de lingua latina: A History and Prehistory of Latin

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DAY 2: *Laudes Italicae;* (Very) Old Latin inscriptions cont.; Literary reflections

Languages in Ancient Italy (see (Weiss 2020, 15–18)

- Italic Languages: Latino-Faliscan, Sabellic, beyond (Venetic? (Weiss 2013)).

- IE, non-Italic: Messapic, Greek, Celtic (on Italo-Celtic see (Weiss 2012)

- Likely non-IE: Etruscan (Wallace 2008), Rhaetic, North Picene, etc.

- Beyond these languages, we know that others could be heard in the streets (e.g., Phoenician, cf. Plaut. *Poenulus* 940-94). The Italic languages are thought to have entered Italy in the 2nd mill. BCE, attested epigraphically ca. 7th cent. BC+.

Very Old, just Old Latin during the Italic Period

- VOL, ex. 1 Praenestine Fibula; Praeneste (Present-day Palestrina), Bernardini Tomb, ca. 670-50 BCE, gold fibula — a fancy brooch —, read sinistroverse, Museo Pigorini, *CIL* 1.3. [(Weiss 2019), no.2]

NOTES

- · Speaking inscription in the fictive first person

- · Noteworthy (Penney p.232), nom.sg. *-os* pre-unstressed raising (*-us*); *MED* shows final *-d* intact after the long vowel; *FHE:FHAKED* attests an alternative stem of the perfect *faciō, fēcit*; *NUMASIOI* dat.sg. precedes vowel weakening and rhotacism (cp. *Numeriō*)

manios /mānios/ with unraised *o* > *u* relates to the old adjective 'good' *mānus* (cf. i-stem *immānis* 'huge, savage', Pl.+; CL *mānēs,* funerary formula, DIS MANIBUS 'to the good gods'), *Carm. Sal.* (recorded in Aelius Stilo): *cerus manus* 'bonus creator', Duenos: EN MANOM EINOM(?); for the root, **meh₂-* 'grow, prosper', what grows at the right moment is 'good'? If a PN, no gentilics (nor for the name at the end); archaism (*Rōmulus*) or informal register? Note the names are not the IE compound types (Σωκράτης, *Dumno-rix*, Gmc. *Hari-gastiz* 'war-guest')

med /mēd/ Singular personal pronouns ended in *-d* in the accusative; a Latin (not Sabellic) innovation (cp. O-Umb. *míom*); prob. tonic pronoun **mé* + *d* (particle? Cp. reinforced ἔγωγε)

FHE:FHAKED Lat. perfect results from the merged categories (formally, semantically distinct) of the PIE perfect and aorist. Standard Latin perfect *faciō, -ere, fēcit* (cf. Duenos *FECED*) continues a root-aorist **(e)-dʰeh₁-(k)-t*, Gk. ἔθηκε, Boe. ΑΝΕΘΗ 'dedicated', Ved. *ádhāt*. But Osc, Praenestine Lat (P-Italic?) innovated a reduplicated perfect **fefak-* (cp. Lat. *canō, cecinī*), cf. Osc. *fefacid* (perf. subj. in the *Tabula Bantina*). Surprising form.

FHE Writing down Italy. /f/ puzzled the alphabetic adapters because Greek lacked this segment; dialectal digamma, < F >, which represented /w/, was pressed to service, here coupled with H to indicate voicelessness (so too Gk. ῥ, OE *hr-*, Av. *əhr*). Postdating this text, but soon afterwards, the value /w/ came to be encoded by <V>, old upsilon, which move freed digamma to represent /f/.

: Secondly, note the "word" dividers, here splitting reduplicating syllables (cf. Fal. *PE:PARAI*); prima facie evidence for a native analysis of word-formation (cf. RV *padapāṭha*, Myc. dividers, Avestan and Persian dots, etc.). Note that the reduplicating syllable counts phonologically — the unit under which word-level phonological processes occur, e.g., weakening, **tetagai > tetigī* 'touched' (not ^{X}*te.tagī*). The divider may be in part morphological intuitions (expected also at compound boundaries).

NUMASIOI /numasio:y/ Dat.sg. of the thematic stems (Lat. 2nd decl.) combines thematic vowel -*e/o*- and the ending, dat.sg. **-o-ei*; this combination becomes a long diphthong **-ōy* (cf. Gk. -ωι; Ved. *-āy-a*); CL monophthongizes to a long vowel, *-ō* (abl. *-ōd > -ō*).

VOL > OL, "On the Threshold of the Classical Language" (Penney 233-4).

- 240, a watershed, changing tides — Roman verbal crafts existed before 240, to be sure (Watkins 1995 section III explores the "Strophic Style"), but this year marked a decisive change (first war contra Carthage, 264-241 BC). In imperial exuberance, Romans begin establishing a literary tradition in the Latin language — based on Greek exemplars, but troped on the idea that Greek vitality was exhausted and Roman vigor re-establishes new literary strength (Feeney 2016); cf. *infra*.

Inscriptional

- A bronze cuirass of South Etrurian or Greek make, inscribed, likely a votive offering; captured in Falerii in 241 BCE (showcasing a number of changes that herald the Classical norms). In the consular year 241-240 BC. Falsicans fought with Romans in a war that would mark the end of the independent *ager Faliscus* (Bakkum 2009, 41–42).

  [Published first in Zimmermann, J. L. 1986. "La fin de *Falerii Veteres*: Un témoignage archéologique." *J. P. Getty Museum Journal* 14:37–41.]

Figure 1d. L'inscription latine de la cuirasse, figure 1a.

Q. LVTATIO. C. F. A. MANLIO. C. F.

CONSOLIBVS. FALERIES. CAPTO

'Under the consulship/command of Q(uintus). Lutatius C(aius). f(ilius). and A(ulus). Manilius C(aius). f(ilius)., at Falerii captured (sc. this breastplate as booty)'

- Final *-d* lost from the ablative singulars; *-os > -us* raising in abl.pl. ending *-ibus*
- Spelling CONS- replaces COS-, earlier standard (abbr. *cos.*); renasalization
- Definitely rhotacism: FALE**R**IES < **Fali<u>s</u>iois* (cf. *Fali<u>s</u>-cī*)

Residual archaisms:

- Retained *-o-* before dark or fat *l* (*pinguis*) CONS<u>O</u>LIBVS (cf. later > *cōnsulibus*)
- Midway stopping point, monophthongization, **Falisi<u>oi</u>s > FALERI<u>E</u>S > Falerī<u>ī</u>s*

Literary

- Livius Andronicus, fr.1 (Blänsdorf); for discussion, (Feeney 2016, 54–55)

  ἄνδρά μοι ἔννεπε, Μοῦσα, πολύτροπον, (Hom.*Od*.1.1)

  Virum mihi, Camena, insece uersutum

- πολύ-τροπος, Lat. *uersutus* 'turned, wily; shifted in translation(?)', not tr. **multiuersutum* (Ennius probably would have), from *uertere* 'turn' with connotations of metamorphosis, spellbinding transformation — translation. Odysseus becomes translated, one more turning of Homer's hero (his proverbial versatility) — is Livius's Roman *Ulixes* less bold than Joyce's Irish *Ulysses*? A Roman everyman, characterized and universal. Note, reversing the Joycean move, Livius apparently titled his scroll (LIVI) ODVSSEIA, foregrounding the Greekness of his version, a title often spelled as an archaizing anachronism "*Odusia*" (non-spelling of geminates, etc., faux-archaisms to print Livius "craggily and hoarily archaic" Feeney 63). The spirit of Greek poetry will be regenerated through Rome.

- Μοῦσα/ *Camena* Taking part in the divine *interpretatio Romana, Camena* makes an equivalence to the goddess, θεά, θύγατερ Διός¨ she is a cultural calque. Livius domesticates identities, charting similarities across a world of equivalence. *Camena* was hallowed in a spring, a rural Helicon; name was folk-etymologized to *carmen — arma uirumque cano*?

- And the ancient name of the Muse? Maybe *diva monetas filia docuit* (fr. 21 Bl., tr. Μοῦσ᾽ ἔδιδαξε) a cult-title of Juno 'who calls to mind', cf. Varro (*DLL* 49) on *meminisse, ab eodem monere, quod is qui monet, proinde sit ac memoria*; cf. (Livingston 2013, 23–30) and (Hardie 2007), 2016).

- Eschewing dactylics, he composes in a meter of Roman (or Italic?) origin, the Saturnian, *uorsibus quos olim Faunei uatesque canebant* 'verses which once upon a time Fauns and bards sang in" (Enn. *fr*.207 Sk.); associated in Rome with ritual, sacral, prophetic utterance, even if we remain puzzled by its prosodic criteria (Mercado 2012).

- As with Roman politics, so with its poetics: Livius makes a Mediterranean power-grab. Adjudicates how Roman to Greek his poem: "an assimilative imperial ambition" (Feeney).

- <u>Linguistic Ecology of ancient Italy: *koiné*</u>

(Clackson and Horrocks 2007) speak of a cultural convergence, a *koiné*, exemplified by shared innovations in religious vocabulary.

- *SAKROS* (CL *sacer*), Umb. **sakru,** Osc. ΣΑΚΟΡΟ; cf. Lat. *sanctus,* Osc. **saahtúm** < **sank-to-*
- Lat. *pius*, Vols. *pihom*, Osc. **piíhiúí** (dat.sg.m.), etc. < **pū-y-o-*, cf. *pū-ru-s*, *piāre*

<u>Inscriptions</u>

- Faliscan (Latino-Faliscan). The language of *Falerii Veteres* (now Città Castellana) near Rome, about 300 inscriptions from 7th-2nd c.BCE. Verse on a vase, ca. 350-300 BC (Bakkum 2009), no. 59-62, image from *Enc. Britannica*; (Watkins 1995, 127), attested on a vase "with an unambiguously erotic scene of revelry"

See it explained! https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5mtt6ggVvxg
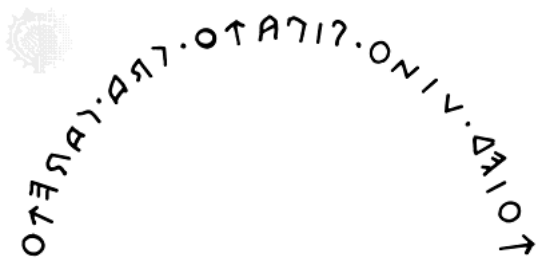
foied = *hodie* (P-It. **gʰo-dyē(d)*)

pipafo = *bibĕre*? < **piph₃-*

cra = Lat. *crās* < **k̂u-réh₂-es* 'at daybreak' (? cf. Vine "Early Italic Accent" *fthcm.*)

- Sabellian: Oscan.

Most widespread Italic language pre-Roman expansion, greatest number of Sabellic texts; not oldest epigraphically, but linguistically conservative.

Following text Po 3 (Rix 2002) = *Imagines Italicae* Pompei 24 (p. 656-58 (Crawford et al. 2011). Cf. (Clackson and Horrocks 2007, 62–63)

A testament recording the building-work done at the bequest of one Vibius Adiran(u)s. The text was discovered near the socalled "Samnite Palaestra", an workout ground near the Temple of Isis. The palaestra likely shuddered in the earthquake of 62 AD, was devastated in the eruption of Vesuvius in 79 AD; the stone was probably recycled as building material. Pompeii, first cent. BC. Photo from website of K. McDonald (see bib.); see her article, K. McDonald (2012) The testament of Vibius Adiranus. *Journal of Roman Studies* 102: 40-55.
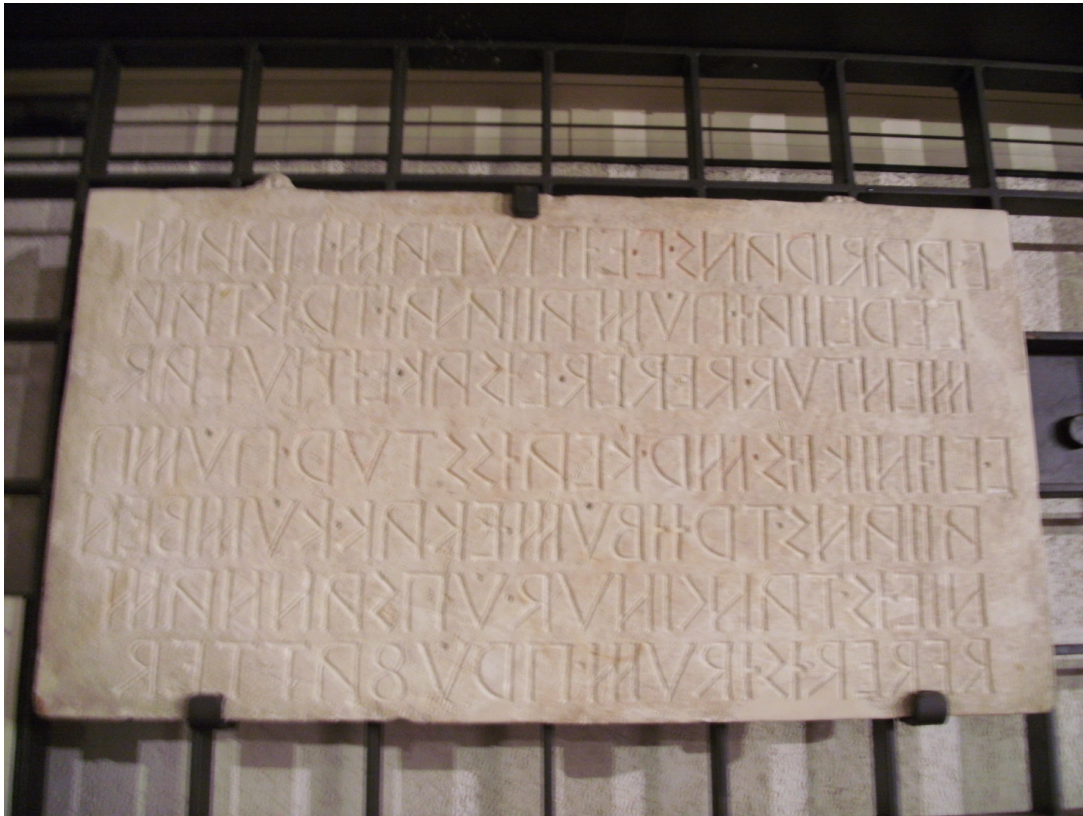
v(iíbis). aadirans. v(iíbieís). eítiuvam. paam

V(ibis) Ādirans V(ibis, gen.*) money* (acc.) *which* (REL.acc.sg.fem.)

vereiiaí. púmpaiianaí. trístaamentud.

Vereia (dat.sg.) *Pompeian* (dat.sg.) *will* (abl.sg.)

deded. eísak. eítiuvad

gave (3sg.pft.) *that* (abl.sg.) *money* (abl.sg.)

v(iíbis). viínikiís. m(a)r(aheis). kvaísstur. púmpaiians.

Vibis Vīnikīs Maras (gen.sg.) *quaestor Pompeian*

trííbúm. ekak. kúmbennieís.

building (acc.sg.) *this* (acc.sg.f.) *assembly* (gen.sg.)

tanginud. úpsannam

decision (abl.) *to-be- built* (acc.sg.f.)

deded. ísídum. prúfatted

gave. Same one approved

Vibius Ādiranus Vibii filius pecuniam quam reipublicae(?) Pompeianae ex testamento dedit, ex eā

pecuniā Vībius Vīnicius Mr filius quaestor Pompeianus domum hanc (de) conuentūs (/senātūs) sententiā

faciendam dedit. īdem probāuit. [Latine scripserunt C&H p.62]

'The money which Vibis Ādirans, son of Vibis, gave to the Pompeian *vereia* in his will, with that money

Vibis Vīnikīs son of Maras, Pompeian quaestor, gave this building to be built, by decision of the

Assembly. The same one approved.'

paam Relative pronoun (*$*k^w$ > p*); syntax of Rel-Correl., cf. (Probert 2015, 29–30)

trííbúm 'house' < *$*trēbom$ (with *$*treb-$, cf. Eng. *thorp*, Gm. *Dorf*)

kúmbennieís 'of the convention', gen.sg. in *-eis* (original to i-stems), *kom + ben-* < *$*g^wem-$ (Lat. *uenīre*)

tanginud 'by decision' abl.sg. *-ud* < *$*-ōd$; *tang-* cf. Eng. *think* (calqued on Lat. *senātūs sententiā*)

úpsannam 'to be built', *-annam* = Lat. gerundive *-andam*; root *úps-* with Lat. *opus*; Osc. *úpsannam deded* is calqued on Lat. *faciendam cūrāuit* 'saw to it that X be done'

ísídum 'the same', Lat. *is-dem* (*īdem*)

prúfatted 'approved' an Osc. *tt*-perfect (< **proβan(t)s steted*?)[1]; *prúfa-* = Lat. *probā-* (**pro-b^hw-ā-*)

- Paelignian

Enter the complex world of Italian politics. Consider modern Sulmona, which town festoons signs from Ovid, its most famous son: *Sulmo mihi patria est* (Ov.*Tr*.4.10.3). In antiquity its local people, the Paeligni, constituted the core of a fierce revolt against Rome (91-89 BC); just ten miles up the road lay the capital of the rebels, 'Italica' in Corfinium. What did the language sound like?

Paeligni / CORFINIUM 6 *Imagines Italicae* (= *ST* Pg 9, "Herentas Inscription"), Funerary monument in honor of a priestess, chiseled on a limestone block c. 100 BC (now in Naples, Mus.); Latin alphabet. [Cf. further (Mercado 2012)(speculative); Clackson 2015 *Language and Society* 76]

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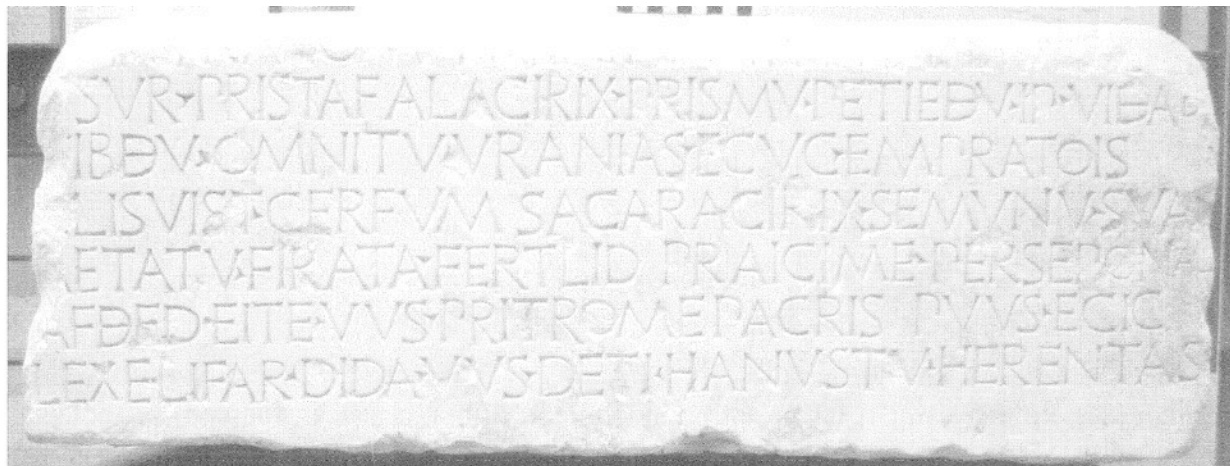
[1] (Willi 2016)

l.4   *cerfum sacaracirix semunu sua aetatu firtata fertlid praicime perseponas afðed*

"(She) the priestess of the Cereses (i.e., Ceres and Persephone [or "Cereal Priests"]) (and) the Semones, has gone away in well-being (*fertlid*) to the home of Persephone, after the end of her life had been reached." (tr. *Imagines Italicae* — not the last word!)

- Swiftly problems mount: *cerfum* but the *f*! Maybe **kerdhōm* < **k̂erdho-* (Ved. *śárdha-* 'troop, force'), so 'priestess of the Martial Gods'?
- *Sacaracarix* = **sacra-trīx* (cf. VOL *SAKROS*, CL *sacer*)
- *semunu* = *sēmōnum*? Or look to the *Semunes* of the *Carmen Arvale* (obscurum per obscurius?) And is it a gen.pl., or possibly an abl.sg. (cf. *aetatu*, 4th decl.[?], cp. Lat. *sua aetate*) or acc.sg.!

koiné continued: literature

- Plautus (Pl. *As*. 259-61)

  impetritum, inauguratumst: quouis admittunt <u>aues, picus</u> et
  <u>cornix ab laeua, coruos parra ab dextera</u> consuadent

  'I've got auspices, auguries: where I please, the birds let me steer. Woodpecker and crow, on the left, raven, barnowl on the right. 'Go ahead!' they say'.

- Umb. *Tab.Ig*. VIa.1-2 *este persclo aueis aseriater enetu <u>parfa curnase dersua peiqu peica merstu</u> poei angla aseriato eest*

  'He (the adfertor) is to begin this ceremony by observing the birds, a parra and crow on the right/west, a woodpecker and magpie on the left/east, the one who goes to observe the messengers...'

(Langslow 2013): "We can only guess at what precisely lies behind this extraordinary and
fascinating agreement... Plautus' use of an augural formula at *Asinaria* 260 alludes, not to an
inscription or inscriptions, even in Latin, let alone in Umbrian, but to a type of
religious text (or, better, utterance) that his audience would have heard rather
than read."

- Next time: *Laudes Italicae* continued:

  Αἰνείαν δ' ἄρ' ἔτικτεν ἐυστέφανος Κυθέρεια,
  Ἀγχίσηι ἥρωι μιγεῖσ' ἐρατῆι φιλότητι...
  Κίρκη δ' Ἠελίου θυγάτηρ Ὑπεριονίδαο
  γείνατ' Ὀδυσσῆος ταλασίφρονος ἐν φιλότητι
  Ἄγριον ἠδὲ Λατῖνον ἀμύμονά τε κρατερόν τε... (Hes.*Th.* 1008-1014)

HW: Linguistic background, read Fortson in (Clackson 2011) and/or (Fortson 2010); for Latin language
and cultural developments, read Clackson and Horrocks on "Standardization"
Italic: Lessons for Oscan online:
https://katherinemcdonald.net/teaching-2/teaching-current/salavs-learn-oscan-online/salavs-lesson-
1/
Optional reading: (Langslow 2013), Wallace on Alphabets in Clackson 2011

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