shift, with new speakers of Latin retaining elements from their old language for a while.

3.2   *The ideal of Romanness; Romanisation*

Romanness of speech is already an implicit ideal in the passages of Plautus that have to do with Praenestine (III.3) and in the joke mentioned in the last section. It becomes explicitly such in Cicero (III.4) and was to remain so until at least the time of Sidonius Apollinaris (IV.1.2.7) and Macrobius (IV.1.2.8) in the fifth century, a period of about 600 years. We hear of provincials such as Cicero finding fault with other provincials because they had not suppressed their non-Roman accents (III.4.1), of provincials praising fellow provincials for being more Roman in speech than the Romans (IV.1.2.1, 1.2.7), of Romans sometimes disparaging provincials for their speech (so by implication the jokes on the Roman stage; also IV.2.1), and of provincials admitting to their linguistic inadequacy in relation to Romans, tongue in cheek or as an empty topos (IV.1.2.2, 1.2.8), or even with sincerity (IV.1.2.3).[53] This long-lasting attitude must have had linguistic consequences. We have already suggested that Roman Latin in the Republic affected that of Latium and other places nearby, and during the Empire also provincial upper classes were trying to reproduce a Roman accent. This would have resulted in the mixing of some Roman features with provincial.

These remarks are relevant to the now controversial concept of 'Romanisation'.[54] Provincials both in Italy and elsewhere in the west were to some extent 'Romanised' in a linguistic sense over a long period, both by dropping vernacular languages and shifting to Latin, and, particularly if they belonged to the educated classes, by imitating features of the speech of Rome (see above). Linguistic Romanisation in these senses was not, as far as we know, imposed from the centre by a deliberate Roman policy. It was the deferential attitude of the provincials themselves to Rome that

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[53] In this last section Augustine refers to Italians rather than Romans, but his referents were in several cases of Roman origin.

[54] For some remarks about the problems that the term is now seen to raise see e.g. Mattingly (2002).

motivated such developments. On the other hand it would be an exaggeration to contend that all provincials had a concept of the superiority of Roman Latin. In isolated parts of the Empire, as for example in the micro-communities discussed at 3.6, there were speakers who knew nothing of the speech of Rome, and the regional character of their Latin would have been little affected by the standard language (*Latinitas*).

In the early fourteenth century in his review of the vernacular (i.e. early Romance) dialects of Italy, Dante (*De uulgari eloquentia* 1.11–15) singled out the Roman dialect as the ugliest of all (1.11.2 *ytalorum uulgarium omnium esse turpissimum*).[55] It is no wonder, he says, because Romans stink (*fetere*) more than anyone else from the ugliness of their customs and habits (*morum habituumque deformitate*), despite their claims to superiority (*Romani se cunctis preponendos existimant*). There is an attitude here familiar in the impressionistic assessment of regional forms of speech. Speech is just one aspect of behaviour, and those who are sordid in manners will be sordid in speech (see IV.1.2.1). This reassessment of Romanness was anticipated centuries earlier by Consentius (IV.1.2.12.2), who refers to a vice of the speech of the Roman plebs, and associates it more generally, in the manner of Dante, with a plebeian *deliciosa nouitatis affectio*. Consentius was speaking of the lower classes, not Romans in general, but we see the beginnings of a new attitude to Romanness of speech, which ultimately had the effect that it was a different regional dialect (Florentine, not Roman) that formed the basis of standard Italian. This development did not reflect the linguistic superiority of the dialect itself but the flowering of Florentine culture.[56] The status of a dialect is based on the culture, prestige or power of its speakers, not on its inherent features.

From this point onwards I deal mainly with later periods.

3.3 *Other influential urban centres*

Rome was not the only esteemed city of the Empire. Other cities emerged as centres of culture and political power, and there are hints that these too may have excited linguistic emulation among outsiders.[57] Sulpicius Severus contrasted the Latin of Aquitaine (of which the main city was Bordeaux) with that of the Gallic countryside (IV.3.1), and the disparagement implied by his remark is of the same sort as that levelled by Romans at Italian outsiders. Augustine when conveying linguistic insecurity in relation to

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[55] For a discussion of the passage see Davies (1993: 263). [56] See Maiden (1995: 7).
[57] On the general point see Väänänen (1983: 498).

Italians (IV.1.2.3) had in mind those resident at Mediolanum (though they were not in most cases natives of the place). Latin near the Moselle (i.e. at Trier [Augusta Trevorum], like Mediolanum a seat of the imperial court) came to 'rival that of Rome' (IV.1.2.7, 1.2.9). Ravenna too must have been influential in the late period. Lexical innovations attested in the Oribasius translation (VII.11.3) may have started there.

3.4   Koineisation

Recent research into modern languages has established that when speakers of different dialects are transported to a colony a process of simplification and levelling eventually results in the emergence of a new dialect (see I.6).[58] When Spain, Africa and so on were colonised it is likely that such levelling took place, and in the short term some uniformity of speech probably developed among newcomers in these provinces. That is not the same as saying that the speech of Spain was the same as that of Africa: the dialect mixes that went into the Latin of the various provinces would have differed because of the differing dates at which the provinces were formed, and the hypothetical new koines need not have been uniform. The Romans mixed with indigenous peoples, who switched to Latin in the western provinces and Africa, and contacts between Latin and vernacular languages will have had different effects in different places. Koineisation would also have been undermined by the long life of many of the Roman provinces, during which localised innovations had time to take place. Koineisation in the Roman Empire is little more than a theoretical possibility: the evidence is not available to study it in practice, though there are hints that it had taken place in the phonological system in Africa (3.8). The uniformity of the language of literary texts written in the provinces is not relevant to the issue, as there is a difference between a literary standard and a regional (spoken) koine. The first cannot be used to establish features of the second.

3.5   Regional continuities

Latin may have changed in the provinces in time (see 3.6, 4.2), but there are some remarkable cases of continuity between the (often quite early) Latin period and Romance. I am referring to usages that are all but non-existent except for stray occurrences in a particular area, but then reappear a millennium or so later in the same area in Romance. These were

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[58] For a very recent treatment of the subject see Howell (2006).

regionalisms virtually unknown to the literary language but surviving unchanged in the same place over a long period. It was stressed in the first chapter that dialect features in other languages are often strikingly tenacious (see I.7). The Latin terms I have in mind are sometimes noted as regional by a commentator, and sometimes used without comment by a writer from the area in which the term was to live on. Columella, who was of Spanish birth but also had estates in Italy, has a number of usages of both types. Since he was writing as early as the mid-first century AD, his evidence along with that of Romance nicely illustrates lexical continuity in the countryside.

A fragment of Cato's *Origines* referring to a wind of Spain has the form *cercius* of that wind rather than the usual *circius*; it is the form with *e* that is reflected in Spanish (IV.1.3.6). Varro says that 'some people' (*quidam*) call the *tradux* (a horizontally trained vine shoot) *rumpus*. This word is the base of *rumpotinus*, which is associated with Gaul by Columella. *Rumpus* survives in Italian dialects, and Varro's *quidam* must refer to Italian provincials, possibly inhabitants of Cisalpine Gaul (III.6.9). A tree name (*opulus*) attributed by Varro to the people of Mediolanum survives in northern Italian and Rhetian dialects (III.6.9). Virgil and (probably) Columella are the only writers extant to use *trahea* of a sledge. The word survives with this sense in central and southern Italian dialects (VII.3.2), and was used by Virgil to impart some local colour. The same possibly goes for *rustum*, but the passage of Virgil has a textual uncertainty (VII.3.1). Columella remarks that the adjective *pullus* is used of a type of soil by Campanians; the usage survives only in the dialect of Calabria (IV.1.3.1). *Mergus* of a vine-shoot is attributed by Columella to 'our farmers' (Italians as distinct from Gauls), and the usage continued in Italy (IV.1.3.4). The wind name *Volturnus* is said by Columella to have been used in Baetica as an equivalent of *eurus*. *Volturnus* survives in Catalan and Spanish and in the adjacent Gascony (IV.1.3.6). *Marcus*, according to Columella, was used by *Galliarum incolae* of a type of vine; it survives in associated senses only in Gallo-Romance (IV.3.3.4). Another word to do with wine production, *brisa*, occurs just once outside glosses in the whole of Latin literature, in the Spaniard Columella. It is reflected only in parts of Ibero-Romance (VI.3). Similarly Columella is the only writer extant to apply the adjective *cereolus* (as distinct from its synonyms *cereus* and *cerinus*) to the plum. *Cereolus*, substantivised in the feminine, was to survive with the meaning 'plum' only in Spanish (VI.3). A Spanish mining term noted by Pliny, *corrugus*, survives only in Ibero-Romance (IV.2.3). A use of *formaceus* (of 'framed' walls) attributed by Pliny to Spain and Africa survives (with slightly extended meanings) only in

Ibero-Romance (IV.2.3). A Spanish inscription of the second century AD has the term *paramus* ('plain'), which was to survive only in Ibero-Romance (VI.5.2). In the first century AD at the pottery of La Graufesenque the form *canastri*, with *a* in the second syllable as distinct from the *i* of the usual Latin form of the loan-word from Greek, foreshadows the form of the reflexes in southern France (and parts of the Iberian peninsula) (V.2.1). Similarly *panna*, of an earthenware vessel, occurs at La Graufesenque and elsewhere in a restricted area embracing parts of Gaul, Germany and Noricum, and has a reflex a thousand years later in Old French (V.2.1, and below, 3.6.1).

In later texts too there are precise anticipations of the Romance that was to develop locally many centuries later. The Berne scholia on Virgil's *Eclogues* attribute one word for 'owl' to Italians (*uluccus*) and another to Gauls (*cauannus*). The accuracy of the attribution is confirmed by the Romance distribution of the two words (IV.3.3.2). Marcellus is the only writer extant to use the diminutive *ripariola* (feminine adjective, applied to a bird). The substantivised feminine used as the name of the bird survives only in Occitan (V.3.1). Caesarius of Arles was the only writer down to the sixth century to use the substantival participle *conrogata* of a type of labour. It survives only in Gallo-Romance, in much the same meaning (V.3.2). The Gaul Polemius Silvius is the only writer to attest the word *darpus*, which to judge by the context almost certainly meant 'mole'. The obviously related **darbo* survives in south-eastern France as a dialect word for 'mole' (CL *talpa*) (V.3.3). More could be said of the terms in Polemius, but this example suffices. The poetess Eucheria has two Gaulish words, one of them, *cauannus* 'owl', cited above from the Berne scholia. The other, *craxantus* 'toad', survived in southern Gallo-Romance (V.5.2). The toad had other names elsewhere. Anthimus, who resided in northern Italy but had connections with Gaul, was the first writer to use *cracatius* of the sturgeon, a fish that had a number of names. This one is reflected only in the south-western part of Gallo-Romance (V.5.1). The extremely rare term *sutis* 'pigsty' turns up in the (Gallic) Salic law and survives only in Gallo-Romance (V.4.1). Other such terms could be cited from the Frankish law codes. The Spaniard Isidore sometimes evidences terms unique in recorded Latin that were to live on in Ibero-Romance (see IV.2.4 on *sarralia*, VI.5.3 on *cama* and *cattare*).

The most important terms in this section are those that turn up once or twice in literary texts or inscriptions of the Republic or early Empire but otherwise remain out of sight until they reappear in a Romance language in the same region as their Latin manifestation many centuries earlier. They show that, whatever innovations may have taken place locally (see below, 4.2),

regional continuity in the lexicon was strong. The terms cited here did not belong to mainstream Latin, but were always regional.

3.6   Developments in micro-communities

In this section I pursue the theme alluded to in the last paragraph, that innovations are constantly taking place locally. It is as well to get away from the idea that regional features necessarily show up over extensive areas, whether cities, 'provinces' or 'countries'. Small isolated communities, which exist in abundance in societies in which communications are poor, may innovate linguistically under a variety of influences. Communities of this sort existed all over the Roman world, and we do indeed have some evidence for them from the Empire, some of it of recent publication. We have also referred to the case of Falerii in the Republic.

3.6.1   La Graufesenque

The pottery at La Graufesenque in southern Gaul provides the best evidence extant of Latin in contact with a vernacular language, Gaulish (see V.2). The records of the pottery are early; many are from the time of Nero. The potters were mainly Gauls, to judge by the names and the prevalence of Gaulish in the documents. They were switching to Latin. Phonetic interference from Gaulish is to be found even in Latin documents, most notably in the term *paraxidi* for *parapsides* (a variant of *paropsides*), which shows a Gaulish change of *ps* to *ks* (or, better, χ*s*). A comparable Gaulish change, of *pt* (as in Lat. *captiuus*) to *kt* (or χ*t*), seems to have left a mark on Gallo-Romance.[59] Two other local influences show up in the texts, scanty as they are. There is input from local Greek (in *canastr-* for the usual Latin form of the loan-word, *canistrum*: see above, 3.5), and lexical borrowing from a vernacular language (probably Celtic itself), in *panna*. Both of these terms must have caught on in the local Latin, because they survive in Gallo-Romance (3.5). We also saw (V.2.5) further signs of Celtic phonetic interference in Latin inscriptions of Gaul. Gaulish loan-words would have been a feature of the Latin of ordinary Gauls at this period using Latin only as their second language. Another Gaulish word for a type of vessel, *souxtum*, has turned up in a potters' account from Vayres (Gironde) written in Gaulish; that it passed into localised Latin has now become clear from a Vindolanda tablet (see IX.7.1). Military units stationed at Vindolanda in Britain were from across the Channel.

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[59] See e.g. Väänänen (1983: 495), Adams (2003a: 438), and above, V.2.1.3 n. 39.

I elaborate on the significance of the texts of La Graufesenque to the subject of this book. The texts show the operation of one of the factors traditionally thought to be a cause of regional diversification, language contact (see below, 4.4). The circumstances of the contact are known. The pottery was isolated and rural. In a regional metropolis such as Lugdunum there were native speakers of Latin having little or no contact with Gaulish. The Latin inscriptions of Lugdunum are mainly formal and correct. Language contact was most influential in small closed communities where there was a special reason why two languages should have been in use. The pottery was of Italian type, set up, it is believed, by incomers from central Italy who made use of local workers. The immigrants are the ones who introduced Latin, and the locals adopted some Latin in accommodation to them. There is pressure on those attempting to explain the emergence of the Romance languages to find all-embracing determinants of the features of national languages such as French and Italian (see in general 5.2 below). But on the ground in the Roman Empire the diversity of Latin must to some extent have been localised, with variations from community to community. It would be uninformative to describe the Latin of the potters as a specimen of the 'Latin of Gaul'. It was the Latin of one small group, and it no doubt differed from the Latin of the nearest big town. If we had more documents such as those from Falerii and La Graufesenque we would surely have a pattern, at least down to the early centuries AD, of diversity from place to place across the Empire, showing no particular correlation with modern national boundaries. Gradual diffusion may have produced more widespread dialects (4.5).

3.6.2   *Spanish mining communities*

Speakers in places where mining is a way of life (such as former Cornish tin-mining or Welsh coal-mining communities) tend to see technical terms of the mines as a distinctive feature of their local dialect (see I.3). Hornsby (2006: 42) notes that coal-mining terms 'figure prominently in lexical descriptions of northern [French] vernaculars'. He cites a typology of regional lexemes, which has as one of its three components regional creations 'referring to local specificities' (see below, 4.8), and it is to that category that mining terms belong. Earlier (I.3) I classified mining terms as at best weak, not strong, regionalisms, in that they tend to be terms without obvious substitutes current in other regions. Similarly Hornsby plays down the significance of such words, preferring to see them as elements of the 'register of coal mining' (2006: 108) rather than of a local dialect. If they 'figure more prominently in everyday life in the north [of France]

than elsewhere', that is 'a matter of local socio-economic conditions, not of language per se' (Hornsby 2006: 42).

I am disinclined to be as dismissive as this of some of the mining terms that have come up in this book. At V.2.3 we saw a set of terms to do with gold mining reported by Pliny from the north-west of Spain. The majority of these are not of Latin or Greek origin but are loan-words, almost certainly taken from pre-Roman Hispanic languages. As such they are peculiar to Spain, and could not have been heard in mines in a distant part of the Empire without Hispanic substrates. Quite a few of them have mundane meanings that might have been conveyed in everyday Latin, if only in some cases by circumlocutions: they refer to such things as galleries, trenches, channels and gold in different forms. Thus, while they are components of a register, that register has a Spanish look to it, and a comparable register in another part of the Empire would have been different. The gold mines of Spain present us with another group similar to that discussed in the preceding section, a closed community in which the vernacular language pre-dating the Romans was influencing the Latin introduced by the ruling power. There is a world of difference between the Latin of the potters at La Graufesenque and that of the miners in Spain, which underlines the remarks made at the end of the last section about the pattern of regional diversity in the Roman Empire.

Further terms from Spanish mining turn up in the *Lex metalli Vipascensis* (see VI.5.1), but these are more exposed to Hornsby's dismissal.

3.6.3   *The* Tablettes Albertini

The Albertini tablets (VIII.6) provide a snapshot of a type of Latin in use in a remote pocket of Vandal North Africa between the years 493 and 496. The corpus is extensive, and full of phonetic misspellings. Notable amid the spelling confusion is the absence of vocalic misspellings of the type generated in texts and inscriptions from other parts of the Empire by the proto-Romance mergers in the central front and back vowels (see X.5.1.2.3–4). It was suggested on this evidence and that of an earlier African corpus (the Bu Njem ostraca: VIII.7) and also inscriptions that the vowel system of African Latin may have been the same as that of Sardinian.

There is evidence in the tablets for a feature of regionalisation that we have exemplified in other parts of the Empire. The tablets have to do with sales of land, and they abound in terms to do with the landscape and its division. Terminology relating to the land and its use and measurement is often localised, and I will recapitulate below.

In the African locality where pieces of land were changing hands there was a fortified place, referred to three times as a *centenarium* (VIII.6.1). The word, though probably of Latin origin, was particular to Africa, and had even been borrowed by Punic. Whatever the object was, and whatever the etymology of the word, it would have been possible to refer to the structure in some other Latinate way. Thirteen words were discussed earlier (see VIII.6.11), most of them relating to the landscape. Three look to be of African origin (from this semantic field *gemio* and *aumas*), and they testify to the intrusion in North Africa of vernacular words into the terminology of the landscape. It has proved impossible to deduce the precise meanings of these and other terms, but it is obvious that these two (and also the Latin word *massa*) referred to parcels of land of one sort or another. Whatever the defining features of these parcels, their description could have been effected in purely Latin terms, perhaps by means of *particella* + specification, but when Latin was adopted it had been simpler to take over the local designations into the new language. Other terms are of Latin origin (e.g. *marinus*, *gibba* and *pullatus*; also *massa* just mentioned), and at least three of these (the first group just listed) had straightforward Latin equivalents and can be classified as dialect words (VIII.6.11). Two of the words just mentioned share the feature that they can be related to regionalisms of Italy. *Pullatus* looks like a suffixal derivative of the adjective *pullus*, which was applied to a characteristic of soil in Campania (IV.1.3.1; also above, 3.5). *Massa* was in use exclusively in Italy in later Latin of a large estate (VII.11.1); in this part of Africa, on the other hand, it designated a small part of an estate.

I now review some other localised words applied to the landscape and its exploitation that have come up in earlier chapters. Varro noted that *muri* 'walls' was used of an *agger* 'mound' at Reate (III.6.6), and another local word for a type of mound (*arula* 'little altar') is recorded from Campania by Pliny (IV.1.3.1). Similarly a Gaulish word *comberos* of a 'heap' (*aceruus*) of stones appears in a gloss and survives in Gallo-Romance (IV.3.3.7). Another term mentioned by Varro is *tebae* (III.6.6), used of a slope in the Sabine country. Pliny ascribed a use of *porculetum* (indicating a type of field) to the Umbri and Marsi (IV.1.3.3). *Pullus* (of friable soil) was mentioned in the last paragraph; various synonyms turn up in ancient discussions of the term. By contrast *porca*, a term of land measurement mentioned by Columella from Baetica (IV.2.2), is a weak regionalism. *Acnua* on the other hand, a rustic term in Baetica, may have been replaceable by *actus quadratus* (IV.2.2). Columella notes that the Gaulish word *candetum* indicating a measure of area had two different meanings in parts of Gaul (IV.3.3.5). Pliny (IV.3.3.8) says that the Gaulish word *marga* 'marl' was in use among

Gauls and Britons (in Gaulish, one assumes, not Latin). He mentions two Gaulish compounds of which this is an element, and in one case it can be deduced from Romance evidence that the term had entered Gallic Latin. According to the Scholia to Juvenal Gauls used *broga* to mean the same as *ager* (the Gaulish word could also denote a boundary), and again it can be deduced from Gallo-Romance that the word had entered Gallic Latin (IV.3.3.9). The participle *conrogata* as used substantivally by Caesarius of Arles of a type of rural labour was noted above, 3.5. In the Frankish laws there is a group of local words for types of agricultural building that are reflected in Gallo-Romance: *spicarium, sutis, scuria* (V.4.1), *granica* (V.4.3). Two others that were also localised but did not survive are *machalum* (V.4.1 n. 204) and *colonica*, which is used by the Gaul Ausonius and by a few other Gallic writers (V.6.7). *Centenarium* (see above) may have been an African word for a grain store. A striking Gallic word is the substantivised participle *ex(s)artum*, used of a clearing in the *Lex Burgundionum* and reflected only in Gallo-Romance (V.4.2). The Salic Law also has a set of terms for different types of plant beds surviving in Gallo-Romance (*napina, pisaria, fabaria, lenticlaria*: see V.4.1). Several of the terms in the Frankish laws are strong dialect terms, notably *sutis* 'pigsty' (= *hara*) and *granica* = *granarium. Spicarium* too could probably have been replaced by *granarium.* For a Gallic measure of distance see V.6.6 on *leuca.* A Celtic word for a measure of area, *arepennis,* is found in Britain as well as Gaul (IX.7.5). *Campellus* belonged to Gallic Latin (V.6.2). For *paramus* see above, 3.5 with cross reference. A notable British usage is *excussorium* 'threshing-floor' (CL *area*) (IX.8); the word lingered on in this sense in Britain into the medieval period.

The above terms could be classified into three groups: strong dialect terms for which there existed a substitute; weak regionalisms, which probably could not have been replaced; and terms in between, expressing ideas that might have been rendered in standard Latin by phrases or circumlocutions.

3.7 Wider areas: those crossing geographical or political boundaries

Small communities such as villages may have their own local characteristics. By contrast I have alluded to an emerging concept during the Empire that large provinces such as Africa and Gaul had separate linguistic identities. There are also extensive linguistic regions that do not overlap neatly with political or geographical entities. I move on to these.

In the Romance languages 'lexical areas' (areas in which one lexeme rather than a synonym survived) often cross geographical or political boundaries.

In this book three such areas have had a place. British and Gallic Latin (see IX.7) shared lexemes reflecting their Celtic background. African Latin and Sardinian shared features, and not only, it seems, lexical, though we do not have any Sardinian Latin worth speaking of and have to work backwards from the Romance dialects. Finally, Gallic Latin and Gallo-Romance, particularly that of the south (Provence), shared lexical features with Ibero-Romance, particularly Catalan. Again the material for the comparison is lopsided, in that a good deal of Gallic Latin survives but there is no popular Latin from Catalonia. In this section I comment first on this third lexical area and then on Sardinian and its connections with African Latin and some other varieties.

Rohlfs was cited at V.2.1, n. 21 on the agreements between Provençal and Catalan. The most striking correspondence between the usage of southern Gaul and that of the Iberian peninsula seen in this book lies in the distribution of the wind name *circius* (or *cercius*) (IV.1.3.6). The word is attested in antiquity for Narbonensis and Spain (as early as Cato: see above, 3.5), and it survived in the Romance of both areas, including Provençal and Catalan. Here for once we have evidence for Spain of the Roman as well as the modern period. The distribution in this case may reflect the Celtic origin of the term.

Baro 'man' was shared by both Gaul and Spain but it had also spread to Britain (IX.7.4; also 4.5 below).

Patres often has the collective meaning 'father and mother' in Gallic inscriptions, and in that sense it survives not in Gallo-Romance but in Ibero-Romance (X.11.4).

We saw earlier (3.5, 3.6.1) that the Greek form *canastr-* for *canistrum* found in southern Gaul lived on in southern France and parts of the Iberian peninsula. There was Greek settlement in the south of Gaul (Marseille), and from there colonists spread to Emporiae (north-east of Barcelona) and elsewhere, and the Greek form will have entered local varieties of Latin from the Greek colonies. Other correspondences between the two regions were noted in Chapter V: see 3.5 on *alburnus*, 4.1 on *limitaris* (rather than *liminaris*), 4.2 on *ex(s)artum*, 4.3 on *quare*, 4.4 on *traucum*, 5.2 on *craxantus* and 6.4 on *flado* (a slightly more complicated case).

*Lausa, a term of possible Celtic origin of which a derivative has turned up in a Lusitanian inscription (VI.5.1), is reflected in the Iberian peninsula and south-eastern France but also further afield in northern Italy. If it is Celtic its distribution would have the same explanation as that of *circius*; from Celtic regions it may have diffused into the north of Italy.

Similarly *pelagus*, which is common in Spanish writers, is reflected in Old Provençal and Ibero-Romance (including Catalan), but as well in some Italian dialects (VI.3).

Two Hispanisms found in the Spanish writer Isidore of Seville (VI.5.3) have precisely the distribution we have been looking at. *Fimare* (a certain emendation) survived in Old Provençal and Catalan, and *cattare* 'see' in Spanish, Portuguese and Old Provençal.

Finally, see VII.11.2.2 n. 135 on the Romance distribution of *subinde* 'often'.

There are at least three ways in which correspondences may arise across boundaries. First, a correspondence may reflect a pre-Roman linguistic unity in an area that we are attuned to see as divided. Forms of Celtic were spoken in Britain, Gaul and Spain, and some Celtic terms inevitably entered the Latin of these areas jointly when the Romans came. Greek was spoken in parts of both Gaul and Spain. Second, contacts between two or more adjacent regions may be so constant that usages are diffused from one place to another. Only diffusion will account for the appearance of *baro* in Britain (see below, 4.5). Third, a dialect continuum (for which term see below, 5.2) will not respect geographical boundaries.

I turn to Sardinia and Africa, which had had connections going well back before the Romans. On the African and Sardinian vowel system see above, 3.6.3. Half a dozen or so lexical correspondences between African Latin and Sardinian were discussed in Chapter VIII (see the summary at VIII.11).

Not all of these shared lexical items were unique to Sardinia and Africa. It would be implausible to suggest that Sardinia formed a linguistic unity with Africa detached from other Mediterranean regions (such as Italy and its dialects). *Acina*, for example, is found in African Latin and survives in Romance not only on Sardinia but in some southern Italian dialects (VI.2.13). The African term *buda* had undergone diffusion through Sardinia right around the Mediterranean (VIII.3). Connections between Sardinia and Italy were ongoing, and even in this book with its Latin focus several linguistic parallels have been seen (see VII.11.2.5, 11.3.2.5 on *pumica/fumiga*, 11.3.2.2 on *Iouia*, 11.3.2.18 on *machinare* 'mill', 11.4 on *laetamen*, 11.1 on *arcella*).

The material in this section has a relevance to the question whether late texts can ever be assigned a provenance on linguistic evidence. If one insists that only a text with a precise origin has a genuine provenance, then it would have to be conceded that few texts (other than those with an author of known origin) fit the bill. But it has just been seen that linguistic areas

do not necessarily correspond to geographical areas with a single name. If a less exacting definition of 'provenance' is accepted, it may sometimes be possible to attribute a text to a vague linguistic area, if not a specific place. I illustrate this point from two contrasting texts.

3.7.1   Mulomedicina Chironis *and* Peregrinatio Aetheriae
The *Mulomedicina*, a veterinary work probably of the fourth century, has sometimes been connected with Sardinia (see VIII.4.5.4 with n. 78), and it does have usages mainly or exclusively surviving in Romance there. The fullest account of the evidence is in Grevander (1926: 129–45), though not every item is equally compelling, and Grevander has missed another element, the African, and has not adduced all the evidence that he might have. I offer some remarks about the origin of the work and about the problems of localising texts of its period. A comparison will be made with the *Peregrinatio Aetheriae*, another text of the fourth century. I should stress that any ancient book like the *Mulomedicina* containing recipes or remedies is bound to be a compilation, that is drawn from a diversity of sources which may have had different geographical origins.

The *Mulomedicina* has the colour term *spanus* applicable to the horse (VIII.9.3; cf. 2 above), a usage surviving in the Mediterranean islands of Sardinia and Corsica. But the African Nonius Marcellus commented on this term, using the first person *dicimus*, and it is likely that it was current in Africa as well. A usage of this kind cannot serve to localise a text precisely, but it may point to a general area (one might guardedly say 'dialect area').

This is not the only term in the *Mulomedicina* that can be linked with both Sardinia and Africa. Another is *pala* used in the metaphorical meaning 'shoulder-blade, shoulder'. The usage is confined to African writers and the *Mulomedicina*, and reflected in Sardinia (VIII.4.5.4).

There are other Africanisms in the *Mulomedicina* that have no known connection with Sardinia. Particularly striking is the plant name *c(h)erda*. A *testimonium* ascribes this to *Afri,* and it is also found in the African writer Cassius Felix (see VIII.4.2.4). African plant names have been treated (see VIII.4.1–3, 4.7.4) as evidence for the African origin of the texts in which they occur, because they usually had Greco-Latin synonyms and were of a type unlikely to move in Latin from the area in which they had entered the language.

Another African plant name in the *Mulomedicina* is *barbata* (*herba*), which is otherwise found in a *testimonium* attributing it to *Afri* (see VIII.4.5.4 n. 77).

These pieces of evidence should not be seen as conflicting. We do not have to decide between Sardinia and Africa, nor can we attempt to do so. A compiler working in southern Mediterranean regions or adjacent parts of Italy might either have had access to sources from anywhere in the region or have spoken a dialect spread in the fourth century across a wide southern area.

There are indeed as well apparent Italian regional elements in the *Mulomedicina*. *Coxa* in the generalised sense 'leg' is reflected only in the dialect of Naples and is attested in Latin texts from Italy, notably in those of the 'Ravenna' school of medical writing (VIII.11.3.2.14). It is also found in the *Mulomedicina*.

Famex, a very rare word for a condition of the horse's foot and then (in Romance) by metonymy for the corresponding part of the foot, is also suggestive of Italy, given its survival in Italian dialects (Calabria, Naples) (see VIII.4.5.4 n. 79 for bibliography).[60]

There is at least one example of the passive periphrasis *fio* + perfect participle in the *Mulomedicina*, a construction that we have been able to illustrate only from Italian texts (VII.11.2.3). It survived only in northern Italy.

One should not always harbour the hope of attributing a late text, if an attribution is to be made at all, to a clear-cut modern geographical entity such as Sardinia, Italy or France. Such an aim is particularly unrealistic in the case of earlier texts (say, those of the fourth as distinct from the sixth century). Dialect regions may have straddled modern national boundaries, and the lexical selections of later Romance varieties had not necessarily been firmly made. It is, however, something to be able to assign a text even to a fairly extensive area such as the southern Mediterranean, provided that that area has a certain coherence (if not a modern geographical name). The evidence is good that the *Mulomedicina* (whether its sources or author) came from a region embracing parts of Italy, the Mediterranean islands and Africa.

By contrast the *Peregrinatio* may be attributed to a north-western region, but again one which cannot be tied to a single country in the modern sense. Two usages of particular interest came up. *Plicare* in the sense 'approach' is suggestive of the Iberian peninsula (V.5.5.5), but other unambiguously Iberian elements in the *Peregrinatio* are not found. *Pullus* rather than *gallus* was Aetheria's standard word for 'cock' (V.5.5.6), and that preference is out

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[60] See also Adams (1995b: 248) on the Italian reflexes of another very rare term in the *Mulomedicina*, *lacca*.

of line with most Romance languages, in which *gallus* survives widely. *Pullus* 'cock' survives only in Logudorese (Sardinia) and Gallo-Romance dialects, and is scattered about in Latin texts in such a way as to suggest that it was current in localised pockets. It is attested in Africa (VIII.4.7.2), and there is additional evidence for African currency from Berber, which it entered as a loan-word. It is the standard word for 'cock' in Anthimus (V.5.5.6), whose Latin has marked Gallic elements (V.5.1). Taking the Romance evidence and these Latin attestations together, we can say that *pullus* 'cock' had some currency in parts of Gaul, Sardinia and Africa. Aetheria is unlikely to have been an African (she was familiar with the Rhone), let alone Sardinian, and it is likely that she knew the usage from somewhere in the north. *Plicare* and *pullus* together point to the north-west (in which I include here Gaul and at least the northern part of the Iberian peninsula), but it is not possible to be more precise than that. I conclude that the *Mulomedicina* is a south-eastern text and the *Peregrinatio* a north-western.

3.8   *Provinces*

I now turn to the Latin of one or two provinces in the conventional sense. The separation of what I have called explicit evidence from implicit has meant that no one province has been treated in its entirety in one place.

It is African Latin that has emerged as the best attested regional variety, and that is paradoxical, given the scepticism that it has attracted since Sittl was discredited. The evidence is scattered over three chapters (IV, VIII, X), and embraces the vowel and consonant systems, accent in a vaguer sense, and the lexicon. It consists of *testimonia* of exceptional quality, texts of a special type whose writers were ready to dip into the vernacular, two non-literary corpora which are dated and as extensive as any such corpora from other parts of the Empire, and inscriptions.

The most compelling *testimonia* are from Augustine. He admitted to differences of sound between his speech and that of some (educated) Italians (IV.1.2.3). The remark is in a private letter and betrays a linguistic insecurity. There is also a passage of Jerome (IV.4.4) about an African grammarian whose speech had an African *stridor*. Educated Africans had a recognisable accent of which they were conscious themselves (see above, 2), and these are not the only *testimonia* pointing in this direction (see IV.4.1). African Latin was also stigmatised (IV.4.1; also IV.1.2.3).

Augustine also alluded to the vowel system in a revealing way (IV.4.2). The remark coheres with the evidence of inscriptions and of some non-literary documents in suggesting that the African vowel system may have

differed from that of most other regions (see above, 3.6.3, 3.7 p. 707). Whereas Consentius in one place (IV.1.2.12.2) when speaking of Italy (Rome) makes it clear that he has in mind the lower classes, neither he (IV.4.2) nor Augustine makes any social distinctions when dealing with Africa: Africans in general say this or that. It is possible that koineisation (above, 3.4) had taken place in Africa, such that in some respects there was an African sound, whatever the educational level of the speaker. That would not rule out regional variations within Africa marked by different features.

There is evidence for lexical regionalisms in Africa. Some of it is in medical texts (VIII. 4). Indeed we have been able to localise several medical and technical texts, and not only African: the *Compositiones Lucenses* and Oribasius translation to northern Italy, Anthimus' work on diet to an area spanning northern Italy and Gaul, and Mustio, the translation of Dioscorides and the *Liber tertius* to Africa. Cassius Felix is known to have been African from non-linguistic pointers, but his Latin too has African elements. Lexical evidence is also found in the Albertini tablets (VIII.6). It is possible that its terms to do with the landscape were localised even within Africa.

I would draw attention finally to the distinction between Africa and Gaul that seems to emerge from inscriptions in the treatment of the short vowel *i* and that of /b/ and /w/ (X.5).

The other province from which the evidence is good is Gaul. Documents and *testimonia* scattered over the period from the first to the seventh century were considered. A substantial number of strong dialect terms was noted (see the summary at V.7.3) which distinguished the Latin of Gaul from that of some other provinces. Some lexical variation within Gaul itself was also identified (see V.7.3.1, p. 365, 7.4). In the early period there are signs of phonetic interference from Gaulish in localised Latin (V.2.3), and in inscriptions hints that at least one phonological change took place later in Gaul than in Africa (X.5).

4 CAUSES OF REGIONAL VARIETY

Causes of regional diversity have been discussed throughout this book (II.21, III.9.4, IV.1.3.7, IV.5.3, V.7.7, VII.12), and I here offer a summary. Latin was an imperial rather than a geographically confined language, which spread out from Rome both within Italy and to distant provinces. It is comparable with languages such as English, which has always shown dialectal variation in its homeland but has been subject to change in the overseas

colonies as well. I have dealt with Italy itself in several places (Chapters II, III, IV, VII), but much has also been said about the provinces, and for that reason I summarised at I.11 Trudgill's (2004) account of the determinants of colonial forms of English.

I have taken the view that the differentiation of Latin (and emergence of the Romance languages) cannot be explained from a single factor such as the date of foundation of the provinces but was a complex development with multiple causes. In this I agree with a recent overview of the problem by Stefenelli (1996); cf. too Frank (2002) for a critique of the approach that seeks a single decisive cause. Stefenelli discusses such factors as the chronology and intensity of Romanisation in different places, the social and regional origins of those spreading the language, substrate and superstrate influence, decentralisation under the Empire and divergent localised developments, geographical barriers and isolation, and the competition between linguistic innovation and conservatism.[61] He cited very little evidence, but the evidence collected in this book bears out the influence of most of these factors. The influences discussed below overlap with those of Stefenelli, but I have set them out as they have been presented in the book and not tried to relate my own account to that of Stefenelli.

4.1   Archaisms

Dialectologists have traditionally looked at colonial or provincial varieties of an imperial language as repositories of archaisms (see I.6). They have sought out old usages surviving in remote places that had died at the centre, and presented these as dialect features. Such archaisms exist. It would be possible, for example, to cite words or word forms still current in Australian or American English which are defunct in Britain. Classicists have long since fastened on to the theory that colonial varieties of a language may survive intact, and have given it exaggerated explanatory power as accounting for the differences between Gallic, Spanish and African Latin and that of Rome (see I.6). E. Löfstedt (VI.2) claimed that the Latin-speaking inhabitants of Spain spoke 'a rather older Latin than the colonists in Gaul', because Spain was colonised earlier than Gaul. According to Wölfflin (VIII.1.1) the 'Latin of Plautus and Cato' came to Africa with soldiers and traders in 146 BC. The assumption is always that Latin once transported to a province was fossilised in the form that it had at the time of colonisation, as if each province existed in isolation untouched by the influence of incomers. The

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[61] Stefenelli's factors are very similar to those listed by Tovar (1964), citing C. Mohrmann.

theory has been pushed further. It has been asserted that the character of the different Romance languages reflects the date at which the various provinces were occupied by the Romans (VI.2). The language of Sicily reflects the Latin of Plautus, Spanish that of Ennius, French that of Caesar, and so on. The theory pays no attention to facts. The provinces (even Sardinia) were never cut off but constantly received newcomers (see the remarks on Africa at VIII.1.1). The material assembled in this book can be used to put the theory into perspective. In this section I will set out the provincial archaisms that I have found, and in the next will review the provincial innovations that turn up all over the place in late Latin. Innovations far outnumber the tiny handful of genuine archaisms.

For a definition of archaism in this context see VI.2.12. If a word is found in Plautus but then fell out of use, to reappear centuries later in an African writer, it could not be taken to be an archaism which had survived in African speech in the centuries between Plautus and the late writer (see the remarks at VIII.1.1). It would almost certainly be an archaism of a different type, irrelevant here. Some learned African writers were students of early Latin, and they took recherché terms from Plautus and others and used them in the literary language as deliberate archaisms. What we are looking for are usages that had reached a province (or outlying area) early and remained in unbroken popular use there, having early fallen out of use back at the centre. If a term had continued in use at the centre as well, it could not be an archaism of the province, and might even have reached the province not at the time of colonisation but much later, from the centre where it was still current. Archaisms of the desired type would have the first of the following three characteristics and at least one of the other two (see also VI.2.12, p. 397): (1) they would be attested in the early Republic, such that there is reason to believe that they were current at Rome when the province was founded (or the outlying area Romanised); (2) they would have fallen out of use at Rome soon after and would appear nowhere thereafter except perhaps in the province; (3) they would ideally be reflected in the Romance language of the province but nowhere else. Features (2) and (3) need not both be present. A popular usage may disappear from written Latin and resurface only in the Romance language of the province (3); alternatively, there may be evidence for its currency after the period of early Latin in the province (2), even though it does not survive in Romance.

A Spanish archaism was noted by Varro (III.6.5), the use of *cenaculum* in its original sense 'dining room' at Corduba (see above, 2). The meaning is not attested in early Latin itself but is established by the etymology. When Corduba was founded the meaning must still have been alive. At Rome

the sense of the word changed but the old meaning lingered on in several places as well as Corduba.

The adverb *commodo* for CL *commode* was current among the Vestini and Marrucini in roughly the second or third century AD (IV.1.3.1). The form in *-o* had been in use in early Latin but disappeared at Rome after Plautus.

Quinquatrus retained its original meaning in certain towns of Latium until at least the late Republic, but not at Rome itself (III.6.4).

One of the uses of *quando* lived on in parts of Latium and Samnium in the late Republic but was dropped at Rome except as an archaism (III.6.2). Since the lost usage later became widespread in Romance including Italian it must at a later date have been diffused back to the centre from the provinces.

It is mainly in Spain that investigators have claimed to find archaisms. I went through the evidence at VI.2 and dismissed almost all of it; note too the discussion of *acina* at VI.2.13. There remained as likely Spanish archaisms the adjective *cuius* (VI.2.2), and the frequentative *incepto* (VI.2.11). *Couus* for *cauus* (VI.2.3) is possibly another such case. *Vaciuus,* an early Latin equivalent of *uacuus*, disappears after Terence but turns up again in Romance dialects away from the centre, including Ibero-Romance, and it is to be assumed that it reached some provincial regions before falling out of use at Rome (VI.2.10).

These regional archaisms do not amount to much. In the history of Latin they are no more than a curiosity, like their equivalents in other imperial languages. The date of colonisation of (e.g.) Spain did not determine the character of Spanish Latin or of Ibero-Romance, though one or two early usages did linger on.

4.2   Innovation

The tiny number of regional archaisms may be contrasted with the abundance of regional innovations that have come up. I allude selectively to some evidence.

Speakers are always innovating, for example lexically by coining words, borrowing from other languages, inventing metaphors, or extending the meanings of words in classifiable ways. In dialect studies cities have traditionally been seen as the prime source of innovation (I.5), but in this book a good deal of the innovation described had occurred in rural or provincial places. The monophthongisation of *ai*, for example, started outside Rome

(II.11). Some lexical evidence from rural Italy was noted at III.9.4, and localised Italian metaphors came up at IV.1.3.1 and 1.3.4.

In Gaul (Chapter V) innovations were noted (e.g.) at La Graufe-senque, and in Marcellus, Caesarius and the Frankish law codes, and that is to say nothing of the metalinguistic evidence in Chapter IV. In Italy in the *Compositiones Lucenses* all five usages discussed were innovations (VII.11.2), and the nineteen (Italianate) features of the translation of Oribasius at VII.11.3.2 were likewise (see VII.11.3.3). At VIII.4.1–5 fifteen distinctive Africanisms were discussed, all of them innovations (see VIII.4.6), and the thirteen features of the *Tablettes Albertini* (VIII.6) were also new. The nine peculiarities shared by Britain and Gaul (IX.7) were innovations.

4.3   A different way of looking at archaism and innovation: lexical change at the centre or margins of an empire

In the introductory chapter (I.11) five reasons were listed from Trudgill (2004) why colonial forms of English differ from British English. Two of these were generalised in the following form:

(1) After the establishment of colonies linguistic changes may take place in the homeland which do not take place in the colonies.

(2) Linguistic changes may take place in the colonies (or some of them) which do not take place in the homeland.

These two factors are much the same as our 'archaism' and 'innovation' above, but presented in a different way, in that the forms of contrast between the centre and the provinces are made explicit. I include this additional section because it is worth stressing that there are different ways of looking at the same phenomena. Moreover the overlap between Trudgill's two factors and 'archaism' and 'innovation' is not total. Trudgill was concerned specifically with linguistic differences between colonial English and British (mainland) English. But linguistic innovation may set up a distinction not only between a colony and an imperial centre, but between two isolated communities within, say, a colony. A fish might have acquired different names in different parts of Gaul, but have had no current name at all at Rome.

'Lexical change' in this context might refer to semantic change occurring in one place but not another, to the coining of a neologism in one place but not another, or to the dropping of a usage in one place but not another. This last phenomenon was also called 'shrinkage' at I.8 and in earlier chapters.

4.4   Language contact

Language contact has traditionally been treated as a determinant of dialect formation and language change in general, and it has already been discussed in this chapter (3.1, 3.6.1). Its influence has sometimes been exaggerated. It was seen, for example (X.6, 6.2), that the merger of /b/ and /w/ in Latin has been put down to the influence of about half a dozen languages, when it is at least as likely to reflect internal developments (weakening of intervocalic consonants and developments affecting labials: X.6.2).

   But language contact did have a marked effect on local Latin, particularly in the lexicon. For some general remarks about substrate influence see II.21, p. 113, III.9.4. At La Graufesenque Gaulish affected the lexicon and also the phonetics of the Latin of the (bilingual) potters (V.2; also above, 3.6.1), and in certain semantic fields in particular (flora and fauna: see below, 5.1) Gaulish influence on Gallic Latin was ongoing; for an item from a different semantic field see IV.3.3.9 (*broga*). There is evidence that a Gaulish phoneme referred to once in Latin literature as *tau Gallicum* was heard in Gallic Latin (V.2.5). Celtic influence shows up too in British Latin. A notable item was the form *deuus* for *deus*, attested twice in Britain and probably derived from Celtic (IX.7.7). For forms of substrate influence in Gaul see V.7.6. There was also superstrate influence in the same region, from Germanic (V.4). In various African corpora the lexical input from African languages is marked (VIII.4.1–3, 6, 7). The use of what looks like a vocative for the nominative in names in Africa may reflect the interaction of Latin and Punic (VIII.10.1; cf. also II.17 for some comparable material from Etruria). There are signs of the intrusion too of Hispanic elements into Spanish Latin (IV.2.3, VI.5.1–2). Greek influence on Latin was too widespread to have much regional significance, but in the late period (sixth century or thereabouts) some unusual Greek entered northern Italian Latin, perhaps from Byzantium (VII.11.3.4.1, 11.3.5, 11.6). Greek was spoken in colonies on the Mediterranean coasts of Gaul and Spain, where it had some impact on local varieties of Latin (3.6.1). Columella reveals that in Cadiz the name for the John Dory was *zaeus* (IV.2.2), a word attested in Greek, from which it must have been borrowed by a Spanish variety of Latin. Another region in which localised Greek had some influence on local Latin was the south of Italy. *Gastra* survived in southern Italian dialects of Romance and also of Greek (VII.4); the word is found twice in Petronius.

   At 3.1 and 3.6.1 some of the circumstances in which language contact may be influential were noted. In closed bilingual communities those

speaking a second language may impose on it phonetic, morphological and lexical features of their first.

4.5 Diffusion

At I.5 I referred to two ways in which dialect features may be diffused from a starting point such as a city to neighbouring or more remote areas. The diffusion may take place step by step from one region to an adjacent one and then beyond ('contagious diffusion'), or there may be a 'leap' over space ('parachuting'). Diffusion particularly of the first type is likened to a wave ('wave theory'). Some of those writing about the regional diversification of Latin have had the wave theory in mind without using the term. Lazzeroni regarded the feminine dative in *-a* as irradiating outwards from Latium (II.5). Bonfante thought that the assimilation *mn* > *nn* started at Rome and moved northwards through Italy and beyond (VII.9.2). Herman had the verb form *posit* = *posuit* moving along a line of communications from Italy to Pannonia and then on to Dalmatia (X.8.1). Thielmann (1885) thought that the *habeo*-future developed in Africa and spread outwards from there (see VIII.1 n. 14). Doubt was cast on all these suggestions: they turned out not to be based on evidence. Diffusion is, however, a factor in the regional diversification of a language and the formation of new dialects. If a feature of, say, city pronunciation is diffused into a neighbouring rural area the rural dialect acquires a new feature, which may set it off from the speech of an area at a further remove from the city. It becomes in a limited sense a new dialect. Parachuting, caused for example by the movement of people over a long distance, may establish a usage in an island, as it were, far removed from its place of origin and surrounded in its new abode by manifestations of a different (equivalent) usage.

It has proved easier to find cases of parachuting than of contagious diffusion. That is not difficult to understand. The remains of regional Latin are so fragmented that there rarely survives adequate evidence of a phenomenon from two adjacent areas. It is possible, for example, that there were cases of contagious phonological diffusion around Latium and other parts of Italy in the Republic, but the evidence does not allow us to establish exactly what was happening. I start with parachuting.

Some striking cases were referred to from beyond our period. In the medieval period *granica*, a term for 'barn' which originated in Gaul, was transported by Cistercians, who had developed model forms of farming, to northern Italy and Spain (V.4.3). The Normans carried a number of lexical items from France to the south of Italy and Sicily (IV.1.3.6 n. 120,

V.3.3 n. 91). One such term, *lacrimusa*, designating a type of lizard, is found in Polemius Silvius and reflected in southern France, but it also turns up in Romance in the south of Italy (V.3.3).

The clearest instance of parachuting was seen in the distribution of *Volturnus*, the name of a wind otherwise called *eurus*. The term originated in Apulia, where it is based on the name of a local mountain, but Columella notes that it was also established far off in Baetica (Spain), where it no longer had any etymological point (IV.1.3.6). Columella's information is confirmed by the survival of the term in Ibero-Romance. It can only have been carried to Spain by settlers from the south of Italy.

The African word *buda* was transported, no doubt by those trading in the substance it denoted, from its place of origin across the Mediterranean via Sardinia and Corsica to southern Gaul and mod. Catalonia (VIII.3; cf. above, 3.7). Back in Africa it changed meaning, from botanical term to a term designating a garment made of the plant, in which sense it was equivalent to Lat. *amictus iunceus*, and was thus a dialect term of African Latin. One may speculate that a correspondence between African and Spanish Latin, namely their sharing of the obscure non-Latin word *arrugia* (VIII.4.7.3), also reflects the movement of people between Africa and Spain. Could it be that the word was African not Spanish in origin, and carried to Spain by the Carthaginians?

The parachuting of *baro* 'man' from the Continent to Britain can also tentatively be put down to the movements of a particular group, soldiers of Germanic origin (IX.7.4).

The odd distribution of *aloxinum* 'wormwood', a synonym of the older *absinthium*, may reflect parachuting, but there is not much to go on (V.5.1). The word survives in northern Gallo-Romance and Spain. It has even been suggested that it was taken to northern Gaul by an individual, Anthimus.

The Christian Church must have been responsible for the movement of some quasi-technical terms (cf. on *granica* above). A case was seen in the history of the Christian substitutes for the pagan names of days of the week (*secunda feria* and so on instead of *lunae* [-*is*] *dies* etc.: V.5.5.2). There was an effort by Church fathers in southern Gaul to stamp out the pagan names, but it is in Portugal and a few parts of Spain that the new circumlocutions survive. There must have been discussion in the Church over a wide area about the desirability of imposing the new terms, with success achieved perhaps at some remove from where the proposal originated.

At IV.1.3.1 a suggestion was reported that *pedatus* may have been brought to Campania by military settlers and then generalised in meaning.

Martial's epigram about *bascauda* (a basket) illustrates the way in which a term might travel along with trade in the object to which it refers (IX.7.8). The word was Celtic and survived in Gallo-Romance. The object, with the word, had made an appearance in Rome by the time of Martial. The word is used by Juvenal as well, and had definitely been parachuted to Rome.

Three possible cases of contagious diffusion have emerged, one of them speculative. First, the monophthongisation of *ai/ae* to *e* seems to have spread around Italy during the Republic outside Rome (II.11; also 3.1 above; for an alternative way of explaining the data see II.11.10). Since an open *e* was eventually the outcome of the diphthong wherever Latin was spoken, here is a contagious diffusion that seems to have spread from rural or provincial Italy to Rome rather than in the opposite direction. That causes no surprise. If the only evidence we had for the movement of people within Italy in the Republic consisted of our knowledge of the origin of republican writers, we would still be able to say that there was an influx of outsiders to Rome. Cicero (*Brut.* 258) complains of Rome being inundated by users of 'defiled speech' from diverse places (III.1), and the large number of words established even in educated Latin which betray by phonological features their origins outside Rome (*bos, rufus, rosa, anser* etc.) testifies to contact between provincials and Romans over a long period, and the power of provincial speech to influence Roman (see also above, I.5).

The second example is more vague. In the Republic *testimonia* to do with features of language in Latium are not uncommon but by the Empire we hear rather about Campania and the territories (e.g.) of the Marsi, Aequi, Vestini and Marrucini (2). It was deduced that the speech of Latium may no longer have been so different, and that would reflect the influence of Rome on its periphery.

See finally III.4.3, p. 141 for a suggested history of developments affecting final *-s*.

4.6 *Differential rates of linguistic change in different places*

Sometimes a linguistic change that is to affect all varieties of a language occurs earlier in one place than another. Its variable rate of progress in different places sets up temporary regional distinctions in the period before it becomes universal. The influence of this factor emerges from the discussion in Chapter X of the mergers of long *e* and short *i* and of /b/ and /w/ in Gaul and Africa (and several other places). The front-vowel merger seems to have occurred earlier in Gaul than in some other places, and the B/V confusion is later there than in many places. The monophthongisation of

ai/ae, which was well established in parts of Italy in the Republic, had not yet reached Rome, but it eventually became general in the language; the republican regional variation was thus wiped out in time. The factor under discussion may sometimes be related to the form of linguistic diffusion that has been called a wave effect. A linguistic change spreads from A to B, but until it reaches B, A and an ever-increasing region beyond it remain distinct from B in showing an innovation.

4.7   Isolation

Isolation is difficult to prove as a factor determining regional variety (see above, I.8). Sardinia, for example, may seem to be isolated, but there is evidence for its contacts with Africa and Italy. The fact that *cras* was not replaced in Sardinia may have to do with the failure of the replacements to reach the island because of its isolation (VI.2.12), but many of the innovations of later Latin are found there, as is obvious from a glance at the maps in Rohlfs (1954a). The ultimate lexical choices of the different parts of the Empire are impossible in many cases to explain. We tentatively suggested isolation as the reason for the failure of the Greek loan-word for 'hellebore' to reach the territory of the Marsi (IV.1.3.7), but that view is speculative. It was also suggested (III.9.4) that the lexical and phonetic variations noted by observers around Latium in the Republic may be attributed to the scattered pattern of occupation in the early period. Isolation, if it may be treated seriously, is also linked with the wave theory, in that an innovation irradiating from a starting point may stop short of isolated places.

4.8   Local specificities

Trudgill (2004) cited at I.11 noted that colonial varieties (of English) have had to adapt to topographical and biological features unknown in the homeland. New usages designating local features tend to be seen as distinctive of regional varieties of speech, even if they are not dialect terms in the strong sense. In reference to France Hornsby (2006: 42) observes that 'regional creations, referring to local specificities' (e.g. *coron*, 'distinctive rows of red brick terraced houses typical of northern mining towns') have had a prominent place in accounts of regional dialects. Such terms, which are sometimes a source of local pride, may really be components of a register or incapable of replacement by another term. Some of the words discussed in this book designated local specificities, such as the mining terms referred to above, 3.6.2. Some terms may be more significant than others. While

kangaroo admits of no replacement and cannot be called a dialect word (it is now current worldwide, and not only in English), a French speaker could no doubt refer to a row of terraced houses otherwise than by *coron*, and the word is a better candidate to be treated as a regional term than is *kangaroo*. I have constantly posed the question whether the language had the resources to replace localised terms, and have only attached importance to those that were replaceable.

5 FURTHER THEMES AND PROBLEMS

5.1 Flora and fauna

There is a recurrent theme in this book, that terms to do with flora and fauna are often localised (see e.g. IV.3.3.2). In the material from Roman antiquity there is no more obvious lexical feature of regional varieties than the local variability of words from these semantic fields. Frequently we are told or can deduce that a word for a plant, bird, fish or other animal was particular to an area, and ancient commentators sometimes contrast the terminology of two regions. I here bring out the abundance of the evidence; a good deal of it has been referred to in other connections in this chapter, and I do not cross-refer.

Columella generalised about the variability of names for the same grape varieties throughout Italy (IV.1.3.2). *Mergi* of vine-shoots (*palmites*) was used in Italy (by 'our farmers'), whereas Gauls used a different term (IV.1.3.4). Gauls had a term *marcus* to designate a type of helvennacan vine (IV.3.3.4). *Rumpus* was a Cisalpine dialect word for *tradux*, a horizontally trained vine-shoot (III.6.9).

Varro mentioned a term *legarica*, a substitute for *legumina*, used among Gauls (III.6.9). He also ascribed the name of a tree (*opulus*) to the area of Mediolanum (III.6.9). Pliny contrasted the terms used by Gauls and by Veneti of comfrey (IV.1.3.3). Another plant was called *uettonica* 'in Gaul' and *serratula* 'in Italy' (IV.1.3.4). Elsewhere Pliny noted the names used of a type of centaury by Gauls on the one hand and *nostri* on the other. He gave the name (*consiligo*) used by the Marsi and Aequi for a type of hellebore (IV.1.3.2), and the name (*uenenum terrae*) used by Campanian fishermen of a type of aristolochia (IV.1.3.1). He records plant names in use among the Sabini and Taurini (IV.1.3.3). Jerome ascribed certain words for 'spelt' or the like to Italy and Pannonia (IV.1.3.5). Various words for 'bramble' are noted by Porphyrio, one of them used 'today by peasants in Italy' (IV.1.3.5). *Brisa* and *cereola* were two early Spanish regionalisms found

only in the Spaniard Columella (VI.3). When speaking of northern Italy Columella used the word *samara* of the seed of the elm; it is possible that it survives in northern Italian dialects (VII.7). Isidore remarks on a word (*sarralia*) for wild lettuce (*lactuca agrestis*) in use in Spain, and the observation is confirmed by Romance evidence (IV.2.4). African medical writers use a number of botanical terms of African origin (VIII.4.1–2, 4.7.4). One of them, *gelela*, meant 'gourd' (VIII.4.2.5). Another word for 'gourd' used by 'rustics' (in Italy) is noted in the translation of Oribasius (*cocotia*), and the word survives in Italian dialects (VII.11.3.2.9); *gelela* and *cocotia* were equivalents in different regional varieties of the standard word *cucurbita*. A clear-cut regionalism is *acina* 'grape' (VIII.4.5.3). In Latin texts it is confined to Africa, but Romance evidence shows that it was alive in several nearby places (Sardinia and parts of Calabria and Lucania). A form of the word for 'chestnut tree' (*castenea*) is associated with northern Italy through Romance evidence, and is found in the translation of Oribasius (VII.11.3.2.4). Another botanical term in the work, *susinarius* 'plum tree', can be assigned to Italy (VII.11.3.2.7). It was also suggested (VII.3.1) that Virgil used at least one dialect botanical term, *rustum*.

Conspicuous among regional terms are fish names and bird names. Columella recorded the local name for the John Dory at Cadiz, his place of birth (IV.2.2). Numerous Gallic fish names (and indeed names for other types of animals) appear in the Gaul Polemius Silvius' *Laterculus* (V.3.3), and many of these are found in Ausonius' catalogue of fish (V.3.5) and in Anthimus (V.5.1). Ausonius drew on local knowledge of the river for the components of the catalogue. *R(h)edo*, which is shared by Ausonius and Polemius and attested in no other writer, appears to have had a derivative reflected in the dialect of Lorraine in the region of the Moselle down to the eighteenth century. Seven of the eleven fish names in Anthimus are in Polemius, and a group of these has an even closer connection with Gaul than do the fish names in Ausonius' catalogue (V.5.1). The form of a fish name in the translation of Oribasius, *gufus*, is reflected in Romance only in northern Italian dialects, in keeping with the northern Italian origin of the translation (VII.11.3.2.6).

The Berne scholia on Virgil contrasts an Italian with a Gallic name for the owl (IV.3.3.2). Pliny noted a bird name from Arles (IV.3.3.3) and another from Tuscany (IV.1.3.3). Some bird names with an Italian connection were seen at VII.11.3.2.16–17. *Cicinus* 'swan' is attested in Gallic and Italian texts, and survives in France and Italy (VII.11.3.2.12). Marcellus uses the diminutive *ripariola* adjectivally of a type of *hirundo* 'swallow', i.e. the sand

martin (V.3.1), and as a substantive the word survives in Occitan. *Pullus* 'cock' seems to have been restricted to two or three areas (VIII.4.7.2).

A localised (Gallic) word for 'toad' (*craxantus*) was used by the poetess Eucheria (V.5.2), and *bufo*, also of restricted survival in Romance, may have had the same meaning in Virgil (VII.3.3).

Several words falling into the categories discussed in this section belonged to pre-Roman vernacular languages such as Celtic or Punic/Libyan. As the provinces were Romanised locals tended to hold on to earlier words in these semantic fields, which came into rivalry with more standard Latin words or new formations such as onomatopoeic words. Definite Gaulish words are *cauannus* (IV.3.3.2), *ancorauus* (V.3.3), *alausa* (V.3.5) and *craxantus* (V.5.2). Many of the fish names discussed in this book are without definite etymology, but some of these are likely to have been Gaulish.

5.2 *'Dialects', Latin and Romance*

The expression 'regional dialect' carries its own popular definition, which may be out of line with linguistic reality. It implies a form of speech with features that can be listed, which is spoken within a clearly demarcated region (see I.2). Such a definition may be astray in several respects. It may be difficult to find two speakers in a place who speak in the same way, because individuals accommodate their speech ad hoc to that of their interlocutors, who may be outsiders, pick up features of a standard language, which they combine with localised features, try to suppress what they deem to be stigmatised features of local speech, and differ in educational level. Speech is an amalgam that varies from person to person. The notion of a demarcated region is also problematic. A regional form of speech may have no clear boundaries unless its users are cut off geographically, as by a sea enclosing an island. Even then they are bound to have contacts with outsiders. Sardinian, for example, cannot be detached from other Romance languages. Some observers would prefer to see Romance varieties not as geographically distinct but as merging imperceptibly into one another from village to village in a dialect continuum.[62]

Indeed the naming of dialects (or languages) may reflect extra-linguistic, not linguistic, realities. I illustrate this point from some remarks by Dante in *De uulgari eloquentia*. After a review (1.10.5–6) of the vernaculars (*uulgaria*) of Italy he concludes (1.10.7) that Italy presents a range of 'at least fourteen different vernaculars' (*quare ad minus xiiii uulgaribus sola uidetur*

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[62] See Hornsby (2006: 23), whose wording I partly borrow.

Ytalia uariari), to which he gives (mainly) old regional names such as Apulia, Roma, Tuscia and Lombardia. He then modifies this assertion by saying that these vernaculars vary internally (*que adhuc omnia uulgaria in sese uariantur*), such that, for example, in Tuscia Siena is distinguished in speech from Arezzo, and in Lombardia Ferrara from Piacenza (*ut puta in Tuscia Senenses et Aretini, in Lombardia Ferrarenses et Placentini* [sc. *uariantur*]). It follows that the wider names Tuscia and Lombardia were not chosen simply because they embraced discrete dialect areas. It is just as likely that Dante was conditioned to see Italy as divided into these various regions, and was making the assumption that any linguistic variations he perceived must correspond to the geographical divisions, which, as he observed on further reflection but without abandoning his classification, they did not.

These remarks are relevant to the ancient *testimonia* discussed at 2 above, in which the usage of Italy, Gaul, Africa and so on is noted, or Italy contrasted with Gaul or the like. It is true that in the late period certain texts or parts of texts (e.g. a section of the Ravenna papyri: see VII.11.1) can be ascribed to Gaul or Italy in general terms, and that must reflect the beginnings of the crystallisation by about the sixth century of the lexical choices that were made across large areas in anticipation of Romance. But it was argued at 2 that observations about the usage of Italians, Gauls and so on are not to be taken as establishing that there were already standard varieties of Italian, Gallic and African Latin, but as reflecting the perceived separate identities, easily defined in geographical terms, of the major regions of the Roman Empire. For those ancients with a sense that people in different places spoke in different ways, there was probably a presumption that regional varieties could be neatly mapped on to the geographical or political entities that were most salient. It is even possible that such an attitude provided an impulse to the naming of standard varieties: if Italy did not have a trademark variety to distinguish it from Spain, Gaul and Africa, then it should have. Eventually one variety in Italy acquired prestige through its use in writing and literary works and the cultural reputation of its speakers, and came to be treated as the standard language of Italy, but the linguistic reality was that there was still great local variety. Given the diversity and changing nature of Latin from the earliest period, and the fact that ideology plays a part in the definition of the artificial constructs that are standard languages, it is an absurdity to attempt to trace the origins of the Romance languages back to the date of foundation of the provinces of the Roman world. Named Romance languages are a late invention, and the naming should not obscure the fact that there remained regional diversity within the named languages, and also overlap between the language of one

country and that of another. The naming and division of languages and dialects may be arbitrary, not least when the varieties descend from a single language. Davies ([1987] 2002: 155 n. 4) noted that as a native speaker of Italian she could read Spanish, a language which she had never studied, but could not read Sicilian or Milanese, two Italian dialects, without the help of a translation.

It is also likely that those treating, say, Praenestine Latin as a separate entity in the Republic were indifferent to the overlap that it might have had with other varieties in Latium. Praeneste was identifiable, and therefore so was its Latin. Inscriptions show that its features, such as they are, are also found elsewhere.

There is nothing unique about the variety that has been presented in this book, or about the factors, often competing with one another (e.g. archaism versus innovation, standard language versus traditional dialect), that contributed to the local diversity of the language. What is unusual about Latin is that it has been in unbroken use for so long in a coherent group of former (mainly western) provinces of the Roman Empire. We should get away from the idea that Latin was monolithic until a very late date, when some catastrophic event caused it to 'split up', or that it only showed regional diversification from the Empire onwards. Regional variety, albeit difficult to identify because of the paucity of the evidence, is there from the time of almost the earliest records, though its patterning changed because of historical events. There were first scattered small communities in Italy with their own features. These features lingered on even within Latium until the late Republic, showing up in *testimonia* of the period, in special passages in literary texts, and to a limited extent in inscriptions. Rome rose to power in Italy and other Italic languages were driven out by Latin, but there was a period when second-language learners mixed Latin and Italic features, thereby creating odd, but ephemeral, varieties of Latin in provincial parts of Italy. Rome influenced the Latin of the countryside as outsiders (such as the Faliscans) began to accord Roman Latin prestige and to adopt its usages alongside their own. Grammarians and others sought to codify 'correct Latin', *Latinitas*, and that became a model, first for educated provincial Italians, who would have combined its features with some local retentions (see VII.2 on Varro; also III.4.3 on L. Cotta). The distant provinces were established, and Latin was brought into contact with different languages, all of which left their mark in the regions and gave local forms of Latin a distinctive character. African Latin in particular came to be recognised by outsiders and Africans themselves as different. The types of innovations that any language displays took place locally, but

since communications between one area and another were not immediate in antiquity some innovations remained localised. Innovation competed with conservatism (manifested, for example, in the retention of archaisms) in haphazard ways in different places. The standard language was now imitated by provincials from distant parts, such as Martial's Spanish friend (IV.1.2.1). At least one such provincial, Augustine, was well aware that, hard as he tried, he could not help but graft African features on to the standard language he aspired to speak (IV.1.2.3). Some koineisation probably occurred within provinces (such as in the African vowel system), but on the other hand local diversity shows up throughout the history of the language. We have seen, for example, regional features of Latin at Falerii in the Republic, usages distinguishing Latium from Rome in the first century BC, evidence that there was a Roman sound in both the Republic and Empire, signs of differences between the north and south of Italy in the late period (in the translation of Oribasius), lexical variations within Gaul (and particularly terms restricted to the south), the Latin of the Gallic countryside contrasted with that of Aquitaine, and several micro-communities with local usages. Imperial observers conscious of diversity were usually content to refer to Italian, Gallic and African Latin in general terms, and we have to wait until about 1302 for someone (Dante) to attempt to count the Italian vernaculars. We catch only glimpses of the regional diversity of Latin in the Roman period, but have established that it existed, even if we cannot map dialects in the manner of traditional dialectologists. The standardised written medium inculcated by education was so widespread that diversity was largely obscured, and many developments of the language (such as some of the main syntactic changes that show up in Romance: see below) remained out of sight in the Latin record.

5.3   The lexicon, phonology and the problem of syntax

By tradition studies of dialect have concentrated on the lexicon, with phonetics relegated to the background, and morphology and syntax little mentioned. Hornsby (2006: 5), speaking of France, remarks that 'while regional words may be seen as a source of originality and pride, particularly if associated with locally based trades or activities', pronunciations that depart from the Parisian standard are stigmatised and best 'corrected'. The ancient *testimonia* collected in this book fall into line with this observation. They are almost exclusively to do with the lexicon or with phonetics. Lexical regionalisms are usually presented neutrally, while local features

of accent are disparaged. Morphological features are hardly ever noted as regional (*commodo* in Julius Romanus is an exception), and as far as I am aware regional syntax, if it existed, is passed over in complete silence.

This book, like the ancient *testimonia*, deals mainly with the lexicon and phonology, but of necessity and not because I have chosen to play down syntax. The truth is that syntactic evidence with a bearing on regional diversity is hardly available either from literary texts, which overwhelmingly use constructions of the standard language, or from inscriptions, which are formulaic and traditional in syntax, or from non-literary corpora (for this expression see Chapter X), which are potentially more revealing but so far inadequate in extent. Syntax, or the overlap of syntax with morphology, has sometimes come up, but little of a striking regional character has emerged. The competing syntagms *dico quod* versus *dico quia* in late texts were discussed at VII.10, but the apparent regional difference between them was questioned. The formation of the passive by *fio* + past participle was dealt with at VII.11.2.3. It was illustrated from Italian, including northern Italian, texts, which may be significant, given that it was to survive in northern Italy. But it is not clear that the construction was grammaticalised in the Latin period. *Fio* can usually be given full semantic force, particularly in culinary expressions (with *coctus*). It would be unconvincing to suggest that *fio* + past participle was a genuine passive equivalent in northern Italy in, say, the fifth century. Apparent vocative forms of names functioning as nominatives are a feature of some African inscriptions (VIII.10.1), and at an earlier period there is a comparable phenomenon in Etruria (II.17). An unusual use of the possessive dative in funerary inscriptions is confined to those of the Balkan provinces (X.8.5). We saw (VIII.1.2.2) that the pluperfect subjunctive for the imperfect, supposedly an Africanism, was no such thing. The possible influence of Irish syntax on (written) Irish Latin was addressed briefly at IX.14.

It was noted at VIII.1 n. 14 that *habeo* + infinitive, the forerunner of the Romance future, seems particularly common in African texts, a point made by Thielmann (1885), but since it was to survive throughout most of Romance all that its frequency in Africa could possibly show is that it started in Africa and was better established there than in other places earlier on. But even that is doubtful. From the third to the fifth century African texts are particularly abundant, and bare statistics (even if they were available) might give a misleading impression if allowance were not made for the differing sizes of corpora from different areas. Moreover the usage is easy to

illustrate in late Latin from Italy and elsewhere.[63] There are other difficulties in the interpretation of such data. The syntagm infin. + *habeo* ends up as the Romance future, it is true, but it is not always straightforwardly a future in Latin texts. In the fifth-century African grammarian Pompeius, who provides numerous examples, the construction constantly expresses a meaning indeterminate between necessity and futurity:[64] it is far from being a grammaticalised future. It is open to question whether Pompeius himself would have regarded it as having a clear-cut future sense. At *GL* V.235.16–38, for example, he discusses the use of the present indicative to express future time (as in *dico* or *cras dico*) and declares it to be a solecism (22, 24). The 'correct' futures are *dicturus sum* (19) and *dicam* (38). The periphrasis does not come into the discussion, either to be accepted or rejected. Infinitive + *habeo* seems to have had a particular place in logical argument, and is often found in the main clause of conditional sentences,[65] with the idea of necessity more or less present. As such it does not look to have had a popular origin at all. There can be no doubt that the construction expressed necessity before it came to express futurity, and it may have developed first in learned discourse, just as the *dico quod* construction, which itself had an important role in Romance, seems to have originated in the literary language.[66] A construction with the profile of infin. + *habeo* need not have originated in a particular locality but may have been passed around in the educated written language. It was to be a very long time before it emerged (in Romance) as a genuine future.

Several of the important syntactic developments that show up in Romance are not found in Latin. Some of the defining features of Romance may have been very late indeed, and that is another reason why it is naïve to find the origin of the different Romance languages exclusively in the early Latin period. Some regional variation of a morpho-syntactic kind has supposedly been found, but as late as the medieval period, roughly from the time of the Merovingians through to about the tenth century. A possible case lies in the maintenance of a distinction in Gaul between a nominative case form and oblique case forms, which had been lost in contemporary Italian and Spanish texts.[67] The authenticity even of this distinction was questioned earlier (VII.11.5).

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[63] See e.g. Mørland (1932: 144–5) on the (Italian) translation of Oribasius, and particularly the rich collection of material in Salonius (1920: 282–90).
[64] For discussion of the individual passages and their ambiguities see Adams (1991).
[65] See Adams (1991: 162).   [66] See Adams (2005a).
[67] See e.g. Bastardas Parera (1953: 20), and the discussion of Stefenelli (1987), especially 70, 76–7.

When dealing with misspellings in inscriptions as possible evidence for regional diversity in the phonological system I drew attention to problems of methodology (Chapter X). It is not enough to count misspellings against correct spellings because different degrees of error in different places may merely reveal variations in literacy. An attempt was made to come up with a more subtle way of judging the significance of misspellings. Assessing the geographical distribution in literary texts of proto-Romance features of syntax is every bit as problematic. Counting examples of the *habeo*-construction versus the inherited future in a selection of texts from different areas need reveal nothing about regional diversity. The nature of the text might have played a part in determining the choice of *habeo*, and the subject matter within a text was another possible determinant. Writers have different stylistic ideals, and the non-appearance of *habeo* in a late text could not establish that the construction was not current in the area in which the text was written. If regional variation in syntax were to be seriously investigated it would be necessary to work out some method of coping with the problems set out in the last few sentences, but the effort might not be worthwhile.

The main syntactic developments that took place between Latin and Romance are spread across the Romance languages as a whole rather than confined to one area as against another,[68] and in such cases any regional variation that there might have been in the Latin period would have been due to differential rates of change in different regions. But it is almost impossible to establish from written sources that a change was more advanced at any time in one area than another, for the reasons just alluded to and explained in Chapter X. Moreover proto-Romance constructions when they do make an appearance in late texts may only be forerunners of Romance constructions in a loose sense, given that they sometimes turn out not to have been grammaticalised in Latin. A case in point is *habeo* + past participle as a perfect exponent. Apparent examples occur as early as Plautus, but caution is needed before any one example is interpreted as an anticipation of the Romance perfect. Even in late Latin instances of the syntagm are often not genuine perfect equivalents, because *habeo* retains full semantic weight. There is also the complication that for a period the syntagm may have been tied to a particular genre or genres.[69] An example such as *Mul. Chir.* 47 *si iumentum cambam percussam habuerit* may appear to mean 'if a horse shall have struck its hock', with *percussam habuerit* equivalent to *percusserit*, but it is more likely that there is an implied external agent with

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[68] See e.g. the list at Banniard (1992: 522).   [69] See Langslow (2005b: 296 with n. 29).

percussam (e.g. *ab alio iumento*), and that the sense is 'if a horse shall have a hock that has been struck [by something]'. There could not conceivably be anything regional about such a banal use of *habeo* (which is common in the *Mulomedicina* in descriptions of conditions or illnesses when there is no participle present), and it would be extraordinarily difficult to investigate the regional spread of the genuine perfect periphrasis if every example like this one had first to be eliminated from consideration.

The problems caused (in the context of possible regional variation) by the late date of grammaticalisation of some proto-Romance constructions may finally be illustrated from the future periphrasis *uolo* + infinitive. The *habeo*-periphrasis was by far the most successful one but there were others, *debeo* + infinitive in Sardinia and *uolo* in Rumanian.[70] But apparent cases of *uolo* + infinitive expressing futurity can usually be interpreted in other ways,[71] and there is no obvious regional significance to them. Moreover there is probably a special reason why the *uolo*-construction emerged in Rumanian, which has nothing to do with its earlier use in Latin. It is likely that *uolo* + infinitive was generated in the east as one of the convergent features of the Balkan 'Sprachbund' after θέλω + infinitive replaced the earlier construction ἔχω + infinitive in Greek.[72]

I return briefly to the lexicon and phonetics. Lexical evidence on its own is not enough to establish the existence of regional forms of speech. Lexemes have a habit of moving beyond their place of origin and of ceasing to be specific to any one area. But it is not only lexical evidence that has emerged in this book. Though it has proved hard to find localised syntactic variations, there can be no doubt that from the early period differences of sound or accent were perceived across the Roman world, and accent differences are the most marked feature of regional dialects in any language. In the last chapter I expressed scepticism about our ability to detect localised phonetic developments from misspelt inscriptions, but remarks by e.g. Cicero (III.4.1, 4.5) and Augustine (above, IV.1.2.3, 4.2) cannot but reflect accent variations. Perhaps the most striking evidence to do with regional accents is to be found in Consentius (IV.3.2), who set out to describe features of the articulation of what he called the 'letter *i*' (by which he usually, but not in every case, meant long *i*) in different parts of the word by Gauls and in 'Roman' language. It is not possible to relate misspellings in Gallic inscriptions to any but one of his remarks, but that does not alter the fact that he would not have undertaken his comparison if he had not been

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[70] See e.g. Vincent (1988: 57).   [71] See Pinkster (1985: 187–90); also in general id. (1987, 1989).
[72] See Horrocks (1997: 76).

aware of some regional accents. It should cause no surprise that his remarks are difficult to interpret. Laymen are hard pressed to define the features of a regional accent (other than by offering imitations) even though they may recognise it easily, and Consentius had such difficulty in explaining what he heard that we are left in the dark about what he was getting at.

The combination of lexical and phonetic evidence establishes the existence (in e.g. Gaul, Africa and Italy) of genuine regional varieties.

5.4   *The localising of literary and other texts*

One of the questions posed at the end of Chapter I (12) was whether texts can ever be assigned a place of composition on linguistic evidence alone. It has proved possible to attribute certain texts either to provinces/countries (Gaul, Africa)[73] or to restricted parts of provinces/countries (northern Italy)[74] or, finally, to more extensive areas such as the north-west (of the Roman world) or southern Mediterranean.[75] Even a single word or usage showing certain characteristics may be enough to allow the localising of a text in a loose sense.[76] The criteria for placing a text were discussed at V.7.2; cf. too VII.12. The later a text is the more likely it is that its lexical innovations will be revealing. Local innovations were made throughout the history of Latin, but the early ones had time to spread with movements of people during the Roman Empire, and their diffusion centuries after they were first coined in a locality may obscure the original localised character. On this point see IV.3.3.6 (on *beccus*). On the other hand some usages even though early are so distinctive that they point to the origin of a text (see e.g. V.2 on features of the graffiti of La Graufesenque).

5.5   *Regional language and Latin literature*

In English literature from Chaucer onwards there has been a tradition of imitating the regional speech of fictional characters in literary works (see I.7 for a few examples).[77] In republican Latin drama rustic characters were sometimes characterised linguistically for comic effect (III.3, 6.1). Certain early writers of non-urban origin such as Ennius (III.8.2, 8.9)[78] and Naevius

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[73] See V.3.5 (Ausonius), V.4 (barbarian law codes), V.5.1 (Anthimus), V.5.2 (Eucheria), VIII.4 (African medical texts).
[74] See VII.11.2 (*Compositiones Lucenses*), VII.11.3 (Oribasius translation).
[75] See above, 3.7.1 (the *Mulomedicina Chironis* and *Peregrinatio Aetheriae*).
[76] See e.g. V.3.2 on *conrogata*, V.5.3 (school exercise), VI.5.2 on *paramus*.
[77] See also Geeson (1969: 8–9).   [78] See Adams (2003a: 117).

(III.6.1 p. 158, 6.8) may have admitted the odd provincial usage without being aware that they were doing so. Thereafter provincialism of language does not have a prominent place in Latin literature, perhaps because forms of comedy belong to the Republic. It is not impossible that Petronius in the *Cena Trimalchionis* was imitating a recognisable regional variety, but the evidence is not clear-cut (VII.4). Grammarians such as Servius (V.3.3.1) and Quintilian (III.8.4, III.1, p. 117) had a concept that poets (Virgil, Catullus, Horace) might betray their origins by the odd provincialism; so it was that Verrius Flaccus (the source of Festus) found an 'Umbrianism' in Plautus when the word may well be Greek (III.8.3). Poets did indeed sometimes include regionalisms for effects of one sort or another. The most notable in this respect was Ausonius, who incorporated regional fish names in a catalogue of epic style in the *Mosella* (V.3.5), and occasionally elsewhere admitted words from Gallic Latin (see the list at V.3.5, p. 311). Venantius Fortunatus also used several terms belonging to Gallic Latin (see V.4.2; also, on his prose, V.2.2, V.6.4 with cross references), as well as a few restricted to Italy (VII.11.3.2.8); he had resided in both places. Virgil seems to have used the odd Italian dialect term as suitable to the subject of the *Georgics* (VII.3). Both Catullus and Horace have a term from their *patria* (see on Quintilian above). An epigraphic poet in Spain included an Hispanic word in a poem to give it local colour (VI.5.2). Martial admits several flagged regionalisms, but usually as exotic curiosities from parts of the Empire that he did not know himself (see V.2.2 *panaca*, 4.5 above *bascauda*; also IV.2.3 *balux*, this one a Hispanism). More interesting is a use he has of the banal term *barbarus* in a sense apparently anticipating Ibero-Romance (VI.3 n. 164 above). The Gallic poetess Eucheria admitted two local words for their impact in adynata (V.5.2, 7.5). Several Spanish writers (notably Columella) admit usages that were or may have been specific to Spain (see VI.3 on *brisa* and *cereola* and the curious case of *pelagus*; also V.5.5.1 on the particular frequency of *tam magnus* in Seneca and a few other Spanish writers).

One must distinguish in the above material between the deliberate employment of regional usages as a mark of the writer's identity or to suit the context, and the chance intrusion into a work of a regionalism that the writer might not even have recognised as such.

Maps

Map 1 Western Roman Empire

Map 2a Central Italy: Arretium–Asculum

Map 2b Central Italy: Latium–Campania

PAELIGNI

Fucinus Lacus

MARSI

AEQUI

Lucus Feroniae

Tibur

Praeneste

Tusculum

HERNICI

Sora

Arpinum

Roma

Veii

LATIUM

Lanuvium

Satricum

VOLSCI

Lavinium

Circeii 2

Circeii 1

Kirkaion Akron/
Veneris Prom.

Suessa
Aurunca

CAMPANIA

Capua

Atella

Beneventum

Aeclanum

HIRPINI

Pompeii

0   10   20   30   40   50 km

0   10   20   30 miles

Map 3 Tripolitana

Basel
Zurich
Bern
SWITZERLAND
GERMANY
LIECHTENSTEIN
AUSTRIA
Graz
HUNGARY
Budapest

(R- Romance) (German)
(Ladin)
(Friulan)
Ljubljana
Zagreb
Trieste
Rijeka

(Franco-Provençal)
Lombardo
Veneto
Milano
Verona
Padova
Venezia
Piemontese
Torino
Istriano
Pola

Ligure
Genova
Ferrara
Bologna
Emiliano-Romagnolo
La Spezia
Ravenna
Rimini

Nice
Ancona
Split

Livorno
Firenze
Toscano
N. Marchigiano
Perugia
Dubrovnik

Corso
Umbro
Pescara
Ajaccio
L'Aquila
Abruzzese
Laziale
A
ROMA
Molisano
A
A
Foggia
Campano
FP
Bari
Napoli
A
Brindisi
Pugliese
N
Taranto
Lucano
Salentino
(Catalan)
N
A
(Sardinian)
A
A
Calabrese
Cagliari
G
Ligure
Messina
Reggio
Palermo
A
N
Siciliano
N

Siciliano

A   Albanian
G   Greek
(linguistic islands
FP Franco-Provençal
in S. Italy)
N   Northern Italian

(Maltese)

———— Boundary of Italian-speaking area
—·—·— International frontiers
(where different from above)
———— Boundary between Northern and
Southern Italian dialect blocs
———— Boundaries of dialect groups

0   50   100   150   200   250 km
0   50   100   150 miles

FRANCE
(Occitan)

Map 4 Language and dialect in Italy
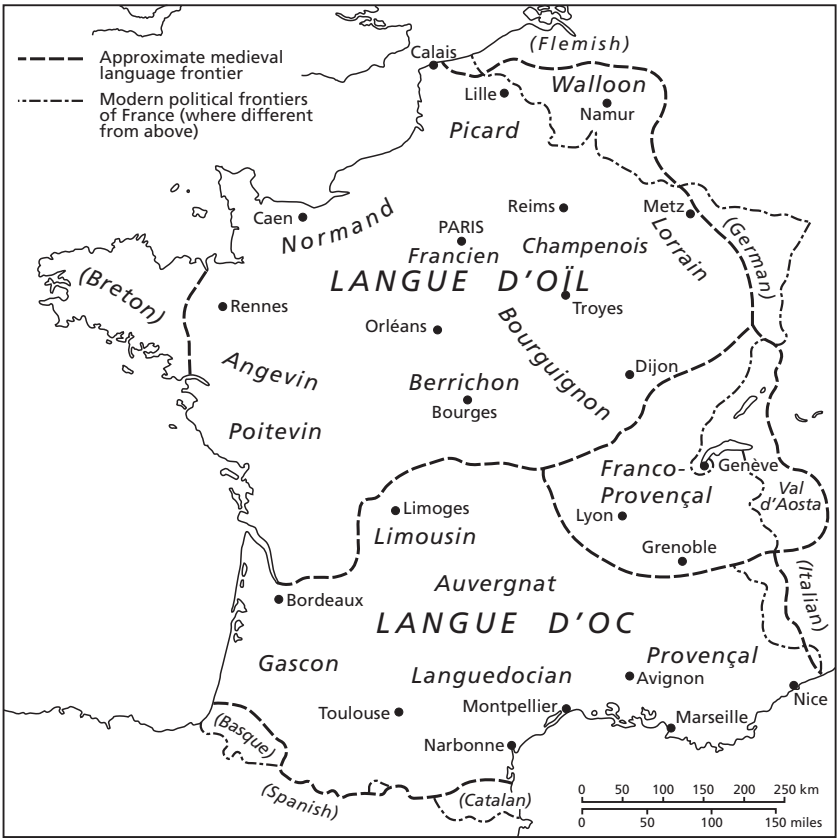
Map 5 Dialect boundaries of medieval France

Map 6 Rheto-Romance

Legend:

- ——— Boundary of Rheto-Romance-speaking areas
- ········· Boundary of Rheto-Romance dialects within Graubünden (Grisons)
- —·—·— International frontiers (where different from above)

where different from above:
- Swiss canton of Graubünden (Grisons)
- Italian region of Trentino-Alto Adige
- Italian region of Friuli-Venezia Giulia

areas of other languages within Graubünden (Grisons):
- G German
- IT Italian

Place names and regions:

GERMANY, AUSTRIA, LIECHTENSTEIN, SWITZERLAND, ITALY

Konstanz, Innsbruck, Chur, Zernez, Vallader, Müstair, Surselva, Sursilvan, Surmeiran, Sutselva, S. Murezi, Puter, Lugano, Bergamo, Südtirol, Bruneck, Brixen, Bozen, Trento, Ladin, Cortina, Corvara, Comèlico, Belluno, Erto, Pordenone, Friulan, Udine, Gorizia, Monfalcone, Trieste, Treviso

0 25 50 75 100 km
0 25 50 miles

Map 7 Words for 'eat'

Map 8 Words for 'arrive'

Map 9 Words for 'blind'

Map 10 Words for 'Friday'

Map 11 Words for 'grape'

Map 12 Words for 'shoulder'

Map 13 Words for 'mason'

Map 14 Words for 'mare'

Map 15 Words for 'uncle'

Map 16 Words for 'leg'

Map 17 Words for 'tomorrow'

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