

## COMPARATIVE GRAMMAR OF LATIN 34

### Language Contact

- I. Language contact normally involves at least some small degree of bilingualism. It is necessary to distinguish between two essentially different types of contact phenomena.<sup>1</sup>
- A. Language Shift and Substratum Interference. In this case speakers of L1 give their language up and adopt L2. Naturally, if they have acquired L2 after their childhood they will tend to carry over features, especially phonological ones, into L2. This is the foreign accent. If there are a large number of speakers of L1 shifting to L2 this may lead to the permanent introduction of L1 features into L2.
- B. Language Maintenance and Borrowing. In this case speakers of L1 maintain their language but under heavy pressure from surrounding speakers of L2.
- C Contrast these to situations for Yiddish-English bilinguals in America.

	English → Yiddish (borrowing)	Yiddish → English (interference)
lexicon	very strong	moderate
phonology	weak	strong
morpho-syntax	moderate	strong

- II. Latin started out as the language of Latium.
- A. In its first historical locus Latin was in contact with various Sabellic dialects, Etruscan and Greek.
- B. It is also probable that a pre-Indo-European language was spoken in Latium before the arrival of the PIE speaking elements. This language or these languages would have potential constituted a substratum.

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<sup>1</sup> On language contact in general see Thomason and Kaufman 1988. On bilingualism involving Latin see Adams 2003.

In a well-known article of 1908 A. Meillet pointed to the existence of a series of words that were found in both Greek and Latin, but could not be projected back to PIE for phonological and ecological reasons.<sup>2</sup> Nor could one language have borrowed from the other. He suggested that these words were parallel independent borrowings from one or more pre-IE “Mediterranean” languages. Some examples:

Latin	Greek	Other
<i>cupressus</i>	κυπάρισσος	Hebr. <i>gofer</i>
<i>ficus</i>	σῦκον, Boeot. τῦκον	Arm. <i>t’uz</i>
<i>rosa</i>	(ρ)ρόδον	Pers. <i>gul</i> < * <i>urd-</i>
<i>lilium</i>	λείριον	Hitt. <i>alel</i> (?)
<i>plumbum</i>	μόλιβος, μόλυβδος, Epid. βόλιμος <sup>3</sup>	Georg. <i>brpeni</i>

C. Through colonial expansion Latin came into contact with and often replaced many other languages.

1. The conquest of Italy brought Latin into contact with all the Sabellic languages, Venetic, which belonged to the Italic branch, and Messapic and Lepontic (Celtic), which were IE but not Italic.
2. **Sicily** became a Roman province in 241 BCE. At the time Greek was widely spoken and the Italic Sicel probably was still alive.
3. **Sardinia** and **Corsica** were added in 231 BCE. The native language of Sardinia is unknown, although significant traces of it survive in the present day Sardinian vocabulary. In addition Phoenician was certainly spoken by some colonists in Sardinia.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Meillet 1908.

<sup>3</sup> It is now clear that the Greek word for ‘lead’ (LB mo-ri-wo-do) has nothing to do with the other forms cited. Melchert forthcoming has shown that it is most probably a loan from Lyd. *mariwda-* ‘dark’. The *l* may be by folk-etymological contamination with Grk. μέλας ‘dark’ and μολύνω ‘to dirty’.

<sup>4</sup> A Punic inscription from Bitia, at the southern tip of Sardinia between Capo Spartivento and Capo Malfattano, dates to the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century CE. See Amadasi Guzzo 1990:48.

4. **Hispania Citerior** and **Hispania Ulterior** were added in 197 BCE. Here IE Celtiberian (Celtic) and Lusitanian were spoken as well one or more "Iberian" languages, one of which was ancestral to Basque.
5. **Illyricum** became a province in 167 BCE. One or more Indo-European Illyrian languages were spoken. Little is known about them.
6. **Macedonia** and **Achaia** joined the Republic in 146 BCE. Greek was spoken in these regions.
7. **Africa** was also added in 146 BCE. Semitic Punic and some Hamitic languages were spoken.
8. **Asia** became a province in 129 BCE. Greek was spoken here but some late Anatolian languages and Phrygian probably survived.
9. **Gallia Narbonensis** was conquered in 120 BCE and **Gallia Cisalpina** in 81 BCE. Gaulish (Celtic) was spoken here but Greek colonies existed on the coast.
10. **Bithynia** in 74 BCE. Greek was spoken here and possibly still Bithynian (Thracian).
11. **Cyrene Creta** 67 BCE. Greek was spoken here and possibly some Hamitic languages.
12. **Cilicia Cyprus** 64 BCE. Greek was spoken here and possibly Anatolian and Semitic in Cilicia.
13. **Syria** 64 BCE. Aramaic was spoken here.
14. **Gallia Transalpina** 51 BCE. Gaulish was spoken here.
15. **Aegyptus** 30 BCE. Greek and Egyptian were spoken here.
16. **Moesia** 29 BCE. Thracian was spoken here.
17. **Pannonia** 11 BCE-9 CE as part of Illyricum from then until 395 CE as a separate province. Illyrian was spoken here.
18. **Britannia** 43 CE-409 CE. Celtic was spoken here.

19. **Dacia** 106-250 CE. Probably IE Dacian was spoken here.

20. In addition Latin was in contact with the Germanic languages although most Germanic speaking lands never formed a permanent part of the Republic or Empire. Many German speakers served in the Roman Army.

II. Greek was by far the most influential second language.<sup>5</sup> There are hundreds and probably thousands of loanwords from Greek in Latin. In addition, there was profound Greek influence on Latin syntax at least in the written language.

Although there is some evidence for Mycenaean activity in Italy, the real period of Helleno-Italic contact began in the 8<sup>th</sup> century BCE with the Greek colonization of Sicily and southern Italy. The Greeks who colonized these areas were speakers either of Ionic<sup>6</sup> or Doric Greek.<sup>7</sup>

Greek influence on Latin was both literary and popular.

A. Early non-Attic loanwords

1. Survival of digamma points to non-Attic source:

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<sup>5</sup> See Biville 1990, 1995.

<sup>6</sup> Ionic Foundations: From West Ionic Eretria: in Campania, Pithecusae, Cumae, Neapolis; in Sicily, Zancle (later Messina), Mylae, Himera; in Calabria Rhegium; in Bruttium, Metaurum (from Zancle). From West Ionic Chalcis: in Sicily, Naxos, from which Leontini, and Catana; in Calabria, Callipolis. From East Ionic Colophon: in Lucania, Siris; From East Ionic Phokaia: in Lucania, Elea = Velia, in Corsica, Alalia. From East Ionic Samos: in Campania. Dicaearchaea = Puteoli, in Sicily, Caleacte.

<sup>7</sup> Doric Foundations: from Saronic Megara: in Sicily, Megara Hyblaea from which Selinus, from which Heraclea (= anc. Minoa). From Saronic Corinth: in Sicily, Syracuse from which Acrae, Casmenae, Camarina, Henna, Ancona. In addition Syracusan colonists were sent to the Euboean foundation Himera and to Adria, Brundisium, and Hydrus. From Sparta: Taras from which Heraclea. From Messenia: in Sicily, Tyndaris. In addition Messenian colonists were sent to Rhegium Messina, and Pyxus. From Crete and Rhodes: in Sicily, Gela and Akragas. From Rhodes and Cnidus: Lipara. From Locris: in Bruttium, Epizephyrian Locris, Medma, Hipponion and the Chalcidian foundation Metaurum. Sybaris, from which Posidonia = Paestum, Thurium, Laos and Skidros were founded, Croton, from which Caulonia and Terina were founded, and Metapontum were originally settled from Achaia.

`Αχαιοί, cf. Cyp. a-ka-i-wo-se > *Achīwī* 'Achaean'.  
ἐλαίφα, cf. Myc. e-ra-wa > *olīva* 'olive'<sup>8</sup>.

2. However, there are other cases of Latin /w/ that do not correspond to a digamma in the Greek source.

- i. `Αργεῖοι never had a digamma. Lat. *Argīwī* 'Argives' must be analogical to *Achīwī*.
- ii. Between *a* and *o* Latin inserted a glide *w*.

Οἰνόμαος > OINOMAVOS (CIL 1.554, Praeneste).

Χρυσάωρ > CHRYSAVOR (CIL 6.10977).

3. Most Greek loanwords do not have any trace of digamma.

λέων 'lion' (cf. Myc. re-wo-te-jo) > λέων > *leō*.  
Αἴφας >> *Aiāx*.<sup>9</sup>

4. There are a number of cases of *ā* in Latin words of Greek origin where Attic and Koine would have *η*. These must be non-Attic-Ionic pre-Koine borrowings.

μᾶλον 'apple' > *mālum*. But Ital. *melo*, Log. *mela*.

`Αἰσκλάπιος > *Aesculāpius*.

μᾶχανά 'machine' > *māchina*.

- B. Some words represent Grk. *v* [y] with *u*. For example the word *θύννος* 'tunny fish' must have been borrowed as *tunnus*, the source of Ital. *tonno*, Log. *tunnu*, despite the fact that literary sources attest the spelling *t(h)ynnus*.<sup>10</sup> This may reflect a non-Attic-Ionic source, but more probably it is a best approximation of the non-Latin vowel [y].<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Also borrowed into Etruscan as *eleīva(na)*.

<sup>9</sup> Possibly through Oscan. Note that Etruscan has *Aivas*, *Evas*.

<sup>10</sup> Similarly *gubernāre* 'steer' < Grk. *κυβερνᾶν*, \**luncea* 'lynx' (Ital. *lonza*) < Grk. *λύγξ*, etc. *Appendix Probi* 119: *chlamys non clamus*.

<sup>11</sup> Later loans, after Grk. *v* had become *i*, simply reproduce the *i* of the Greek original, e.g. *κῶμα* 'wave', 'sprout' > \**kima* > Log. *kima* 'leek', Ital. *cima* 'top'.

C. Grk. ζ̄ was represented by *s-* and *-ss-* in earlier loans.

1. ζώνη > *sōna* (Plaut. *Merc.* 925 P, *Poen.* 1008 A); ζάπλουτος > *saplutus* (Petr. 37.6)
2. Koine μάζα > *massa*;<sup>12</sup> verbs in -ίζω > *-issō*, e.g. *atticissare*, *graecissare* (from a Latin base)
3. However, it is not entirely clear what value ζ̄ had in Greek at the time of these loans.
  - a. It probably did not the classical Attic value [zd]. If the forms in question were borrowed early enough we would expect [zd] to fall together with Latin [zd] and undergo loss of \*z with Classical Latin. If the loans occurred after loss of [z] in Latin the simplification of [zd] to [ss] seems unlikely.
  - b. More likely ζ̄ had already developed the value [zz] in the 4th century BCE. The Romans would have substituted their voiceless fricative.
  - c. But it is also possible that some Greek dialect had [dz]. In this case Latin might have naturalized this as [ts] and this would then have undergone the regular Latin development of \*ts to ss.
4. It is also possible that at least the verbs in *-issō* are borrowed from the Greek byform -ίσσω not -ίζω.

D. The Aspirated Consonants<sup>13</sup>

1. Earlier loans normally represent the aspirated consonants with a voiceless stop: ἀμφορέυς ~ *ampora*, *ampulla*;<sup>14</sup> ἀφανής ~ *apinae* 'nonsense' (Mart. 1.113.2) vs. *afannae* 'shifty talk' (Apul. *Met.* 9.10)
  - a. This representation is abundantly attested in inscriptions: *Acileus* (CIL 1.564), *Pilo* (CIL 1.2504, 113 BCE), *teatrum* (ILLRP 708, 108 BCE), and continues

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<sup>12</sup> Not Attic μάζα, which would have given *māsa*.

<sup>13</sup> Etruscan also appears to have had distinctively aspirated consonants and some names with aspirates are probably of Etruscan origin, e.g. *Cethēgus*, *Otho*, *Gracchus*.

<sup>14</sup> Ital. *ampolla*, Log. *ampuḍḍa*.

throughout Latinity and into Romance.<sup>15</sup>

- b. Some traces of this practice may be found in the manuscripts: *palangae* (Var. ap. Non. 163.28); *baratrom* (Plaut. *Bacch.* 149 P)
2. The first attestation of the spelling <TH> is found in an inscription of Mummius, the conqueror of Corinth (CIL 1.626, 145 BCE): beside CORINTO we find ACHAIA, TRIUMPHANS.
3. The transcription of Grk. φ with Lat. *f* is found sporadically already in the 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE:

*Heliofo* (CIL 1.2652, before 88 BCE).

*Orfeus* (CIL 1.753, 59 BCE).

But it really becomes common only in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century CE.

Romance continues both the early substitution of the voiceless stop for *p<sup>h</sup>* and the *f* of later loans.

συμφωνία > Ital. *zampogna* 'shepherd's pipe'.

φαντασία → \**pantasiare* > Sic. *pantaciari*.

φωσφόρος > Ital. *fosforo*, but Sic. *posporu*.

ὄρφανός > Ital. *orfano*.

4. The transcription of θ with *s* or *f* indicating a fricative pronunciation occurs for the first time at Pompeii: *lasfe* (CIL 4.2319.1) = λάσθη 'mockery'.

Some errors of Pliny the Elder imply that he misheard /θ/ as /s/. Thus κισθός 'rock-rose' is translated as *hedera* 'ivy' (n.h. 12.74), which is the proper translation of κισσός.

E. Many Greek loanwords pre-date medial-syllable weakening:

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<sup>15</sup>The orthographic aspirated stops in the following words behave just like Latin unaspirated stops words in their Italian descendants: *braccio* < *bracchium*, *macina* < *māchina*, *tesoro* < *thēsauros*, *tonno* < *thynnus*.

Αλαλία > *Aleria*.

καμάρα 'chamber' > *camera*.

τάλαντον 'talent' > *talentum*.

μᾶχανά 'machine' > *māchina*.

F. Syntactic interference from Greek is found from the earliest literary Latin. However "Grecisms" become more prominent especially in poetry beginning with Catullus.<sup>16</sup> A few selected examples:

1. Nominative with infinitive when the subjects of the main verb and infinitive are identical:

First example Catullus 4.2: *ait fuisse navium celerrimus*.

2. Genitive with verbs of ruling:

Hor. *Carm.* 3.30.11: *Daunus agrestium regnavit populorum*.

3. Genitive of separation:

Hor. *Carm.* 9.17: *Desine mollium tandem querellarum*.

Verg. *Aen.* 10.441: *tempus desistere pugnae*.

4. Accusative with respect of body parts and beyond:<sup>17</sup>

Verg. *Aen.* 1.320: *nuda genu*.

Prop. 2.5.28: *Cynthia verba levis*.

G. Calques or loan-translations are especially common in technical literature.

1. Almost all Latin grammatical terms are calques of this sort:

*casus* = πτώσις.

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<sup>16</sup> See the classic chapter on Grecisms in E. Löfstedt 1933.

<sup>17</sup> On the other hand the accusative with *induo* is native (Plaut. *Epid.* 223: *quid erat induta?*) and is also found in Umbrian with a cognate verb (VII b 49) *perca arsmatiam anouihimu = percam ritualem induitor*.



*adiectivum* = ἐπίθετον.

2. Medical literature

*loca necessaria* = ἀναγκαῖα = *loca pudenda*.

III. Italic influence has been discussed in CGL 33.

IV. Etruscan<sup>18</sup>

A. Lexical items

1. Etruscan items proper directly attributed to Etruscan by ancient sources:

- a. *lanius* 'butcher' (Plaut. +), *laniō* 'to wound savagely' (Cic. +), *laniō*, 'butcher' (Petr.), *lan-ista* (Cic. +) 'gladiator-master', *laniēna* 'butcher shop' (Plaut. +).

Isidor. 10.159 reports: *Lanista, gladiator, id est carnifex, Tusca lingua appellatus, a laniando scilicet corpora.*

- b. *fala* 'wooden siege-tower' (Enn. +), *falārica* 'a heavy missile weapon' (Enn. +).

Paul. Fest. p. 88 M: *Falae a faladō quod apud Etruscos significat caelum.*

- c. *mantissa* 'sauce, makeweight' (Lucil. +).

Paul. Fest. p. 134 M: *mantissa additamentum dicitur lingua Tusca, quod ponderi adicitur, sed deterius et quod sine ullo usu est.*

- d. *histrion* 'actor' (Plaut. +)

Liv. 7.2.6: *Vernaculis artificibus, quia ister Tusco uerbo ludio uocabatur, nomen histrionibus inditum.*

- e. *subulo* 'flautist' (Enn. Sat. 65, Varr. L. 7.35)

Fest. 202.2 L *subulo Tusce tibicen dicitur. Cf. Etr. šuplu (?)*.

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<sup>18</sup> See Breyer 1993 and Ernout 1929.

2. Words of Greek origin transmitted to Latin through Etruscan:

- a. *Catamitus* (Plaut. *Men.* 144) < Etr. *catmite* < Grk. \*Γαδυμήδης < Γανυμήδης.
- b. *triumpe* < Etr. < Grk. θρίαμβος.
- c. *amurca* 'watery fluid contained in an olive' (Cat. +) < Etr. < ἀμόργη.
- d. *Creisita* (CIL 1.567, Praeneste) = Etr. *Crisitha* < Grk. acc. Χρυσήδα.

B. Calques

*undeviginti* '19' after Etr. *θunem-zaθrum* '19'?

- C. The Etruscan suffix *-enna* / *-ennus* (cf. the Etruscan name *Porsenna*) seems to have been occasionally added to a Latin base: *sociennus* 'partner' (Plaut. *Aul.* 659) <— *socius*, *homo levenna pro levi* (Laber. *com.* 80 apud. *Aul. Gell.* 16.7.11), *Dossennus* 'Hunchback', a stock character in Atellan farce <— *dossum* / *dorsum* 'back'.

V. Celtic

Contact between Latin and Celtic speakers (in the historical period) goes back to the 4th century BCE when the Galli invaded Italy and sacked Rome, and continued in certain locales (Gallia, Hispania) down to the Romance period.<sup>19</sup>

1. Celtic words are thickest on the ground in the semantic sphere of horses and chariots.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> See Schmidt 1967. Some French words of Gaulish origin: *lande* fem. 'moor'. Cf. Celt. \**landā* fem. (OIr. *land*, *lann* 'enclosure', MW *llan* 'enclosure, church', Bret. *lann* 'heath'). The PDE word *land* < OE *land* neut. is from the Germanic cognate of the Celtic word. *Grève* 'strike', <— *Place de la Grève*, Paris, a place where the unemployed assembled. *Grève* originally meant 'gravel' as does Prov. *grava*. Cf. W *gro* 'gravel'. PDE *gravel* is from the OFr. diminutive *gravelle*. *Chêne* 'oak' < \**kaskanos*.

<sup>20</sup> *Ploxenum* 'carriage body' (Catull. 97.6) is often assumed to be Celtic but this is not certain. Quint. 1.5.8 says: *sicut Catullus "ploxenum" circa Padum invenit. Carpentum* 'two-wheeled two-

a. Chariots and Wagons

- i. *carrus* 'four-wheeled wagon' (Sisenn. +). Cf. OIr. *carr* < *k̄rsos* 'runner' similar to Lat. *currus*. Cf. also *carruca* 'traveling-carriage' (Plin. +).
- ii. *raeda/rēda* 'four-wheeled wagon' (Var. +).<sup>21</sup> Cf. OIr. *dē-riad* 'bigae'.<sup>22</sup>
- iii. *petoritum* 'open, four-wheeled wagon' (Var. +) < \**petru-rotom*. Cf. *Petru-corii* (a Celtic tribal name) and OIr. *roth* 'wheel'.
- iv. *cisium* (Cic. +) 'light two-wheeled carriage'. Cf. OIr. *cess* 'basket'.
- v. *essedum* 'two-wheeled chariot' (Caes. +) < \**en-sedom* 'in-sitting'.
- vi. *covinnus* 'war-chariot with attached scythes' (Mela +). Cf. OIr. *fén* < \**ueǵh̄nos*.
- vii. *epiraedium* 'horse-drawn coach' (Juv.) < \**epo-rēdion* 'horse-riding'.
- viii. *pilentum* 'a luxurious type of wagon' (Verg. +).<sup>23</sup>
- ix. *colisatum* 'wagon' (Plin. 34.163). Cf. OIr. *cul* 'wagon'.
- x. *benna* 'two-wheeled wagon with woven basket'.<sup>24</sup> Cf. MW *benn* 'cart' < \**b<sup>h</sup>end<sup>h</sup>-nā*.

b. Horses

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teamed wagon' (Liv.+)) is also attributed to Celtic according to Arrian *tact.* 33 and there are Celtic placenames that are reminiscent like *Carbantia*, but no certain cognate.

<sup>21</sup> Quint. 1.5.57: *Plurima Gallica evaluerunt, ut "raeda" ac "petorritum," quorum altero tamen Cicero, altero Horatius utitur*

<sup>22</sup> The Celtic verbal root \**reid-* is cognate with PGmc. \**reid-* (OE *ridan*, PDE *ride*).

<sup>23</sup> attributed to Gaulish by Porph. ad. Hor. *epist.* 2.1.192.

<sup>24</sup> Paul. Fest. p. 32 M: *lingua Gallica genus vehiculi appellatur unde vocantur combennones in eadem benna sedentes*. The word *benna* also survives in Romance: Montalese (Pistoia) *benda* 'wagon-basket', etc. This word is also the source of OE *binn*, PDE *bin*.

- i. *verēdus* ‘a fast breed of horse’ (Mart. +) < Gaul. \**uo-rēdos*. Cf. Welsh *gorwydd* ‘horse’.<sup>25</sup>
  - ii. *badius* ‘bay’ (Var. +)<sup>26</sup> Cf. OIr. *buide* ‘yellow’.
- c. Weapons
- i. *gladius* ‘sword’ (Enn. +) replacing inherited *ēnsis*. Cf. OIr. *claidib*.
  - ii. *gaesum* ‘a Celtic javelin’ (Caes. +). Cf. OIr. *gae*.<sup>27</sup>
  - iii. *cateia* ‘boomerang’ (Verg. +).<sup>28</sup>
- d. Clothing
- i. *brācae* ‘breeches’ (Lucil. +) < Gaul. *braca* itself borrowed from the ancestor of OE *brōc\**, pl. *brēc* ‘breeches’.
  - ii. *linna* (Plaut. frg. apud Isid. 19.23.3) ‘cloak’. Cf. OIr. *lenn*.
  - iii. Two words found only at Vindolanda in Britannia.
    - tossea* ‘bedspread’.
    - bedox* ‘coverlet’.
- e. Miscellaneous
- i. *alauda* ‘crested lark’ (Plin., OFr. *aloe*, Fr. *alouette*).
  - ii. *cervēs(i)a* ‘beer’ (Plin. +, Sp. *cerveza*). Cf. OIr. *coirm* ‘beer’.
  - iii. *ambactus* (Enn. +) ‘servant’ <— ‘sent-around’. Cf. OIr. *imm-agid* ‘drive around’.

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<sup>25</sup> A Gallo-Greek compound *paraverēdus* is the source of OHG *pfaripfrit*, NHG *Pferd*.

<sup>26</sup> PDE *bay* < OFr. *bai* < Lat. *badius*.

<sup>27</sup> Cognate with OE *gār* ‘spear’ surviving in PDE *gar-lic* ‘spear-leek’.

<sup>28</sup> Attributed to the *Galli* by Serv. ad *Aen.* 7.741 although Vergil there speaks of the weapon being used ‘*Teutonico ritu*’.

iv. *leuga* (CIL 13.9031, Isid. *Etym.* 15.16.2) or *leuca* 'league'.<sup>29</sup>

## VI. Semitic

- A. The Phoenicians were active in the Western Mediterranean from about 1000 BCE. Carthage (Phoen. *qrt hdšt* 'city new') was said to have been founded in the 9<sup>th</sup> century BCE. Punic continued to be spoken in North African in the Imperial period.<sup>30</sup>

*avō* 'vivite' (Plaut. *Poen.* 994) < Pun. *havō*.<sup>31</sup>

(*h*)*avē* 'vive' (Cic. and Catull.).

*magalia* 'round nomad hut' (Hemina +)

*sufes* 'a Carthaginian consul' (Cato +) < Pun. *špt*.

- B. In later times Latin was in contact with other Semitic languages, especially Hebrew and Aramaic.

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<sup>29</sup> *Leuga* is the source of Late ME *leuge*, PDE *league*. Cf. Fr. *lieue*, Prov. *legoa* > Sp. *legua*.

<sup>30</sup> St. Augustine, for example, was somewhat familiar with Punic and recognized its close relationship to Hebrew. In discussing *Gen.* 8.9 (*et extendit manum suam*) where the reflexive *suam* is redundant in real Latin, he comments (*Loc. Hept.* 1.24; CSEL 28.1.511-12): *locutio est quam propterea hebraeam puto, quia et punicae linguae familiarissima est, in qua multa invenimus hebraeis verbis consonantia.*

<sup>31</sup> The slave Milphio says of Hanno's *avō* "salutat."