PAPERS AND MONOGRAPHS OF THE FINNISH INSTITUTE AT ATHENS VOL. XVII

VARIATION AND CHANGE IN GREEK AND LATIN

Edited by Martti Leiwo, Hilla Halla-aho & Marja Vierros

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Preface

The chapters in this compact volume concentrate on different aspects of variation and change in Greek and Latin. The purpose of the volume is to offer a selection of current research in this broad and difficult field.

When we are studying ancient languages and observe linguistic variation in our data, we may ask ourselves several questions: What sort of variation is this? Is it synchronic variation? Which factors determine the distribution of different variants? Or, is the variation a symptom of an ongoing change in the linguistic system that sometimes emerges in unexpected places? These two aspects, variation and ongoing change, are intertwined: variation is a necessary prerequisite for linguistic change, and sometimes the final outcome is visible only after several hundreds of years. As this volume illustrates, language contact often lies in the heart of variation and change.

Versions of the chapters were originally presented as papers given at the Finnish Institute at Athens in September 2009, for the colloquium "Variation and change in Greek and Latin. Problems and methods". This was organized by Martti Leiwo (University of Helsinki, the director of the Institute), Hilla Halla-aho and Marja Vierros (both from the University of Helsinki).

The colloquium was a dream come true for the organizers: to invite prominent scholars of Greek and Latin linguistics, and have some serious discussions on how to study variation and change in ancient languages. As it turned out, we did have some serious discussions, as well as some heavy rain that resulted in many wet clothes. Fortunately, the rain was not an obstacle for the extraordinary collegial atmosphere.

Both the colloquium and the book are results of the subproject "Variation and Change in Greek and Latin" in the Centre of Excellence "Ancient Greek Written Sources" funded by the Academy of Finland and directed by Jaakko Frösén. We also wish to express our gratitude to the Finnish Cultural Foundation (Suomen Kulttuurirahasto) and the Federation of Finnish Learned Societies (Tieteellisten seurain valtuuskunta) for the grants that made the organizing of the colloquium and the publication of this book possible. We also wish to thank the anonymous reviewers and warmly acknowledge the proofreading of Catherine Parnell (now Georganá). Finally, we would like to thank the staff of the Finnish Institute who helped us to organize the event.

The scholars who read papers but did not publish them here are David Langslow (University of Manchester), Kalle Korhonen (University of Helsinki), Peter Kruschwitz (University of Reading) and Philomen Probert (University of Oxford).

We wish to thank all the participants of the colloquium for a most enjoyable event. Those who submitted their chapters for this volume and showed remarkable patience with the editors deserve our special thanks.

Martti Leiwo, Hilla Halla-aho, Marja Vierros
Athens - Helsinki - New York, 15 September 2012

Abbreviations

Abbreviations of ancient authors and works mainly follow the practice of *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* or *Oxford Latin Dictionary* (for Latin) and H. G. Liddell, R. Scott and H. S. Jones, *A Greek-English Lexicon* (for Greek).

For the abbreviations of scientific journals, the convention of *L'Année Philologique* is followed.

For the abbreviations of papyrological editions, see J.F. Oates, R.S. Bagnall e.a., *Checklist of Editions of Greek, Latin, Demotic and Coptic Papyri, Ostraca and Tablets*. Fifth edition (BASP, Suppl. 9), Oakville (CT)-Oxford 2001; for more recent publications, see http://scriptorium.lib.duke.edu/papyrus/texts/clist.html.

AE = L'Année Epigraphique, Paris 1888–.
CIE = Corpus Inscriptionum Etruscarum, Roma 1893–.
CIJ = J.-B. Frey (ed.), *Corpus Inscriptionum Judaicarum*, Roma 1936–1952.
CIL = Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum, Berlin.
IG = Inscriptiones Graecae, Berlin 1892–.
SEG = Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum, Amsterdam 1923–.
ThLL = Thesaurus Linguae Latinae, Leipzig 1900–.

For all other abbreviations, please consult the individual bibliographies.

Introduction: Variation with Multiple Faces

Martti Leiwo

Introduction

In linguistics – apart from those studies that focus on "corpus languages", such as Latin and Greek – a term "language" has been notoriously difficult to define as an everyday system of communication as well as in terms of differences in the continuum of areal linguistic varieties. What is an accent, a dialect, a language? The task of defining language is difficult, because the concept of "a language" is a political and ideological, and of course, epistemic, entity rather than an accurate description of one separate unit, e.g., "English".[1] Despite the temporal distance and the limited data at our disposal, it is likely that a political and ideological definition seems to be valid for Greek and Latin as well as modern languages. Even Greek and Latin have to be considered as containing various fractions of a social system called language.[2] In this book we use the terms "a language" and "the language" to refer to all the various parts that form a certain definable entity that its speakers can mutually understand in a given geographical area or, on a smaller scale, in a given theoretically-defined context or speech community. Thus, this book deals with different fractions of Greek and Latin, from the 4th century BCE to the 6th century CE, and studies, both conceptually and practically, variation within these fractions using data taken from papyri (Evans, Vierros), inscriptions, (Galdi, Poccetti, Solin) graffiti (Solin), and texts from manuscripts (Dickey, Ferri, Haverling).[3] This is achieved by using various methodological approaches for a common goal: what kind of variation existed and what were the social and/or stylistic reasons for this variation (Halla-aho, Leiwo)?

Use-related and user-related variation

Variation is the essence of language. It is present in all linguistic productivity, and it usually has social and contextual reasons. R.L. Trask in his *Dictionary of historical and comparative linguistics* (2000 *s.v.* 'variation') defines variation as "the existence of competing linguistic forms within a single speech community or language". Thus, variation as a linguistic concept usually refers to the relationship between linguistic structures and social variables. Sociolinguists use the term "variety" for these various socially or contextually defined fractions of language. In *The Oxford Companion to the*

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[1] The determiner-specific expressions "the language", "a language" refer to one or more of the kinds of socio-historical formations that are ordinarily referred to as Spanish, Arabic, Chinese etc., see Agha 2007, 219.

[2] Agha is discussing "problems that emerge when a certain kind of object that exists in our world – an everyday, social fact called "language" – is epistemically reconstituted by disciplinary agendas that focus on a select number of its features as extractable fractions, and, by taking them as objects of study, seek performatively to constitute themselves as unified disciplines", see Agha 2007, 218. For our purposes the concept "a fraction of language" is plausible.

[3] All references which use the author's name only signify a contribution contained within this volume.

English Language (1992), Tom McArthur identifies two broad types of variety: "(1) *user-related varieties*, which are associated with particular people and, often, specific places and (2) *use-related varieties*, which are associated with function, such as *legal English* (the language of courts, contracts, etc.) and *literary English* (the typical usage of literary texts, conversations, etc.)." In this respect, both user-related and use-related varieties are evident in the corpus of Greek and Latin literary and non-literary texts.

At times, certain variants become popular and consistent among all the language users and thus create permanent linguistic changes in the linguistic system of the language. Some permanent changes are rather small, particular differences between old and new, but some are big, structural changes, such as the birth of the article and the loss of the infinitive forms in Greek, or the loss of cases in Latin. When deep structural changes take place, there is much synchronic variation and many competing variants. In Haverling's article, the great differences between Late Latin writers are discussed. Some writers were rooted in traditional written Latin, whereas others were at ease with variation and contemporary language.

Many syntactic structures and single words in the Greek and Latin corpus are due to the genre of the document and thus they are use-related. The usual phraseology of a certain genre typifies the forms used. Some variation is also due to the different writing systems. For example, familiarity with only Greek alphabet may cause difficulties in choosing letters from the alphabet to correspond to phonemes of another language.

Serious study on variation started in the 1960s.[4] Since then, quantitative analysis has been the tool for studying variation. A large corpus of material is analyzed, and its results reveal certain aspects of variation in the whole speech community. In relation to the analysis of variation in ancient corpus languages, however, quantitative analysis has not been easy because of the lack of adequate linguistically-annotated corpora. Nevertheless, quantitative analysis is the foundation for understanding language change and for observing sociolinguistic variation in a speech community. It is not a good method, however, when analyzing variation from small data. More subtle methods are necessary for the analysis of individual language use, and then qualitative analysis forms the starting point.[5] Qualitative analysis takes account of every context where an individual uses language, and thus discourse-related goals and pragmatic factors also play a significant role in the analysis. In short, both paradigms complement each other. By following the same speech community for years it has even been possible to study real time changes,[6] but this kind of study has been considered impossible with regard to written corpora. It is possible, however, to approach real time change when the written corpus is representative enough. Consequently, it is promising that Nevalainen et al. were able to provide positive results of real time change from their corpus of letters.[7] It is also possible to trace real time changes in some geographical areas, if the examples are representative enough.[8] Campania, for example, is a promising region for areal linguistic studies, though the interpretation of onomastics, inscriptions and *graffiti* is demanding. Solin offers an up to

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[4] It started, more or less, with W. Labov's MA thesis, *Martha's Vineyard* (1963).

[5] See the important paper by Nevalainen et al. 2011, 1–43.

[6] See Labov 1994 and 2001.

[7] Nevalainen et al. 2011, 1–43.

[8] Adams 2007, 719–720

date approach which focuses mainly on Pompei and its *graffiti*. The amount of variation in Latin at all linguistic levels is high, and also the reasons behind choosing Greek or Latin are manifold. Again, his examples show the importance of qualitative analysis. Every piece of evidence has to be interpreted in its own context. The research is time-consuming, but it is the only way to get reliable results.

This book will focus on qualitative analysis that is always combined with a firm knowledge of the data being studied. Geographical context and local inhabitants in their social setting are carefully dealt with in many chapters in order to obtain results with a deeper comprehension of linguistic variation and linguistic attitudes (see Evans, Vierros, Poccetti, Solin).

Classification of texts and spoken language

A persistent tradition, especially in Latin and Romance philology, has confused variation with the classification of texts. According to this tradition, texts or documents that are not written in the normative literary Latin are representative of another kind of Latin, "vulgar Latin", as if this were a different linguistic entity. The notorious definition of "vulgar Latin" has generally been "the spoken language of the uneducated". Unfortunately, it is neither a spoken language nor even a fraction of the written Latin language (see Halla-aho's contribution). Thus, the long tradition has produced inappropriate approaches to studying Latin language, and under the label of "vulgar Latin" both user-related and use-related variation have lived together in great mishmash. To get some logic to this mess even those scholars who definitely are and were aware that it is a *cul-de-sac*, have tried to define "vulgar Latin" without much success, and this term is still used in this book. I am, however, convinced that the study of Latin language does not need this term, and that the exact nature of any given variation can be explained without it.

In fact, it also seems to be quite common among Classical and Romance philologists to claim that a given linguistic feature belongs to the spoken language, even if it is written. As it is, philologists and general linguists infer "spoken" language differently. The symbols of written text, such as letters and graphs, cannot logically be but approximate counterparts of the structural features of spoken language. Additionally, the prosodic features and the non-verbal signals have almost no correspondence within writing.[9] In the strictest sense, this means that, by definition, only written language can be studied when we study corpus languages, but sometimes elements from speech infiltrate written language.[10] For example, it seems evident that the nominative plural ending *–as,* of the Latin first declension, was common in speech. Morphologically rich languages like Greek and Latin probably had a great amount of morphological variation that cannot be identified in our corpus of literary texts.[11] Galdi presents a comprehensive analysis of the use of the nominative plural *-as* of the first declension nouns, and suggests that its usage

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[9] See the discussion by Linell 2005, 30–37.

[10] See also Halla-aho.

[11] Haverling 157–158.

was not only due to its popularity in speech, but also to its larger transparency in the idiomatical funerary inscriptions.[12]

In a modern spoken language, individual variation is commonplace: for example, in Finnish, which is extremely rich in nominal morphology, competing and idiolectically chosen morphological variants abound in the dialects and standard language. In standard language it is possible to say and write *vuohea* or *vuohta* (partitive sing. of *vuohi* 'goat') as well as *nukkejen* or *nukkien* (gen. plural of *nukke* 'doll') without an accurate social or dialectal stance, and similar variation exists throughout the nominal morphology of some declension types. Sometimes, one of the possible variants has become more popular than the others, and has turned out to be the only form in usage. On other occasions, especially with homonyms that belong to different declension paradigms, a form which has been borrowed from the other paradigm becomes popular and spreads into common use.[13] It is highly probable that similar variation existed in Greek and Latin, and that it had multiple causes: language internal variation, language contacts, imperfect learning, jokes. In the strongly standardized Latin corpus, such variation is usually invisible in literary texts, but it may occur in inscriptions, graffiti, ostraca, papyri and writing tablets.[14] Variation as such can easily be detected, but we cannot usually identify the functional dimensions of existing variants. Sometimes, however, it is possible, as in case of the *-as* nominative explained by Galdi below.

Scribes and private people

Ordinary people often had difficulties with written language but the same can be said of many scribes. Also, these difficulties usually have multiple causes, which we have to investigate qualitatively, one by one. At times, some forms or structures can even tell us about the actual speech, but they are still represented by the written medium. This written fraction of a language can, however, be very idiolectic. In fact, it is important to bear in mind that the linguistic discrepancies that appear, for example, in the original documents written by non-professionals were composed by the people themselves. It is their language, and it provides us with information on individual variation outside literary genres.[15] This is an important difference when compared to literary texts that have been preserved through manuscripts. The scribes after the Carolingian Renaissance were capable of changing the original texts to a more standardized form, but we cannot be sure about the nature of the changes. In opposition to this some scribes copied the texts without much knowledge and care, thus causing variation that did not exist before.[16] On the other hand, many inscriptions that were written by professional letter-cutters reflect standardized forms of language without much variation.

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[12] Galdi 147.

[13] For example, the Finnish partitive singular *viintä* pro *viiniä* 'of wine' from *viini* 'quiver' and *viini* 'wine'. The use of the first variant probably started as a joke, but has become a real variant without an obvious knowledge of its incorrectness in the above meaning 'of wine'. It helps, of course, that quivers are not used very much anymore. The same has happened with other homonyms as well (e.g. *vuori* 'mountain' and *vuori* 'lining').

[14] For the problem in terms of local variation, see the introduction of Adams 2007, 1–36.

[15] Leiwo 2010, 114–118.

[16] Haverling 153–154.

The language of the papyri and ostraca still has an additional problem, as it is evident that the majority of the documents were written by scribes (see Evans, Vierros), but the influence of scribes on the language is difficult to determine.[17] Some documents were dictated, but some were composed by the scribes from models. Occasionally we can, however, get good results. Evans, for example, notes that from the six documents belonging to Iason, four documents and a total of 101 lines of text which were written by the same hand contain 39 non-standard spellings, whereas in the 30 lines written by other hands there are two nonstandard spellings.[18] Though the ratio is not statistically significant, it can, nevertheless, provide us with an approximation of the influence of different writers on the written linguistic output.

As previously mentioned, variation usually has multiple causes and the same linguistic feature may have separate causes and different origins in different geographical or social settings.[19] The cause of variation is, at times, due to language-internal reasons, sometimes it is contact-induced, but variation may also be caused by both factors occurring at the same time. The multicausality can be clearly noted if we compare the nonstandard features of the Zenon archive, found near the village of Philadelphia in the Fayum, with those of the agoranomic contracts of Pathyris in the Upper Egypt.[20] Pathyris was never very Hellenized, and relatively few people were bilingual.[21] The notaries, however, were bilingual, and transfer from their native language, Egyptian, to Greek is evident and caused contact-induced variation, as shown by Vierros.[22] The Fayum area, however, was more Greek in nature, and the variation studied by Evans in his chapter is basically language-internal Greek.[23] Practically, this means that every variation must be defined in its own social setting, and generalizations are plausible only after the documental analysis has been completed.

Taxonomies and generalizations

Unfortunately, some basic Greek grammars and linguistic studies are restricted since they do not deal with the study of variation, but rather the taxonomy of variation that, additionally, focuses heavily on morpho-phonology.[24] This means that we can easily see what kind of morpho-phonological variation existed in the data, but we are usually left in the dark about the reasons and the chronology of this variation. Generalizations are sometimes deduced from the statistics, but when they are analyzed contextually, they prove to be false, or at least misleading. For example, B. Mandilaras[25] correctly stated

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[17] Many features can be studied, however, see Halla-aho 2003, 251, Evans and Vierros.

[18] Evans 38–39.

[19] As regards Latin, see the conclusion of Adams 2007, 701.

[20] The dates are 261–229 BCE and the 2nd century – 88 BCE, respectively.

[21] Vierros 44.

[22] Vierros 2012.

[23] Evans 39.

[24] Basically Gignac 1976 and 1981, Teodorsson 1977 and 1978.

[25] Mandilaras 1973, §771 [p. 320.].

that in certain constructions the Greek complementary infinitive is clearly final. He then attempted to generalize and claims that the construction where the definite article in the genitive is used with the infinitive was popular as the argument of the idiom μὴ ἀμελήσῃς or similar. He gives as examples[26] (835 [337]) μὴ δόξῃς με ἀμελεῖν με τοῦ γράφειν σοι (B.G.U. 665 (iii), 11-13, 1st CE); μὴ ἀμελήσῃς τοῦ ἐνοχλῆσαι (P.Oxy. 1159, 11-13, late 3rd CE); μὴ οὖν ἀμελήσεις τοῦ τοῦτο ποιῆσαι (P.Amh. 144, 14-16, 5th CE); μέλει [ἡ]μῖν τοῦ γνῶναι (P.Grenf. II 92,3-4 (6th or 7th CE)).

The examples are dated between the first and seventh century CE and originate from different places. The generalization, however, does not seem to fit in with the abundant data from the ostraca of Mons Claudianus (100-170 CE) or the long letters on papyri from Kellis (4-5th centuries CE). Combined with this idiom, we can attest almost all other possible arguments, except the one emphasized by Mandilaras.[27] In the data which I studied, there are seven different arguments combined with μὴ ἀμελήσῃς.[28] The idiom μὴ ἀμελήσῃς or similar is followed or preceded by:[29]

1) The plain infinitive

O.Claud. 260, 7-8: μὴ ἀμελῖτέ μυ γράφιν περὶ τῆς σοτηρίας ἡμῶν.

'Don't forget to write about your well-being.'

2) The imperative

O.Claud. 270, 12: μὴ ἀμέλη ποίσόν μοι ταῦτα.

'Don't forget to do this for me.'

3) A complement clause with ἵνα

O.Claud. 239, 4-6: ἵνα οὖν̣ πέμψῃ<ς> μοι μίκκ̣ον χαρτάριον καὶ στημόνιν μὴ ἀμελήσῃς.

'Don't forget to send me some paper and thread.'

4) The preposition περὶ + the genitive plus a complement clause with ἵνα.

O.Claud. 279, 17-20: μὴ ἀμελήσῃς περὶ ζμηλιμαχαίριον ἵνα τὸ κεφάλιν αὐτοῦ ᾖι ὁλοχάλκινεν.

'Don't forget to take care that the blade of the chisel is made totally of bronze.'

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[26] The emphasis is mine.

[27] O.Claud. I-IV, P.Kellis. I will publish a full analysis of these constructions elswhere..

[28] Leiwo 2011.

[29] I provide one reference to each construction.

5) The future indicative

O.Claud. 255, 7-9: μὲ ἀμελήσις γράψες μοι περὶ τῆς σοτηρείας [σου].

'Don't forget to tell me about your well-being.'

6) The aorist subjunctive

P.Kell. 65, 31-34: ἔγραψά σοι ὅτι πέμψῃς τὸ μαρφόρτιόν μου καὶ ⟦ουκε⟧ τὸ χιτώνιον, καὶ οὐκ ἠμέλησέ σοι πέμψῃς μοι.

'I wrote to you that "Send my cape and my tunic" and you did not bother to send them to me.'

7) The definite article in the genitive with a prepositional phrase

P.Kell. 68, 20: μὴ ἀμελή[σῃς] τῶν ἐν τοῖς ν̣ο̣τ̣ί̣ν̣ο̣[ις π]ρ̣άγμασι.

'Don't forget about what is in the Southern property'

There is also a completely altered construction, where we have an imperatival clause with an otherwise asyndetic ἀλλὰ μὴ ἀμελήσῃς 'but don't forget':

P.Kell. 11, 4-11: τὰς δύο ἀρτάβας κριθῶν τὰ<ς> παρὰ σοὶ παράσχου τῷ πατρὶ Δημοσθένει ἢ τὴν τιμὴν αὐτῶν ἐν ταλάντοις τετρακισχιλείοις ἢ τὴν ἀρτάβην σιζύφου κατὰ τὴν συνταγήν ἀλλὰ μὴ ἀμελήσῃς.

'Send to father Demosthenes the two artabas of barley which are with you, or the price of them in four thousand talents, or the artaba of jujubes according to the arrangement; but don't forget.'

This distribution can only mean that the construction which uses the articular infinitive in the genitive was not popular in this context, but, instead, there was a great deal of syntactic variation within the arguments of μὴ ἀμελήσῃς. Thus, we have to come to the conclusion that reliable generalizations cannot be made before a thorough and detailed analysis of all available evidence.

Loanwords and foreign words, pragmatics

The complexity of causes can also be identified in the integration of Latin loanwords in Greek. When languages are in intense contact, there is a lot of transference in both directions.[30] In terms of vocabulary, some words of the one language become integrated in the vocabulary of the other. Until now, research on Latin loanwords in Greek has been rather elementary, and does not usually differentiate between real loanwords and foreign words in general. Dickey analyzes the methodology of earlier studies and provides a method for more reliable investigation. An integrated loanword is comprehensible to the

[30] The intense interference is studied, for example, by Sarhimaa 1999, Thomason 2001, Riionheimo 2007.

majority of, or even all, speakers of the language. Therefore, when we come across, for example, a great number of previously unattested Latin-based vocabulary in the Greek ostraca of Mons Claudianus and Mons Porphyritis from the Eastern Desert of Egypt during the 2nd century CE, it does not mean that these words were integrated loanwords. Some of them may have become integrated into Greek, but the majority are foreign words in Greek, code-switches which were mainly used in quarrying.[31]

Real, integrated loanwords can even show dialectal variation inside the recipient language, as for example the Finnish variants for 'window', *akkuna* (western dialects) and the standard *ikkuna,* both of which are borrowed from the Russian *oknó,* or its more ancient form *okuno.*[32] This kind of dialectal variation is traceable in Greek and Latin if we turn our attention to other languages of ancient Italy, and how they have transmitted Greek words into their own vocabulary. Poccetti shows how basic mythological and religious names in the ancient languages of Italy had different Greek dialectal sources. In addition to this, sometimes variants of the source language coexisted in the receiving language, though they could have had functional differences.[33] Poccetti's analysis makes it very clear that there is no obvious system of borrowing, but instead it can seem totally fortuitous, if social and historical contexts are left unstudied.

A loanword can also have sociolinguistic dimensions, and by choosing between a loanword and a domestic word a speaker can show his or her group affiliation. In Modern Greek every person can choose, without taking any social stance, the word δωρεάν 'for free' borrowed/derived from ancient Greek acc. sing δωρεάν (δωρεά 'gift, present'), but saying τζάμπα (< turkish *caba* 'free, for nothing') can signal various social attitudes, that could make 'better people' turn up their nose. This is an actual situation in Modern Greek with many other Turkish loans as well. If one wishes to express the phrase 'we live in a world full of lies' in Modern Greek, and says 'ζούμε σ'ένα ψευτικό ντουνιά' (ντουνιάς < Turkish *dünya* 'world) instead of 'ζούμε σ'ένα ψευτικό κόσμο', one obviously listens to a lot of Greek traditional urban music (*laikí* and *rebétiki*), where this is a popular line. It is complicated to grasp this kind of socially significant variation in corpus languages. Sometimes it is possible, however, especially when we turn our study to pragmatics and discourse analysis.

Above, the focus has been mainly on documentary material. Literary texts, while they are mostly uninformative on the subjects of social or geographical variation, can provide us with glimpses of other types of variation; for example, situational variation, as represented by Roman comedy. The variation in illocutionary acts in corpus languages is interesting and has also been studied to some extent.[34] Various discourse strategies form an important part of the linguistic variation. As Ferri illustrates, there were many ways to say "no" politely and save one's face. His examples are mostly from Roman comedy and the letters of Cicero and Roman grammatical writers. Although phatic movements that are typical of conversations in real life are not accessible in ancient texts, some hints of them nevertheless exist, especially in drama. With careful study, a surprisingly rich variety of expressions can be traced.

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[31] See Serafino 2007 for this terminology.

[32] Vilppula 2004.

[33] Poccetti 72.

[34] See, for example, Risselada 1993, De Melo 2007, Ferri 2008a and b, Hall 2009, Dickey 2010, and Leiwo 2010.

As a conclusion, I would like to underline the fact that variation is characteristic of whole language in its all aspects. This book offers some observations of it in Greek and Latin.

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What Does 'Latin' Mean? A Terminological Pamphlet*

Hilla Halla-aho

This pamphlet concerns the term vulgar Latin and elaborates on a point I have made earlier.[1] The aim is, by making explicit the implications of this term, to discuss methodological problems in studying variation and change in Latin. The main argument is that variation in Latin is so complex (as always in languages) that it cannot be captured in one term, vulgar Latin. It is easy to take a general and theoretical approach on this theme now that the scope of variation in Latin has been clarified in detailed studies, the overwhelming majority of which has been produced by J. N. Adams.[2] I will draw predominantly on this wealth of data. New non-literary material that has been coming into light during the recent decades often shows vulgar variants in contexts that challenge the old conceptions of their social distribution. The most important discussion on this topic is in Adams (1995, 131–133), both concerning linguistic evidence and terminological issues.

Despite serious criticism, voiced in recent years by leading scholars,[3] the term vulgar Latin continues to be used. Awareness of this criticism causes it to be often used in inverted commas, or accompanied by a modifier such as 'so-called', or 'convenient but imprecise' (Eleanor Dickey in this volume). According to the traditional definition of the term, vulgar Latin is the spoken language of the uneducated (or even illiterate) masses of the Roman empire. The associated time span is usually from the early imperial period onwards.

In the following pages I will approach the term from two perspectives. First, I will look in detail at some of those linguistic features that are usually said to belong to vulgar Latin, and discuss the grounds for this labelling. After this I will turn to traditional definitions of the term, and analyse them. Finally, these considerations will prompt me to address the question posed in the title, and to ask what we actually mean when we talk about 'Latin'.

The discussion in the first section is arranged according to linguistic levels. I consider first the distribution of three phonological phenomena, and their association with vulgar Latin.

I will make one noteworthy omission in linguistic levels, and that is lexicon. Concerning the relevance of lexical issues there is an abundance of information and discussion. I refer to various studies by Adams where he shows the technical nature of much of that layer of vocabulary that was earlier simply labelled vulgar.[4]

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* I should like to thank the referee, my fellow editors and Giovanbattista Galdi for a number of useful remarks.

[1] Halla-aho 2009, 29–31; Kruschwitz and Halla-aho 2007, 38–41.

[2] For example, Adams 1977, 1990, 1992, 1994, 1995, 1999, 2003a, 2003b, 2003c, 2005 and 2007.

[3] See Adams 1995 and Clackson and Horrocks 2007, both cited further below. But this criticism is not a new invention. An important early voice is Pulgram 1950 whose central points remain valid today.

[4] One may start with Adams 1995, 133.

Do phonological changes happen in vulgar Latin?

Among the commonest misspellings in Latin non-literary sources of the early empire are the loss of final *m* and writing the single *e* for the digraph *ae*. These reflect, respectively, the weakness or loss of final *m*, and the monophthongization of the diphthong that is behind *ae*. At the face of it, both are prototypical examples of 'vulgar Latin sound changes'. This appears to be the common verdict despite general knowledge concerning the ancient roots of these phenomena, both of which are attested already in the republican inscriptions. The third case presented here is the variation concerning short *i*, a somewhat more complicated case. I use these three to address the terminological problem. If vulgar Latin predominantly means 'innovations in popular speech during the imperial age', as it often seems, then how should the same features be called when they appear in the early period?

Did the change ae > e happen (first) in vulgar Latin?
Even if more substantial evidence for the monophthongal pronunciation of this phoneme appears only in the early imperial age (this is also due to the fact that non-literary sources survive in greater numbers from this period), there already is evidence in early Latin for variation in the graphic sign used for this phoneme (e.g. *CIL* I^2 350 *Grecia* (Praenestine), *CIL* I^2 388 *Victorie* (a dative singular, Lacus Fucinus) and Lucil. 1130 *Cecilius pretor ne rusticus fiat*). Adams connects inscriptional evidence with literary testimonies and concludes that during the republic, the monophthongal pronunciation was favoured in the rural areas whereas in Rome the diphthong was retained. The monophthongization thus happened earlier in rural areas than in the city.[5]

Accordingly, in the republican period the question of *ae* and *e* seems to have been a case of regional variation. In this case, the rustic pronunciation was innovative, and showed early on the direction that also urban Latin was to follow.[6] The spread in the urban variety happened supposedly via the sub elite classes, so that the feature (that was originally regional) was turned into an instance of social variation in the city of Rome. Was vulgar Latin spoken outside Rome in the early period or should the same feature be called vulgar only after it enters the urban variety?

Did the weakening of final m happen in vulgar Latin?
The weakness and falling out of final *m* is another typical vulgar feature that, however, has its roots in early Latin. In contrast to the monophthongal pronunciation of *ae* that seems to have been a non-Roman feature in the republic, the weakness of final *m* is attested in the republican period even in Roman inscriptions. There is a difference according to the status of the commissioner. Official inscriptions show the *m* but private ones, for example the Scipio *elogia* often lack it.[7] Leumann states that in old Latin the pronunciation of final *m* was often "reduziert", and meant the dropping out of *m* and nasalization of the preceding vowel. In the refined language of the Classical period the *m* was then restored

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[5] On *ae*/*e* and the examples cited in the text see Adams 2007, 19; 78–88 and 109–110.

[6] One may note in this connection that the general trend is rather the opposite: retention of older features in the periphery and innovation in the urban centre, see Adams 2007, 19. The spread of the urban variant is caused by its prestige, see Adams 2007, 118–119 on the prestige of the Roman variety.

[7] Leumann 1977, 224 and Wachter 1987, 305 and 308.

in speech (Leumann 1977, 225). In this perspective, apparently, the *m*-less forms became vulgar only when this happened. But this does not seem to make any sense: can we really call the *m*-less forms first just 'Latin' or even 'archaic Latin' and then suddenly a shift in status happens and they become part of 'vulgar Latin'?

A more probable sketch of the situation could be that this feature exhibited persisting variation according to different situations, speakers, social classes and regions, from the earliest period onwards. The fact that the final *m* appears in the standard orthography does not automatically mean that it was universally 'restored' in speech (it may have been restored or favoured all along in the prestige variety of Rome). We do know, after all, that in classical poetry final *m* was metrically weak and elided between vowels.

Variation in the spelling of short i

In early Latin, the occasional use of the letter *e* to render the sound that is usually a short *i* is explained by referring to the indeterminacy in the pronunciation of this phoneme (e.g. *Tempestatebus* in *CIL* I^2 9, see Wachter 1987, 488 and Adams 2007, 70–72).[8] But when the same graphic variation takes place in a later text, e.g. in a Pompeian wall inscription, the explanation given is usually the 'vulgar Latin merger' of *ē* and *ĭ* (the outcome of which was a closed short *ẹ* in Romance with the exception of Sardinian).[9] It is normally assumed that the old indeterminacy was resolved, and the sound was established as a short *i* universally, before later on the merger of long *e* and short *i* again started to produce forms where *e* is written for short *i*.[10]

But what is this merger actually? It consists of two developments, the opening of short *i* to a closed *e*, and the loss of the quantitative opposition between long *e* and short *e*. The latter is part of the general reconstruction of the vocalic system and not particular to long *e*. The first marks of the quantitative rhythm disappearing in poetry are found in Pompeii, and the change probably was in full swing by the late 3rd century.[11] The spelling of *e* for short *i*, testifying to an open pronunciation, is attested in the Pompeian inscriptions, papyri, tablets and ostraca. But because such spellings are found already in early Latin, it is not impossible to imagine a situation of persisting phonological variation. This would mean that the open pronunciation never died out, but was there all the time, enjoying varying popularity, until it gained ground in the early imperial age.[12] Finally it merged with long *e* when the quantitative distinctions had ceased to exist.

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[8] Adams 2007, 68–72 discusses *e* for *i* in hiatus (*filea*) separately from other instances of *e* for *i*. The distribution of these instances, together with Plaut. *Truc*. 691 and an association with Praeneste, may point to a non-Roman (rustic) feature, but nothing decisive can be said on the basis of these scattered examples.

[9] Väänänen 1966, 21, Adams 1977, 7–9, Herman 2000, 31, Adams 2003c, 533 n. 11 and Kramer 2007, 68 and 117. Väänänen 1966, 21, however, refers to the antiquity of this phenomenon.

[10] Adams 2007, 137–138. The vowel merger seems to have started in final syllables, since the 'open' spelling (*e* for *i*) is predominantly attested in 3rd conjugation verbal endings *-et* for *-it* and *-es* for *-is*, see Adams 1977, 9 and 2007, 442. But the *e* spelling also appears in other unstressed syllables and sometimes even in stressed syllables, see Väänänen 1966, 21–22 for Pompeii, Adams 1977, 7–9 for Claudius Terentianus and Adams 2003c, 533–535 for *T. Vindol*. III 628. For the inverse orthography, *i* for long *e* (*filix CIL* IV 4511), see Väänänen 1966, 20 and Väänänen 1981, 36.

[11] See Väänänen 1981, 31 and Leumann 1977, 55.

[12] What Cicero says in *de orat*. 3.46 about the pronunciation of Cotta can be interpreted to refer to the (rural) variant pronunciation of short *i* as *e*, and taken as evidence of variation in short *i* in the late republican period. However, Adams 2007, 137–140 opts for a different explanation, the development of original *ei* to a long *e* instead of long *i*. Generally, for variation in spelling concerning the letters *i* and *e*, see Adams 2007, 67–72; 137–140; 149–152; 442–443; 635–670.

On the basis of this short discussion I am not claiming that this is what happened, but I would like to see the standard view (that the later examples are not connected to the early variation) based on something else than simply referring to the 'vulgar Latin merger of long *e* and short *i*'. It seems that the concept of vulgar Latin has its part to play in this. 'Vulgar' is not 'early' and because of this, 'early *e* for *i*' and vulgar '*e* for *i*' have to be two different things.

An assumption often made to account for the discrepancy of the classical period (when compared with both preceding and postdating periods) is that the 'standard version' was restored in speech after an earlier period of variation or even change. An example of such an alleged restitution in cultivated speech is final *s*.[13] Similar developments have been suggested for final *m* and short *i* (see above), but for these latter two phenomena this is not the only possible explanation. It is also possible (and to my mind more probable) that in real life there was variation (geographical, social and situational) in the pronunciation of these phonemes. The restitution may have happened only in the Roman prestige variety, or the 'standard pronunciation' might have been prevalent there all the time, and hence found its way into the orthographic standard. This, however, does not mean that the change in actual linguistic behaviour would have affected everybody.

The final point here concerns the definition of Classical Latin. However one defines Classical Latin, everyone certainly agrees on one thing: It is a written language. Phonological changes do not happen in written languages. Thus, statements such as 'In vulgar Latin a sound change *ae*/*ai* > *e* happened, whereas Classical Latin retained the diphthong' are, by definition, absurd, and should be compared to statements like the following about the Great Vowel Shift in English 'In colloquial English, a sound change *ā* > *ei* happened in certain context (e.g. in the verb 'to make') between Chaucer and Shakespeare, but standard written English retained the monophthong'. Standard written English may be many things, but it certainly is not the place where phonological changes happen or do not happen. English speakers probably think that the phonological change actually happened in *English*. Accordingly, instead of talking about vulgar Latin and Classical Latin as the two varieties of Latin (of which one changed and the other did not) we should talk, for example, about Classical Latin (and its long written tradition with a history of its own) and Latin, the language that was alive, varied and changed.

Morphological variation: distribution

In this part I use mainly the letters on papyri (most importantly those of Claudius Terentianus) and documents on wooden tablets (the Vindolanda texts) to discuss what vulgar Latin is. I concentrate on the distribution of certain nonstandard features. The phonological examples presented above show a pattern where an old feature (in those cases the variation concerning certain phonological items) is attested in non-literary sources of the imperial age. Sometimes even in morphology it is possible to discern continuity where an old feature apparently continued to be used in speech although it was not accepted in the classical standard. Such an example is the reinforced demonstrative *illic*. Common in comedy, it is not used by the classical prose authors but is found in

[13] See the discussion in Adams 2007, 140–141. Variation concerning final *s* persisted until the later period Adams 2007, 635–670.

Pompeii, the letters of Claudius Terentianus and in a Vindolanda letter (*T. Vindol*. II 343, a letter at some remove from the Vindolanda 'standard').[14] Should such an example be called vulgar?

The letters of Claudius Terentianus show morphological phenomena that are not paralleled elsewhere, and seem to belong to a variety definable as vulgar Latin. A morphological vulgarism is for example the analogical nominative *lites* for *lis* (*P. Mich.* VIII 471.27 *qu[a]ndo tam magna lites factam est*; Adams 1977, 42–43). Cases like this are arguably strong candidates for representing vulgar Latin.[15]

But there are also morphological items where the distribution is somewhat more complicated. An interesting case of verbal morphology is the ending *-unt* in the 3rd person plural of 2nd declension verbs. This ending appears in Claudius Terentianus in the form *valunt* (*P. Mich*. VIII 468.40; Adams 1977, 51). The same phenomenon appears even in the so-called *renuntia* from Vindolanda where the form *debunt* seems to be attested several times, in a formulaic and semi-official report, as if the form appeared in the exemplar. It is possible that the *optiones* themselves wrote the texts, including the exemplar.[16] In addition, the form *habunt* is now attested in a letter sent by a decurion (*T. Vindol.* III 628; see Adams 2003c, 544). Thus, the feature is attested in the language use of ordinary soldiers (Terentianus) and subordinate officers (Vindolanda). Is it part of vulgar Latin? With this distribution, many would probably vote for the affirmative answer. However, Adams (1995, 131) does not accept *debunt* as a vulgarism because those who produced the form were literate, and there is thus a contradiction with the traditional definition of vulgar Latin as the language of the illiterate majority of the Latin-speaking population. Adams concludes: "Those usages which were departures from the educated norms as represented in high literature might differ in the degree and nature of their acceptability to the educated."

Another example with a less than clear-cut distribution is the use of the adjectival indefinite pronoun *quod* for the substantival *quid*. This is attested in an early papyrus letter written by a freedman called Suneros: *deinde ego clamare debeo si quod video devom atque hominum ⟦fidem* (*P. Oxy* XLIV 3208, date probably Augustan)[17] and in a letter of recommendation from Vindolanda: *rogo ergo dominę ṣị quod a te petierịt [v]ẹḷịṣ ẹị subscribere* (*T. Vindol.* II 250.5, a letter probably written by a fellow-prefect of Flavius Cerialis, the commander of the Ninth Cohort of Batavians). Here we see a phenomenon that earlier was attributed to late Latin,[18] attested in the 1st century AD (and possibly even earlier).[19]

The point of the above has been to show how the distribution of certain morphological features in the non-literary corpus makes it difficult to draw a line between

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[14] Adams 1977, 45 and 1995, 101. In the case of *illic*, contrary to the phonological developments, the feature as such does not continue into Romance.

[15] In certain areas, Terentianus' Latin can be shown to be restricted when compared with the Vindolanda texts. This happens at least in verbal morphology, see Adams 2003a, 741–749, esp. 745.

[16] On the reading, interpretation and implications of this form, see Adams 1995, 102–103 and Bowman and Thomas 1994, 74–75.

[17] This letter shows archaizing orthography, see Adams 2007, 138 n. 69 on the phrase *devom atque hominum fidem* in this text.

[18] Löfstedt 1933, 81 n.2. The reverse phenomenon, *quid* used for the adjectival *quod* is well attested already before the later period and may be found from Plautus onwards (e.g. Plaut. *Trin*. 889 *quid est tibi nomen*?)

[19] See Halla-aho 2009, 98–101 for a more detailed discussion.

what is vulgar and what is not. To some extent, it is possible to maintain that the language of Claudius Terentianus is vulgar Latin but the language for example in the majority of the Vindolanda tablets is less so. But the *-unt* ending connects Claudius Terentianus with the subordinate officers of Vindolanda, and the use of *quod* for *quid* connects a Vindolanda officer with an Egyptian freedman.

It seems to be very difficult to pin down the dividing line between vulgar and non-vulgar. As Adams has convincingly argued, everything that is not found in the (assumed) literary or written standard is not necessarily vulgar Latin. The implied answer usually is that only the lowest part, so to say, of this variation belongs to vulgar Latin. Candidates for vulgarisms in the Vindolanda tablets (Adams 1995, 133) are *exungia* (for *axungia,* in the account *T. Vindol.* II 182.16) and *quem* for *quam* with a feminine antecedent (the masculine form of the relative pronoun instead of the the feminine, in the letter *T. Vindol.* II 343.40[20]). But these forms are found in a business letter and in an account, respectively, and it remains unclear why the dividing line between vulgar and non-vulgar should go precisely here (e.g. including *exungia* but excluding *debunt*).

If the association of *debunt* with vulgar Latin can be rejected on the grounds that it appears in documents that were written by literate persons, does the same argument not apply in nearly all non-literary texts?[21] We face here the old paradox of a 'vulgar Latin text'. Even the nominative *lites* in Claudius Terentianus can be excluded from vulgar Latin on these grounds. Claudius Terentianus undoubtedly was literate, and so obviously was the scribe who wrote the letter.

Is there vulgar Latin syntax?

A typical example of a syntactic vulgarism is the use of the accusative with prepositions that in standard Latin take the ablative case. Because of the weakness of final *m* it is often difficult to tell accusatives and ablatives apart in the singular (1st and 3rd declensions). However, there are indisputable examples of the accusative in Claudius Terentianus, e.g., *con tirones* (*P. Mich* VIII 471.22). But even in Claudius Terentianus there is variation concerning the case usage with *cum*. In the same letter we find *cum* used with the ablative: *con rebus meis* (*P. Mich.* VIII 471.32). Should we conclude that Claudius Terentianus sometimes uses vulgar Latin but sometimes not?

In the same letter with *con tirones* (*P. Mich*. VIII 471) there is a use of the locative as a directional expression (*Alexandrie* with for example *venire*, 5 times).[22] Is this vulgar Latin? In addition to sources that are traditionally associated with vulgar Latin (most importantly the Pompeian inscriptions), this phenomenon is attested also in Vindolanda in a letter that was probably written by Flavius Cerialis, the prefect of the Ninth cohort of Batavians, and a thoroughly Romanized officer (*T. Vindol.* III 617 *festinabitis Coris*).[23]

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[20] Bowman and Thomas 1994, 328 point out that a similar use of the masculine form is found in Novius Eunus (*quem suma* at *T. Sulpicii*. 68.2.8–9), also in a business context.

[21] Possible exceptions would be those cases where a literate (= non-vulgar) scribe produced a vulgar form used by an illiterate (= vulgar) person dictating a letter.

[22] On this phenomenon, see Mackay 1999, Adams 1995, 108–110 and 2003c, 551 and Kruschwitz and Halla-aho 2007, 41–43.

[23] See the editors' comments in the introduction to *T. Vindol.* III 616 and 617 (Bowman and Thomas 2003, 78–80). On Flavius Cerialis' Latin, see Adams 1995, 129.

Many would probably agree that using a finite complement clause (introduced by *quod* or *quia*) instead of the accusative and the infinitive with verbs of speaking and thinking is a specimen of vulgar Latin syntax. The interesting fact is that the finite variant is attested only in literary sources (most notably as part of Petronius's linguistic parody in the *Cena Trimalchionis*), and not in texts where we would expect it to turn up (most importantly the letters of Claudius Terentianus, but also other letters on papyri, ostraca and wooden tablets).[24] The possible conclusions are that Terentianus used the construction when he spoke but chose the non-finite variant when writing or that it in fact was not a dominant feature in his spoken language. If we insist that he spoke vulgar Latin, we must infer either that Claudius Terentianus' language in his letters represents in this respect a higher register than vulgar Latin or that the finite construction was not part of vulgar Latin (at least not at this time, early 2nd century AD).

Sometimes features associated with vulgar Latin syntax come close to such notions as colloquial and 'umgangssprachlich'. These often have to do with a loose textual structure and syntactic incoherencies. Perhaps the most striking example of such language use is the letter *P. Mich*. VIII 471 (where many of the above examples appear) that with its simple but agitated narrative gives the feeling of being, for once, a truly vulgar Latin text. The sentences are connected to each other by *et*, *item* or *autem*, and the construction where direct speech is combined with *dico* (e.g. *dico illi, da mi, di[c]o ạ[e]s paucum; ibo, dico, ad amicos patris mei*, *P. Mich*. VIII 471, 10–11) is exceptional in the Latin textual evidence. Such phenomena, however, do not testify to a distinct variety of Latin but are rather born in a particular situation and are instances of normal context-bound syntactical variation. They may, of course, be telling of the fact that the author did not fully govern the more sophisticated strategies of the written register.

The aim of the above discussion has been to show that adhering to the term vulgar Latin inevitably leads to problems when we try to apply it to actual linguistic phenomena, and classify these into vulgar and not vulgar. The same is even more true of individual texts. The point in criticizing the Classical vs. vulgar distinction is that in it we are not comparing like with like. In any language, if we take a literary work of art of some Classic period and a private letter of an ordinary and less educated person, these are bound to look as if they belonged to two different (even diglossic) varieties of the same language, the Classical / standard and the vulgar. It is however clear to everybody that the scope of variation in the particular language is a much more complicated phenomenon than looking at these two 'extremes' would suggest. Linguistic variation is a continuum where it is difficult to posit exact boundaries. Naturally, even in modern linguistics scholars use terms like 'lower class speech' but it is different from vulgar Latin because modern linguists are able to hear, record and analyse 'lower class speech'.

I do not think there are plausible reasons for reconstructing two separate entities, one that changed (vulgar Latin) and the other that did not (Classical Latin), especially when the second one is a written norm that by its very definition resists variation and change. The range of variation below the level of the elite is so great that it cannot be captured in a single term like vulgar Latin.

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[24] See Adams 2005. Instead of complement clauses introduced by *quod*, the usual alternative for AcI in everyday language apparently was a paratactic clause without any conjunction: *de roṭuḷis quas spero cito ex[pl]ịcabiṭ, T. Vindol*. III 648.

Views on vulgar Latin

In this section I approach the matter from a different perspective, and look at the ways in which vulgar Latin has been defined. The usually given or implied definition is that vulgar Latin is the language of the illiterate masses or, in any case, of the lower socio-economical classes with a relatively small amount of education.[25]

A recent book by Reinhardt Kiesler (2006) collects a wide range of definitions concerning vulgar Latin. In addition to citing the definitions, Kiesler also classifies and analyses them, including a discussion of the different dimensions that have been used in defining vulgar Latin (Kiesler 2006, 10–13).

Firstly there is the medium, speech versus writing. The traditional definition, that vulgar Latin is the spoken language of the uneducated, rules out all written language. Vulgar Latinists usually overcome the apparent contradiction in terms here, considering the fact that all we have is written, by saying that there in fact is no text available written in pure vulgar Latin. Nevertheless, Kiesler himself thinks that vulgar Latin should not be restricted to speech, but that it existed also in writing, and a good example of this are private letters.

Another restriction concerns social standing. The traditional definition (i.e. the spoken language of the uneducated) associates vulgar Latin with the lower socio-economic classes, with less education and little or no access to the standard language. Probably this is where most definitions of vulgar Latin agree, about vulgar Latin as the socially defined variety. However, even here opinions have differed and Kiesler himself is willing to abandon this social dimension of vulgar Latin as well.

The third aspect is that of chronology. The traditional definition does not include a chronological aspect, but for most vulgar Latinists vulgar Latin usually is a thing from the late republican or early imperial period onwards, and not earlier than that (see my discussion on this point above). Even here Kiesler opts for a wide definition, without any chronological barriers.[26] His definition is the following:

> Wir schliessen uns demgegenüber der weiten Auffassung an und betrachten das Vulgärlatein als **zu allen Zeiten der Latinität existierende**, **diastratisch** und **diatopisch** variable **Umgangssprache aller Mitglieder** der lateinischen Sprachgemeinschaft (Kiesler 2006: 13)

This is a very inclusive definition, and many might disagree with Kiesler here. But in fact the same very inclusive definition has been adopted by Veikko Väänänen (Väänänen 1981, 6) and Józef Herman (Herman 2000, 7), perhaps the two most prominent scholars of the field in past decades. There can be no doubt about the fact that such great linguists as Väänänen and Herman both knew very well what they were studying, including all the problems related to Latin language research and vulgar Latin.

I have already made the point (Halla-aho 2009, 29–31) that if we look at these definitions, the term vulgar Latin equals "variation and change in Latin".[27] The sources of vulgar Latin are texts that we look at to find out what was happening in Latin and how the

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[25] See the discussion in Chahoud 2010, 53–54.

[26] This view may be taken as another formulation of Pulgram's 1950, 462 diagram that shows spoken Latin diverging from written Latin ever since the latter's introduction.

[27] This excludes the development of the literary language and style.

language was changing. The term vulgar Latin and its continued use reflect the nature of the preserved Latin textual evidence: the texts either tell us something about variation and change in spoken language, or do not do so (to simplify things to the extreme).

What does 'Latin' mean?

But texts do not equal language. If we turn the question upside down, we may ask what 'Latin' means: texts or language. The concept of vulgar Latin, even if legitimate when we look at the preserved texts and want to classify or characterize them, does not reflect any real life linguistic situation, a variety or a register, or anything. It is a tool for classifying texts. I argue that the definition problem in fact derives from the fact that the concept that is sometimes useful in this classifying function has been projected onto the actual linguistic level, the level of the Latin language as a living and variable entity.

I naturally am not the first one to say all this and criticize the term vulgar Latin. Prominent Latinists have said it all before me:

James Clackson and Geoffrey Horrocks in their *Blackwell History of the Latin Language* write the following (Clackson and Horrocks 2007, 231):

> But what was happening to the language of those who were not members of the Roman elite? What did they speak?
>
> [Model one: Peasants spoke the old native vernaculars, and switched to Latin at a considerably late date]
>
> Another model, now discredited among linguists but still tenacious among non-specialists, holds that the lower classes in the Roman Empire spoke 'vulgar' Latin, a debased form of Classical Latin which was to evolve into the Romance languages. Neither of these models can be correct, and it is becoming clearer that the actual picture is a good deal more complicated than either of them.

But already well before this, in his 1995 article on the Vindoland tablets, J. N. Adams wrote the following:

> The term 'Vulgar Latin' has been often criticized, and it is unsatisfactory, implying as it does that there was a single entity 'Vulgar Latin' distinct from another entity such as 'literary Latin' … It is perhaps best to think of Latin as a single language which embraced the usual types of sociolinguistic and dialectal variations. (Adams 1995, 131)

It is easy to agree.

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Linguistic and Stylistic Variation in the Zenon Archive*

T.V. Evans

Introduction

The documentary papyri recovered in great quantities from Egypt over the last hundred and thirty years offer a unique category of evidence for the history of the Greek language in the post-classical period. These fragile textual artefacts allow the most direct connection we will ever achieve with the living language of their time, and ought to be nuancing our interpretation of even the most rigorously archaizing specimens of literary Greek from the period as well.[1] The third-century BC Zenon Archive is one of the largest, oldest, and most significant dossiers of Greek documentary papyri known today.[2] Its linguistic evidence is very rich indeed. It is a sample of what ancient grammarians termed the Koine, the form of post-classical Greek that spread across the Hellenistic world in the wake of Alexander the Great's conquests of the 330s and 320s BC.[3] Zenon was an agent of Apollonios, the finance minister of Ptolemy II Philadelphos, and he and others accumulated the documents, nearly 2,000 of them,[4] between about 261 and 229 BC.[5] They were found in the 1910s in mysterious circumstances somewhere on or near the site of the ancient village of Philadelphia in the north-eastern corner of the Fayum depression.[6] Here Zenon managed a large estate for Apollonios over several years and also developed various business interests of his own.

In a series of recent studies, exploiting advances in the digital imaging of ancient documents, the present writer has developed a combined linguistic, onomastic, and palaeographic method of analysis for Zenon papyri.[7] The aim is to investigate aspects of linguistic and stylistic diversity in the Archive. Images of original papyri are analysed in order to assess not just the accuracy of published editions, but also the actual writing hands and formats of documents. It will soon become apparent why that can be important. The Greek papyri of the Zenon Archive manifest complex patterns of linguistic and stylistic variation, both between the products of different authors or different groups of associated authors (for instance, between Egyptian workmen and government officials) and also

* It is a pleasure to thank Willy Clarysse for advice on palaeographic questions, Genevieve Young, Raffaele Luiselli, and Rosario Pintaudi for other forms of assistance in the preparation of this study, and the editors and anonymous readers for their comments.

1 On the linguistic significance of the papyri cf. Evans and Obbink 2010, esp. 1–3, 12.

2 No definitive treatment of the Zenon Archive as yet exists, but *P. L. Bat.* XXI provides an indispensable tool for advanced research, and Clarysse and Vandorpe 1995 a brief introduction (cf. also more recently Manning 2003, 110–118).

3 On the general character of the Koine and its rise see Horrocks 2010, 80–84, 88–89; cf. Colvin 2009.

4 The figure given by Mark Depauw's Trismegistos site, as at 4 February 2012, is 1,826 certain texts (http://www.trismegistos.org/index.html). It needs to be seen as approximate.

5 Many of the documents cannot be dated precisely; cf. Evans 2010a, 57 n. 5.

6 On the obscure circumstances of discovery see Edgar, *P. Mich. Zen.*, p. 1; id., *P. Cair. Zen.* I, p. v.

7 Evans 2007; Evans 2010a; Evans in press.

within sets of documents from specific individuals. The purpose of my research is to analyse their evidence for the tension between standard and non-standard language in the early Egyptian Koine, for bilingual influence from Egyptian on the Greek, for levels of literacy, and for the distinctive usage of individuals and social groups. In this study I shall touch lightly on all these topics. My objective is to demonstrate the general character of linguistic and stylistic diversity in the corpus and to suggest one of its principal causes. Let us start with an example of variation from the documents of a specific individual.

Greetings from Philinos

The Archive preserves 10 letters to Zenon from his friend and business-associate Philinos.[8] Only half of them can be dated, the earliest of those (*PSI* VI 569) probably written in late February of 252 BC, the latest (*P. Cair. Zen.* III 59363) nearly a decade afterwards, on 26 November 243. Consider their greeting formulae. Seven of the 10 open with the simplest form of greeting in papyrus letters, 'Philinos to Zenon greetings', as shown in (1) and (2) below.

1) *PSI* VI 600 (not dated):
Φιλῖνος Ζήνωνι
χαίρειν. κα̣[λῶς]
ποιήσεις δ̣[οὺς]
τὸ μοσχάρ̣[ιον]
τῶι παρὰ Δ̣[ιογ-]
νήτου μοσχ[ο-]
τρόφωι, ἵν̣[α ἀσι-]
γὲς ἡμῖν π̣[αρα-]
κομισθῆι.
ἔρρωσο.

Philinos to Zenon greetings. Will you please give the calf to the calf-rearer from Diognetos, in order that it may be brought over for us unhurt. Farewell.

2) *P. Cair. Zen.* III 59522 (not dated):
Φιλῖνος Ζήνωνι
χαίρειν. παραμέ-
τρησαι παρὰ Ἥρα-
κλείδου πυ(ροῦ) ἀρ(τάβας) σν
καὶ κρ(ιθῆς) ἀρτ(άβας) τ
καὶ ἃς σὺν ἡμῖν
ἠγόρασας τῶν ρ (δραχμῶν),
ὅσας ποτὲ ἐπρίω,
καὶ ταύτας ἐν τῶι
αὐτῶι διατήρη-

[8] The letters are *P. Cair. Zen.* III 59363, 59522, 59523, 59524; *P. Lond.* VII 2056, 2057; *P. Mich. Zen.* 51; *P. Ryl.* IV 568; *PSI* VI 569, 600.

σον, ὅπως ἀποδῶμεν
Ἀρτεμιδώρωι τὴν
κριθήν, τὸν δὲ πυ-
ρὸν ἡμεῖς ἔχωμεν.
λαβὲ δὲ ὡς βέλ-
τιστον καὶ δεί-
γματα ἡμῖν ἀπό-
στειλον.
ἔρρωσο.

δίδου δὲ καὶ Διονυ-
σίωι ἃς ἂν ἐνδεμῆι
ἡμέρας ἄρτων α (καὶ ἥμισυ),
οἴνου κο(τύλας) β, καὶ τὰ
λοιπὰ ἐπιμέλου αὐ-
τοῦ.
Back: (Address) Ζήνωνι.

Philinos to Zenon greetings. Measure out from Herakleides 250 artabas of wheat and 300 artabas of barley, and the corn which you bought with us for the 100 drachmas, however much you purchased, and keep these in the same place, in order that we may give Artemidoros the barley, but we may have the wheat. Take corn of the best quality possible and send us specimens. Farewell.

Give also to Dionysios, for however many days he is staying, one and a half loaves of bread, and two kotylas of wine, and take care of him with regard to the rest.
Back: (Address) To Zenon.

The simple type, which varies only in the order of the names of author and addressee, is by far the commonest greeting formula in the Archive.[9] But the other three letters from Philinos, shown in (3), (4) and (5), display an extended form of greeting.

3) *P. Mich. Zen.* 51 (docketed 16 March 250 BC), ll. 1–6:
Φιλῖνος Ζήνωνι
χαίρειν. καλῶς ἂν
ἔχοι εἰ ἔρρωσαι· ἔρρωμαι
δὲ καὶ αὐτός. καλῶς
[ἀ]μ ποιήσαις, εἴ σοι εὔ-
καιρόν ἐστιν, ...

Philinos to Zenon greetings. It would be good if you are well. And I am well too myself. Would you please, if it is convenient for you, ...

4) *P. Cair. Zen.* III 59363 (26 November 243 BC), ll. 1–9:
Φιλῖνος Ζήνωνι
χαίρειν. καλῶς

[9] Evans 2007, 299, 302–303.

ποεῖς εἰ ἔρρωσαι· ὑγίαι-
νον δὲ καὶ ἐγώ. καλῶς
ἂν ποιήσαις ἀπο-
στείλας ἐν τάχει
τὸν πυρὸν καὶ τὴν
κριθὴν μετὰ Μόσχου
καὶ Σωσιθέου.

Philinos to Zenon greetings. You do well if you are well. And I was well too myself. Would you please send quickly the wheat and the barley with Moschos and Sositheos.

5) *PSI* VI 569 (253/252 BC), II. 1–2:
[Φιλῖ]νος Ζήνωνι χαίρειν. καλῶς ἂν ἔχοι εἰ ἔρρωσαι· [ὑγίαινον/ἔρρωμαι δὲ]
[καὶ] αὐ̣τ̣ός̣. ἀπέσταλκά σοι καλιάς, ...

Philinos to Zenon greetings. It would be good if you are well. And I was/am well too myself. I have sent you nest-boxes (?),[10] ...

For clarity I excerpt these five examples of greeting formulae and set them out in order in (6).

6) The greeting formulae from (1–5):
1) Φιλῖνος Ζή[νωνι] | χαίρειν.
2) Φιλῖνος Ζήνωνι | χαίρειν.
3) Φιλῖνος Ζήνωνι | χαίρειν. καλῶς ἂν | ἔχοι εἰ ἔρρωσαι· ἔρρωμαι | δὲ καὶ αὐτός.
4) Φιλῖνος Ζήνωνι | χαίρειν. καλῶς | ποεῖς εἰ ἔρρωσαι· ὑγίαι|νον δὲ καὶ ἐγώ.
5) [Φιλῖ]νος Ζήνωνι χαίρειν. καλῶς ἂν ἔχοι εἰ ἔρρωσαι· [ὑγίαινον/ἔρρωμαι δὲ | καὶ] αὐ̣τ̣ός̣.

In a previous study I described the three basic elements of the extended formula.[11] This type adds to the simple formula ('A to B greetings') a conditional expression, 'If you are well, it would be good' (with variations and expansions possible in both the order and the contents of the two segments), and concludes with an 'I am well too' expression (which is also variable). Notice at (6) the differences in Philinos' practice within the second and third elements of the formula in (3) and (4). In (3) he has καλῶς ἂν ἔχοι εἰ ἔρρωσαι 'it would be good if you are well'. And he finishes with ἔρρωμαι δὲ καὶ αὐτός 'and I am well too myself'. But in (4) he has καλῶς ποεῖς εἰ ἔρρωσαι 'you do well if you are well'. And he finishes here with ὑγίαινον δὲ καὶ ἐγώ 'and I was well too', using the epistolary imperfect of the verb ὑγιαίνω instead of ἔρρωμαι, the perfect form of ῥώννυμι – thus varying both tense form and choice of verb. He also uses the personal pronoun ἐγώ, instead of the intensive αὐτός seen in (3). Item (5) is less revealing because of damage to the papyrus. As far as the formula is preserved, it is identical with (3). So Philinos does not just vary his style between simple and extended formulae, he varies within the extended type as well. Flexibility in these extended greeting formulae is in fact common in the Zenon Archive, an issue to which we shall briefly return. The key point for the

[10] For the probable sense of the word καλιαί in this context see Evans 2010b, 193.
[11] Evans 2007, 303–304.

moment is that Philinos' practice demonstrates our first example of variation within the data-sample – stylistic variation within documents from the same individual.

Variation in individual authors

It leads us directly to one of the basic problems for my analysis. Any such case study drawn from the papyri raises a series of inevitable questions, which need to be addressed afresh in every single instance. Did Philinos write these letters himself? If he did not, were they copied verbatim from his dictation by scribes? Or was there some greater degree of separation between the named author and the actual process of composition? In short, the variation brought out in item (6) is clear enough, but what kind of variation is it? Does it reflect the thought of one individual, or of several persons in more or less complicated combination? In other words, is it Philinos who normally uses the simple greeting formula, but sometimes likes to employ one or another form of the extended type in a set of letters all sent to a single recipient? Or are we seeing the varying choices of a group including both Philinos and his scribes?[12]

We cannot expect to offer absolutely certain answers to these questions. We are simply too far away from the action. I would like to contend, however, that we can do rather better than simply leave them open and assume they are completely beyond resolution. And in the case of Philinos, the first of my string of questions can be answered with a measure of confidence. Did he write these letters himself? The strong probability is that he could and did write his own documents. But he definitely did not always write them. Distinguishing different writing hands in the papyri is a challenging and uncertain task, even for the experts,[13] but it can be stated with little doubt that we have at least three and possibly more hands at work in these 10 letters.

C.C. Edgar, who among the early editors of Zenon papyri had an unrivalled familiarity with the material, identifies a 'large, untidy hand characteristic' of Philinos, explicitly in two documents, *P. Ryl.* IV 568 and *P. Cair. Zen.* III 59522 (my (2) above).[14] He does not pinpoint any other examples, but did edit four more of the letters for publication. And one of those, a three-line fragment (*P. Cair. Zen.* III 59523), seems to show the same hand. It appears to occur also in a papyrus held in Florence, *PSI* VI 600 (my (1) above).[15] The characteristic hand is essentially a capital script, the letters drawn individually and somewhat spaced. There is slight unevenness in direction and spacing of lines, and a tendency toward irregularity in distribution of the ink, as if the writer was careless in replenishing the pen. But when T.C. Skeat much later on published the London collection of Zenon papyri, he reported that the two letters of Philinos held there (*P. Lond.* VII 2056, 2057) were written in two different semi-cursive scripts, each of them distinct from the characteristic hand.[16] I have not seen these, but the remaining two Cairo documents edited by Edgar (*P. Cair. Zen.* III 59363, 59524), another held in Florence (*PSI* VI 569),

[12] See also Evans 2004, 208; Evans 2010a, 51–52.

[13] Evans 2010a, 59–63.

[14] Edgar, *P. Ryl.* IV 568, introd.

[15] Willy Clarysse observes (private communication) that this letter is written with a bad pen and that for this reason the hand has a less fluent appearance than that in *P. Ryl.* IV 568 and *P. Cair. Zen.* III 59522, but he finds significant similarities as well.

[16] Skeat, *P. Lond.* VII 2056, introd.; Skeat, *P. Lond.* VII 2057, introd.

and a complete but poorly preserved piece in Michigan (*P. Mich. Zen.* 51) are all in semi-cursive hands of professional quality, probably by at least two different scribes. It seems possible, for instance, that *P. Cair. Zen.* III 59363 and *PSI* VI 569 were written by the same scribe, but *P. Mich. Zen.* 51 certainly seems to be in a different hand.[17]

So we have up to four letters in the characteristic hand, and six in two or more different scribal hands of professional type. How do the greeting formulae map onto these hands? It turns out that the four letters probably in the characteristic hand, including (1) and (2) above, use the simple formula. The scribal hands, however, show a mixed pattern. The two London papyri have the simple formula, as does one of the two in the Cairo collection. The other one from Cairo, that in Michigan, and the one in Florence have versions of the extended formula, as shown in (4), (3), and (5) respectively. Interestingly, the different versions of that formula seen in (4) and (5) may have been produced by the same scribe,[18] according to my tentative identification above.

The characteristic hand, I suggest, is probably Philinos' autograph. There are various indications in the Archive that he was a man of considerable status, possibly holding another large estate like the one Zenon managed, definitely based somewhere near Philadelphia. It is difficult to accept that such a person would repeatedly employ a scribe who could not do better than the characteristic hand of his private letters, especially given that he had others at his disposal who could manage more polished products.[19] In addition, there is every reason to suspect a link between his status and at least some attainment of traditional Greek education, and so the capacity to read and write.[20]

If I am correct, and if the palaeographic identifications are also accurate, then we can say that Philinos shows an apparent preference for the simple formula. His scribes, on the other hand, sometimes use the simple formula, sometimes differing versions of the extended formula. We have too small a data sample to draw firm conclusions on this varied practice.[21] It may well be, however, that in this set of documents the stylistic flourish of the extended formula is a feature owing more to the influence of professional scribes than to the personal style of Philinos himself. He would seem to prefer the simple formula in letters to Zenon (unlike some other named authors in the Archive).[22]

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[17] My comments on the hands are based on examination of originals or images of all these papyri except the two in the London collection, for which I depend on Skeat's observations cited in n. 16 above. I am also grateful to Willy Clarysse for expert advice, though it should not be assumed that my remarks necessarily reflect his opinions, except where the latter are specifically cited. The Cairo items can be accessed via the Photographic Archive of Papyri in the Cairo Museum (http://www.ipap.csad.ox.ac.uk), the Michigan item via the Advanced Papyrological Information System (http://www.columbia.edu/cu/lweb/projects/digital/apis/index.html). Photographs of the Florence items are published in *Pap. Flor.* XXIV, pls. 59, 72.

[18] For a clear case of variations within the extended formula in documents written in the same hand see Evans 2007, 306–307.

[19] Cf. Evans 2010a, 68.

[20] Cf. Evans 2010a, 58.

[21] Cf. Evans 2007, 302 on issues relevant to small samples.

[22] Evans 2007, 304–307.

Standard Greek in the Archive

Whatever one makes of this interpretation, the fact of stylistic variation in the use of greeting formulae in Philinos' letters is beyond question. Let us turn next to the general character of his Greek. I shall offer an overall impression of his usage, which can then be contrasted with other types of composition from the corpus.

The Archive contains a large set of texts, which I use as a 'control' for evaluating standard and non-standard language. These are especially documents written in the name of Apollonios the finance minister or his senior subordinates, such as Zenon himself. They display mostly standard spelling and grammatical regularity, and are not that far removed, once differences of genre and context are taken into account, from the language of the Attic orators of the previous century. I take this 'control' group to represent the educated, standard Koine of third-century BC Egypt.[23]

Philinos' characteristic hand is not the most elegant preserved in the Archive, but consider the language of the complete letters (probably both in that hand) shown in (1) and (2) above. What we find in these texts is a fairly typical sample of the educated Greek of the Archive, in keeping with the language of the 'control' group. In all four letters apparently written in the characteristic hand I find only two non-standard spellings. In the 10 documents we have from Philinos altogether there are just one or two more, and only one apparent grammatical mistake.

The non-standard spellings in the characteristic hand are ἀπέστακα = ἀπέσταλκα at *P. Ryl.* IV 568, l. 26 and ἐνδεμῆι = ἐνδημῆι at *P. Cair. Zen.* III 59522 (my (2) above), l. 21. The former is possibly a simple graphic error,[24] but illustrates the occasional omission of the liquids /l/ and /r/ before or after stop consonants, which seems to be an internal development of Egyptian Greek.[25] The latter is an example of the common third-century confusion of *epsilon* for *eta* (and vice versa),[26] which Willy Clarysse connects with "uneducated" writers and suspects "was at least in part due to Egyptian influence".[27] There may well be something in that (and as a question it deserves a study of its own), but our datum here suggests a more widespread impact of the confusion, reaching into educated circles as well. Perhaps we should not too mechanically link it with bilingual interference. We need to distinguish carefully between pronunciation and the capacity to spell correctly.

The impression I draw from both these examples within the context of Philinos' overall practice is that they are probably slips providing telltale glimpses of his pronunciation. If that is near the mark, the fact that such slips only show up rarely amid the normally traditional spelling of his letters would actually be a sign of education.[28] There is another at (2) above, ll. 11–14 ὅπως ἀποδῶμεν | Ἀρτεμιδώρωι τὴν | κριθήν, τὸν δὲ πυ|ρὸν ἡμεῖς ἔχωμεν. Here the characteristic hand leaves out a connective δέ, but then adds it as an afterthought above the line. I have elsewhere collected evidence

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[23] Evans 2010a, 57–59; Evans 2010c.

[24] Mayser and Schmoll 1970, 160.

[25] Gignac 1976, 107–108; Horrocks 2010, 112.

[26] Mayser and Schmoll 1970, 39–41, 46–49; cf. Gignac 1976, 242–249.

[27] For the connection with uneducated writers see *P. L. Bat.* XX 41, introd.; for the suspicion of Egyptian influence Clarysse 1993, 197; cf. Gignac 1976, 248–249.

[28] Cf. Adams 2007, e.g. 6–7, 626, 630–632, on the relationship between spelling and educational level.

that demonstrates the increasingly 'learned' character of connective particles by the third century.[29] Their inclusion in everyday documents is becoming a mark of conscious style, and even educated writers occasionally have trouble with them. The fact that the writer self-corrects here shows that he knows what standard Greek requires.

Among the scribal hands we find a third non-standard spelling, ἐπεωνιζούισας = ἐπευωνιζούσας at *P. Cair. Zen.* III 59363, ll. 14–15, which probably again reflects pronunciation, either the scribe's or Philinos' (if verbatim copying from dictation is involved). Dropping of the second element of the original diphthong /eu/ (seen in ε = ευ) is one indicator of a progressively narrowing articulation of that element, a development occuring already in non-standard Attic texts from the late classical period,[30] and apparently beginning much earlier in some ancient dialects.[31]

Meanwhile, at *PSI* VI 569, l. 4 we find ὄρνιξ φοῖνι̣[ξ], in a letter written in one of the semi-cursive hands. At first glance one might suspect that the spelling ὄρνιξ instead of ὄρνις, 'bird' is an error, perhaps influenced by the following φοῖνιξ, which is convincingly restored in the original edition – it was a 'red bird'.[32] As I have indicated elsewhere, however, a different explanation is preferable.[33] The form ὄρνιξ reflects a variant velar stem, which is not only found again elsewhere in the Archive – once (*P. Cair. Zen.* III 59375, l. 1)[34] – but is also the only attested form of the nominative of this word in the corpus (the oblique cases show the dental-stem reflected by ὄρνις, as at *PSI* VI 569, l. 3 ὄρνιθα ἄρσενα φοίνικα). The velar-stem variant has a pedigree stretching back to Pindar, and was identified by Photius in the ninth century AD as Ionic and Doric (which would fit with other dialectal traces in the Archive).[35] I suggest we should be cautious about branding this form non-standard here. It is presumably dialectal in origin, partially embedded in the early Koine.

The same instance of ὄρνιξ marks apparent slippage from accusative into nominative in the course of a longish list of items sent by Philinos (*PSI* VI 569, ll. 2–5: ἀπέσταλκά σοι ... ὄρνιθα ἄρσενα φοίνικα πυ[ρωπόν,] | [καὶ] ἀδελφὴν αὐτοῦ πυρωπὴν μέλαιν̣[αν], ἄλλος ὄρνιξ φοῖνι̣[ξ 4–5 letters] | [τ]ῶν Ναυσινικείων, καὶ ἀδελφὴ αὐτοῦ μέλαινα αἰγωπή 'I have sent you ... a cock-bird, red and fiery eyed, and its sister (i.e. mate?), fiery-eyed and black, another red bird ... from those of Nausinikos, and its sister, black and goat-eyed'). One cannot be absolutely sure because of the following lacuna, but this does seem to be a mistake. It would represent an easy mental transfer, on which we should not place too much weight. The nominative would be a natural 'default' in a list, and the writer's or dictator's mind may have been more on the items than the grammar.

These four or five oddities are the only ones that I have observed in the 10 letters, which amount to 141 lines of text, 70 of them in the characteristic hand. The frequency is comparable with that found in data-sets from the Zenon Archive's other educated authors. For instance, there are three non-standard features in the eight letters (72 lines) from

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[29] Evans 2010c, 198–205; cf. Lee 1985, 1–8 on the μὲν ... δέ complex.

[30] Horrocks 2010, 163, 169; cf. Mayser and Schmoll 1970, 92–95; Gignac 1976, 226–233; Teodorsson 1977, 229–230.

[31] Gignac 1976, 233 n. 1.

[32] For discussion of the group of mysterious birds described in this letter see Evans 2010b.

[33] Evans 2010b, 193–194 n. 19.

[34] Edgar also restores it at *P. Cair. Zen.* IV 59608, l. 16 [ὄρ]νιξ.

[35] Cf. LSJ, s.v. ὄρνις. Dialectal (including Doric and Ionic) traces in the Zenon Archive are collected, together with material from other sources, at Mayser and Schmoll 1970, 4–25; cf. p. 7 on ὄρνιξ.

the doctor Artemidoros, who wrote 'in lively, idiomatic Greek, which it is a pleasure to read.'[36]

Non-standard usage and Egyptian Greek

Philinos' Greek, then, is in my estimation essentially standard Greek. By contrast, varieties of language that reveal many more non-standard elements do occur in the Archive. There has been a tendency, somewhat as we have just seen with the *epsilon*/*eta* confusion, to link these non-standard features explicitly or implicitly with indigenous Egyptian authors or scribes. In a recent study I discussed the Archive's 162 documents that can be associated one way or another with Egyptian authorship.[37] I focused on a draft-memorandum from one Petosiris, (7) below.

7) *P. Cair. Zen.* III 59499 (a series of communications from Petosiris; on or after 23 January 254 BC), Back, cols. ii-iii, ll. 85–102:

ὑπόμνημα Ζήνω-
νι ⟦χαίρειν⟧ παρὰ Πετο-
σίριος. Πᾶεις ὁ στασιασ-
τὲς ὁ γεωργὸς ⟦ς̣ νῦν⟧ τὸν τόπον τ‹οῦ›-
⟦σκενοῖ σ̣⟧ τον νῦν σκενοῖ.
[ο]ὐκ αὐτοῦ ἐστ[ι]ν, ἀλλὰ βασι-

Column III

{σι}λικόν. ἔχρεσεν παρά μοι μέχρι μῆ-
νές τινες, μέχρι τὸν ἑαυτοῦ τόπον
οἰκοδόμεσε, καὶ σ⟦οι⟧ᵇ δέδωκας (δραχμὰς) κ εἰς οἰ-
κοδομὴν ταύτης τῆς οἰκίας αὐτῶι καὶ τῶι
ἀδελφῶι, ταύτην τὴν οἰκίαν ὃ πέπρακεν Φανέσι
ἐλαιοπώλης τὸ ἥμυσον (δραχμὰς) ξδ, τὸ δὲ ἥμυσον
⟦Κοροιβίδης⟧ μέλλι ἀγοράσαι.
καὶ ἄλλον τόπον ἔχει ἐγ βασιλικοῦ,
καὶ τοῦτο πέπρακεν Ὥρωι τὸν ἐπὶ
τῶν κρότωνες, καὶ οὐδαμοῦ οἰκίαν ⟦πέ-
πρακεν⟧ οἰκοδόμεσεν ἀλλ' ⟦ε⟧ ἃ νῦν πέ-
πρακεν.

Memorandum to Zenon ['greetings' is deleted] from Petosiris. Pais the weigher, the farmer, ['now' is deleted] this place ['inhabits' is deleted] now inhabits. It is not his, but belongs to the crown. He borrowed from me for several months until he built his own place, and you have given him and his brother 20 drachmas for the building of this house, this house of which he has sold half to Phanesis the oil-seller for 64 drachmas, but the other half ['Koroibides' is deleted] he (?) is going to buy. And he has

[36] Edgar, *P. Cair. Zen.* II 59225, introd. My intention, incidentally, is to present a comprehensive analysis of the usage of Philinos, Artemidoros, Iason (for whom see below), and several others in a monograph-length treatment (currently in preparation) of diversity in the Greek of the Zenon Archive.

[37] See Evans in press.

> another place from the treasury (i.e. from crown funds?), and this he has sold to Horos, the one in charge of the castor, and he has by no means ['sold' is deleted] built a house, other than the ones that he has now sold.

Edgar memorably summarizes the papyrus in which this text is found: "the text is so mutilated and the Greek is so extraordinarily bad that it is difficult to give a clear account of what Petosiris means to say".[38] Petosiris' "extraordinarily bad" Greek undoubtedly contains some glaringly non-standard features. In my earlier treatment I examined ll. 95–97: ταύτην τὴν οἰκίαν ὃ πέπρακεν Φανέσι | ἐλαιοπώλης τὸ ἥμυσον (δραχμὰς) ξδ, τὸ δὲ ἥμυσον | ⟦Κοροιβίδης⟧ μέλλι ἀγοράσαι'... this house, as to which he [the subject is one Pais] has sold to Phanesis the oil-seller half for 64 drachmas, but the other half [the name 'Koroibides' is deleted] he (?) is going to buy.' These three lines alone contain a series of such features: the neuter relative ὅ (agreeing with following τὸ ἥμυσον?) after a feminine antecedent, the vague reference of the same form's accusative case, nominative ἐλαιοπώλης (not dative ἐλαιοπώλῃ) in apposition to Φανέσι, the spelling ι = ει probably in Φανέσι and certainly in μέλλι.[39] There are various others to be found in the petition as well.

These features may serve as an example of the extreme varieties of low-level Greek, far removed from Philinos' usage, that one sometimes finds in the Archive. Some of the specific oddities are undoubtedly due to bilingual interference, as for instance Petosiris' use of the relative pronoun noted above.[40] In my earlier discussion, however, I also sought to bring out the facts that examples like (7) above are relatively rare in the corpus and that Egyptian authorship does not necessarily relate to what Edgar calls bad Greek. Many documents from Egyptians are much more competent, even standard compositions,[41] and even poor Petosiris gets some things right (we also need to remember that this text is a draft, and perhaps not the most careful composition of which Petosiris or his scribe was capable). Nor are the Egyptian Greek texts the only environment in which we encounter higher quantities of non-standard features. Let us now investigate an intriguing case from a quite different source.

The Greek of Iason

Iason son of Kerkion hailed from the city of Kalynda in what is now south-western Turkey, a Carian like Zenon (who came from Kaunos). First mentioned in a letter of 256 BC, Iason turns up frequently in the Archive. He is described as an agent of Zenon and played a subordinate role in the management of Apollonios' estate, among other things

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[38] *P. Cair. Zen.* III 59499, introd.

[39] For discussion see Evans in press. For ι = ει see also below and n. 48.

[40] For a persuasive explanation of this phenomenon's Egyptian background, as found in the practice of second and first century BC notaries from Pathyris, see Vierros 2003, esp. 16–22; now also Vierros 2012. For a series of other features linked to Egyptian interference in early Ptolemaic papyri, some more persuasively than others, see Clarysse 1993, 197–200; Evans in press.

[41] An example, *P. Cair. Zen.* III 59481 (to Zenon from the potter Paesis), is discussed in Evans in press; note also *P. Cair. Zen.* III 59330 (the swineherd Pemnas to Zenon) and 59519 (the corn-measurer Phaneisis to Zenon, written with an Egyptian brush, on which see Clarysse 1993, esp. 186–194; Tait 1988; Depauw 2006, 297; Evans in press), and cf. Clarysse 1993, 200.

trying to sort out the cash-flow problems caused by Zenon's style of management. We have six of Iason's documents – four letters to Zenon (*P. Cair. Zen.* III 59337, 59450; *P. Lond.* VII 2006, 2008), a memorandum to one Hermon (*P. Mich. Zen.* 86), and a receipt to a man called Admetos (*PSI* IV 394). Four are dated (*P. Lond.* VII 2006; *P. Cair. Zen.* III 59337; *P. Lond.* VII 2008; *PSI* IV 394), and they belong to the period 248 to 242.

As someone with considerable responsibility for overseeing accounts, we can suspect that Iason was probably capable of reading and writing himself. Four of his surviving documents (*P. Cair. Zen.* III 59450; *P. Lond.* VII 2006, 2008; *P. Mich. Zen.* 86) are undoubtedly written in the same hand, "along the fibres in a medium-sized uncial".[42] Typical of it are *omega* with two clear loops, which do not descend to the lower line of other letters, and *alpha* in three strokes, well distinguished from *lambda*. The letters are nearly all separated by small spaces (there are very few ligatures), and figures are set off by even wider spaces.[43]

Skeat observes that the valediction in *P. Lond.* VII 2008, the frank letter from which (8) below is drawn, is "in a much more cursive hand, presumably Iason's autograph".[44] Clarysse warns that we need to be cautious about this idea. The writer may simply drop the effort to write in clear capitals and "fall back on the more usual cursive" in the valediction (l. 52: ἔρρωσο. (ἔτους) λθ, Φαμενὼθ ῑ̄, 'Farewell. Year 39, Phamenoth 10'). So this is possibly a different hand, but by no means certainly so.[45] By contrast, the valediction in *P. Lond.* VII 2006 is written in the same hand as the letter-body (*P. Cair. Zen.* III 59450 is fragmentary and does not preserve a valediction, while in the memorandum *P. Mich. Zen.* 86 none is included). My own suspicion is that the hand of all these texts is Iason's autograph and that the more cursive valediction of *P. Lond.* VII 2008 does not belong to a different writer. This seems to me to fit the balance of probabilities, but our evidence is too slight for it to be more than a tentative suggestion.

8) *P. Lond.* VII 2008 (1 May 247 BC), col. i, ll. 1–21:

Ἰάσων Ζήνωνι χαίρειν. γέγραφά σοι
πλεονάκις περί τε τῶν ἐννομίων
καὶ τοῦ φυλακιτικοῦ τῶν ὑικῶν ἱερείων,
καὶ οὐδεμίαν οἰκονομίαν πεποίησαι ⟦ο⟧
οὐδὲ χρόνον ἤιτεσαι ἐν ὧι ταξόμεθα.
ἡμῖς δὲ ὧδε παροινούμεθα ὑπό τε
τῶν οἰκονόμω[ν] καὶ πρακτόρων.
διέγνωκα οὖν καταπλεῦσαι πρός
σε τοὺς λόγου[ς] φέρων ἵνα μὴ Θεοφί-
λου παραγενομένου παροινηθῶ δι-
ὰ τὸ χειρογραφῆσαί με αὐτῶι. τέτα-
γμαι δὲ ἀφ' οὗ τὸν δι‹ά›λογον ἐποιεσά-
μεν εἰς (δραχμὰς) υ. τὰ δὲ ὀφιλήμ‹ατ›ά ἐστιν

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[42] Skeat, *P. Lond.* VII 2006, introd; *P. Lond.* VII 2008, introd.

[43] I owe this characterization of the hand to Willy Clarysse (private communication). He also points out interesting similarities in the fold-marks on the papyri *P. Cair. Zen.* III 59450 and *P. Mich. Zen.* 86 (as well as the poor quality of the latter).

[44] Skeat, *P. Lond.* VII 2008, l. n. 52.

[45] Willy Clarysse (private communication).

ἀδύνατα. τοὺς ἐν Ἡφαιστιάδει σκορ-
δευτὰς παρέδωκα εἰς τὸ ἐννόμιον καὶ
τὰ φορτία αὐτῶν Ἀριστάνδρωι τῶι οἰκο-
ν‹όμ›ωι. Ἐτέαρχος δὲ ἔφη αὐτοῦ εἶναι τὰ ἐν
τῆι γῆι καὶ αὐτὸς κεχορηγεκέναι, ὡς δ' ἂν
κομίσωμαι, ἔφη, τό τε ἐκφόριον καὶ τὸ ἀνήλωμα,
ἐάν τι καταλίπεται κομίσασθε. καὶ ἡμῖς
ἀφήκα‹με›ν οὖν αὐτούς.

Iason to Zenon greetings. I have written to you frequently about the pasturage-taxes and the guard-tax for the pigs, and you have made no arrangements, nor have you asked for time for us to reach agreements. But we are being pressured here by oeconomes and practors. So I have decided to sail down to you with the accounts in order that Theophilos doesn't turn up and I am put under pressure because I gave him a written guarantee. I have agreed to pay, from the time when I made up the account, up to 400 drachmas. But the debts are impossible. I have handed over the garlic-growers at Hephaistias for the pasturage-tax and their crops to Aristandros the oeconome. But Etearchos said that the ones in the ground were his and that he himself had provided them, but "When I recover", he said, "the rent and the outlay, if anything is left over, take that." And so we let them be.

The fifth papyrus (*P. Cair. Zen.* III 59337) shows a different hand. It too is written along the fibres, and it is an elegant semi-cursive. But there are additional lines of text squeezed in at the end in a small script showing distinctly formed letters, but with a cursive tendency. This smaller script of *P. Cair. Zen.* III 59337 has affinities with the hand of the sixth text (*PSI* IV 394). And that, my (9) below, was written at the direction of Iason by Apollodoros son of Andragathos, the Macedonian, who tells us so himself.[46]

9) *PSI* IV 394 (receipt, 11 August 242 BC)
(ἔτους) ς, Παῦνι κγ. Ἰάσων
Ἀδμήτωι χαίρειν. ἔχω
παρά σου εἰς τὴν ἐγγύην
ἣν ἐνεγυήσω Ἰόλλαν
Πυρρίου Βερενικέα κατὰ
συγγραφὴν κρι(θῶν) (ἀρτάβας) λ.

ἔγραψεν Ἀπολλόδωρος
Ἀνδραγάθου Μακεδών,
συντάξαντος Ἰάσονος.

Year 6, Pauni 23. Iason to Admetos greetings. I have from you for the security that you promised for Iollas son of Pyrrhias, Berenikean, according to contract, 30 artabas of barley.
Apollodoros son of Andragathos, Macedonian, wrote this at the direction of Iason.

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[46] My comments on the hands are based on examination of digital images. For my debt to Willy Clarysse's advice see again n. 17 above. The Cairo and Michigan items can be accessed via the websites cited at n. 17. A photograph of the Florence fragment of *P. Cair. Zen.* III 59337 (ll. 8–13, earlier published as *PSI* VI 650) can be found in *Pap. Flor.* XXIV, pl. 97.

It seems, then, that Iason's surviving documents were written by three different people. There is also an apparently usual hand. I suggest (with the due caution indicated above) that this may be Iason's autograph.[47] If, however, one were to accept Skeat's interpretation of the cursive valediction in *P. Lond.* VII 2008 in preference to Clarysse's, it would amount to proof that all six of Iason's documents were written by other persons for him.

Mapping the linguistic evidence onto the hands brings out striking results. Orthography was a challenge for the writer – whoever it really was – of the best-represented hand. The four documents in that hand contain a total of 101 lines of text, and in those 101 lines I count some 39 non-standard spellings. In the 30 lines of text written in the other two hands I find only two non-standard spellings.

Of the 39 instances in the usual hand, 30 involve vocalic interchanges. Most of these are phonetic in nature. The widespread itacistic interchange of *iota* and *epsilon-iota* shows up, for instance, 16 times (ι = ει 11 times, ει = ι five times).[48] Examples from (8) and from (10) below, drawn from the same long letter, are excerpted for the sake of example in (11).

10) *P. Lond.* VII 2008, col. ii, ll. 37–45 (cf. (8) above):
προσέγγειλεν ἡμῖν Τιμοκλῆς
τῶν προσβυτέρων $^{\text{τις}}$ ὀφίλειν σοι
τοὺς $^{\text{λοιποὺς πρεσβυτέρους τοὺς}}$ ἐν τῆι Διννέως Κοίτηι
[ὸ] ἀνήλωσας εἰς τὴν διώρυγα
εἰς (δραχμὰς) νς (ὀβολὸν α) ἐφ' ὧι ἐὰν διαλογι-
σώμεθα πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ ἔλ-
θηι εἰς ὁμόλογον, ἀφ⟦η⟧$^{\text{ε}}$θήσεται
τὸ ἐπιβάλλον αὐτῶι μέρος
$^{\text{ἀπὸ}}$ τῶν νς (ὀβολοῦ α), (δραχμαὶ) ς (τετρώβολον).

Timokles, one of the veterans, reported to us that the rest of the veterans in Dinneos Koite owe you what you expended for the canal, up to 56 drachmas, 1 obol, in return for which, if we draw up the account with them and it comes to an agreement, the share that falls to himself will be remitted from the 56 (drachmas), 1 obol, namely 6 drachmas, 4 obols.

11) Examples of ι = ει and ει = ι in (8) and (10) above:
a) ll. 6, 20 of (8) ἡμῖς = ἡμεῖς (ι = ει).
b) l. 13 of (8) ὀφιλήμ‹ατ›α = ὀφειλήμ‹ατ›α (ι = ει).
c) l. 14 of (8) Ἡφαιστιάδει = Ἡφαιστιάδι (ει = ι).
d) l. 20 of (8) καταλίπεται = καταλείπεται (ι = ει).
e) l. 38 of (10) ὀφίλειν = ὀφείλειν (ι = ει).

Also quite common is the interchange of *epsilon* and *eta*, which we glimpsed once in Philinos' letters. We meet it again six times in items (8) and (10), excerpted at (12)

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[47] Skeat may appear to slip into this very assumption at *P. Lond.* VI 2006, l. n. 13: "Possibly Iason wrote [τὸ]ν, intending to have written τὸν φόρον τόν but accidentally omitting φόρον at the end of l. 12". But other comments quoted below indicate that he imagines an amanuensis putting Iason's words onto the papyrus.
[48] Cf. Mayser and Schmoll 1970, 60–64, 66–70; Gignac 1976, 189–191.

below, and there are a total of 10 examples in the four papyri from the same hand (ε = η eight times, η = ε twice). Interestingly this writer does manifest a degree of sensitivity to the confusion, at least to the pattern *eta* for *epsilon*. At (12.e) we see it corrected to the standard spelling, six lines after the same scribe wrote προσέγγειλεν for προσήγγειλεν (12.d). If that scribe is in fact Iason himself, we have here another important indicator of the appearance of the *epsilon*/*eta* confusion among authors of culturally Greek background.

12) Examples of ε = η and η = ε in (8) and (10) above:
a) l. 5 of (8) ἤιτεσαι = ἤιτησαι (ε = η).
b) ll. 12–13 of (8) ἐποιεσάμεν = ἐποιησάμην (ε = η, *bis*).
c) l. 18 of (8) κεχορηγεκέναι = κεχορηγηκέναι (ε = η).
d) l. 37 of (10) προσέγγειλεν = προσήγγειλεν (ε = η).
e) l. 43 of (10) ἀφ⟦η⟧$^{\varepsilon}$θήσεται (η = ε before correction of ἀφηθήσεται to ἀφεθήσεται).

Isolated instances of other non-standard spellings occur in the usual hand as well. I draw attention to one, which happens to occur in (10) above, προσβυτέρων = πρεσβυτέρων in l. 38, showing *omikron* for *epsilon* (the standard spelling appears in l. 39 $^{\text{πρεσβυτέρους}}$).[49] Meanwhile, omission of nasal before velar stop (γ = γγ) can be seen in ἐνεγυήσω = ἐνεγγυήσω at l. 4 of (9), written by Apollodoros son of Andragathos (contrasting with ἐγγύην in l. 3). This feature also occurs in the memorandum written in the apparently usual hand (*P. Mich. Zen.* 86, ll. 2–3 ἀναγεῖλαι = ἀναγγεῖλαι, contrasting with προσέγγειλεν at l. 37 of (10) above).[50]

One more orthographic peculiarity of the letter partly transcribed in (8) and (10) needs to be noted. Skeat states that "Iason writes in simple, forceful style; his amanuensis shows a marked tendency to omit syllables in the middle of words".[51] This phenomenon further reveals that we are in a markedly different environment from Philinos' letters. Four examples of syncopated forms appear in (8), and these are listed, along with another two instances from the same letter, at (13) below.

13) Examples of Iason's habit of syllable-omission in *P. Lond.* VII 2008 (cf. (8) above):
a) l. 12 δι‹ά›λογον, papyrus διλογον.
b) l. 13 ὀφιλήμ‹ατ›α, papyrus οφιλημα.
c) ll. 16–17 οἰκον‹όμ›ωι, papyrus οικονωι.
d) l. 21 ἀφήκα‹με›ν, papyrus αφηκαν.
e) l. 23 ἀ‹να›τολή, papyrus ατολη.
f) l. 32 ἐμβ‹εβ›λῆσθαι, papyrus εμβλησθαι.

Skeat also draws attention to a seventh case in a letter from one of the other scribes, *P.Cair.Zen.* III 59337, l. 5 ἐπαρ‹ουρ›ίου.[52] At least some of these examples of syllable

[49] Cf. Mayser and Schmoll 1970, 45; Gignac 1976, 290–292.
[50] For this specific phenomenon – loss of nasal before velar stop – and the limited evidence in general for loss of medial nasals in post-classical Greek cf. Mayser and Schmoll 1970, 163–165, esp. 164; Gignac 1976, 116–119.
[51] Skeat, *P. Lond.* VII 2008, introd.
[52] Skeat, *P. Lond.* VII 2008, introd.

loss may be explained as examples of haplography,[53] and although they are not all of homogeneous type, they are probably simple graphic errors, without any significance for pronunciation. The spelling οικονωι (13.c), for instance, reflects a common enough error in spellings of οἰκονόμος at this period.[54] Omission of medial syllables is not a particularly frequent feature in the Zenon Archive (though by no means otherwise absent). It is therefore interesting to find six of Iason's seven cases of syncopation concentrated in one of his documents,[55] and in one of the texts in the usual hand.

All these features in combination tend in my view to confirm the impression that the best-represented hand is probably Iason's autograph. The easiest alternative would be to assume that he employed a regular scribe of rather limited competence and perhaps (as some scholars will probably find an attractive notion) of Egyptian ethnicity. That would not be an impossible scenario, but among Zenon's agents a less plausible one, and it should be noted that Egyptian scribes for whom we have evidence in the Archive and its period are mostly highly competent; "In most cases the Greek is faultless, and the Egyptian background of the scribe is only visible in some minor detail, if at all."[56]

Iason's non-standard features are largely restricted to orthography. In morphology and syntax his outputs align much more closely with Philinos' usage than with Petosiris', and Skeat's observation of his "simple, forceful style" should not be allowed to obscure his capacity to produce complex constructions. The only obvious grammatical oddities involve fine details of particle usage. To give a single example, note again (8) above, ll. 20–21 καὶ ἡμῖς | ἀφήκα‹με›ν οὖν αὐτούς. The οὖν here is a perfectly straightforward choice of connective in the context, but it is strangely positioned within its sense-unit. The normal position for οὖν would be at the front, second or third word in the sequence.

Conclusion

The usage of Iason, then, is clearly different in its general character from that both of Philinos and of Petosiris. The material from all three manifests tension between standard and non-standard components. Philinos' Greek is the most accomplished and the most stylistically energetic (for example in the variation of greeting formulae). It does contain occasional blemishes, as we have seen, and it is not the most careful product in the Archive, but it serves as a fair example of educated standard Greek. Iason's usage is far less polished. The morphology and syntax are essentially an unvarnished variety of the standard, but his language reveals significantly more non-standard features, concentrated mostly in orthography. Petosiris' draft represents a much lower level of competence again. But although it is strewn with non-standard orthographic and grammatical features, it is not as hopeless as Edgar implies, and it too shows some pretension to correctness (for example in the deletion of χαίρειν, inappropriate for the opening formula of a memorandum, in l. 86, and the correction of σοι to the standard spelling σύ in l. 93).

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[53] Cf. Mayser and Schmoll 1970, 217–220; Gignac 1976, 312–313. I thank Hilla Halla-aho for valuable comments on this point (private communication).

[54] Mayser and Schmoll 1970, 219.

[55] Hilla Halla-aho has suggested to me that the apparent urgency of the situation may be an influence. This may well be right, though we obviously cannot do more than speculate.

[56] Clarysse 1993, 200.

One might be seduced by the very term Koine – the 'common dialect' – into thinking this kind of Greek is all essentially the same, or that the only significant variations within it are due to influences derived from bi- or multilingualism. When we compare (2), (7), and (8) above, however, we are observing three distinct manifestations of the early Koine, as written in the Egyptian context. And when we compare (2) and (8) directly, we observe contrasting types in two authors who are presumably both of Greek (or at least Hellenistic) background. In the case of Iason, especially if my tentative identification of his autograph is correct, it is thus more difficult to make the usual assertions about bilingual interference lying behind lower level compositions. Level of education, that of the apparently wealthy Philinos against that of the estate sub-manager Iason, to my mind most plausibly explains the differences in their Greek. This should in turn allow us to reassess the common response to very low-level products like (7). Education rather than ethnicity should be suspected, I contend, as the primary cause of its limited competence. That is not to deny that bilingual interference is a factor both in this case and more generally in non-standard Greek texts from Egyptian authors. Less educated compositions are likely, however, to reveal many more natural features of non-standard Greek than higher-register documents, and until we can demonstrate that any particular feature is owed to influence from Egyptian, we should not assume an external motivation for its deviation from standard varieties of Greek.

In this study I have sought to convey an impression of the kinds of linguistic and stylistic variation to be found in the Zenon Archive and to suggest in conclusion one of the key causes of that variation. It is worth stressing, however, that I have offered only a taste. The material is very complex. In order to achieve the fullest possible understanding of the observed variation a deal of fine sifting of the evidence remains to be accomplished.

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Phraseological Variation in the Agoranomic Contracts from Pathyris

Marja Vierros

In this paper I will address questions of individual and phraseological variation within a papyrological text corpus of notarial contracts. The texts provide evidence for contact-induced variation, usually manifesting itself as linguistic transfer from Egyptian to Greek. One question which will be addressed here is whether the variation occurs at an individual level in the idiolect, or if certain phenomena occured at a more general, phraseological level, and were then transmitted through education and working methods to other Egyptian-Greek bilinguals. However, it is possible that both may be true.

Methodological questions which will be addressed here concern the study of a fragmentary corpus where the most interesting linguistic features come from one to three bilingual individuals. To what extent can the results be generalized (if at all) and, if they can be generalized then what aspects of the results are the most rewarding? The main method used is qualitative linguistic analysis, but the contextual information provided by papyrological and historical studies is essential in assessing variables in linguistic variation, such as social factors (e.g. ethnicity and status in Hellenistic Egypt), domains (e.g. the Hellenistic administrative tradition), language contact and bilingualism. The material which is used in this article is a corpus of Greek notarial contracts written in Pathyris, Upper Egypt in the second and first centuries BCE.[1] In this article I will focus on the phrases which denote the specific object which is being sold in the sale contracts.[2] These phrases seem to contain a chaotic amount of confusion in relation to case agreement (usually between the feminine accusative and genitive cases). Does this tell us about problems the notaries had with case morphology, or something else entirely?

The context concerning the notaries is important and the the bilingual situation of the area can be summarized by the following information. All the contracts were signed by a notary, *agoranomos*.[3] Thus, we have a positive identification of a person who was in charge of the document, although he was not necessarily the person who actually wrote it (as an analysis of the handwriting has revealed).[4] The idea of the scribes being bilingual, i.e. that their native language could have been Egyptian, has already been suggested by P.

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[1] I compiled and analyzed this material in my dissertation *Bilingual Notaries in Hellenistic Egypt. A Study of Language Use* (University of Helsinki) 2011 = Vierros 2012.

[2] Chapter 7.3. in Vierros 2011 tackled the same question, which however, deserves a more thorough discussion here.

[3] The *agoranomos* was in charge of drawing up contracts and registering them, see Pestman 1985, 37 and Pestman 1978, 203–204. The role of an *agoranomos* was different outside Egypt (an *agoranomos* was a police authority in the *agora*, see, e.g., J. Oehler, s.v. *Agoranomoi* in RE [1894]; A.W. Gomme; P.J. Rhodes s.v. *Agoranomoi* in OCD^3 [1996]) and also in early Ptolemaic Egypt when the *agoranomos* was more clearly an official performing registration (see Wolff 1978, 9–27).

[4] Chapter 4.3. in Vierros 2011.

W. Pestman.[5] Before that the Greek in these contracts, especially in those written under the name of the notary Hermias, were simply thought of as examples of ”bad Greek”. My dissertation corroborated that the ”poor grammar” in the texts is, in fact, what could be expected from Egyptian-Greek bilinguals, i.e. there are Egyptian transfer[6] features in their Greek.

However, whether the speech community in Pathyris was bilingual or not is another question. The Greek soldiers and immigrants at the beginning of the Ptolemaic era, who soon came to speak the common Greek dialect, *koine*, did not settle as far south as the Pathyrite area. However, after the Great Revolt at the beginning of the second century BCE in the Theban area, the Ptolemies set in motion a process of gradual hellenization in Upper Egypt which included military garrisons and the use of Greek by officials.[7] Up until this period, demotic Egyptian had also been used in official circumstances. I have discussed the linguistic landscape[8] of Hellenistic Egypt and the language use in the Pathyrite area in earlier works, and in short we can say that relatively few people were bilingual in Pathyris (probably more so at spoken level than at written, but the evidence is scarce). [9] And we know of only one person and his son who were definitely native Greek speakers.[10]

The need for the inhabitants of Pathyris to have Greek contracts drawn up was mainly caused by the legislation, as a consequence of the hellenizing agenda of the Ptolemies. Greek notarial documents were immediately registered and valid and needed no separate witnesses, whereas the demotic documents needed to be separately registered in Greek (according to a royal edict from the year 146) and moreover, demotic documents usually needed several literate people to be present as witnesses. I should also emphasize that in order to have a Greek document made, the people concerned did not need to be able to speak Greek, since the notaries were bilingual.[11] It is also clear that the hellenization had been rather fragile, since many people were turning back to Egyptian habits and language in their documents after the dynastic troubles at the end of the second century BCE and at the beginning of the first.[12] In the year 88 BCE the documentation from Pathyris ends abruptly. Thus, we have no material to help us study how the linguistic situation changed in the later first century BCE.

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[5] Pestman 1978. The fact that the notaries used Greek and Hellenistic names probably led earlier researchers astray, but it has been shown that officials used Greek names when functioning in offices of a Greek nature and Egyptian names when functioning in offices of an Egyptian nature regardless of their ethnic origin, see Clarysse 1985; Clarysse 1993.

[6] Scholars of second language acquisition previously called this “interference,” but the term was considered critical towards the second language user, see Sankoff 2002, 639.

[7] Vandorpe 1995, 232–233; Vandorpe 2000, 417–420; Vandorpe & Waebens 2009, 43–46; Vandorpe (in print).

[8] I use the term linguistic landscape broadly, referring to the general linguistic environment: what languages were spoken and heard, written and read in Hellenistic Egypt. A more defined use of the term has recently been introduced in sociolinguistics referring to language displayed and exposed in public spaces, see E. Shohamy, D. Gorter, *Linguistic Landscape. Expanding the Scenery*, New York 2009.

[9] Vierros 2011, Chapters 2 and 3.

[10] The cavalry officer Dryton, who married a local woman in Pathyris, and his son from his first marriage. They were also both literate in Greek. See especially Vandorpe 2002, e.g. 415–419, and Vandorpe & Waebens 2009, 102–113.

[11] Vierros 2011, Chapter 3 and Vierros 2008 on language choice and use in the Pathyrite area.

[12] Vandorpe 2011.

The development of the Greek-speaking notariate in the later Ptolemaic period in Upper Egypt can be compared to the situation when the Greek administration was first set up in Egypt in the early Hellenistic period. It is obvious that at that time the Ptolemaic government made use of the existing Egyptian scribal class to educate officials who were needed to govern the manifold administrative tasks in the country.[13]

For the purposes of this paper, it is important to take note of the behavioural pattern of the Egyptian scribal class. Written demotic Egyptian, despite its name, did not present vernacular strains of the Egyptian language; quite the opposite, it rejected any signs of spoken language and especially those of Greek influence. We know from Coptic, the later phase of Egyptian, that Greek did influence Egyptian at several levels of the language (in vocabulary, word-formation, word order, for instance); there are many examples of contact-induced change which presuppose a contact of long duration, i.e. several centuries.[14] Clearly this is evidence of contact between the languages during the Hellenistic period. This was possibly manifest at spoken level, but the written form (demotic writing) was consciously screening out any signs of influence. Only after changing the script to Coptic did the impact become visible in writing. This was the traditional way of action for the scribal class; they were taught to maintain a level of conservatism in relation to their writing. And when the Greek administrative officials were trained mainly from the local scribal class, the same pattern of behaviour remained. Also the Greek administrative written language was following a conservative standard, an administrative jargon even. We have some rare cases where the façade has collapsed, and the standard has not been maintained, first and foremost in some of our *agoranomoi*.

Case in point: the object in the agoranomic sale contract

Example (1) may serve as our starting point. It was written in the name of a notary called Hermias at the office in Pathyris.

1) *P.Stras.* II 90 15–16 (99 BCE, *agoranomos* Hermias)

ἀπέδοτο Θοτορταῖος [the identification of the seller][15] ἀπὸ τῆς ὑπαρχούσης αὐτῷ καὶ τῷ ἀδελφῶι οἰκίαν ὠκοδομημένην, ἐν ᾗ καμάραν καὶ τῆς προσούσης αὐλῆς σὺν θυρώμασι, τῆς οὔσης ἐν τῇ μέσῃ μερίδι Παθύρεως τὸ ἐπιβάλλον αὐτῷ μέρος ἡμίσους πήχεως στερεοῦ δύο ἀπὸ πηχῶν τεσσάρων

Thotortaios sold … from the house which is built and has a room and the attached courtyard with a doorway, belonging to him and his brother, situated in the middle part of Pathyris, the half part belonging to him: two standard cubits out of four standard cubits[16]

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[13] Falivene 1991, 216; Thompson 1992; Thompson 1994, esp. 71–75. See also Vierros 2011, Chapter 2.

[14] Ray 1994, Ray 2007.

[15] The description of the seller: Θοτορταῖος Πατῆτος Πέρσης τῆς ἐπιγονῆς ὡς (ἐτῶν) νε μέσος μελίχρω(ς) τετανὸς ἀναφάλανθος μακροπρόσω(πος) εὐθύριν οὐλὴ πώγωνι.

[16] All translations are mine unless otherwise indicated.

The underlined words show problems with the morphological agreement. Thotortaios is selling half of his house. The grammatical object comes quite far in the sentence: the part belonging to him (τὸ ἐπιβάλλον αὐτῷ ... μέρος ἡμίσους), and in fact the quantifier is given in the genitive rather than the accusative (πήχεως στερεοῦ l. πήχεις στερεούς)[17] and so is the word 'half' (ἡμίσους l. ἥμισυ). But the beginning is more relevant here: the object which has been sold is introduced by a prepositional phrase ἀπὸ τῆς ὑπαρχούσης αὐτῷ καὶ τῷ ἀδελφῶι (from the item belonging to him and his brother) but the item (the house) of which the part is taken, does not agree with the phrase in the genitive. It is inflected in the accusative (οἰκίαν ᾠκοδομημένην + καμάραν) as if it were the main and the whole object of the sale. Then however, other words belonging to the same entity follow in the genitive as the prepositional structure requires: the attached courtyard etc. (τῆς προσούσης αὐλῆς, τῆς οὔσης).

Other sale contracts from the agoranomic corpus also have agreement problems in the same part of the document, i.e. where the object of the sale is presented. These confusions always occur between the genitive and the accusative cases. In the contracts I was able to discern four different phraseological patterns with different syntactic structures used in denoting the sold item, presented in (3) below. In order to understand why, we need to first discuss the development of the agoranomic contract types and notarial practices in Hellenistic Egypt.

Two traditions – Egyptian and Hellenistic document types

Clearly two separate administrative traditions existed and were maintained in Hellenistic Egypt; Egyptian document types differed from Greek document types.[18] However, it has long been established that certain document types were adapted into Greek on the basis of Egyptian models.[19] For example, Vandorpe and Waebens show how the people in the Pathyrite area could, after the hellenizing measures, continue their property transactions in their traditional manner, now paraphrased in Greek and performed by the Greek-writing notaries. The Egyptian document of division *(sḫ dny.t pš)*, for example, received two Greek counterparts: παραχώρησις and δόσις.[20]

In general, the Egyptian contract types[21] differ from the Greek ones in terms of the role and amount of witnesses, which were both crucial. Usually in the Egyptian type, 16 witnesses signed at the back of the contract, although in some document types four witnesses were sufficient. The contracts were drawn up by a scribe/notary who normally worked in the local temple. The Greek contracts were made in a number of different types including, for example, the "double document" (same content in the sealed inner script and in the open outer script). The double document originally included statements of six witnesses, and it was kept by a special keeper of the document, συγγραφοφύλαξ.

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[17] Suggested correct reading in the edition (πήχεων στερεῶν) seems odd, since the partitive genitive of the total four follows; the two cubits form the half part, and should be in the accusative.

[18] Seidl 1962, 50–68, see also below for further information.

[19] Allam 1984, 177; the provisory sales, Pestman 1985b; Vandorpe and Waebens 2010, 46–47.

[20] Vandorpe and Waebens 2009, 46.

[21] Seidl 1962, 50–68, presents 12 different scribe and witness documents.

Many Greek documents were written in the form of letters, χειρόγραφα.[22] The Greek agoranomic document which is the focus of this paper was a novelty of the Ptolemaic government. However, it was a clear continuation of the double document, thus having Greek roots (or possible roots in Asia Minor[23]). It was a notarial document; the notary replaced the six witnesses making the document valid by his notarial subscription and by performing the official registration of the document.[24]

Clear differences can be discerned in the basic formulae within Greek and demotic contracts which deal with similar matters. The most distinct difference is between subjectivity versus objectivity (the use of first person vs. third person in the verb). Greek documents usually have objective formulas (third person): for example, the Greek agoranomic sale contract (ὠνή) had one sentence beginning "s/he sold", followed by the presentation of the sold item, and another sentence presenting the buyer "s/he bought" and then the price. In contrast, the demotic sale documents present the matter in subjective form (or actually mixed; firstly in the third person, then the main message of the text in direct speech): the demotic sale contract, document-of-silver (*sḫ n ḏb3 ḥd*), had the formulaic expression "s/he (the seller) said to him/her (the buyer): you have caused my heart to be satisfied with the money for the item X."[25]

The demotic sale was usually accompanied by another document, the cession of rights of the sold property, the document-of-cession *i.e.* document-of-no-rights (*sḫ n wy*). In Greek, corresponding *apostasion*-documents (συγγραφὴ ἀποστασίου) were, at least in Upper Egypt, made by *agoranomoi* in connection with some agoranomic sales (mostly together with the so-called provisory sales which were used as guarantees for loans). The *apostasion* was usually made if the sale was actualized, that is, the loan was not paid back.[26] This shows that a demotic contract type served as a model for a document type which *agoranomoi,* state officials writing in Greek, used. The demotic document-of-no-rights used the formula "s/he (the seller) said to him/her (the buyer): 'I am far from you in your X…" The formula in the Greek counterpart, *apostasion,* was in the third person, but used a verb semantically similar with the one in the demotic contract: ἀφίσταται, the seller "renounces his claims / is far from (claiming his rights)".

Thus, Greek and demotic contracts differed from each other in terms of their basic formulae. However, sometimes translations of contracts were also made for court purposes. If a demotic contract was translated into Greek, the phrases were translated following the Egyptian original; not changing the phrases into ones used in Greek contracts. This can be seen in this Greek translation from 136 BCE which was recently re-edited by R. Mairs and C. Martin, (*P.Leid.* 413) τάδε λέγει … Ἀπηυδόκησας με τῆς τιμῆς … "Said person X to person Y; You have made me satisfied with the price…"[27]

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[22] Different types of legal contracts are condensely described in Palme 2009, 363–372.

[23] Seidl 1962, 59.

[24] Pestman 1978, 203–204, Seidl 1962, 62; Allam 1984, 176, 178.

[25] See, for example, the sale presented in Mairs and Martin 2008/9.

[26] Pestman 1985b. However, if the loan was paid back, there was no need to carry out the sale. The sale contract was made only as a guarantee for the loan (already at the time of the loan) and the sale was not valid without the *apostasion*.

[27] Mairs and Martin 2008/9.

A merging of two traditions – parallels within common phraseology

Despite the differences in the basic formulae between the Greek and the demotic Egyptian documents, there were striking similarities in how the general contents of the contract were expressed and what the common phraseology was like, at least in the agoranomic contracts. Let us examine an element present in all sale contracts: indication of the sold object. Example (1) already presented this element. Example (2) takes us further.

2) *BGU* III 996, Col. II 9 – III 1–4 (113/107 BCE, *agoranomos* Heliodoros)

ἀπέδοτο Σαλῆς [the identification of Sales][28] καὶ Τανεμιεὺς [the identification of Tanemieus and the guardian of both][29] τὴν ἐπιβάλλουσαν αὐταῖς[30] μερίδα οἰκίαν ὠκοδομημένην κα[ὶ] ἐστεγασμένην καὶ τεθυρωμένην καὶ τὴν προσοῦ[σα]ν αὐλὴν τὴν οὖσαν ἐν τῶι ἀπὸ λιβὸς μέρει Παθύρεως…

Sales and Tanemieus sold … the part fallen into their possession of the house which is built, covered, furnished with doors and of the attached courtyard situated in the west part of Pathyris…

In (2) we have the noun "part" (*meris*) as the grammatical object, a word which is usually followed by partitive genitives. The editor of this papyrus, W. Schubart, did suggest that we read here: μερίδα οἰκίας ὠκοδομημένης κα[ὶ] ἐστεγασμένης καὶ τεθυρωμένης καὶ τῆς προσούσης αὐλῆς τῆς οὔσης instead of the accusatives (underlined). So, as in (1), we have accusatives instead of genitives. In (2), the problem could alternatively be solved by leaving the noun 'part' out altogether, or by interpreting the accusatives as appositions, thus assuming that the *meris* does not, in fact, imply a certain part of the house but rather a part of inheritance, for example, which is sold here as a whole (see further, below). Connecting this to the typology I will present in (3), the question can be formulated as whether to interpret (2) as option B or option C. If it is interpreted as B, the accusatives are mistakes, but if we take the alternative C, they are not. The alternative C is not favoured by many editors; they would rather correct the accusatives into genitives in a case like this.

The sentence structure presenting the sold item varied in the agoranomic contracts. I sorted out four basic patterns as to how it was generally done. The choice of which pattern one notary used varied randomly, it was not notary specific nor office specific. In all of them, the grammatical direct object was naturally indicated by the accusative case. In the first three (A-C), the grammatical object was usually the word "part" (feminine *meris* or neuter *meros*, see further, below) and in the fourth (D), the object was the item sold as a whole (usually land or house). Options A–C varied in how they presented the property entity, from which the part or the sold proportion was taken.

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[28] Σαλῆς Πατσεοῦτος Πέρσης τῆς ἐπιγονῆς ὡς (ἐτῶν) ιη μελίχρως τετανὸς μακροπρόσωπος εὐθύριν

[29] Τανεμιεὺς Πατσεοῦτος Περσίνη ὡς (ἐτῶν) κε μέση μελίχρως μακροπρόσωπος εὐθύριν μετὰ κυρίου ἀμφοτέρων Πααμήνιος τοῦ Ψεννήσιος Πέρσου τῆς ἐπιγονῆς ὡς (ἐτῶν) λ μέσου μελιχρόου ὑποκλάστου στρογγυλοπροσώπου εὐθυρινοῦ

[30] There is an incorrect gender in the personal pronoun referring to Sales and Tanemieus; it should be the masculine αὐτοῖς because there is one male person included. Perhaps the preceding feminine participle influenced the pronoun by analogy.

3) ἀπέδοτο [name and identification of the seller]…

A) Prepositional structure indicating the entity (ἀπό + genitive) from which the object ("part" or the amount sold, in the accusative) is taken from
E.g., ἀπὸ τῆς ὑπαρχούσης αὐτῷ γῆς/οἰκίας [+modifiersGEN] [location of the property][31] τὸ ἐπιβάλλον αὐτῇ μέρος

B) The object ("part") in the accusative followed by partitive genitive structure
E.g., τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν αὐτῷ μερίδα γῆς/οἰκίας [+modifiersGEN] [location of the property]

C) The object ("part") in the accusative with accusative modifiers
E.g., τὴν ἐπιβάλλουσαν αὐτῷ [location of the property] X μερίδα γῆν/οἰκίαν [+modifiersACC]

D) The object (as a whole, e.g. "land" or "house") in the accusative with accusative modifiers
E.g., τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν αὐτῷ γῆν/οἰκίαν [+modifiersACC]

Additionally, in options A–C where the word "part" was in the accusative, the amount/measurements of the sold property were introduced in the genitive (thus agreeing with other modifiers in A and B, but not in C).

It is worth emphasizing that a participial phrase "belonging to him/her/them [=the seller(s)]" was common in all the alternatives, and it was placed at the beginning of the whole phrase. Therefore, in B–D it agreed with the object (accusative), but in A it agreed with the property entity (genitive). In other words, there were several different possibilities for which semantic units were in the accusative and which were in the genitive. The object sold and the participial phrase 'the x belonging to him' could either be in the genitive or in the accusative in different options (A+B were based on partitive construction, that is, in the genitive case; A, B, and C included the noun meaning 'part'). Since the alternatives made use of two cases in different semantic units, there were also documents where the genitives and the accusatives were somehow confused, as we already saw.

Before I present and analyze further examples, it is worthwhile to consider the recurring participial phrase and the word "part / share." Why are they present in the first place, since the clause would often be much simpler to form without them? I will also show how the marking of the genitive and the object in demotic could confuse the distinction between the Greek genitive and accusative cases.

Two nouns meaning "part" were used: the feminine *meris* (ἡ μερίς, GEN. μερίδος = a part, portion, share) and the neuter *meros* (τὸ μέρος, GEN. μέρους = a part, share, heritage, lot). In the agoranomic documents, they were apparently used interchangeably, without a clear semantic difference (for example, in *P.Lond.* III 881 the word *meros* was used in the summary, but *meris* in the contract proper in exactly the same phrase).[32]

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[31] Often in the middle of the phrase the location of the property was also given. It's placement was not necessarily fixed right where it is marked in these options, but here the usual placement is shown. The indication of the location was often quite long, consisting of a list of neighbours in the south, north, east and west. The location could be divided so that the list of neighbours could also be given separately at the very end of the formula.

[32] *P.Lond*. III 881 (p. 12) (Hermias,108 BCE) *script.int*: ἀπέδοτο Πμόις Θοτορταίου (πέμπτον) μέρος ἀπὸ (τετάρτου) μέρους γῆς καλου(μένης) Τέλωνος, but in the *script ext*: ἀπέδοτο [seller] τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν αὐτῷ πέμπτην μερίδα ἀπὸ τετάρτης μερίδος τῆς ὅλης γῆς ἠπ(είρου).

Moreover, both words were also used in the definitions of location: ”in the middle part (*meris*) of Pathyris”[33] or ”in the north part (*meros*) of Pathyris.”[34]

The nouns meaning “part” were used in the alternatives (3) A–C. That did not necessarily mean that the sold item really was a definite part of a larger entity of the property of the seller. The “part” seems to be only phraseological – this is evidenced by the fact that sometimes the word “part” could have been left out altogether without a major change in the meaning.[35] Sometimes there actually was a defined part (for example, a third part) of a larger entity, but very often it was undefined, being a share of some sort. This custom probably had its roots in the Egyptian inheritance system, according to which children inherited equal shares of their parents' land. This was already agreed upon in the marriage contract of the parents.[36] Furthermore, in contrast to Greek sale contracts, the sizes of the plots were not necessarily specified in demotic land conveyances.[37]

In fact, when we look at the demotic sale contracts, we find similar phrasings for shares/parts when introducing the object of the sale. The word “part” is also sometimes used. It was *tny.t* = “part,” “share” and especially “share of inheritance”, see (5).[38] There is another word, *ry.t* “side,” “part,” “room,”[39] but it always appears in the context of houses, as in (4), i.e. it means a part of a house in the sense of a room.[40] In the Greek texts, however, words meaning ”room” are seldom used, they only mention parts of houses. Here, example (4) also illustrates the habit of describing the sold house with terms such as “roofed” and “built” etc., which was common in both Greek and demotic sales. In Greek this was formulated using participles, but in Egyptian a relative construction was used. The need to describe the object in that way, however, shows that the phraseology in Greek agoranomic contract was influenced by the demotic one (not likely to be vice versa, see below on the possessive article).

4) *P. Dublin* 1659, 6 (= Pestman 1977, text 8), 198 BCE, Djême (?)[41]

t3y=y	*ry.t*	*nty*	*ḳd*	*ḥbs*
PossArt.F-1sg	part/room.F	Rel	built	roofed

my room which is built and roofed[42]

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[33] *P.Stras.* II 90 (99 BCE, Hermias): ἐν τῇ μέσῃ μερίδι Παθύρεως

[34] *P.Stras.* II 86 (111 BCE, Ammonios): ἐν τῷ ἀπὸ λιβὸς μέρει Παθύρεως

[35] Consider, for example, (2) above; it says that Sales and Tanemieus sold a house, which was a part fallen into their possession. The end result, that the sold object was the house, is not altered if we leave out “the part fallen into their possession,” as their ownership of the house is implied already by the fact that they sell it.

[36] Manning 2003, 218–219.

[37] Manning 2003, 207: “The size of the plot of land in demotic conveyances is generally small and at times unspecified. Specification of the size of the plot was unnecessary to the legal rights being conveyed... Here the Egyptian tradition of private conveyance of property ... may have stood in opposition to the Ptolemaic fiscal system that required land to be measured in order to be taxed.”

[38] Different transliterations occur in editions, e.g., *tnj.t, dnj.t, tj.t, t᾽.t.* The Glossar of Erichsen (*EG,* 638f. s.v. *tnj.t*) gives the meanings “Teil, Anteil, Stück” and mentions that often it is used in the meaning of “Erbteil,” i.e. a share of inheritance. *CDD* (the letter *t* is not yet published): *tn(y)(.t)* “share.”

[39] *CDD*, s.v.

[40] I thank W. Clarysse for this clarification. Cf. also P. Turin 6081, 4: *ry.t mḥt.t* “in the northern part (of a house).”

[41] Transliteration of *CDD*.

[42] Pestman 1977: “Tu as satisfait mon coeur avec l'argent comme valeur (de) ma pièce qui est construite et couverte…”

5) *P. Ryl. Dem*. 19 6, 118 BCE, Pathyris

tw=k mty ḥ3ṯ=n n p3 ḥḏ n swn ***t3j=n***	***dny.t***	***1/3.t***	*n*	*3ḥ*	*qy*
	POSSART.F-1.PL	share.F	1/3.F	GEN	land	high

You have caused our hearts to agree to the silver of the price of **our 1/3 share of** high land

In (5), the possessive article (*t3j=n*) took its feminine gender from the noun "share" and the suffixed pronoun *-n* indicates the 1st person plural, the possessor.

This possessive article (*t3j=*) that often preceded the word "part" ("his/her/their part"), is a noteworthy feature. In my opinion, it correlates with the Greek participle of the verbs ὑπάρχω (belonging to him/her/them) and ἐπιβάλλω (to fall into one's possession). The participle of ὑπάρχω is very frequent in Greek sale contracts from Egypt.[43]

The Greek alternatives (3) A and B were based on partitive constructions, i.e. the genitive cases. However, as we saw above, frequent confusion occurs between the genitives and the accusatives. In demotic, the marker of a partitive structure / genitive was *n- / n-jm=*, which could orthographically also be left unwritten.[44] (In (5), it has been written). Furthermore, we may note that *the object* in the present tense clauses was normally introduced by the same marker *n / n-jm=*,[45] also present in (5) (*n p3 ḥḏ*). Therefore, if demotic Egyptian marked the genitive and the object with the same sign (which could be left out in writing), it could mean that the difference between the genitive and the accusative cases in Greek was not considered relevant, at least in this part of the contract, where several options with either genitives or accusatives were used in denoting the object of the sale.

Now, a few more examples from the Greek agoranomic contracts.

6) *BGU* III 999, 5–7 (99 BCE, *agoranomos* Hermias)

… ἀπὸ τῆς ὑπαρχούσης αὐτῷ οἰκίαν ᾠκοδομημένης καὶ ἐστεγασμένης τῆς οὔσης ἐν τῷ ἀπὸ νότου καὶ ἀπηλιώ(του) μέρει τῆς ἐν Παθύρει κρήνης τὸ ἐν τῷ ἀπὸ λιβὸς μέρει ὑπερῷν α′ καὶ τὸ ἐν ταυτῆς κ̣α̣τ̣άγα[ιο]ν

… from the built and roofed house belonging to him, being to the south and east of the Pathyris spring/well, one spare room/upper floor in the west part and the cellar in it [=house]

Example (6) can be compared with (1), both having been formed according to option (3) A, but here only one word, "house" is in the accusative instead of the genitive (οἰκίας), the participles all being (correctly) in the genitive. The genitive form for "house" would be correctly in agreement with the participles. In this contract the object is not the whole house, but the upper floor (ὑπερῷον) and the cellar, because in the tax receipt[46] this sale is said to concern "half of a house" (ἥμισυ [οἰκ(ιας]). It is possible that here, as well

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[43] It would be interesting to see whether it also appears elsewhere or is it only typical of the administrative Greek in Egypt (in which case it could be a translation loan from Egyptian contracts). However, this issue cannot be addressed in the present study.

[44] Simpson 1996, 65.

[45] Johnson 2000, 38.

[46] The tax receipt of *BGU* III 999 was written on the same papyrus as the sale contract itself, but it was written by the tax officials and was a separate document.

as in (1), the writer wanted to emphasize the "mental object"; the house, right where it is mentioned for the first time by using the normal case of the object (the accusative) although grammatically the house belongs to the prepositional phrase that needs a genitive. A similar tendency to use the accusative for the object and the nominative for the subject of the sentence despite the overall syntax (even if only in one word) is apparent in other parts of different documents, too.[47] It is also possible that the writer simply confused what form was genitive and what was accusative because the genitive form was used later in *BGU* III 999, line 8, where in fact an accusative is needed.[48] However, the notaries usually formed the inflected forms correctly.

7) *P.Grenf.* II 35, 6–7 (98 BCE, *agoranomos* Hermias)
... ἀπὸ τῆς ὑπαρχούσης αὐτοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς παστοφόριον ὠκοδομημένον καὶ δεδοκωμένην καὶ τεθυρωμένην [location][49] τὸ ἐπιβάλλον αὐτοῖς μέρος τέταρτον...

…of the *pastophorion* belonging to him and (his) brothers that has been built and furnished with rafters and doors … the fourth part that has fallen into their possession

In (7), again option (3) A, the sold object is a fourth part of a *pastophorion*, a neuter noun as a contrast to the usual feminine nouns (house and land). The participle in the beginning, however, is feminine which probably tells us of the working methods of the scribes (copying from previous documents or a model using the common feminine version or using memorized forms). The noun *pastophorion* together with its participial modifiers are in the accusative case instead of the genitive case, which would agree with the prepositional phrase. It is interesting that the gender in the first two participial modifiers of *pastophorion* are in the neuter, but the two following ones are in the feminine. The writer again jumps to the feminine gender, the commonest version of the phrase. In this example, however, the accusative case is maintained throughout with the participles, so if he was following a model with both the beginning participle and the later modifiers, the model was wrong or not the same. Using memorized forms may well have resulted in the dominance of the more common feminine forms. Here, again, we can also see the dominance of the accusative case in denoting the object.

Conclusion

Out of the four examples from the Greek agoranomic contracts used in this article, three were written in the name of Hermias, the fourth was in the name of Heliodoros. In my dissertation more examples are presented but Hermias is still the dominating figure, whether in relation to the object of the sale or some other linguistic structure. In part this is simply due to the fact that the majority of the preserved texts are Hermias', but partly

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[47] Vierros 2011, Chapter 6.

[48] λιβὸς ῥύμη ἐφ᾽ ὧν ὔξει τὴν θύραν εἰς τὸ Ὀρσηοῦς οἰκίας (read: οἴξει and acc. τὴν ... οἰκίαν). It is odd to have the definite article in the neuter (unless there is some neuter word left out, e.g. εἰς τὸ κατάγαιον Ὀρσηοῦς οἰκίας). The genitive form of the demonstrative pronoun with the preposition ἐν should also be dative (ἐν ταύτῃ).

[49] The location: ἐν τῷ ἀπὸ ν[ότ]ου μέρει τοῦ ἐν Παθύρει ἱεροῦ ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου.

it is also because his Greek shows grammatical variation more often than the texts of the other notaries.

If only the contracts of the other notaries had been preserved, but not Hermias', it would be easy to overlook the few examples of incongruence between the feminine accusatives and genitives in denoting the object of the sale as miscellaneous. The abundance of variation introduced by Hermias' texts forces us to examine the phenomenon more closely and analyze the differences in the phraseology used in denoting the object. It also encourages us to compare the phrases with Egyptian ones, since other features in Hermias' texts already clearly exhibited transfer from Egyptian.

On the other hand, if only Hermias' contracts had survived, these features would have been regarded merely as belonging to his idiolect. Now the examples of transfer provided by one individual gave us the impetus to examine what the problem areas are and why. It cannot be a coincidence that the common phraseology is so similar in the Greek and in the demotic sale contracts, especially when the Greek phraseology contains elements that may be regarded as superfluous. The way of educating the Greek-writing officials from the small group of the literate scribal class must have, in the light of the documents from Pathyris, included a process where the Greek phraseology (not the basic formulary of the document type) was formed or modified by the scribes (the notariate) on the basis of their knowledge of such a document, i.e. the Egyptian documents. In other words, the fact that the phraseology is similar in both Greek and Egyptian documents cannot be regarded as a transfer feature of one notary, instead the scribal education and working methods provide a larger explanation for "phraseological transfer". In this article, this is shown by the phraseological use of "shares" and by the demotic possessive pronoun having a Greek participial equivalent. Also, the existence of so many different variants of the phrase denoting the object of a sale can be explained by this transfer, because in this particular expression Egyptian had markers that could be interpreted as genitives or as object markers (and the marking of the object in Greek is achieved by the accusative case). Undoubtedly the notaries knew which was meant (genitive or the object) in their native language, but when the same expression was used in Greek, it was perhaps not so clear which one to use (the genitive or the accusative).

However, without the idiolect and oddities of Hermias, this may not have become apparent, since obviously the Egyptian background in these phrases confused Hermias' pattern to such an extent that an extraordinary mish-mash was generated. The confusion in the notaries' language at this point probably has multiple causes, some of which were in effect at the same time. Hermias' other structures have shown that Greek and Egyptian formed a sort of interlanguage in his mind and he could not always separate the structures of these two languages; this may also have influenced the phrase denoting the object of the sale. However, because it was possible to formulate the phrase in at least four different ways, the working methods (memorizing and copying) could also have caused some confusion between the genitives and the accusatives. In my opinion, however, the working methods do not explain all instances of this confusion; their result would have been more stable, fossilized phrases.

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Latin Loanwords in Greek: A Preliminary Analysis

Eleanor Dickey

The study of Latin influence on Greek has a curious double existence.[1] To the vast majority of non-specialists it is an absurd concept, a contradiction in terms, or simply a slip of the pen for "Greek influence on Latin". But within the field of classical linguistics it is heavily trodden ground. In terms of book-length studies from the last half century alone, we have two dictionaries of Latin loanwords in the papyri, two books on Latinisms in inscriptions, at least three on Latinisms in literary authors, and at least three on other related topics.[2] Yet despite all this work, or perhaps even because of it, there is very little agreement on how much influence Latin really had on Greek.

Part of the problem is that there are several different kinds of influence under discussion. One is loanwords, that is, words borrowed outright from one language into another. In English, for example, the word "quorum" is a Latin loanword, as one can tell from its appearance. The loanword carries within it information that allows someone with little or no historical information on the interaction of two languages to state with confidence which language is the borrower and which the donor.

There are, however, also many other types of linguistic influence, and these are normally much more difficult to trace than loanwords.[3] A language can undergo morphological or syntactic influence, and even within the general category of lexical influence there are possibilities other than loanwords, such as calques or changes in the frequency of usage of particular expressions.[4] But because influences of such types do not have etymologies that make their origins obvious, it is often difficult to be certain which language is the source of a particular feature and which is the borrower. As a result, some people claim that many features of Roman-period and later Greek were caused by Latin influence, while others maintain that few or no features were so caused.[5]

Both sides in this debate tend to turn to loanwords to strengthen their points, because different types of influence often go together. That is, if there are many Latin loanwords in Greek, there are likely to be more examples of other types of influence than if there are very few such loanwords.[6]

The question of loanwords, therefore, is central to the entire question of Latin influence on Greek. How many Latin loanwords were there in ancient Greek? Various

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[1] I am grateful for the assistance of Philomen Probert and for the perceptive comments of all three of the volume's editors and both the anonymous referees.

[2] Papyri: Daris 1991; Cervenka-Ehrenstrasser 1996–; Inscriptions: García Domingo 1979; Kearsley and Evans 2001 (n.b. also Biville et al. 2008); Literature: Dubuisson 1985 (Polybius); Freyburger-Galland 1997 (Dio Cassius); Famerie 1998 (Appian) (n.b. also the appendices of Avotins 1989; Avotins 1992 on Justinian; Vaahtera 2001, 48–67 on historiography; Ward 2007 on Josephus); Other: Mason 1974; Hofmann 1989; Filos 2009.

[3] Cf. Thomason 2001, 91

[4] For the occurrence of these in antiquity see e.g. Nicolas 1996; Dubuisson 1985, 121–123.

[5] For an overview of the most prominent features sometimes claimed as Latinisms see Horrocks 2010, 128–132.

[6] The relationship between loanwords and other types of influence is of course more complex than this simplification suggests; see e.g. Thomason 2001, 59–98, esp. 70; Thomason and Kaufman 1988, 35–64.

answers to this question have been proposed. The largest number so far suggested is Viscidi's claim that he had found circa 2,900 Latin loanwords in Greek,[7] but there are two problems that make it difficult to accept Viscidi's figures. He never published a list of the words involved, so one must simply take his word for it that they are Latinate, and yet blind credulity is unwise in this subject. Moreover, he included words first attested in Greek as late as the 11th century,[8] and that chronological framework causes complications if what one is really interested in is ancient rather than Byzantine Greek.

The largest figure to be backed by a published corpus is that of Hofmann (1989), who produced a list of 1,730 words, all first attested in Greek before 600 AD. There are certain difficulties with Hofmann's corpus, including the omission of hundreds of words and the inclusion of some that are probably or certainly not from Latin, but nevertheless the figure of 1,730 can reasonably be taken as an approximate minimum.

At first glance this information seems to be the answer to the question of how many Latin loanwords there were in Greek, but in fact it is not, because there is a difficulty about the meaning of "loanword". In English, we normally use the term "loanword" to refer to a foreign word that has become part of the English language, such as "quorum"; we do not normally use it for foreign words that happen to be quoted in English. For example, this volume of essays constitutes an English text, but it contains many words with Latin and Greek rather than Germanic etymologies. If someone were to count the number of words of Latin or Greek origin that appear in this volume, irrespective of whether they were English words or Latin or Greek quoted in passing, and if he then were to attempt to use that figure as a basis for calculating the number of Latin and Greek loanwords in English, he would no doubt be criticized on the basis that many of the words in question are not actually loanwords. If I write, "The Latin for 'to sell' is *vendere*", does that make *vendere* a loanword in English?

Put that way, the question seems absurd. And yet the comprehensive collections of Latin "loanwords" in Greek are formed by a process precisely equivalent to this one: any Latin-derived word that appears in a Greek text is considered a Latin loanword and included.[9] Since a significant number of Greek authors wrote long works about Roman history and culture, they had occasion to mention a large number of Latin words, just as we do when we discuss Roman history and culture. Often these words appear in contexts where it is clear that the writer did not expect his audience to know them.[10]

It is in many ways unfortunate that the term "loanword" is traditionally used for talking about this group of words, because it gives a false impression of what these words are. Nevertheless, it is by now well established in the scholarly literature that in the context of ancient Greek, "Latin loanword" means "word of Latin etymology attested at least

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[7] Viscidi 1944, 2.

[8] Viscidi 1944, 1.

[9] "Latin-derived" traditionally includes not only words of originally Latin etymology, but also words originating in any other language that entered Greek via Latin. This group includes a significant number of Greek words that were borrowed into Latin and then borrowed back into Greek in a slightly different form or with a slightly different meaning; see e.g. Kramer 1992.

[10] E.g. Plut., *Romulus* 5.5 "τὴν δὲ πορθμείαν βηλατούραν καλοῦσιν"; *Lucullus* 37.6 "τὰς περιοικίδας κώμας, ἃς οὐίκους καλοῦσι"; *Antony* 59.8 "ὁ δὲ Σάρμεντος ἦν τῶν Καίσαρος παιγνίων παιδάριον, ἃ δηλίκια Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦσιν".

once in a Greek text".[11] This usage has two results. On the one hand it leads some people to think that Latin had a tremendous influence on the Greek vocabulary, because there were so many Latin loanwords.[12] On the other it leads a different group of people to think that Latin had little or no real influence on Greek, because from even a cursory glance at any one of the lists of "loanwords" it is obvious both that most of them never gained any widespread currency in the language and that most of them are confined to certain restricted semantic fields, such as discussions of Roman government and culture.[13]

One solution to this difficulty is to ignore literature completely and concentrate on Latin words in documentary Greek texts. One can for example find lots of Latin words in inscriptions, but the difficulty is that the inscriptions concerned are often official documents translated from Latin, so it is hard to be sure whether the words concerned were ever used by actual Greek speakers.[14] As a result, over the last few decades there has been an increased tendency to concentrate on Latin words found in Greek papyri. The use of papyri is attractive for several reasons. Evidence is abundant, since Latin words are very common in the papyri: the largest dictionary of Latin words in the papyri (Daris 1991) lists over 1,600 different words, and it is far from complete. Additionally, papyri are less likely than inscriptions to be translated from Latin and less likely than literary texts to contain lengthy descriptions of Roman history and culture. But papyri pose other problems. In the first place the contexts, or even the Latinate words themselves, are often fragmentary and/or abbreviated, so that it can be difficult to be certain how or even whether a given word is used. In the second place some papyri were not written by native speakers of Greek; in fact some were clearly written by Romans whose competence in Greek was limited. Latin words in such documents are like English words inserted in a French sentence by an English speaker vacationing in France: such usage does not make them part of the French language. And because so many papyri are incomplete, often it is difficult to establish that the document in which a given Latin word occurs was written by and for Greek speakers. Worse, even documents written by and for Greek speakers may involve speakers who were bilingual in Greek and Latin and engaged in code-switching; that is, switching between two different languages in the same utterance. Code-switching can result in the use of a single Latin word in an otherwise Greek sentence, and thus the result can be indistinguishable from a genuine loanword if one has no other information on the status of the word in question.[15]

Nevertheless, collections of Latin loanwords in the papyri take the same inclusive approach to the meaning of "loanword" as the collections that include literary material. If a word has a Latin etymology and occurs in a Greek papyrus, it is considered a Latin loanword, regardless of how, why, or how many times it is used. The result is that the vast majority of the words in such dictionaries are very rarely attested and were probably not "loanwords" in the sense that that term is normally used in English. Certainly this

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[11] See e.g. the use of *Lehnwörter* in the title of Cervenka-Ehrenstrasser 1996–. Hofmann (1989, i) states clearly that the words in his corpus are not all "loanwords" in the normal usage of the term.

[12] Cf. e.g. Browning 1983, 40; Kahane and Kahane 1982, 129; Hillhorst 1976, 45.

[13] Cf. e.g. Coleman 2007, 799; Daris 1991, 17–18.

[14] See e.g. Sherk 1969.

[15] On code-switching and its relationship to borrowing see e.g. Adams 2003, 18–29; Clyne 2003, esp. 70–76; Nivens 2002, esp. 5–9; Thomason 2001, 131–136; Milroy and Muysken 1995, esp. 190–191; Romaine 1995, 120–180. Code-switching between Greek and Latin is well attested in antiquity; See e.g. Adams 2003, 297–416; Swain 2002.

comprehensive approach has advantages, but it also has the same disadvantages that the comprehensive approach has when applied to literary material. That is, the results can be taken either as evidence that Latin loanwords were very common in Roman-period Greek, or as evidence that most of the "loanwords" were peripheral items and never gained any widespread currency.

So legitimate questions persist about the extent to which there really were Latin loanwords in Greek, in the normal sense of "loanword". What is needed to resolve them is a different kind of study, one that instead of looking at all the Latin words attested in Greek considers only the ones that really did become loanwords in ancient Greek.

But what does it mean to say that a word really did become a loanword? It is easy to say that *vendere* is not an English word, but it is a good deal trickier to identify what criteria can establish that a word of non-English origin has become an integrated loanword and is now really part of the English language. A variety of possibilities exist. For example, most of us mark foreign words in our written English by putting them in italics or, in the case of Greek or another language with a different alphabet, by switching alphabets. This criterion is, however, unusable for identifying foreign words in Greek texts, as the ancients had not yet invented italics, and except in very rare circumstances the Greeks always transliterated foreign text into their own alphabet, even when the text concerned was a passage rather than a single word.[16] Another possibility for identifying integrated loanwords is that normally used by Scrabble players, who take the presence of a word in an English dictionary to be proof that it is an English word. Unfortunately, as any Scrabble player knows, different dictionaries produce considerably different results, and moreover the dictionary criterion simply moves the problem onto someone else: how is the dictionary editor to decide which words are English and which are foreign? In any case, as we have observed, many Greek dictionaries take a comprehensive approach and simply include all words attested in Greek texts.

The criteria most often used by linguists to identify loanwords are frequency and integration.[17] Both these criteria are relative rather than absolute – any cutoff point in terms of number of uses or degree of integration is bound to be arbitrary – and therefore many linguists believe that there can be no absolute distinction between foreign words and loanwords.[18] It is nevertheless generally agreed that the two phenomena are different even if it is impossible to draw a completely non-arbitrary line between them.

Frequency is a simple concept, but its application is complex: one needs to decide not only what absolute number of occurrences counts as "frequent", but also which occurrences count as distinct for the purpose of calculating that figure. Should one lump together all occurrences in a particular text, a particular writer, or a particular archive of papyrus letters? Integration, on the other hand, is complex even as a concept. A word can be integrated in many different ways, such as phonologically, morphologically, and

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16 Cf. Rochette 1997, 290–291.

17 On loanwords and their identification and classification see e.g. Clyne 2003, 73, 142–152; Myers-Scotton 2002, esp. 234–245; Poplack and Sankoff 1984; Deroy 1980 (in addition to the works cited in n. 15 above).

18 Clyne 2003, 73. In fact what linguists are discussing when they make such statements is whether there is a firm distinction between code-switches and loanwords, and insufficient attention is often given to the type of foreign word that is not a code-switch but a clearly labelled foreign term that is the subject of discussion, such as *vendere* in my example above. Thus Clyne (2003, 246 n. 15) even equates the distinction between "borrowing" and "code-switching" to an "earlier distinction" between "loanwords" and "foreign words".

semantically.[19] To complicate matters further, it is not always possible to know exactly how a Latin word has been altered in the process of borrowing into Greek, since it is not always clear what its original form was. Many Latin words were borrowed into Greek not from the literary language, but from the type of Latin conveniently but imprecisely labelled "vulgar", and often we have less evidence for the vulgar Latin form of a word than for its literary form.

Furthermore, some types of integration are standard in Greek even for Latin words clearly marked as foreign rather than loanwords.[20] For example, Latin nouns and adjectives almost always appear in Greek not with Latin endings, but with the endings appropriate to the equivalent declension in Greek: *-us* becomes -ος, *-um* becomes -ον, *-am* becomes -αν, etc.[21]

In fact, before one uses criteria such as integration and frequency it is necessary to look at the contexts in which the term under consideration is used. As observed above, some contexts make it clear that a word is *not* part of the writer's language, by labelling it as a Latin word and/or by explaining what it means and thereby indicating that readers are assumed not to know the word's meaning. Even if we have dozens of attestations of a Latin word in Greek, and even if in all those occurrences it has a Greek ending and is nicely integrated into the syntax of a Greek sentence, the word was not part of the Greek language if in all those occurrences it is defined and/or labelled as a Latin word. At the same time, some contexts make it equally clear that a word *is* really part of the Greek language. Consider example 1:

1) κοχλιάριον· τοῦτο λίστρον Ἀριστοφάνης ὁ κωμῳδοποιὸς λέγει· καὶ σὺ δὲ οὕτως λέγε. (Phrynichus, *Eclogae* 292)

Κοχλιάριον: Aristophanes the comic poet calls this λίστρον; and you should too!
(spoon; Latin *cochleare*)

This comment comes from Phrynichus, who was concerned to help readers eliminate post-classical words from their vocabulary and replace them with words attested in authors of the fifth century BC. Here he advises readers who need a word for "spoon" to avoid the Latinism κοχλιάριον and to use instead the classical Attic λίστρον. This advice tells us that for most speakers in the second century AD, κοχλιάριον had replaced

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[19] Clyne (2003, 142–145) divides integration into three aspects, each with multiple further subdivisions: type of integration (e.g. semantic, phonological, morphological, prosodic, tonemic, graphemic), degree of integration (e.g. high, medium, low), and stability of integration (e.g. a fully stable word is the one regularly used for that concept in the borrowing language, completely replacing any earlier terms that may have existed).

[20] Different languages tolerate unintegrated foreign words to different extents, and Greek seems in general to have had a very low tolerance for such forms, perhaps in part because it is easier to use a word in a Greek sentence when the word has a recognizable case-ending. Additionally, the obvious similarities between Latin and Greek made Latin words much easier to adapt to Greek than for example Hebrew words, which are less likely to be given Greek endings.

[21] See n. 10 above for some examples. On the different adaptations of Latin loanwords made in the process of integration into Greek, see e.g. Viscidi 1944, 5–10; Cavenaile 1952; Sallés Verdaguer 1977; and now the excellent study by Filos 2009. The issue of integration is additionally complex because as contact between two languages becomes more intense, speakers of the borrowing language become more familiar with the phonological and other features of the donor language, and therefore less adaptation occurs in such borrowing than in borrowing between two languages with little contact; lack of adaptation can therefore be a sign of intense contact as well as a sign of an unintegrated foreign word; see e.g. Thomason 2001, 73.

λίστρον as the normal word for 'spoon': if it had not been in common use Phrynichus would not have bothered to censure it. Something very similar happens in example 2:

2) τὰς δὲ καλουμένας πατέλλας λεκανίδας ὀνομαστέον, εἰ καὶ ἐξ ἀργύρου εἶεν·Θεόπομπος μὲν γὰρ ὁ κωμικὸς εἴρηκεν ὀρνιθίων λεκάνην ... (Pollux, *Onomasticon* 6.85–6.86)

One ought to use the word λεκανίς for what is generally called πατέλλα, even if it's made of silver; for Theopompus the comic poet said "dish of birds"...
(dish; Latin *patella*)

Here again the censured word is clearly the one that was in normal use in the second century AD, and once more this provides us with good evidence that the word was a real integrated loanword, no longer a foreign term, at this period. Even if these two passages were the only surviving occurrences of these words in Greek (which is not by any means the case), it would still be clear that the words discussed were integrated loanwords in Greek, not foreign words that just happen to be quoted in a Greek text.

Both these passages come from scholarly literature, a genre that has so far been seriously under-exploited in discussions of Latin influence on Greek. Even when scholarly writers do not condemn the use of a Latin loanword, they may reveal its currency in other ways, as for example when they use it to define a classical term. Such use of Latin loanwords in definitions occurs in passages 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7, and in every case the implication is that the classical word was obsolete and no longer familiar to readers, while the Latin loanword had taken its place in common speech.

3) ἀργυροθήκη, τὸ νῦν ἀργεντάριον καλούμενον· παρὰ Διοκλεῖ· ἔστι δὲ οὗτος τῆς ἀρχαίας κωμῳδίας ποιητής. ([Herodian], *Philetaerus* 194)

Ἀργυροθήκη is the thing now called ἀργεντάριον; the word is found in Diocles, and he is a poet of Old Comedy.
(bank; Latin *argentaria*)

4) πολυσχιδὲς τὸ νῦν στρικτόν. ἐμβάδες δὲ τὰ ὑφ' ἡμῶν καλίγια ... (Scholion to Lucian, *Rhetorum praeceptor* 15)

Πολυσχιδές is what is now called στρικτόν. And ἐμβάδες are what we call καλίγια.
(types of footwear; Latin *strictus* and *caliga*)

5) ἐσχάραν· τὴν νῦν καλουμένην ἄρουλαν. (Scholion on Aristophanes, *Acharnians* 888a)

Ἐσχάρα is the thing now called ἄρουλα.
(brazier; Latin *arula*)

6) οἰνοχόος· ὁ πιγκέρνης. (Hesychius o 346 Latte)

Οἰνοχόος means πιγκέρνης.
(bar-keeper; Latin *pincerna*)

7) ἐπιπορπὶς δὲ ἡ περόνη, ἡ λεγομένη φίβλα. (Scholion on Callimachus, *Hymn* 2.32)

And ἐπιπορπίς is a pin, the thing called φίβλα.
(safety pin; Latin *fibula*)

In example 8 something slightly different happens. This is a discussion of spelling, in which it is necessary to distinguish two words that would have sounded identical in Roman-period Greek pronunciation but that were spelled differently. The distinction is made by glossing the meanings of each word, and in one case the gloss thus provided is a Latin loanword. In this case the passage does not show that the classical word was obsolete and had been replaced by the loanword. Nevertheless it does show that the Latin word had become sufficiently common in Greek to be usable as a gloss: the author assumed that it would be widely understood.

8) ἰστέον καὶ τοῦτο· κατοικία, μετοικία, ἀποικία, συνοικία, ἀγροικία, παροιμία, καὶ οἰκία, τὸ ὀσπίτιον, δίφθογγον, καὶ ἰῶτα· οἰκεία δέ, ἡ πατρίς, καὶ οἰκεία, ἡ ἰδία, δίφθογγα τὰ δύο. ([Herodian], *Partitiones* p. 223 Boissonade)

And one needs to know this too: κατοικία, μετοικία, ἀποικία, συνοικία, ἀγροικία, παροιμία, and οἰκία, the one that means ὀσπίτιον, are written with a diphthong [in the antepenultimate syllable] and an iota [in the penultimate syllable]. But the οἰκεία that means "fatherland" and the οἰκεία that means "personal" have diphthongs in both syllables.
(house; Latin *hospitium*)

The term at issue here is one of the best-known Latin loanwords in Greek, because eventually it replaced the classical words for "house": the modern Greek word for 'house' is σπίτι, descendant of Latin *hospitium*. The question of usage in modern Greek is of course a very important one for determining the status of "loanwords" in ancient Greek. Survival into modern languages is often considered the gold standard of a word's vitality in an ancient language, because only words that were genuinely in common use survived.[22] Thus on the rare occasions when scholars have asked themselves which of the "loanwords" claimed for ancient Greek were really part of the language, they have normally turned to modern Greek for the answer.[23]

There are, however, two difficulties with simply using attestation in modern Greek to demonstrate integration in ancient Greek. The first is that modern Greek contains a significant number of Latin-derived words that entered the language after the end of antiquity. Medieval Latin words were sometimes borrowed into Byzantine Greek, because Latin was widely used as an international diplomatic and scholarly language in Western Europe.[24] Thus the fact that a Latin word is found in modern Greek does not by itself guarantee that that word was ever part of ancient Greek.

The other difficulty works in the opposite direction. As languages evolve there is a constant, if slow, process of vocabulary change; some old words are always disappearing and some new ones emerging. Many words that were part of English in the time of

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[22] Cf. Shipp 1979.

[23] Cf. e.g. Meyer 1895; Viscidi 1944, 58; Coleman 2007, 795–796.

[24] Cf. Kahane and Kahane 1982, 151.

Shakespeare have since dropped out of ordinary usage, not because they were not fully integrated into the language four hundred years ago, but in spite of the fact that they were so integrated. Some of the words concerned are of Germanic origin, but others are non-Germanic and therefore loanwords in English. There is no evidence that etymology affects survival rates or that a word of foreign origin is more likely to be retained than a native word; hence there is no reason to assume that every loanword that became fully assimilated into ancient Greek has survived into modern Greek.[25]

The first systematic attempts to record the modern Greek descendants of ancient Latin loanwords were undertaken in the 19th century,[26] and the time span that separates the nineteenth century from the end of antiquity is more than three times the distance that separates us from Shakespeare. Many ancient Greek words of impeccably Greek etymology flourished in the Roman period but have since gone out of use, and thus it would be very surprising if every loanword that was common in the Roman period had survived into modern Greek. So one cannot assume that lack of attestation in modern Greek necessarily means lack of integration into ancient Greek.

These two problems do not, of course, mean that modern Greek is no help at all. If a loanword is attested in both ancient and modern Greek, the chances are excellent that it was genuinely a part of the language in antiquity. But even this type of situation does not provide a certain guarantee of integration. For example, if a word is attested in antiquity, but only in contexts that make it clear that readers are not expected to know what it means, then even if it is attested in modern Greek it was probably not an integrated loanword in antiquity; most likely it became an integrated loanword at a later stage. Thus modern Greek usage alone cannot separate the real ancient loanwords from the non-integrated foreign terms; it is essential to pay attention to modern Greek, but equally essential to look closely at ancient usage.

Another way of examining ancient usage that is sometimes overlooked in this context is observing how Latin words are used in texts known to have been written by and for Greek speakers who did not know Latin. Some examples of the sort of words one finds in such texts are given in examples 9 through 12, where Latin-derived words appear in texts definitely written by Greek speakers, in contexts that make it clear that the author expected readers to know what they meant.

9) δυνάμεις τε οὐ τὰς τυχούσας ὁ θεὸς ἐποίει διὰ τῶν χειρῶν Παύλου, ὥστε καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀσθενοῦντας ἀποφέρεσθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ χρωτὸς αὐτοῦ σουδάρια ἢ σιμικίνθια καὶ ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι ἀπ᾽ αὐτῶν τὰς νόσους, τά τε πνεύματα τὰ πονηρὰ ἐκπορεύεσθαι. (New Testament, Acts 19: 11–12)

God performed extraordinary miracles through the hands of Paul, so that even when the handkerchiefs or aprons that had touched his flesh were brought to the sick, their diseases left them and the evil spirits departed.
(Latin *sudarium, semicinctum*)

10) τότε ἀπέλυσεν αὐτοῖς τὸν Βαραββᾶν, τὸν δὲ Ἰησοῦν φραγελλώσας παρέδωκεν ἵνα σταυρωθῇ. (New Testament, Matthew 27: 26)

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[25] Kahane and Kahane (1982) trace the disappearance of various types of Latin loanwords between antiquity and modern times; they assume the presence of too many real loanwords at the beginning of this process, but nevertheless their analysis of the process itself is useful.

[26] E.g. Meyer 1895.

Then he released Barabbas to them, and having whipped Jesus he handed him over to be crucified.
(Latin *flagellare*, cf. modern Greek φραγγελλώνω; note the borrowing of a verb here)

11) σχολαστικὸς βράκας ἀγοράσας, ἐπ‹ε›ὶ δὲ στενὰς οὔσας μόγις ὑπεδύσατο, ἐδρωπακίσατο. (*Philogelos* 64)

A learned simpleton, having bought a pair of trousers, when he could scarcely get them on because they were too tight, applied a depilatory.
(Latin *bracae*;[27] cf. modern Greek βράκα)

12) σχολαστικὸς βιβλίον αὐτοῦ ἐπιζητῶν ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας καὶ μὴ εὑρίσκων, ὡς κατὰ τύχην μαρούλια ἤσθιεν, ἐπιστραφεὶς ἐπί τινος γωνίας εἶδε κείμενον τὸ βιβλίον. ὕστερον δὲ φίλῳ ἀπαντήσας ὀδυρομένῳ, ὡς τὴν στολὴν τῶν ἱματίων αὐτοῦ ἀπολέσαντι· Μὴ δυσφόρει, ἔφη, ἀλλὰ μαρούλια ἀγοράσας καὶ ἐσθίων αὐτὰ πρὸς τὴν γωνίαν ἐπιστραφεὶς πρόσσχες, καὶ εὑρήσεις αὐτά. (*Philogelos* 16)

A learned simpleton had looked for a book of his for several days without finding it, when by chance he was eating lettuce, and going around some corner he saw the book lying there. Afterwards when he met a friend who was upset because he had lost his garment, he said, "Don't worry, but buy some lettuce and keep going around corners while eating it, and you'll find it".
(Latin *amarus*, cf. modern Greek μαρούλι)

By using evidence of this sort it is possible to distinguish actual loanwords from foreign words mentioned in passing. Assembling a collection of all the Latin "loanwords" listed in the various comprehensive collections and eliminating those whose claim to be considered is dubious,[28] I am using evidence from the contexts in which the words are used (along with evidence from modern Greek and from phonological and morphological adaptations) to determine which were genuine loanwords. Although this process is not yet complete, a preliminary analysis suggests that approximately one-third of the words in this collection were integrated loanwords. Of the other two-thirds, many are clearly foreign words, while some may have been actual loanwords for whose status adequate evidence is now lacking.

This result yields a corpus of more than 600 integrated loanwords, which can be used to conduct tentative investigations of the characteristics that such loanwords share. Of course such investigations cannot be regarded as definitive until the corpus on which they are based is complete, but the results so far are sufficiently striking to warrant disclosure: many generalizations that have repeatedly been made about Latin "loanwords" in Greek are accurate observations about the larger collections but do not seem to apply to the corpus of integrated loanwords.

One such oft-repeated generalization concerns the restriction of "loanwords" to a few semantic fields of peripheral importance ("nonbasic vocabulary" in the terminology

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[27] Kramer (1996) has disputed the generally accepted view that this word (originally Germanic, but borrowed by the Gauls and from them again by the Romans) is a Latin loan in Greek.

[28] I.e. words first attested after 600 AD, proper names, words whose source language is probably not Latin, and words that are not really separate entities but rather variant spellings of other words in the corpus. The initial collection of alleged Latin loans contains 2,407 words and is reduced by these restrictions to 1,856 words.

of language-contact studies).[29] Thus Dubuisson[30] has observed, "*Les emprunts que le grec a faits au latin ... n'ont pas atteint également les différents domaines du lexique ni les divers niveaux de langue: ils concernent avant tout les secteurs militaire et administratif*." Similarly Brixhe[31] remarks, "*Naturellement les sphères touchées sont essentiellement celles qui concernent la politique, la justice et l'armée*." These generalizations are backed by a good deal of evidence: in a comprehensive collection of Latin "loanwords" in Greek the overwhelming majority of words do indeed fall into such semantic fields.

In the corpus of integrated loanwords, however, the distribution of semantic fields is very different. Words related to the military, politics, administration, and law are not infrequent in that corpus, but they are by no means the overwhelming majority. For example, none of the words in the passages quoted above come from such semantic fields; instead we have words meaning "spoon", "dish", "bank", "shoe", "brazier", "bar-keeper", "safety pin", "house", "handkerchief", "apron", 'whip", "trousers", and "lettuce". These illustrate some of the semantic fields notable in the corpus of integrated loanwords: words for clothing, household implements, eating utensils, food, and various types of shops and shopkeepers. Others are words for animals, colors, and units of measurement. These are not restricted semantic fields: these are common, everyday concepts, in some cases what linguists refer to as "basic vocabulary".[32] And in the typology of language contact, the difference between borrowing of basic and nonbasic vocabulary holds important implications for what other types of linguistic influence are likely to have occurred.[33]

Furthermore, it is hard to find semantic fields in which Latin loanwords do *not* make their presence felt. Even in that sacred preserve of Greek culture, literature, Latin loans intrude in the form of words such as κῶδιξ 'book' (from Latin *codex* and first attested in the fourth century AD), τίτλος 'title' (from Latin *titulus* and first attested in the first century AD), μεμβράνα 'parchment' (from Latin *membrana* and first attested in the first century AD), and ταβέλλα 'writing tablet, note' (from Latin *tabella* and first attested in the first century AD).

Another common observation about Latin loanwords is that most of them entered Greek at a late date, usually from the fourth to the sixth centuries.[34] Again this generalization is an accurate description of the words found in a comprehensive collection, but it does not apply to the corpus of integrated loanwords. If one takes one of the traditional comprehensive collections and counts the number of words that first appear in each century, it is indeed the case that well over half first appear in the late antique period (defined as the fourth century and later); for example in Daris's dictionary of Latin words in the papyri 64 % of the words listed first appear in or after the fourth

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[29] E.g. Thomason 2001, 70.

[30] Dubuisson 1992, 234.

[31] Brixhe 1987, 107.

[32] The presence of words of this type among the Latin loanwords has been observed before, of course (e.g. Cavenaile 1951, 403–404; Adams and Swain 2002, 17), but their numbers are usually taken to be insignificant in comparison to the mass of terminology in the peripheral fields.

[33] Cf. Thomason 2001, 70.

[34] See Mason 1974, 3, 11–12; Dubuisson 1985, 140; Dickey 2003.

century.[35] Nearly all the remainder (30 % of the total in Daris's corpus) first appear in the second or third centuries, with only a tiny number first appearing before the second century AD.

In my corpus of integrated loanwords, however, the chronological distribution is notably different. There is a significantly higher percentage of words first appearing in the earlier centuries and a significantly lower percentage first appearing later, as illustrated in Fig. 1.[36] The crossover point is the third century AD, when the percentages in the two corpora are roughly even. In my corpus, the centuries before the third all have a higher percentage of new Latin words appearing: a total of 46 % of all the words in my corpus first appear in those centuries, as opposed to only 21 % of all the words in Daris's corpus. But the centuries after the third century all have a lower percentage of new Latin words appearing in my corpus: only 41 % of all the words in my corpus first appear in those centuries, as opposed to 64 % of the words in Daris's corpus.

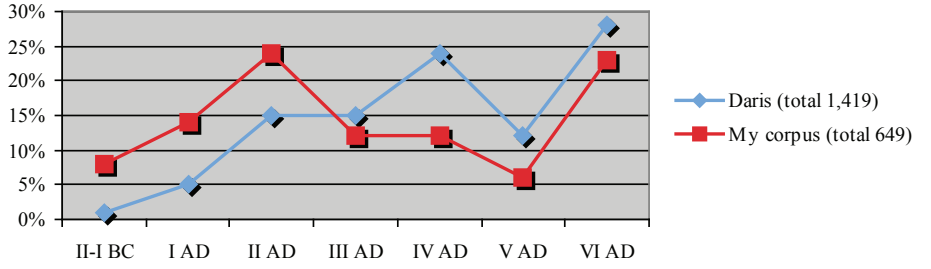

Fig. 1. Dates of first attestations of Latin loanwords in different corpora, as indicated by the percentage of words in each corpus that are first attested in each century.

Suggestions about the reasons for these differences can at this stage only be speculative: that level of analysis needs to be conducted not on the basis of preliminary figures, but rather on the basis of a finalized and fully investigated corpus.[37] In particular one would want to know more about the words that account for the differences, both those that appear in my corpus and those that do not: it may be that the reason for these differences lies more in the characteristics of the foreign words than in the characteristics of the integrated loanwords. For example, it could be that the third-century crossover point in Fig. 1 is connected to the tendency (observed by Rochette 1997, 13) for ordinary

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[35] In making this calculation I omit words first attested in the seventh and eighth centuries, in order to make Daris's collection comparable with my corpus of integrated loanwords, which includes only words attested before 600 AD. If those words were not omitted the figure would be 69 %. The raw numbers are II–I BC: 12, I AD: 65, II AD: 210, III AD: 218, IV AD: 343, V AD: 174, VI AD: 397 (VII AD: 144, VIII AD: 88). First attestations are defined as the first attestation listed by Daris, though some words in his collection are now known to have earlier attestations.

[36] Raw numbers for figure 1 are for my corpus: II–I BC: 52, I AD: 92, II AD: 157, III AD: 76, IV AD: 80, V AD: 41, VI AD: 151. All these figures are very provisional, as the corpus is not yet finalized. For raw figures for Daris's corpus see the preceding note (seventh and eighth centuries were again omitted).

[37] Among the ways that my corpus is not finalized is that it does not yet include all the loanwords in Filos (2009) and that I have not necessarily managed to find the first attestations of all the words in it, particularly when those are in inscriptions or papyri. The graph in figure 1 may well show a greater difference between the two corpora once I have identified all first attestations in those areas.

Greeks to take an interest in Latin only from the third century onwards. Perhaps there was an increase in code-switching in these later centuries.

The preliminary corpus is, however, sufficient to make clear the general characteristics of the real Latin loanwords in Greek; that is, the ones that became integrated into the language. And it is enough to show that the generalizations that have been made about Latin loanwords based on collections that consisted mostly of words never integrated into the language are systematically misleading in a number of ways. In the first place, Latin loanwords were not all rare words that did not become part of the language: in addition to the many Latin words quoted in passing by Greek authors, there is a solid group of real loanwords that became integrated into the language. In the second place, Latin loanwords were not confined to or even largely concentrated in a few peripheral areas of vocabulary; instead they were found in virtually all semantic areas including basic vocabulary. In the third place, Latin loanwords were not particularly a phenomenon of the late antique period; in fact more than half of all the Latin words that ever became integrated into ancient Greek first entered the language before the fourth century AD. What all this goes to show is that Latin influence was a more important factor in developing the lexicon of ancient Greek, and was important earlier, than has previously been acknowledged.

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Reflexes of Variations in Latin and Greek through neither Latin nor Greek Documentation: Names of Greek Religion and Mythology in the Languages of Ancient Italy*

Paolo Poccetti

Preliminary remarks

Generally speaking, every language mirrors the variations and diachronic changes of another language. These facts are usually the normal outcome of a contact situation. Basically, every borrowing of a grammatical, syntactical or lexical item represents a synchronic or diachronic variant of the original language. Very frequently synchronic stage and diachronic evolution interchange reciprocally, so that a diachronic variant of a language, when passing to another one, may become a synchronic variant of the latter or vice-versa.

In the ancient world we have, on the one hand, some major languages (in terms of the number of speakers and of the quantity and quality of evidence) and, on the other hand, a lot of minority languages (in terms of geographical extent, longevity, the number of speakers and the quantity of documentation). Not too differently from the modern world, minority languages progressively disappeared in the Roman Empire, absorbed by either Greek or Latin, which were then left as the two major languages in the eastern and western regions of the Mediterranean basin.

In fact, minority languages do not disappear altogether, but to different extents end up creating variations in the major languages which had absorbed them. Conversely, features of a minority language may arise as a result of the contact with the majority language. Thus, borrowings from varieties of a major language often become distinctive marks in minority languages. In turn, these borrowings may be the source of further variations when coming back to the original language or passing to another major language. This may bring about a circular process which is frequently identified by etymological investigation of the vocabulary of languages that are more or less closely connected by cultural contacts.

Within this general framework, names of mythology and religion represent a special case in linguistic contact; firstly because proper names belong to very particular domains situated at specific socio-cultural levels, secondly because they involve not only the major languages of Greco-Roman antiquity (namely Greek and Latin) but also other languages of the Ancient Mediterranean area. Notoriously, some languages of ancient Italy, especially Etruscan and Sabellian languages played a significant role in the transmission of Greek culture to the Roman world, mirrored by the epigraphic documentation which is relatively extensive both quantitatively and chronologically.

The arrival of the names from Greek mythology and religion into the languages of ancient Italy, and their diffusion have generally been considered from two main points of view: firstly, the itinerary of their transmission to western Mediterranean languages

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and secondly, the process of their adaptation to the morpho-phonological systems of the concerned languages.

Variations of these names, with respect to the Greek dialects from which they originate, are mostly assigned to the morpho-phonological changes found in the borrowing languages. But in several cases, borrowing languages adopted or developed variants that still existed in Greek independently. Sometimes variations of the original language coexisted within the system of the receiving language and were functionally distributed, with the result that these variants, in part, differentiate one language from another, and also produce new variations internal to each language. Linguistic contacts may also increase the range of variants.

Two groups of names that arrived in Latin, Etruscan and the Sabellian languages enable us to compare their different origins as well as the different treatments of these groups with regard to the Greek evidence: *Apollo, Artemis, Hercules* and *Pollux* on the religious side and *Achilles, Ulixes* and *Aiax* on the mythological-literary side. At the outset, it must be admitted that these names derive from sociolinguistic levels that are quite different from one another. Names such as *Achilles, Ulixes* and *Aiax,* which were strictly connected with the mythological tales and epic genre, are restricted to a circle of more or less cultivated persons, whereas names of deities such as *Apollo, Artemis, Hercules* and *Pollux* were more widespread amongst the common people, even if the diffusion of their cults was not uniform everywhere or at any one time. These god names were introduced into the languages of ancient Italy very early, but their different functions within the local religions resulted in certain terms becoming more popular than others. The popularity (or unpopularity) of these terms is then reflected in the linguistic evidence/record. The variants of the names of those deities are strictly connected with their considerable popularity, the diffusion of their worship, and the absorption of different religious features among linguistically different communities. For instance, in Roman Italy Apollo increasingly grew in importance as a symbol of political rule, probably replacing indigenous cults with the same function.[1] The names of *Pollux* (< Πολυδεύκης) and *Artemis* (< Ἄρτεμις) were almost ousted: the former, attested to in archaic Latin (*Podlouquei*)[2] and in Etruscan (*Pultuke*)[3], competed with other appellations of the twin gods Castor and Pollux, such as (the plural) *Castores* or translations of the epiclesis 'Zeus' sons' (*Dioskouroi*), whose literal translation can be found in the Etruscan *Tinascliniaras* and in the Sabellian *Ioues pucles*.[4] The latter was replaced by other goddess names such as *Diana* in Latin. *Hercules* became one of the most popular deities in ancient Italy as early as the archaic period: that is why Hercules' name provides us with the richest documentation, the largest evidence for variations, and the most problematic analysis.

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[1] For the Etruscan world, see Colonna 1996.

[2] *CIL* I² 2833; Vine 1993, 310.

[3] De Simone 1970, 46; 241–243.

[4] Lazzeroni 1971.

The names of Artemis and Demetra

Two main streams of Greek dialects; Ionic and Doric, are recognizable in the names of Artemis and Apollo in the languages of ancient Italy. Concerning Artemis' name, Etruscan epigraphy displays several variants, which can be partly assigned to different Greek dialects, and partly to evolutions peculiar to Etruscan. Thus, *Artumes* is likely to be related to the Doric form Ἄρταμις, whereas *Arθem* and *Aritimi* are to be linked to the Ionic Ἄρτεμις.[5] In this case, different methods and times of arrival of the Greek goddess' name into the languages of ancient Italy seem to correspond to different features of her cult,[6] as evidenced by various epiclesis (e.g. *Ifigeneia, Enodia, Facelitis*) as well as connections with different aspects of the human life (e.g. the agricultural way of life, hunting, pastoral and forest environments, moon cycles, relationship with the 'barbarian' world and the help for navigation).[7]

Artemis' name is not attested to either in the Sabellian languages or in Latin because, as stated above, the functions of this goddess were appropriated by various indigenous deities. Admittedly, her name was known amongst those Italic populations who were in closest contact with the Greek colonies of Magna Graecia. Especially in archaic times the goddess was worshipped in frontier sanctuaries on the boundaries between Greek colonial settlements and indigenous territories.[8] For instance, a perfectly Greek place name, Ἀρτεμίσιον, an appellation quite common in Greek world for a site named after a temple of Artemis is assigned by the early historian Hecataeus from Miletus (the sixth century BC) to the *Oinotroi*, a pre-Oscan population of Magna Graecia: Ἀρτεμίσιον πόλις Ὀινωτρῶν.[9] According to this information the Greek name was adopted by the *Oinotroi* for a settlement where the sanctuary of Artemis was located.

Two centuries later Philistus from Syracuse called the same settlement Ἀρτεμίτιον, as explicitly stated by Stephanus Byzantinus: Φίλιστος δὲ Ἀρτεμίτιον αὐτὴν (scil. πόλις Ὀινωτρῶν) καλεῖ.[10] Ἀρτεμίτιον with a restoration of τι instead σι results from a compromise between a purely Doric Ἀρταμίτιον (attested in Argos)[11] and a purely Ionic Ἀρτεμίσιον. However, Ἀρτεμίτιον is neither a fictitious formation, as it is found in an inscription of the Hellenistic period from a neighbourhood in Syracuse,[12] nor a dialectal feature of Philistus of Syracuse, who stylistically imitated Thukydides. Consequently the blended form Ἀρτεμίτιον is to be considered as a local variant replacing the purely Ionic Ἀρτεμίσιον before the spread of *koiné*, when a mixture of Doric and Ionic-Attic in South Italian Greek colonies like Croton or Sicily became quite common.[13]

Messapian evidence for Artemis' name is more problematic, depending on the interpretation of the inscription, where either *Artami hi* or *Artamihi* can be read.[14] In

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[5] De Simone 1970, 305, 310.

[6] This solution has also been suggested by Maras 2009, 123.

[7] See Montepaone 1999.

[8] Daverio Rocchi 1988.

[9] St. Byz. s.v. Ἀρτεμίσιον = *FGrH* 1 frg. 65 Jac.

[10] St. Byz. s.v. Ἀρτεμίσιον = *FGrH* 556 frg. 63 Jac.

[11] Schwyzer 1923, n. 83 B 7.

[12] Dubois 1989, n. 109, 14.

[13] Consani 1996, 115.

[14] *MLM* 21 Bas.

any event, both readings are of interest for the purposes of this article.[15] In the first interpretation, *Artami* has been understood to be a dative singular corresponding to the inflection of the Doric form Ἄρταμις after *-i*-stems (gen. -ιος; dat. -ι; acc. -ιμ) instead of the most common declension after consonantal stems, i.e. -ιδος / -ιτος.

The dative sing. form Ἄρταμι is attested to in Doric dialects, as evidenced by an inscription from Argos.[16] However, the Laconian city *Tarentum* which is assumed to have strongly influenced the neighbouring Messapian culture, at least officially adopted the inflection Ἀρτάμιτι (dat. sing.), which is documented as early as the archaic period up until Roman rule.[17] A bilingual Latin-Greek inscription[18] reveals the endurance of this inflection for the name of the goddess during the period of the *koiné*.[19] Consequently, if Messapian *Artami* is to be interpreted as the goddess' name in dative sing., such a form does not correspond to that officially used by the important Greek colony.

In the second alternative, *Artamihi* has been recognized as a personal name (in gen. sing.), arising from **Artamios*. But among Messapian personal names *Artemes* (nom. sing.)[20] based on **Artemios* is also found. Therefore, Messapian provides evidence for two distinct personal names: **Artemios* > *Artemes* and **Artamios* > *Artamihi.* Both variants point to a Greek origin, because Ἄρταμις and Ἄρτεμις are known as personal names, mostly used as a female name and more rarely as a male name. The relationship of the personal names to Artemis' name, which has been much debated falls outside the scope of this article.[21]

However, it is noteworthy that both variants of the personal name are attested to in Attic inscriptions: in particular in a curse tablet Ἄρταμιν (acc. sing.) alternates with Ἄρτεμιν.[22] If the personal name *Artemes* and the alleged one *Artamihi* are to be related to the Greek variants Ἄρταμις, Ἄρτεμις, we may conclude that slightly dialectal variants of a unique name in Greek produced two distinct names in Messapian. The set of variants of Artemis' name reflected by languages of ancient Italy may be illustrated through the following schema:

	Doric	Ionic	Blending form
Etruscan	*Artumes*	*Aritimi*	
Messapian	*Artami*(*hi*) (poss. personal name)	*Artemes* (pers. name)	
South Italian – Greek	Ἀρτεμίσιον (place name)		Ἀρτεμίτιον (place name)

Fig. 1. Artemis' name.

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15 Reading *Artamihi* as the goddess'name was supported by Pagliara 1981, 213; Santoro 1984, 141–145; Santoro 1988, 77. Reading *Artami hi* was suggested by De Simone 1992, 8.

16 *IG* IV 577.

17 Arena 1998, T11.

18 *CIL* I² 1696 = *ILLRP* 86.

19 See Cassio 2002, 464.

20 *MLM* 7 Cae.

21 See Masson 1993.

22 *IG* III, 3 App. 75; see Threatte 1996, 105–106.

A further variation with respect to Greek can be found in Messapian, and concerns the name of Demetra. Messapian is the only language in ancient Italy which borrowed the Greek name of the goddess. In other Italic cultures the goddess was syncretised with other divinities, mainly *Ceres* in the Sabellian speaking area and in the Roman world. In Messapian, Demetra's name is inserted in the declension of *-ā* stems, based upon the Doric form, probably received from the Laconian colony *Tarentum*: *Damatra* (nom.) *Damatras* (gen.).[23] However, the regular declension following consonantal stems, i.e. Δαμάτηρ / Δάματρος, is preserved in the Greek epigraphy of Magna Graecia: this form occurs repeatedly in a sanctuary of the Tarantinian colony Heraclea[24] as well in Ionic colonies.[25] Nevertheless, it is not necessary to assume that such a metaplasm took place in Messapian,[26] because the same is also found in Greek.[27] Moreover Δημήτρα in the place of Δημήτηρ is not a recent innovation,[28] insomuch as it is documented by Plato[29] and by inscriptions preceding the Hellenistic period.[30] Thus, the Messapic borrowing can be derived from Δαμάτρα, a variation of Δαμάτηρ, which was surely widespread in Western Doric colonies as well.

The name of Apollo

Apollo's name provides us with the clearest example of the distribution of the Ionic form Ἀπόλλων and the Doric form Ἀπέλλων. Thus, the difference between Ἀπόλλων and Ἀπέλλων is a distinguishing feature between the two main branches of Italic languages. On the one hand, there is the Latin and Faliscan *Apollō*(*n*)[31] based upon the Ionic Ἀπόλλων and on the other hand, the Oscan *Appelluneís* (gen. sing.) derived from Doric Ἀπέλλων. The Ionic form is also reflected by the Etruscan *Apulu* from which a further Etruscan variant *Apalu* likely arises.[32] Compared to Oscan speaking populations, who borrowed Apollo's name from the Doric colonies of Magna Graecia, Etruscans are likely to have learnt about this cult from Ionic trade routes, as is shown by the regularly Ionic form Ἀπόλλων inscribed on Greek vases discovered in Etruscan trade harbours, such as Adria, Spina in Northern Italy and Pontecagnano in southern Italy.[33]

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[23] E.g. *MLM* 9, 14 Gn; 14 Bal; See also De Simone 1983, 178.

[24] See Sartori 1980; Sartori 1992.

[25] Such as from Catane in Sicily (Dubois 2008, n. 14), perhaps a votive offering by a foreign worshipper.

[26] As assumed by Santoro 1983, 51, who based the parallel with another goddess' names, such as *Aprodita* < Ἀφροδίτη. The same author, however, slightly changed his opinion (Santoro 1988, 83) arguing that "Messapian Damatra is remodelled after Greek Δαμάτρα".

[27] So rightly Giacomelli 1979, 29, 58.

[28] As alleged by Schwyzer 1968 I, 568 and repeated by Parlangeli 1960, 289.

[29] Plat. *Cra.* 404b.

[30] E.g. *IG* VII 2793.

[31] For the Faliscan evidence of *Apollonos* (gen. sing.) dating to the first quarter of the fifth century BC: *CIE* 8030; Bakkum 2009, n. 10.

[32] De Simone 1970, 10, 31, 168. The forms *Apalu* (not present in De Simone's work) and *Apulu* are convergent in deriving from Ἀπόλλων, because the vowels of both middle syllables (namely /a/ and /u/) should arise from /o/.

[33] Cf. Maras 2009, 139, n. 6. For the inscriptions from Adria and Spina see Dubois 1995, n. 70, n. 77a.

Such a distinction between Oscan, on the one hand, and Latin, Faliscan and Etruscan, on the other hand, was kept alive until the final stage of the history of each language. The latest documentation of *Apellun-*, consistent with Oscan documentation, is found in an inscription from Vestinian territory assigned to the first century BC in the Latin alphabet.[34] Here, in spite of the early Romanization of this region, the form *Apellun-* remained until the first century BC, thanks to the conservatism of religious language. In this regard, we should remember that in the same territory the law from the Latin temple at Furfo dating to 58 BC attests to the current use of a local month name (*Flusare*) alongside the Roman name *Quintilis*.[35] It is noteworthy that two small communities of central Italy, such as the Vestini and the Marsi, use different variants for Apollo's name. The Vestini adopted the Doric variant, which likely arrived from an Oscan speaking area, whilst two different forms are found in the region of the Marsi: a) the Ionic one, namely *Apols* (gen. sing.), to be restored *Apol*(*lini*)*s* or *Apol*(*lene*)*s* or *Apol*(*loni*)*s* or *Apol*(*lone*)*s*,[36] in accordance with both Latin and Etruscan evidence with respect to the internal vowel; b) a syncopated form, namely *Aplone* (dat. sing.),[37] parallel to the Etruscan variant with vowel syncope (i.e. *Aplu*).

Greek dialects display the following variants for Apollo's name: a) Doric dialects: Ἀπέλλων b) Cypriot: Ἀπείλων; c) Ionic dialects: Ἀπόλλων with regular vowel shortening in the vocative (Ἄπολλον) and in compounding (e.g. personal names Ἀπολλόδωρος, Ἀπολλόδοτος[38]; d) Thessalian dialect: Ἄπλουν. An awareness of the variations of Apollo's name among the ancient Greeks with regard to the internal vowels emerges from various etymological attempts to explain the god's name, as suggested in the passage of Plato's Kratylos[39], by referring to ἁπλοῦς, ἀεὶ βάλλοντος, ἀπολούοντος, ὁμοπολοῦντος. Furthermore, modern etymological studies of the god's name variously account for the alternations of the internal vowel.[40]

All data are illustrated in the following table:

	Ionic Ἀπόλλων	Doric Ἀπέλλων	Problematic cases
Latin	*Apollō*(*n*)		*Apellinem* (?)
Etruscan	*Apulu, Apalu*		*Aplu*
Marsian	*Apols*		*Aplone*
Faliscan	*Apolonos*		
Oscan		*Appelluneí*	
Vestinian		*Apellune*	

Fig. 2. Apollo's name.

34 Rix 2002, MV 10; Sommella 1995.

35 *CIL* I² 756 = *ILLRP* 508.

36 *CIL* I² 2387 = Rix 2002 VM 7: engraved on a small statue representing Hercules attributed to the region of *Marsi*.

37 Letta and D'Amato 1975, n. 129 bis = *CIL* I² 2873a = Rix 2002 VM 6.

38 See Rosól 2007, 224 ff.

39 Plat., *Cra*. 405c–406a.

40 See Rosól 2007, 220; Egetmeyer 2007, 214.

Apart from attestations of evident origin, either from Ionic or from Doric forms, there are some problematic cases.

In Latin, alongside the commonest Ionic form *Apollō*(*n*), a variant with Doric vocalism *Apellō*(*n*) seems to have existed to some extent, according to the Festus' gloss *Apellinem antiqui dicebant pro Apollinem*.[41] Evaluation of such information depends on the meaning to be attributed to the term *antiqui*. If *antiqui* is literally understood in a chronological sense, then one might infer that in archaic Latin *Apello* was currently in use instead of *Apollo*. Nevertheless the vowel weakening in the inflected form *Apellinem* (instead of **Apellonem*)[42] in parallel with *Apollinem* cannot be consigned to a very remote antiquity, since it is generally assumed that the inflection *-ō*(*n*) / *-ĭnis* was remodelled after *homo* / *hominis*.[43] However, the morphological paradigm *homo / hominis* is not so ancient, given that in early Latin literature *homonem* instead of *hominem* was still used (e.g. by Ennius).[44] Significantly, late republican inscriptions and literary texts preserve the original inflection, such as *Apol*(*l*)*ones, Apolone*,[45] as well as the innovative type *Apollinis, Apollini*.[46] So, a remodelling of *Apellon- > Apellin-* in parallel with *Apollon- > Apollin-* after *homo / hominis* could hardly have preceded the pre-literary period.

It is assumed that the inflection *-ō*(*n*) / *-ĭnis* implies a vowel shortening *-ōn > -ŏn* starting from the vocative Ἄπολλον.[47] However, the long vowel is reflected by its evolution /*ō*/ > /*u*/, both in Oscan *Appelluneí* and in Etruscan *Apalu / Ap(u)lu*, which arise from *Apellōn-* and *Apollōn-* respectively. A similar evolution /*ō*/ > /*u*/ took place in Greek dialects as shown by Thessalian Ἄπλουν, attested to by a very archaic inscription.[48] It cannot even be excluded that a variation *-ōn-* / *-ŏn* already existed in some Greek dialects, before the spread of the Attic form Ἀπόλλων, given that archaic writings of the vowel do not distinguish between /*ō*/ and /*ŏ*/. According to Biville,[49] this possibility could be supported by parallel alternations *-ōn* / *-ŏn* in other Greek borrowings found in Latin.

From the point of view of the Latin system, the alternating inflection *-ō*(*n*) / *-ōnis* and *-ō*(*n*) / *-ĭnis* of Apollo's name is not surprising. In inherited Latin nouns *-ō*(*n*) / *-ōnis* and *-ō*(*n*) / *-ĭnis* coexisted at times with different distributions within the Latin vocabulary, such as *Turbo* / *-ōnis* (proper name) and *turbo* / *turbĭnis* (lexical item).[50] Consequently, in the adaptation of Apollo's name in Latin two opposite tendencies are likely to have worked together. Firstly, the *-ō*(*n*) / *-ōnis* inflection fits with the morphology, but not with the accentuation of Classical Greek. Secondly, the innovative inflection *-ō*(*n*) / *-inis* fits

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41 Fest. 20 L.

42 For vowel weakening in medial syllables see Baldi 2002, 253.

43 See Vine 1993, 245.

44 Enn., *Ann.* 138 V.; P-F. 89, 8 L.: *Hemona humana, hemonem hominem dicebant*. See Leumann 1977, 364.

45 E.g.: *CIL* I² 37: *Apolones* (gen. sing.: Roma ?); 59: *Apolon*[*e*] (dat. sing.: Praneste); 399: *Apolone* (dat. sing.: Cales). See also Vine 1993, 241.

46 Also with an evolution *i>e* like *Apolenei* (*CIL* I² 368: *Pisaurum*).

47 As suggested by Meister 1916, 16; Leumann 1977, 457.

48 Lejeune 1945; Wachter 2001, 30. See also below.

49 Biville 1990, 234.

50 But this distinction is not observed in the case of *Carbō / Carbōnis* (as proper name) and *carbō / carbōnis* (as lexical item). This dissimilar treatment drew Caesar's attention in his grammatical treatise *De analogia*, where he proposed an homogeneous inflection for *turbo* (as common name) and *Turbo* (as proper name): *Caesar de Analogia II turbonem, non turbine etiam in tempestate dici debere ait, ut Carbo Carbonis, non ut homo hominis* (Char. 144, 30 K = C. Iulius Caesar *GRF* p.149, frg. 7 Funaioli).

with Classical Greek accentuation of the word (*Apóllinis* – Ἀπόλλωνος), but not totally with the morphology. This latter requirement prevailed in Latin classical literature.[51]

Concerning *Apellinem* (attested to by Festus' gloss) such a variant, based upon the Doric form *Apellon-*, parallels the morphological remodelling of the Ionic form *Apollon-*, according to the proportion *Apollon: Apollin- = Apellon: Apellin-*. For the abovementioned reasons, such a remodelling can hardly precede early Latin literature, so that the term *antiqui* has to be chronologically assigned to the early literary period, as it is frequently used by glossographic tradition referring to authors of early Latin literature.

However, another meaning of *antiqui* as an equivalent to *rustici* cannot be excluded. In this sense *antiqui* often occurs, as a consequence of the fact that the rural territories may preserve ancient features displaced by innovations of the official language. Romans of the late Republican period were aware of convergences of *antiquitas* and *rusticitas,* according to Cicero's criticism that some people affected an archaizing style by imitating rural speech.[52] The results of this practice are also reflected in Late Republican inscriptions (for instance the *lex luci* from *Lucera*).[53] In this perspective *Apellinem,* which appears to be an adaptation of the Doric form to the Classical Latin inflection, might belong to a Latin dialectal variety, probably from outside Rome and influenced by an Oscan speaking area. Certainly it seems to be "based on the Oscan form, supplied with Latin inflection".[54] This variant is likely to be echoed by some literary works and that is why it was signalled by the Festus' gloss.

To sum up: Apollo's name is usually assumed to have arrived into Oscan from the Doric colonies of southern Italy or Sicily (probably Tarente or Syracuse),[55] but a direct Peloponnesian connection cannot be absolutely excluded. From an Oscan speaking area it is likely to have passed into regional Latin, but its competition with the Ionic form Apollo was unsuccessful, so that *Apello* > *Apellinem* remains an isolated form in Latin. In Oscan the Doric form enjoyed a longer life than in the neighbouring Doric colonies, where the Ionic-Attic form seems to be quite common even before *koiné* propagated. Indeed the Doric name of Apollo is very rarely attested to in western Greek epigraphy.[56] Significantly, in Doric cities such as Selinous, Camarina and Croton Ἀπόλλων is much more frequent than Ἀπέλλων. Analogous archaic inscriptions from panhellenic sanctuaries such as Delphi or Olympia,[57] pertaining to South Italian Doric communities present nothing but Ἀπόλλων, which apparently sounded more 'international' even before the diffusion of the *koiné*. The Ionic form Ἀπόλλων is considered to be innovative in contrast to the Doric Ἀπέλλων, whose variant Ἀπείλων is evidenced in Cypriot.[58]

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[51] With regard to the explanation of *Apollin-* instead of *Apollon-*, the influence of Greek accentuation rather than morphological remodelling after declension of *homo / hominis* was stressed by Ernout 1953, 47.

[52] Cic., *de Or*. III, 42–46: *rustica vox et agrestis quosdam delectate, quo magis antiquitatem, si ita sonnet, eorum sermo retinere videatur*[….] *quare Cotta noster* […] *non mihi oratores antiques, sed messores videtur imitari*.

[53] *CIL* I² 401 = *ILLRP* 504: about the interpretation of this text see Lazzeroni 1993.

[54] Quotation from Vine 1993, 243. See also, Wachter 1987, n. 909.

[55] Lazzeroni 1972, 23–24; Prosdocimi 1976, 794.

[56] See Arena 1989, 41.

[57] Such as, for instance, the votive offering by Gelon of Syracuse (Dubois 1989, n. 93) or the treaty between *Sybaritai* and *Serdaioi* (Dubois 2002, n. 12).

[58] See Rosól 2007; Egetmeyer 2007.

After the Ionic-Attic form Ἀπόλλων became dispersed, the original vocalism was extensively preserved in several personal names like Ἀπέλλης, Ἀπέλλις, Ἀπελλίων, Ἀπελλίδης, Ἀπελλᾶς, Ἀπέλλιχος, Ἀπέλλαῖος.[59] The use of personal names derived from Ἀπέλλ- continued until late antiquity and encountered morphological treatments different from those derived from Ἀπόλλ-.[60]

The Etruscan and the Marsian evidence present syncopated forms, respectively *Aplu* and *Aplone*, that can perhaps be explained by one of the following ways: a) a development of the Ionic form Ἀπόλλων which took place in Etruscan (*Apalu, Apulu* > *Aplu*) and in Marsian (*Apolone* > *Aplone*), independently of each other, given that the vowel syncope is common both to Etruscan and Sabellian languages; b) the syncopated variant among *Marsi* was influenced by Etruscan language (more exactly the Etruscan *Aplu(n)* > Marsian: *Aplone*);[61] c) The Marsian *Aplone* has a different origin from the Etruscan (*Apalu, Apulu* > *Aplu*). The former might represent a spelling of *Ap*(*e*)*lone* (< Ἀπέλλων) with syllabic notation;[62] d) a syncopated variant of Apollo's name existed in Greek dialects, such as Thessalian Ἄπλουν.[63] This variant could have reached some languages of Italy, such as Etruscan and Marsian.[64]

The last solution d) is less probable in that the syncope in Apollo's name is attested to only in Thessalian dialect, which had a slight influence on the Italic languages. In fact, the syncopated form Ἄπλουν is very archaic, since it is attested to on a vase in the Corinthian style dating to the seventh century BC[65] and in an inscription from Eretria dating to the early fifth century BC.[66]

In fifth century BC Athens, however, the syncopated form of Apollo's name (together with the rendering of the vowel sound /ō/ with <ου>) was recognized as a typically Thessalian feature, as Plato explicitly states when referring to the alleged etymological connection with the adjective ἁπλοῦν: Ἄπλουν γὰρ φασι πάντες Θετταλοὶ τοῦτον τὸν θεόν.[67]

But in my opinion, the real difficulty for the solutions above listed under c) and d) consists of assuming the coexistence of two different forms of such an important god name within the same speech community. That would be in contrast with the universal tendency towards the standardization of god names and religious language. For the same reason, the solution b) (an Etruscan influence among *Marsi*) could be assumed only as a result of an individual or isolated fact.

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[59] See Bechtel 1917, 62; Sittig 1912, 36–40.

[60] Masson 1993, 230, rightly highlighted the differentiation in compounding and in morphological formations as well in the respective geographical distribution of personal names derived from Ἀπέλλ- and from Ἀπόλλ- .

[61] As suggested by Letta and D'Amato 1975, 208; Campanile 1991, 287.

[62] As suggested by Wachter 1987; Vine 1993, 243.

[63] Thessalian documentation ranges from the fifth century to second century BC: *IG* IX 512, 19 (= Schwyzer 1923, n. 590, 22); *SEG* 52. 652; *SEG* 31. 572; *SEG* 35. 594; *SEG* 42. 529; Béquignon 1935, 55, 2.

[64] As suggested by Kothe 1970, 223 and Danka 1987, 39, but criticized by Rosól 2007, 224, n. 19.

[65] See the discussion in Wachter 2001, 30–31. The facts that the inscribed vase probably comes from Italy and the document comes from Eretria, imply a circulation of this form outside Thessalia in archaic time. This vase is now preserved in Louvre Museum.

[66] *IG* IX 2, 199 = *I. Thess.* I 120 (Achaia Pthiotis, Eretria; the early fifth century BC?) Μεθίστας {Μεθ<ύ>στας(?)} Πιθούνειος Ἄπλουνι.

[67] Plat., *Cra*. 405c.

Consequently, the solution a) (reciprocally independent developments, starting from the Ionic form, namely *Apollon- > Aplon-*) are most likely to account for variants of the god's name found in Etruscan (*Apulu* / *Aplu*) and in Marsian (*Apols* / *Aplone*).

The name of Odysseus

The possibility that Apollo's name came from different Greek dialects to one language of ancient Italy is paralleled by the case of Artemis' name in Etruscan which I have just mentioned. A further Etruscan parallel can be provided by three sets of variants of Odysseus' name, namely *Utuse* / *Uθuśe ~ Uθuste* / *Uθuzte ~ Utuze.*

	Ὀδυσσεύς	*Ὀδυσδεύς / *Ὀδυστεύς	Ὀδυζεύς	Ὠλίξης / Ὀυλίξης
Etruscan	*Utuse* / *Uθuśe* /	*Uθuste* / *Uθuzte*	*Utuze*	
Latin				*Ulixēs*

Fig. 3. Odysseus' name.

Archaic documentation of *Uθuzte* in Etruria (seventh century BC)[68] works against an evolution of *Utuze* / *Utuse* / *Uθuśe* > *Uθuste* / *Uθuzte*, which was presumed to be peculiar to Etruscan.[69] *Uθuste* / *Uθuzte* cannot even be explained as a compromise form between "proper Attic" Ὀλυττεύς and "proper Corinthian" Ὀλισσεύς.[70] On the other hand, Etruscan *Utuse* / *Uθuśe,* arising from Ὀδυσσεύς, reveals an association with the verb ὀδύσσομαι, and this association can be traced back to the earliest stages of epic tradition, which are attested to in Chalcidian vase inscriptions.[71] An association with ὀδύσσομαι can hardly be responsible for *Uθuste* / *Uθuzte* , due to the consonant cluster /*st*/, /*zt*/ not coinciding with Chalcidian and Corinthian spelling <σσ>. Therefore, E. Fiesel related the Etruscan *Uθuste* / *Uθuzte* to a Greek variant (not attested) *Ὀδυστεύς or (more likely) *Ὀδυσδεύς, which she believes is Anatolian in origin by comparison with alternations, like Ἀλασσός ~ Ἀλάστης; Κύβισσός ~ Κύβισθός.[72]

More simply, however, the Etruscan *Uθuste* / *Uθuzte* and *Uθuze* may correspond to the Greek spellings *Ὀδυσδεύς and *Ὀδυζεύς respectively. Graphic variants <σδ> and <ζ> are quite common in Greek dialects, where different spellings <σδ>, <σσ>, <δδ> often reflect distinct ways of pronunciation of the sound elsewhere represented by <ζ>. Graphic alternations between <ζ> and <σδ> or <σσ> also occur in archaic inscriptions from Southern Italy. Examples of this can be found in the law from Himera (sixth-fifth century BC), a Chalcidian colony in Sicily, where <σδ> is found in the place of <ζ> (e.g. ἐργάσδεται for ἐργάζεται)[73] and, conversely in Achaean colonies, where <ζ> is found

[68] Maras 2002, 237.
[69] De Simone 1970, 127.
[70] Wachter 2001, 267.
[71] Wachter 2001, 267.
[72] Fiesel 1928, 52 ff.
[73] Dubois 2008, 30.

in the place of <σσ> of other dialects: e.g. τέζαρα for τέσσαρα / τέτταρα 'four';[74] ἔζατο for ἔσσατο (Attic ἵζω 'to place').[75]

In conclusion, the Etruscan forms *Uθuste* / *Uθuzte* and *Uθuze* are of great importance in that they reflect two variants of the name of the Homeric hero, not attested to in Greek sources, i.e. *Ὀδυσδεύς and *Ὀδυζεύς respectively. Both variants may represent either graphic variants, namely <σδ>, <σσ>, <ζ> of the same sound, or reflect different pronunciations pertaining to various Greek dialects.[76] The former solution would imply a written transmission of Odysseus' name to the Etruscans, the latter an oral transmission. Such a question is crucial as it concerns the highly debated paths of transmission of the Greek epic tradition into Italy during the archaic period.

In comparison with *Utuse* / *Uθuśe,* which should be traced back to Ὀδυσσεύς, the Etruscan *Uθuste* / *Uθuzte* and *Uθuze* demonstrate that the name was not yet influenced by epic association with the verb ὀδύσσομαι. Consequently, Etruscan documentation for Odysseus' name provides evidence for at least two distinct ways of reception: on the one hand, *Utuse* / *Uθuśe* and on the other hand *Uθuste* / *Uθuzte*. *Uθuze* may represent a purely graphic variant with respect to *Uθuste* / *Uθuzte*, if we assume that Etruscan spellings are nothing other than pure transcriptions of the Greek *Ὀδυζεύς and *Ὀδυσδεύς. Instead, Etruscan forms could mirror real differences in pronunciation, due to a dialectally different provenance, if we assume an oral transmission of Greek myth and epos in Etruria.[77] A coexistence of two stages of transmission cannot be excluded, as the name of Odysseus passed from Greek to Etruscan through different paths, probably implying both oral and written levels as the groups *Utuse* / *Uθuśe,* and *Uθuste* / *Uθuzte, Uθuze,* are both involved.

What is certain is that both the Etruscan *Uθuste* / *Uθuzte* and the Latin *Ulixes* arise from epic and dialectal traditions which were different to purely Corinthian and Chalcidian versions. They are convergent in that they signal an alternation of the consonant clusters in the final syllable /sd/ ~ /ks/, that dates back to the archaic period (seventh-sixth century BC). Actually, such an alternation represents variants of the sound /ss/ attested to in other dialects. The alternation /ks/~/ss/ is paralleled, for instance, by graphic doublets such as κρισσός / κριξός[78] and it frequently occurs in Attic epigraphy (e.g. Ἀλέσανδρος instead of Ἀλέξανδρος).[79] Dialectal alternations /sd/~/ss/ ~/dz/ have been mentioned above.

Etruscan, however, presents neither the consonant /l/, which is present in both Chalcidian and Corinthian vases (Ὀλυττεύς ~ Ὀλισσεύς), in Sicily (Ὠλίξης / Οὐλίξης) and in the Latin *Ulixes,* nor the vocalism <ι> like the Corinthian Ὀλισσεύς and the Sicilian Ὠλίξης / Ὀυλίξης, nor the dental sound like Ὀλυττεύς.

If we were to ignore the existence of variants Ὠλίξης / Ὀυλίξης in the ancient Greek poetry of Magna Graecia, we would have no idea how the Latin name of the Odyssey's

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[74] Dubois 2002, 131.

[75] Dubois 2002, 150.

[76] The question of the pronunciation of the sound represented by <ζ> in Greek dialects is strongly debated: see Arena 1960; Teodorsson 1993.

[77] Concerning the reception of Greek epos in western Mediterranean world, see Cassio 1999.

[78] Lejeune 1972, 90.

[79] Threatte 1980, 551.

hero was created. Significantly, the form Ὠλίξης is attributed to Ibykos[80] (a poet from the Sicilian Strait) and Ὀυλίξης (mentioned by Plutarch[81] who quoted a votive inscription from a Sicilian temple). Both of these facts point to the location of this variant in the western Greek colonies. The fact that the language of Ibykos is likely to be influenced by Doric Sicilian colonies[82] is backed up by Plutarch's quotation. It was probably from this area of Sicilian or Southern Italic Greek that the name *Odysseus* came to Latin.

All these considerations allow us to identify at least three different itineraries for the arrival of the name *Odysseus* in ancient Italy: 1) a Sicilian/South Italian route (Ὠλίξης / Ὀυλίξης), which gave way to the Latin name > *Ulixēs*; 2) a Chalcidian (or more generally Ionic) route (Ὀδυσσεύς), where the Etruscan *Utuse* / *Uθuśe* probably come from; 3) further routes, not precisely identified (*Ὀδυσδεύς), which are likely to be responsible for the Etruscan *Uθuste* / *Uθuzte* and *Utuze*. The three distinct paths for the arrival of Odysseus' name to the languages of ancient Italy are of some importance in relation to the diffusion of the Greek epic tradition in the western Mediterranean world, which, however, is not part of the current discourse.

The name of Hercules

Hercules' name presents a more complicated picture, where variations resulting from cross-linguistic contacts are much more numerous, perhaps as a consequence of the spread of his cult among common people. All languages of ancient Italy share a syncopated form *Hercl-* without the original internal vowel existing in Greek Ἡρακλ-. Both Oscan and Latin start from this common point (i.e. *Hercl-*), but they are distinguished by anaptyctic vowels, as shown by Oscan *Herekl-* in comparison with Latin *Hercul-* (*Hercol-* in old Latin). Most of the Etruscan evidence consists of *Hercle*, but individual variations concerning internal vocalism are also found: *Heracle, Hercale, Herecles, Herecele.*[83] On the other hand, Latin inscriptions from Praeneste, alongside *Hercoles*, attest to the variants *Hercle* and *Hercele*. However, since *Hercele* is not consistent with the Latin treatment of the concerned consonantal cluster, its assignment to Latin or Etruscan is questionable.

With regard to morphology the Etruscan evidence is neutral, because the Etruscan ending *-e* may correspond both to a consonant stem (with nominative ending *-es*) and an *-o*-stem of an Indo-European language (e.g.: Lat. *Marcus*: Etr. *Marce*; Gr. Δίφιλος: Etr. *Tiφile*; Gr. Ἱπποκράτης: Etr. *Hipucrate*; Gr. Ἐτεοκλῆς: Etr. *Eutucle*). In Oscan, Hercules' name is strictly inflected as an *-o*-stem. In classical Latin it is usually inflected as a consonantal stem, consistent with its Greek model: (nom.) *Hercules*, (gen.) *Herculis* (gen.), except for the genitive *Herculī* (attested besides *Herculis*) and vocative *Hercle*, which follow *-o*-stems.

The evidence is combined in the following table:

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[80] Diomed. *GL* I 321 Keil = Ibyc. frg. 305 Page: *nam praenomen est, ut ait Ibycus Olixes, nomen Arsiaciades, cognomen Odysseus et ordinatur sic, Olixes Arsiciades Odysseus Polutlas*. See also Vallet 1958, 296; Biville 1990, 73ff.

[81] Plut., *Marc.* 20: ἵδρυμα λέγεται Κρητῶν γενέσθαι τό ἱερόν. Καὶ λόγχαις τινα ἐδείκνυσαν καὶ κράνη χαλχᾶ, τὰ μὲν ἔχοντα Μηριόνου, τὰ δ'Οὐλίξου ταύτεστιν Ὀδυσσέως ἐπιγραφάς.

[82] As it concern the language of Ibykos and other poets of Sicilian Strait, see Cassio 1997, 199.

[83] See *ThLE*, 178–179; Colonna 1990, 902; Maras 2009, 139, 256.

	Conson. stems	-*o*-stems	Neutral evidence	Problematic cases
Latin	*Hercules, Herculis*, etc.	*Herculī* (gen. sing.), *Hercle* (voc.)		*Hercele, Herecles*
Oscan		*Hereklúí* (dat. sing.)		
Etruscan			Hercle	*Heracle, Hercale, Herecles, Herecele*
Greek				Ἡρύκαλον

Fig. 4. Hercules' name.

Further variations of Hercules' name in 'regional' Latin can be added, such as *Hercolo*,[84] *Herclo*,[85] *Herclei*,[86] *Hercol*( ).[87] Actually they consist of blended forms of Oscan and Latin as a consequence of linguistic contacts after the Romanization of Oscan peripheral dialects (like Marsian, Paelignian, Vestinian). So we are able to complete the above table with the following:

	Oscan anaptyctic vowel	Latin anaptyctic vowel	Without any vowel in internal consonant cluster
Inflected as consonantal stem	*Hereklúí*		*Herclei*
Inflected as –*o*-stem		*Hercolo*	*Herclo*

Fig. 5. Hercules' name in votive inscriptions among Marsi, Paeligni, Vestini (second–first century BC).

Apart from the variants depicted in Fig. 5., which result from the blending of Oscan and Latin, the problematic cases represented in Fig. 4. remain the most debatable namely: a) Etruscan *Heracle, Hercale*; b) Latin *Hercele, Herecles*; c) (Sicilian) Greek Ἡρύκαλον attested in a Hesychius' gloss assigned to the Sicilian playwright Sophron.

The Etruscan *Heracle, Hercale* are attested to more recently than the most common *Hercle* (for which the earliest evidence dates back to the early fifth century BC)[88], so that it is quite difficult to assume that *Hercle* is an evolution of *Heracle, Hercale* due to the syncope effect. *Heracle* is more easily explained as a remodelling after the original Greek form. If this is so, a twofold explanation can be suggested for *Hercale*: a) as a syllabic inversion of *Heracle*- a fact that could be paralleled by Ἡρύκαλον, in the place of Ἡράκυλον; b) as influenced by Latin *Hercoles,* whose rendering in Etruscan might be nothing but *Hercale*.[89]

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[84] Cfr. ad Vetter 1953, n. 217 = *FLGAA* I, n°39; Buonocore 1989, 105.

[85] Letta and D'Amato 1975 n. 135 = Po 219 = *FLGAA* II, 1, n°187.

[86] *CIL* I² 2486 = *ILLRP* 143 = Ve 217 = *FLGAA* I, p. 339, n° 38; Buonocore 1989, 106.

[87] Letta and D'Amato 1975, n. 137.

[88] *ThLE*, 177, s.v. *Hercle*; Colonna 1990, 903; De Simone 1970, 291.

[89] As assumed by Maras 2009, 297.

Latin forms – or more exactly forms written in the archaic Latin alphabet – such as *Hercele, Herecles* have been even more debated with the following conclusions: a) both forms have been recognized as Latin;[90] b) both forms have been recognized as Etruscan;[91] c) *Hercele* has been assigned to Etruscan, whereas *Herecles* to Latin.[92] However, assigning *Hercele* and *Herecles* to either Latin or to Etruscan is problematic, as they are not clearly consistent with the most common forms respectively used in each language, namely the Latin *Hercoles* / *Hercules* (*Hercle*: as vocative) and the Etruscan *Hercle*. It is also important to keep in mind that *Hercle* appears in Etruscan from the early fifth century BC, whereas *Hercoles* / *Hercules* (*Hercle*) occurs already in early Latin literature.

Consequently, for the arrival of Hercules' name in Latin, two different routes have been suggested: a) Etruscan would be completely responsible for the official name *Hercoles* / *Hercules* as well as for all the variants attributed to Latin, namely *Hercele, Herecles, Hercle.* The adoption of each variant would have taken place in distinct chronological stages;[93] b) Etruscan would be partially responsible for the Latin name of the Greek hero. More precisely *Hercules* would result from Etruscan *Hercle*, borrowed as an interjection (not attested to in Etruscan) and inserted as a nominative in *-es*-declension.[94] Instead, *Herecles* has been recognized as a purely "early Latin form, immediately borrowed from Greek".[95]

Actually this latter view is a variant of the former, which is essentially based upon Devoto's opinion[96] that the diffusion of Hercules' name not only in Latin, but also in the Sabellian languages, was due to Etruscan intermediation. However, the archaic presence of Hercules cult in Rome, whose worship is connected with the *ara maxima* in *Foro Boario*,[97] and in other communities of ancient Italy argues against the Etruscan language as a unique starting point for the diffusion of the Greek hero's name all over the Italian Peninsula. Furthermore, Greek sources of the fifth century BC, like Hellanikos from Lesbos, were aware that the Hercules myths were known amongst the indigenous populations of Southern Italy. According to this tradition, Hercules in the saga of Geryon's cattle in the Southern Italy is connected with the alleged origin of the name *Italia* from a lexical item that exists in a local language.[98]

A further clue for a distinct origin, at least in Latin and in Oscan, is the vocalism of the initial syllable. In Latin the original long vowel is continued, whereas it is apparently shortened in Oscan.[99] According to Oscan orthographic rules, a regular rendering of *hēr-* would be expected *heer-* or *híír-*.

Such a fact has been linked to Etruscan influence by Devoto. However, another explanation can be suggested. This deviation in Oscan could result from a remodelling

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[90] Wachter 1987, 128–129; Franchi de Bellis 2002, 342.
[91] Mancini 1999, 330; 336.
[92] Rix 2004, 441.
[93] De Simone 1970, 201; Mancini 1999, 331.
[94] Rix 2004, 443.
[95] Quotation from Rix 2004, 442.
[96] Devoto 1928.
[97] Coarelli 1988, 78–84.
[98] Dion. Hal., *A.R.* I 35 = Hell. *FGrH* 4 III Jacoby.
[99] As stressed by Schulze 1893, 311.

after the modal verb *her-* "to like, to wish", whose derivatives are the goddess name *Herentas*[100] and personal names as *Heirens, Herennis*[101].

So, if we assume that the main languages of ancient Italy, namely Latin, Etruscan and Oscan, borrowed Hercules' name independently of each other, the processes of language contact can account for the aforementioned variations. To different extents these variations are featured in either the phonetic alternation of the internal vowels (as a consequence of syncope, anaptyxis, metathesis) or by morphological change (*-o-*inflection is generalized in Oscan and sporadically attested to in old Latin). A further variation concerning a semantic aspect connected with the hypocoristic meaning of Ἡρύκαλον is found in a gloss by Hesychius[102] to the Sicilian playwright Sophron: Ἡρύκαλον τὸν Ἡρακλέα Σώφρων ὑποκοριστικῶς.

This is the only documentation of Hercules' name being attested to in Greek, which is characterized by: a) an internal vocalism, very strange from a Greek perspective; b) an inflection after *-o-*stems, not evidenced for Hercules' name; c) a hypocoristic meaning, assigned by the gloss which is totally unprecedented.

In my view, Greek in itself cannot account for all these facts, which are reciprocally related and are to be connected to a context of contacts with Italic languages. Let us start from morphological aspects. Notoriously, Greek personal names compounded with -κλῆς could be indifferently inflected as *-o-*stem, i.e. as -κλος. Thus, an alternating inflection of names with the endings -κλῆς / -κλος is evidenced in the earliest documentation, as for instance, Πατροκλῆς and Πάτροκλος in Homeric poems. Also, archaic inscriptions provide evidence for this. A fifth century BC vase inscription from Selinous in Sicily, according to an interpretation suggested by Wachter,[103] records two names (the son and his father). Both names are compounded by -κλῆς, but they follow *-o-*declension and consonantal stems respectively: Ἀρχέ[κλ]ο εἰμὶ τοῦ Εὐκλέος. In two Orphic gold tablets from *Thurii*, an Athenian colony in Magna Graecia, both Ἐῦκλε basing upon Ἐῦκλος[104] and Ἐυκλῆς are used as vocatives.[105]

However, quite exceptionally the *o-*declension for Hercules' name in Greek is not attested to. In other words, Ἡρακλῆς is exempt from such a variation -κλῆς / -κλος which is common in personal names. Both literary and epigraphic documentation are in agreement on this. The derivatives from Hercules' name also point to nothing but a -κλῆς inflection. Thus, for instance, theophoric personal names such as Ἡρακλείδης or Ἡρακλεῖτος are to be traced back to Ἡρακλῆς, and not to *Ἡρακλος. In the same way, the Homeric epithet Ἡρακληεῖος in the syntactic cluster Ἡρακληείη βίη arises from a consonantal inflection Ἡρακλῆς and not from *Ἡρακλος. As M. Durante observed,[106] the Homeric syntactic cluster Ἡρακληείη βίη is differentiated from similar expressions with genitives like Πατροκλοῖο or Πριαμοῖο βίη. This fact argues for the absence of a variant *Ἡρακλοῖο (< *Ἡρακλος) parallel to Πατροκλοῖο (< Πάτροκλος). To sum up, in Greek the morphological treatment of Hercules name seems to have been distinguished

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[100] Untermann 2000, 320.

[101] Meiser 1993.

[102] Hesych s.v. Ἡρύκαλον = Sophr. Frg. 142 K.

[103] Wachter 2001, 201.

[104] Pugliese Carratelli 2001 IIa 2 (Thurii) = Ghidini Tortorelli 2006, Thurii IV.

[105] Pugliese Carratelli 2001 IIb 1 (Thurii) = Ghidini Tortorelli 2006, Thurii III.

[106] Durante 1971, 118.

from that of personal names provided with the same compound element (like Σωφοκλῆς, Διοκλῆς). The hero's name, possibly inasmuch as a special name, did not share the variation -κλῆς / -κλος frequent among the more common personal names.

Nevertheless, evidence for an inflection following -*o*-stems is found in languages of ancient Italy, as regularly shown both by Oscan (e.g. *Hereklúí,* dat. sing. -*o* -declension) and Latin variants, such as *Herculī* (gen. sing.); *Herclĕ meherclĕ* (voc. sing.). As stated above, Etruscan *Hercle* (and other variants) are not decisive in either sense. But how can we explain this morphological treatment of Hercules' name in Italic languages, unknown to the Greek language? At the end of the 17th century the German scholar W. Schulze[107] reconstructed a form *῾Ηρακλος not attested to in Greek, as a source of the -*o* -inflection shown by Oscan and (partially) by Latin. According to Schulze, the vocative *῾Ηρακλε (allegedly parallel to Πάτροκλε or ῾Ευκλε, but not actually attested to)[108] would be the most plausible for fitting the hero's name into the -*o* -declension. The diffusion of the vocative *Hercle, Mehercle* as an interjection even in an abusive sense, could have favoured this morphological variation.

However, Schulze rejected the possibility of the Latin nominative *Herculus,* attested to in a gloss, considering that other -κλῆς names in old Latin usually follow the consonantal inflection like *Patricoles* < Πατροκλῆς (by Ennius) and *Agathocoles* < Ἀγαθοκλῆς (by Plautus), which perfectly parallel the nominative of Hercules' name, such as *Hercoles* (attested to in early Latin epigraphy[109]).

On the other hand, vestiges of the -*o*-declension in Latin, namely the genitive *Herculī* (besides *Herculis*) and the vocative *Herclĕ,* do not necessarily account for the real existence of a complete -*o* inflection in this language. In other words, the roots of the Latin genitive *Herculī* (besides *Herculis*) and the vocative *Herclĕ* do not need to belong to a unitary paradigm.

Instead, their origins can be considered separately. Firstly, it is clear that *Herclĕ* is not the unique vocative pertaining to Hercules' name that existed in early Latin, because *Hercules* is already attested to by Plautus.[110] But *Herclĕ* and *Hercules* appear to have a functionally different distribution: *Hercules* is used in invocations to the divinity,[111] whilst *Herclĕ* is uniquely used as an interjection in colloquial contexts.[112] Nevertheless, the interjections confirm the existence of two variants of vocative of this name, as revealed by *mehercules* alongside *mehercle*.[113] Secondly, an interjection is usually conceived distinctly from the original paradigm to which it belongs, such as the Latin *edepol, mediusfidius* and has an evolution independent from the pertaining word, like *God* in Engish, *Dieu* in French, *Zău* in Romanian and so on.

The question of the -*ī* genitive in Hercules' name (i.e. *Herculī*) together with other Greek names of epic tradition, like *Achilles* and *Ulixes*, has been strongly debated amongst

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[107] Schulze 1893, 311; 1923, 90.

[108] The attested vocative forms of Hercules' name are Ἡράκλεες, Ἡράκλεις and (later) ῞Ηρακλες; See also Schwyzer 1968, I 580.

[109] E.g. *CIL* I² 2575 = *ILLRP* 151; *CIL* I² 607 = *ILLRP* 118; *CIL* I² 30 = *ILLRP* 123; *CIL* I² 981 = *ILLRP* 126; *CIL* I² 2220 = *ILLRP* 156.

[110] Plaut., *Most*. 528; See also Schulze 1893, 195.

[111] As clearly shown by the passage of Plautus' Mostellaria 525: *Nil me curassis, inquam, ego mihi providero: tu, ut occepisti, tantum quantum quis fuge, atque Herculem invoca. TH. Hercules, ted invoco.*

[112] See Hofmann 1985, 136.

[113] Hofmann 1985, 138.

Latin grammarians since antiquity. With respect to Hercules' name, Varro[114] explicitly argues that both genitive endings *Herculi* and *Herculis* were commonly used. A further variation of the genitive inflection of those Greek names consists of the *-ēī-*ending, after the paradigm of the 5th declension, where personal names with the nominative ending *-ēs* were also inserted (e.g. *Charmidēī, Periphanēī*) with the syllabic alternation *-ēī* / *-ĕī*.[115]

All of this shows that the *-ēs*-nominative was strongly preserved, and consequently the inflection following the 3rd or 5th declension prevailed to a much greater extent. Indeed, evidence for the inflection after the 2nd declension is restricted uniquely to the *-ī*-genitive, shared basically by the names of Greek mythological figures, such as *Achillī, Ulixī* and *Herculī* that follow the consonantal inflection in the remaining cases of the declension. But, unlike Hercules, *Achilles* and *Ulixes* do not present the *-ĕ*-vocative, so that the rise of the vocative *Herclĕ* appears to be due to its use as an interjection in the colloquial language. In conclusion, in contrast with personal names of common people, the names of Achilles, Hercules and Odysseus are convergent in showing not only the *-ī*-genitive (namely *Herculī, Achillī, Ulixī*) alongside other variants *-is* and *-ēī* (e.g. *Herculis, Herculēī* and so on),[116] but also the *-ēs*-nominative, even if their original inflection was different in Greek.

In my opinion, however, Greek variants lie at the origin of the Latin variations for those names. Notoriously, Greek names with -ευς -endings in the nominative could alternate with -ης, such as Ἀχιλεύς ~ Ἀχίλης. This alternation was widespread in the western Greek colonies as well,[117] as shown by Ἀχίλης (instead of Ἀχιλεύς) found both in archaic Greek inscriptions (in particular in Greek vases from Etruria) and in *pinakes* from Magna Graecia.[118] Also, the early poetry of Magna Graecia points to the same fact, as it concerns Ulixes' name, quoted above: e.g. Ὠλίξης / Ὀυλίξης, is attributed to Ibykos, instead of Ὀδυσσεύς. So the variants with the -ης -ending instead of -ευς are likely to be responsible for the oldest borrowings of names of this type both in Latin and in Etruscan with the rendering -ης > *-ēs* in Latin and *-e* in Etruscan. However, Greek names with the -ης -ending, in the nominative merged with the masculine *-ā*-stems, so that essentially every name provided with the -ης -ending in the nominative could be inflected following both the *-ā*-stems and the consonantal stems, giving way to doublets, like (nom.) Εὐμένης: (gen.) Εὐμένους / Εὐμένου; Δημοσθήνους / Δημοσθήνου. For mythical names like Ἀχίλης, Ὠλίξης, Ὄρφης the accusative Ἀχίλην, Ὠλίξην, Ὄρφην are found.[119] For Ὠλίξης / Ὀυλίξης the genitive Ὀυλίξου is also attested to.

In this perspective, the Latin genitives *Achillī, Ulixī* and *Herculī* as well as *Achillis, Ulixis* and *Herculis* could simply be reproductions of alternative inflections widespread in Greek dialects.

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[114] Varro, *L.L.* VIII, 11, 26: *neque, enim, utrum Herculi an Herculis clavam dici oporteat, si doceat analogia, cum utrumque sit in consuetudine non neglegendum*.

[115] See Leumann 1977, 447.

[116] That is why they are usually considered together by descriptive and comparative grammars: e.g. Leumann 1945; see also Leumann 1977, 458.

[117] Differently from Schwyzer 1968, 575 and De Simone 1970, 124, who considered such a morphological variant as peculiar to the Greek motherland.

[118] See Wachter 2001, 195; Dubois 2002, n. 6.

[119] See Priscian., *Inst*. VI 92 GL II 276 Keil = Ibyk. Frg. 306 Page: *pro* Φυλεύς Φύλης, *pro* Ὀρφεύς Ὄρφης *et* Ὄρφην *dicunt* (*scil. Dores*), *pro* Τυδεύς Τύδης *Sic Antimachus in* I *Thebaidos* (fr. 6 Wyss)... *similiter Ibycus* ὀνομάκλυτον Ὄρφην *dixit.*

Finally, some attention must be paid to Ἡρύκαλον, assigned to Sophron. This variant is hardly explicable other than as a syllable inversion for Ἡράκυλον, parallel to the Etruscan *Hercale* instead of *Heracle*, as mentioned above. In this case Ἡράκυλον appears to be a compromise form between the original vocalism of the Greek base Ἡρα- and the Oscan inflection after -*o*-stems. This starting point also accounts for the hypocoristic interpretation quoted by Hesychius' gloss, which was probably extrapolated from the original context of the play by Sophron. A variant Ἡράκυλον could sound like a Greek derivative where the suffix -υλο- occurs in a hypocoristic function, such as ἄρκτος 'bear' ~ ἄρκτυλλος 'small bear' ἔρπος 'snake' ~ ἔρπυλλος 'small snake'.[120] This suffix frequently occurs in personal names derived from lexical items, such as θρασύς Θράσυλλος; ἡδύς: Ἥδυλος, as well as in morphological variants of names arising from the same base, such as Σιμ(ί)ων, Σιμμίας, Σιμυλος[121], Φίντων Φιντίας Φίντυλος[122] or results from compounding with -λαος, such as Ἀστύλαος: Ἄστυλλος; Νικόλαος: Νίκυλλος.[123]

The use of the suffix -υλο- in the formation of proper names with a hypocoristic function is convergent with Oscan (and Latin) suffixes -*k*(*e/o*)-*lo*- and -(*e/o*)-*lo*-, as shown by Oscan *Pakis: Pakul; Stenis: Steniklum*; Latin *Tullius: Tulliola; Graecus: Graeculus* and so on. Within this cross-linguistic context of Oscan and Greek in Sicily, a blending form like Ἡράκυλον could be understood in a hypocoristic sense.

The name of *Aiax*

The name of the epic hero *Aiax* is also quite interesting with regard to variations distinguishing the languages of ancient Italy. First of all, the different outcome of the name *Aiax* in two main languages of ancient Italy clearly points to an origin from distinct Greek dialects, namely the Etruscan *Aivas* / *E*(*i*)*vas* and the Latin *Aiax*. The intervocalic *digamma* in Etruscan *Aivas* / *E*(*i*)*vas* coincides with the form evidenced in Corinthian vase inscriptions,[124] whilst the loss of the *digamma* in the name *Aiax* is attested to in Attic and Chalcidian ceramics.[125] Analogously, the *digamma* is preserved in other names of Greek epos found in Etruria, like *Vil(a)e* (< Ϝιολάος), *Velparun* (< Ϝελπάνωρ); *Vilatas* (< Ϝοιλάδας),[126] and this leads to the conclusion that a set of epic names that are found in the earliest written documentation of Etruscan originated from a Corinthian source.[127] Among those names there is the name of *Aiax*, unlike Latin, where the loss of the ancient *digamma* points to an origin other than Etruscan:

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120 Debrunner 1917, 165; Chantraine 1933, 250.

121 Bechtel 1917, 492.

122 Dubois 1989, n. 25, 91, 134b 2.

123 Chantraine 1933 250; Leumann 1953.

124 Wachter 2001, 40ff.

125 Wachter 2001, 178.

126 De Simone 1970, 35, 41, 114.

127 De Simone 1972, 516 ascribes the Corinthian origin of Etruscan words presenting the *digamma* to the period of Demaratus. A different way of transmission of names from Greek epos to the Etruscan world is suggested by Cassio 1999, 75.

	Αἴϝας	Αἴας
Latin		*Aiax*
Etruscan	*Aivas* / *E*(*i*)*vas*	

Fig. 6. Aiax' name.

Apart from the loss of the *digamma*, the Latin name is apparently characterized by a remodelling of the regular Greek *-nt* -inflection after *-āx, -ācis*. But where and how did this remodelling take place? Several solutions have been suggested: a) a variant existing already in archaic Greek; b) a change owing to Oscan-Greek bilingualism;[128] c) a remodelling of the name following the declension of Greek *-ak* -names;[129] d) a hypercorrectness of Latin declension in parallel with the Vulgar Latin *vigilax* and *praegnax* instead of *vigilans, praegnans*.[130] According to the first hypothesis, the Latin inflection of *Aiax* would reflect a variant of Αἴας rejected by the Homeric poems. However, this is unexpected as the grandfather of Αἴας is named Αἰακός and his descendants Αἰακίδαι.[131] Moreover, Αἰάκης is used as a common personal name.[132] In this case Αἴας is a variant of Αἴαξ, as the nickname Αἰακός is attributed to his grandson.

The second explanation is based upon the synchronic treatment of Greek personal names in a cross-linguistic perspective. Notoriously, several Attic personal names with the -ας ending in the nominative frequently follow various paradigms of declension, especially -ας/ -αντος; -ας/ -ατος; -ας/ -αδος owing to the phonetic confusion of /*nt*/ with /*t*/ and /*d*/, but also -ας/ -αος and -ας/ -ου. For instance, personal names like Ἀρκέσας, Σώτας, Μαρικᾶς, Ἀρίμμας present inflectional variants, such as in the genitive Ἀρκέσου, Ἀρκέσαντος; Σώτου, Σώταδος; Μαρίκαδος, Μαρίκαντος. The confusion of /*nt*/ with /*t*/ and /*d*/ is also reflected by Greek loanwords in Oscan. An example of this is provided by the Oscan word *passtata* (attested to in Pompei), which is borrowed from the Greek accusative form παστάδα of παστάς. The rendering of /δ/ through /t/ seems to be more consistent with a Greek morphological variation -ας/ -αντος; -ας/ -ατος; -ας/ -αδος than with a phonetic evolution belonging to the Oscan language.[133]

The *-ăk-/ -āk-* suffix displays several functions in Greek word formation.[134] Among these is a hypocoristic function, often additionally provided with a notion of affection or contempt. It is synchronically quite common both in lexical items and in personal names, as shown by pairs like λάβρος: λάβραξ; θύννος: θύνναξ; Στράβων: Στράβαξ; Στωικός: Στώαξ. This suffix became increasingly widespread in Oscan-Greek bilingual contexts of southern Italy, as a consequence of two parallel morpho-phonetic instances that could easily take place in a context of language contact. The first fact is an overlapping with an 'italic' suffix *-āk-*, which is common in Latin on verbal stems (e.g.

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128 Schwering 1912; Schwering 1913; Orioles 1975.

129 Migliorini 1930.

130 Zimmermann 1913; Leumann 1977, 221.

131 Tsopanakis 1979, 86. This view is also followed by Biville 1990, 96; Franchi De Bellis 2005, 87.

132 E.g. by Herod. II 182; III 139, VI 13.

133 Rix 2002, Po 5. Untermann 2000, 515, s.v. *passtata,* assumes *passtata* as having been morphologically remodelled after the Oscan word *stata.* But such a remodelling could hardly be made without a preceding change /d/ > /t/.

134 Chantraine 1933, 376–379.

rapāx, capāx) and probably attested to in Oscan as well (e.g. *malaks* if from **mal*(*u*)- *āk-s*);[135] and the second fact is a convergence of the nominative ending -*aks* with the regular Oscan evolution of -*akŏs* > -*aks* in -*o*-stems (e.g. the same word *malaks* could be also explained from **mal*- *āko-s*).[136] In other words, the Greek suffix -αξ (< -*ăk-*/ -*āk-*) could synchronically correspond to Oscan -*ak(s)*, which diachronically could arise both from -*ăk-*/ -*āk-* (inflected as a consonantal stem) and -*ak-o* (inflected as -*o*-stem). Consequently, the name Αἰακός, assigned to the grandfather of Αἴας, if transposed into Oscan (or in any Sabellian language) would not sound different to **Aiaks*, so that it could totally coincide with the name of his grandson.

Finally, another path could account for the inflectional confusion of Αἴας and Αἴαξ independently from those aforementioned. A functional convergence of the consonantal morphemes -*āk*- and -*āt*- occurs in contexts of contact between the Oscan and Greek languages. Morphological variations of place and ethnic names of ancient Calabria, such as Gr. Σκυλλήτιον < *Σκυλλῆτες ~ Lat. *Scolacium* and *Bruttates* ~ *Bruttaces* provide evidence for overlapping of the suffixes -*āk*- and -*āt*-.[137] These alternations of -*āk*- and -*āt*- within the same names show that the suffixes became (to some extent) functionally equal and could be interchangeable under certain conditions. Admittedly, the confusion of -*āk*- and -*āt*- inflection has been favoured by the phonetic evolution of consonant clusters -*ks* > -*s* and -*ts* > -*s,* which is clearly attested to in Oscan nominatives, both of consonantal stems and -*o*-stems: e.g. *meddis* < *meddiks* and *Trebas* < *Trebats* < *Trebatos*. An Oscan inscription in the Greek alphabet, recently discovered in the same region (i.e. Calabria), supports this explanation. This text presents a synchronic alternation in the inflection of the indigenous name Μιναϛ < **Minatos* (originally an -*o*-stem), which is simultaneously inflected following, partly, -*ak*-stems, partly, -*ad*-stems: (nom. sing.) Μιναϛ (< **Minatos*): (gen. sing.) Μιναδο(ϛ) or Μινακος.[138] This is an important piece of evidence for the alternating inflection after -*ak-,* -*at-,* -*ad*-stems within the same chronological and geographical context.

To sum up, the inflectional distinction between the Greek hero's name Αἴας and the Latin version *Aiax* can be explained in two different ways that do not exclude one another. On the one hand, a variation internal to the Greek language could be responsible for the change of the morphological paradigm in Latin. In this case, the same change is likely to have taken place in other languages of Italy as well, even if it is not attested to. Consequently, a Sabellian intermediation to Latin cannot be excluded. On the other hand, a bilingual milieu of Oscan and Greek in Magna Graecia could be responsible for the confusion of the inflection of -*ak*- stems with -*ant-, -at-, -ad*- stems, so that an inflection Αἴαξ, Αἴακος instead of Αἴας, Αἴαντος can originate from this area. These solutions converge to some extent. The provenance of Aiax' name in Latin from these contexts in Southern Italy is not surprising if compared with Odysseus' name, which also points to the same area.

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[135] Untermann 2000, 444.

[136] *Ibidem*.

[137] See Poccetti 2000, 107–109.

[138] For further details see Poccetti 2006.

Conclusions

Variations observed in the main names of Greek myths and religion borrowed by various languages of ancient Italy enable us to outline variants belonging to the original language. In most of these cases variants coming from different Greek dialects either distinguish languages from each other (such as Oscan from other languages of Italy as it concerns Apollo's name) or are found within the same language (such as Artemis' name in Etruscan and Messapian). The presence of variants, attested to rarely or only once, raises different problems for each language with respect to the Greek sources:

a) the oral or written paths of transmission (for instance the variants of Odysseus' name in Etruscan).
b) the blending of different Greek dialects or different patterns of the cult (e.g. Artemis' name in Etruscan and in Greek of Southern Italy).
c) popular or 'socio-linguistically' low forms, (e.g. Demetra's name in Messapian and [probably] Aiax's name in Latin).
d) linguistic contacts (e.g. Hercules's name and Aiax' name in contexts of Greek-Oscan contacts in Southern Italy and Sicily).

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On the Use of Greek in Campania

Heikki Solin

The present article examines the use of Greek and Latin in Campania. This is a topic which offers many interpretative challenges, whilst also providing valuable insights into historical, demographic and sociolinguistic research.[1] Thus far, this topic has not been the subject of comprehensive research. Martti Leiwo has made a promising start with *Neapolitana* (1995a), but Naples is a different matter, as it is a city that remained substantially Greek for a much longer period than any other major early Greek settlement in Magna Graecia. Additionally, Leiwo's analysis suffers from a certain lack of material completeness in demographic and onomastic matters. These issues, however, can now be dealt with in a better way thanks to the recent publication of the corpus of the Greek inscriptions of Naples by Elena Miranda.[2] Hopefully Leiwo will resume his study on Naples on the basis of Miranda's excellent new corpus.

It is very difficult, in the absence of comprehensive source material, to trace an exact history of the language shift from Greek or Oscan to Latin in different parts of Campania. When inscriptions begin to increase in number during the Imperial period, Latin (for the most part) already had the upper hand as the language of inscriptions. Nonetheless, it is difficult to get an exact picture of how the evolution took place. Even in Naples it has proven impossible to fix the exact chronology of language-use at different levels of civil life and society. The fact that there are lots of inscriptions from the Imperial period, especially public inscriptions written in Greek (or bilingual inscriptions), does not prove that the majority of the city spoke Greek as their native language. Also, in certain cases, the use of Greek in an old Greek centre in the Imperial period should not be taken as proof of a concrete preponderance of Greek in that region. Velia, the early Greek Phocaean colony of Elea, was the home of Parmenides and his school. It was conquered by Rome in 290 BC and became a *municipium* in 89 BC. It became fashionable as a resort spa in the Augustan period, and is supposed to have retained its Greek culture until the 1st century AD and to have hosted a medical school (where Greek should have been the central means of communication). This old theory has, however, been discredited and is no longer tenable.[3] Excavations at Velia have produced, among other interesting finds, several statues with Greek inscriptions of the type Οὖλις Εὐξίνου Ὑελήτης ἰατρὸς φώλαρχος ἔτει τοθ', 'Oulis son of Euxinus from Velia, doctor and pholarchos, year 379' (*SEG* XXXVIII 1020 = Vecchio 2003, 86–96), which may have been engraved around AD 40, but the persons recorded in them belong to much earlier periods. It is important to note that Velia, at this time (i.e. AD 40), was merely a village with a very small population and the number of inscriptions from the site is minimal. So, what can we say about the language-use of the few inhabitants of the village (in summer, the presence of Roman holiday makers rendered the spa almost entirely Latin-speaking)?

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[1] I thank Margot Whiting and Catherine Parnell for improving my English and David Langslow for commenting upon it. – When citing inscriptions, the mere Arabic number refers to *CIL* IV.

[2] *IGI Napoli*.

[3] On this question, see Nutton 1970, Nutton 1971 and Solin 2012.

Another difficulty lies in the fact that the language of an inscription and the language of the person involved in the raising of the inscription do not always coincide. That is to say, the author of a Latin inscription could be a native speaker of Greek or of another foreign language and vice versa, a Greek inscription could have been raised by a 'proper' Roman. This holds true for Rome, and perhaps even more so for Campania, where old Greek cultural traditions could also favour the use of Greek in a document produced by a Latin-speaking person or in a Latin-speaking environment.[4]

I

I have always been interested in the use of Greek at Pompeii and the interpretation of its Greek inscriptions. One point of particular interest concerns the extent to which the graffiti can be useful in revealing the ethnic origin of the authors of those writings.[5] The number of Greek stone-inscriptions in Pompeii is minimal and, generally, they do not offer an adequate starting point for the present topic. The two most interesting inscriptions, however, reveal some details about the circles where Greek was used as the language of inscriptions: *IG* XIV 701 that was inscribed in 3 BC by C. Iulius Hephaestion, a priest of a Phrygian ethnic group;[6] and *IG* XIV 702 that belongs to Τερεντία Παραμόνη ἱέρεια Δήμητρος Θεσμοφόρου (she could originate from the Greek East, but her origins remain open). But persons who had inscriptions written in Greek did not necessarily originate from the East, for, as in Rome, also in Campania, Pompeii included, Greek could be used in inscriptions raised by 'ordinary' Romans.[7] The graffiti, which is the principal epigraphic material of Pompeii, can be considered to contain a higher degree of spontaneity than the stone inscriptions, including the epitaphs, and it is this fact that gives the Pompeian graffiti a privileged place in Roman studies. No other ancient Italian centre offers anywhere near such an amount of material of this kind. Fortunately, the number of Greek graffiti in Pompeii is considerable; in addition there are also a number of Oscan texts and a few written in Etruscan (recently collected in *CIE* 8747–8775) and in Semitic languages (*CIL* IV 4961. 4962 [Safaitic],[8] 8010 = *CIJ* 562 = *JIWE* I 215 [Aramaic][9]).[10] The basic question is whether the non-Latin graffiti were normally written by people speaking the language in question as their native language. While the authors of graffiti in languages other than Greek can normally also be considered as speakers of those languages, the authorship of Greek graffiti is in this respect less clear. From Pompeii ca.

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[4] Many good observations about the use of Greek in Roman environment in Kaimio 1979.

[5] Some minor (and uncritical) observations in Biville 2003.

[6] Γάιος Ἰούλιος Ἡφαιστίωνος υἱὸς Ἡφαιστίων, ἱερατεύσας τοῦ πολιτεύματος τῶν Φρυγῶν, ἀνέθηκε Δία Φρύγιον. His Phrygian provenance seems to be evident although he uses, to indicate the date of the inscription, the Egyptian month Pharmouthi.

[7] A few concrete examples are offered by Belayche 2007.

[8] Cf. Calzini Gysens 1987, where six other graffiti (written in the same language) are published.

[9] Cf. Lacerenza 1996. The author publishes another two graffiti written in the same language, which escaped the attention of the previous editors. The inscriptions, included by Frey 1936 in his Corpus, have nothing Jewish in them or about them.

[10] Cf. also the word *cherem*, Latin transliteration of the Hebrew term *ḥerem*: Giordano and Kahn 2001³, 91–101.

8300 wall-inscriptions have been identified.[11] Of these, ca. 200 were written in Greek. Of the Greek graffiti, not one is accompanied by an ethnicon; it is not possible to assign an ethnic origin to a single person who is mentioned. Among the Latin inscriptions, there are a few cases where a person of Eastern ethnic does occur, like *Iapetus Delphicus* or *Eutychis Graeca*. Apart from these, however, all the other cases where the editors of the wall-inscriptions in the fourth volume of *CIL*, Karl Zangemeister and August Mau, have wanted to recognize a similar use of an ethnic, remain uncertain and must be explained in a different way. So, for example, in 4862 (lost) *Berutius felator*, *Berutius* hardly denotes, pace Mau (*CIL* IV, index p. 768), an origin in Berytus, Beirut. *Berutius* must represent the name of that *fellator*, but whether it is the cognomen *Berytius* (written with *-u-*) or something else, such as the gentile name *Verutius*, written with *B-*, remains open. The cognomen *Berytius* occurs twice in Latin inscriptions: once with a clear connection to the Syrian town (*A. Octavius Berytius Beryto*, soldier of the legio II Traiana in AD 157: *AE* 1969–1970, 633, VI 11), once without any such connection (*Iulia Berytia* in *Corpus des inscr. d'Albanie* 65). The gentile name *Verutius* appears in *CIL* XIV 4502 (Ostia) and in *ILAlg* II 4569. 4570; in *CIL* VI 20317, it is used as a cognomen and could also be explained as a secondary spelling for *Berytius* (but I would opt for the gentile name used as a cognomen). Another interesting case is 4874 (lost). Here, the editor Mau gave the text this form: *Vit. Vitalio baliat (valeat?). Car est. Musicus*. He took *Car* as an ethnic. If so, there would be two men: a Vitalio from Caria and a Musicus. Why not? Both *Vitalio* and *Musicus* are wide-spread personal names. Another possibility – I would opt for this one – would be to see in *car* the conjunction *quare*, used here as a predecessor of French 'car'. The spelling *car* is not too difficult to explain, especially if we assume a haplography for *car(e) est*. Another case of *quare* in the sense of French 'car' (2421) can be found in Pompeii.[12] The text should be printed in the following manner: *Vit(alio). Vitalio baliat* (certainly = *valeat*), *car est musicus*: 'good health to Vitalio, as he is a musician'. As an entertainer of people, he might be an acceptable guest in the eyes of the author of the graffito.[13] A third example is 4831 *qui scripsit Syrus nequam*. According to Mau, this should be interpreted in the following manner: 'the man who wrote this, is a no-good Syrian'. Perhaps so, but we can interpret *Syrus* as a personal name as well. *Syrus* was a popular cognomen in Rome, used without any connection with a Syrian background.[14]

As for the wording and diction, that is to say the content, of the Pompeian graffiti written in Greek, they rarely provide any hints that the authors could be of Eastern origin. They often bear Latin cognomina. As such, a Latin cognomen is not a certain sign of the Western origin of the name-bearer, as Latin names were also popular in Greece, Asia Minor, Syria and even Egypt. Nonetheless, the high percentage of Latin names in the Greek graffiti shows that not all of the name-bearers can come from the Greek East. Moreover, the numerous Latin graffiti written in Greek characters and vice versa – Greek

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[11] Cf. Solin 1998, 100f.

[12] Cf. Väänänen 1966³, 126.

[13] VIT at the beginning of the text is best interpreted as an anticipation of the name *Vitalio*; Egger 1960, 24 understands *vit(a)*, but that does not make sense.

[14] Solin 2003², 668 f. lists 23 instances of *Syrus* and 9 of *Syra*. In Greek onomastics, Σύρος Σύρα could be used as a pure personal name (without any connection with the ethnic significance), as appears in Theocr. 10, 26 Βομβύκα χαρίεσσα, Σύραν καλέοντί τυ πάντες, where a girl who surely was not a Syrian, bears the second name Σύρα (cf. the commentary of Gow 1950, 199).

graffiti written in Latin characters (a topic Leiwo has dealt with),[15] point to the possibility that Greek was widely used among ordinary Pompeians.

An interesting case, where it has been difficult to decide whether the graffito in question should be interpreted as Latin or Greek, is 6730. Mau thought this was a Greek graffito, and interpreted it as follows: ἐκ(τὸν?) καλάνδας Ὀκτοβρ (the graffito is lost, so that the reading cannot be checked). In reality, it is a Latin inscription written in Greek characters, with only one little misspelling, Ὀκτοβρ, with an omicron instead of omega, more understandable in a Latin than in a Greek text. It should, I think, read as follows: [δ]εκ(ιμουμ) Καλανδας Ὀκτοβρ(ης). Note also Καλανδας instead of *-lend-*, a spelling due to Greek influence. In Greek documents the word was normally written Καλανδ-, which reflects the original Latin spelling *Kaland-*, preceding the change *a* > *e* in the middle syllable.[16] At this point, I will take the opportunity to present a new interpretation of another Greek-Latin muddle: 5267 (unfortunately it is lost, so that the difficult reading cannot be verified), which Mau read in the following manner: ΛΟΥΚΙΟΝΛΙCVNNV. According to Mau, the graffito would represent a Greek-Latin mixed script, which seems to be correct. He also thought that Λούκιον is an erroneous writing for Λούκιος or Λούκιε. That interpretation cannot stand. The translation offered by Werner Krenkel, in an otherwise well-written article, is not much better – 'Lucius (says): lick a cunt'.[17] I would see here an authentic accusative and give the text the following form: Λούκιον, λι(γγιτ) *cunnu(m)*, 'Lucius, he is a genuine arselicker'. We are dealing here with the so-called accusative of exclamation. In an article that appeared in 2007 I discussed accusatives in an emphatic position at the beginning of a colon, where one would expect a nominative;[18] the discussion above is an addendum to that article. Such a use of the accusative is not unknown at Pompeii, and from the viewpoint of the Romance languages, it is noteworthy that the accusative is already tending towards becoming the universal case in the first century AD.

It is now appropriate to move to the Greek inscriptions proper.[19] There are rare cases where several Greek graffiti have been found in a single building. One interesting example comes from House V 2, 15. The inscriptions from this house have been edited by August Mau under no° 3443 (a painted inscription) and 4138–4151 (graffiti). Besides Latin texts, there are also several Greek ones (4138. 4139. 4141–4144); one of the scribbles seems to be bilingual (4144). Unfortunately, all of the inscriptions are lost (and no photographs are available), so that we cannot observe the graphic skills of the writers. Nonetheless, the contents of the graffiti are interesting. Even the personal names deserve our attention, as they are partly rare or unique formations, and could give hints as to the origins of the writers. To begin with, Κυπαρίνη 4141 (probably present also in 4142) does not appear in any other Greek or Latin source as a personal name (not even as an appellative), but is a plausible onomastic formation with the suffix *-inus -ina* from the popular woman's name *Cypare* (in the city of Rome alone this occurs some 33 times). However, this first appearance of a Greek name in ancient sources does not in itself prove

[15] Leiwo 1995b.

[16] I mention in passing the Latin graffito 6878 written with Greek letters, which was not rendered impeccably by Mau. It must be read ΓΡΑΝΙΥC, i. e. Γρανιυς. The same name is repeated in 6879, in the same form, as it seems.

[17] Krenkel 2006, 299. Cf. also Biville 2003, 229.

[18] Solin 2007.

[19] A list of Greek inscriptions published in *CIL* IV is given by Mau in the index p. 786; add 1111.

anything certain about an Eastern origin of our Cyparine. In 4142 the probable mention of the name of Cyparine is followed by a mess where only the word ψωλή is recognizable, an obscene term, attested in Greek from the 4th century BC, and also identified in Roman graffiti (*AE* 1999, 317). Scarcely intelligible are the other messes in 4143 and 4144, and also in 4139 (if at all Greek). In 4143 one can distinguish τὸν Μύσιον, but it is not easy to say to what it refers, hardly to a contemporary inhabitant or visitor from Mysia, although the article before the ethnic is normally used in Greek to indicate a place or the like in Mysia. These three graffiti have either been read incorrectly by the editor, or their author was not able to express himself clearly enough. The latter pattern is well-known from other Greek graffiti, for example from Rome or Ostia.[20] It is hard to say whether this reflects in some way the fact that the writers did not speak Greek as their mother tongue – whether they were Romans or Easterners with a mother tongue other than Greek. The most rewarding of the inscriptions of this complex is 4138, to be read Εἰσιτύχη σώζουσα (according to the editor, there was a space between ЄICI and TYXH) when compared with *CIL* XIV 2867 where the same compound form *Isityche* appears.[21] Isis and Fate are often equated in the Hellenistic period.[22] What we can see is this: the skills of the writers of the Greek graffiti of this complex vary considerably, and the major mistakes are partly due to their inability to express themselves in Greek script. Be that as it may, these graffiti – and also others in Pompeii and elsewhere – are, for all their banality, living witnesses to the hybrid Hellenistic-Roman culture in Italy.

As for the contents of the Greek graffiti of Pompeii, some further observations about the origins of their writers can be made. First, the probative force of the proper names should be mentioned. For example, could one accept that the lady, whose name is written Καικιλία Μαξίμα in 1549 is of Greek origin? Naturally, she may not necessarily be the actual writer since the graffito could also have been written by an admirer, for example.

An interesting case is 4843 which is a list of names. All names are Latin (Πρόκλος, Μᾶρκος, Λούκιος, Ιουσστῖνος; the origin of the fifth name, Πολ(---), remains uncertain as it is abbreviated). The point is: was the graffito written by one hand, or have all five individuals signed their names themselves? If the graffito was written by only one hand, then the use of Greek would say nothing about the ethnic origin of the others, who probably constituted some sort of sodality, perhaps of an erotic nature. This is, however, impossible to verify as the graffito is lost. Apart from the authorship of the graffito, one can pose the question about the origin of the four *sodales* bearing Latin names and, in connection with this, one has to recognize that all those four names were also well-known in the Greek East. The second name, Μᾶρκος, is also found in another graffito, 4455. Marcus was one of the four evangelists, as was Lucas (his name is a derivative of Lucius provided with the Greek suffix *-as*). For the student of the history of Latin name-giving, it might not be surprising that of the four evangelists, two bore Latin names but none bore a Greek one.

I mention briefly Λιβερᾶλις in 2270, and Ἱσπανός, Ἰανουαρία, a couple appearing in 4271. I suggest a new reading for 5217, where Mau proposed to read αὐλήτα. On the basis of his apographon, I would without hesitation propose Αὖκτα, a good Latin

[20] A few examples are dealt with by Solin 1972, 190–199.

[21] This has been seen independently by van Buren 1926 and Weinreich 1979, 65. See also *IGUR* 178, *Suppl. It.* 11 (1993) 194 n. 3, and Rostovtzeff 1903, 2165. Σώζουσα as an epithet of Isis is attested in *P. Oxy*. XI 1380, 76.

[22] Cf. Nilsson 1961², 209.

cognomen. An intricate case is 4991 where the first line was read by the editor August Mau as OYIBALHC, but he has not succeeded in explaining it, as he registered it in the Index vocabulorum (p. 766) in the form ουιβαλης. I think we must understand it as *Vi(bius) Bales* = *Valens*, i.e. a pure Latin name sequence written in Greek. Where did the name-bearer come from?

Expressions and other peculiarities could perhaps in individual cases indicate that the writer spoke Greek as his/her main language. Such cases, however, are rare and must be examined with caution. To take just one example: the two related expressions ἐμνήσθη ὁ δεῖνα τοῦ δεῖνος and μνησθῇ ὁ δεῖνα are epigraphically well-attested everywhere in the Mediterranean. The first is often called the Greek type, whilst the latter is called the Eastern type.[23] Both are also known from Roman, Ostian and Campanian graffiti. The first category is encountered three times at Pompeii. The first, 4189, is often misunderstood: ἐμνήσθη Θεόφιλος Βερόης ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ παρὰ τῇ κυρίᾳ. The graffito still exists in the *Casa delle nozze d'argento*, where I saw it in 2008 and found that the reading given by Mau was correct. The meaning of the graffito is also clear: "Theophilus has remembered Beroe wishing her well before the mistress (Isis)", but nonetheless it has been subject of rash interpretation.[24] The second case, 4839, is highly interesting: Ἀμέριμνος ἐμνήσθη Ἁρμονίας τῆς εἰδίας κυρίας ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ, ἧς ὁ ἀριθμὸς με' τοῦ καλοῦ ὀνόματος,[25] "Amerimnus has remembered Harmonia, his own mistress, wishing her well; 45 is the number of her beautiful name." It cannot be excluded, in either case, that the author was Greek. Nonetheless, it is not certain. It seems, to all intents, that the author had a good knowledge of Greek. The third example is 6828, where the verb is written without the augment: (ἐ)μνήσθη Πρειμ(ογ)ένης πύπλεικος Καίσαρος, 'Primogenes (a by-form of Primigenius), a *servus publicus*, has remembered the emperor'.[26] Observe that the gen. Καίσαρος does not depend on *publicus* (a *servus publicus* cannot at the same time be an imperial slave). The second category (the Eastern type) does not appear in Pompeii; that is expected, since this type did not spread to the West before AD 79.[27] Graffito 5451 μνησθῇ Πεκουλιᾶρις, included in the edition of *CIL* IV, is from Naples and must be considerably later. Mau is mistaken, it is not (ἐ)μνήσθη and the augment should not be added.[28] This oriental type also occurs elsewhere in Campania, as at Puteoli.[29]

What can be said about the linguistic origin of the authors of these graffiti? They could be Greeks, especially in light of the joke in 4839, a joke recurring in 4861 φιλῷ ἧς ἀριθμὸς φμε'. But it is not necessary to suppose a Greek origin. A *servus publicus*

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[23] See above all the classic study by Rehm 1941.

[24] To mention just one of these, Bricault 2005, 606 no. 504/0215 translates "Théophilos de Béroia s'est souvenu"; in the same way, Ehrhardt 2004, 268 or Belayche 2007. But *Beroe* is a woman's name, not an ethnicon.

[25] For the explanation of the graffito see, e. g., Dornseiff 1925², 112; Guarducci 1958, 425; *Bull. épigr*. 1964, 618. 1973, 380; Solin 1975, 265, no. 35; Puglia 2004–2005, 306f. The name, whose letters give the number 45, cannot be Ἁρμονία; perhaps it is a pet name of some kind of Harmonia's used by Amerimnus.

[26] Wrong Biville 2003, 229, who thinks that Primogenes was an 'esclave public impérial'. But a *servus publicus* could not, at the same time, be an Imperial slave!

[27] At Oplontis there is, perhaps, a case from the late Neronian period; see below, fn. 29.

[28] Miranda, *IGI Napoli* 191, who writes μνησθῇ Πεκουλιάρις, correctly omitting the augment, but wrongly using the acute in the name, leaves the question of dating open.

[29] Guarducci 1971, 220. At Oplontis: De Franciscis 1979; the reading and interpretation are certain, so that we have here the oldest example of the oriental type from Italy (the graffito may be dated to the late Neronian period).

provided with a Latin name – does he really have to be labelled a Greek? He might have learned Greek in the service of the Roman State.

Graffito 5202 is also interesting: θεῶν ἡμέρας· Κρόνου, Ἡλίου, Σελήνης, Ἄρεως, Ἑρμοῦ, Διός, Ἀφροδείτης. The author was either a Greek or a person versed in Greek and Greek customs. Note also the almost impeccable orthography and the accusative ἡμέρας, called in French the *accusatif figé*. The author begins with Saturday – this was normal. If not a Greek, he or she had perhaps learned the days of the week in Greek at school? I would like to conclude this topic with an ambiguous case, 2204: μολα φουτουτρις. Is this Greek, or Latin written in Greek characters? And is MOLA a proper name or the term of abuse *mula*? I prefer, unlike most interpretations,[30] the latter explanation.

I continue with an interesting painted inscription, a sort of acclamation, whose reading I was able to verify in 2011: 2993*y*, published by Zangemeister in the following way: CATPIΩ / OYAΛƐNTI / OγOYCTΩ / NHP ΦHΛIKITερ. Zangemeister himself did not see the dipinto, but reproduces the text on the basis of the apographon made by De Petra (he improved the text by changing at the start of line 3 OI to Ὀγ-). It is important to note that the text was collated by Friedrich Matz soon after its discovery (*Bull. Inst*. 1869, 241). He saw slight traces of it, that is to say, the text must have already been damaged when it was discovered. That is why the reading by De Petra cannot be blindly accepted. Also, nobody after Matz seems to have collated it. However, it still exists in the Archaeological Museum of Naples where I saw it on the 22nd March 2011 (and where it had been photographed twice, the first time in the 1950s and a second time later). My detailed examination and the inspection of the photographs (one in the collection of the Palaeographic Institute at the University of Roma La Sapienza, and another published in A. Varone - G. Stefani 2009, 21) have revealed that the original reading provided by De Petra is very uncertain and probably partly erroneous. Only the first two lines are free from suspicion, and I wonder how much De Petra was able to read with certainty of the remaining lines. In 3, one can see only a C, followed by a vertical line (it contains in its upper part a short line drawn from right to left, giving the letter the appearance of an inverted Γ); the rest has vanished. In any case, the existence of a mention of Augustus is at stake. Moreover, the spelling Ὀγ- is quite surprising, as *August-* normally becomes *Agust-* in Vulgar Latin. A spelling *Ogust-* is not attested anywhere, not even in Greek (where one would anyway expect Ὠγ- instead of Ὀγ-). The position of *Augustus* after the name of Satrius Valens and before the presumed mention of Nero would also be surprising. In line 4, I would prefer to see the first letter not as an N, but as an A, followed by two vertical lines. At the end, KIT is well possible, but the middle of the line is illegible. The spelling Νηρ- for Νερ- would be unique (even if not completely impossible in an inscription of this kind). All that can be said of the graffito, with any plausibility, is that it contains a sort of exclamation to Satrius Valens, perhaps D. Lucretius Satrius Valens, who was lord mayor of Pompeii in the middle of the 1st century AD. The rest remains a mystery.

Some remnants of Greek poetry were also found on the walls of Pompeii; for example, the first word of European literature: Μῆνιν (8007: the editor Della Corte did

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[30] E. g., Zangemeister and Mau; further Kajanto 1965b, 455; Adams 1982; De Caro 2000, 57; Varone 2003, 200; 210; Varone 2005, 107.

not recognize the citation);[31] and another Homeric verse, or rather part of a verse, which often occurs in both the Iliad and the Odyssey: 4078 καί μιν φωνή.[32] The following cases are important to note: 2400a, which is a palindrome written both in Greek and Latin letters,[33] and which also appears in a wall-inscription in Lausanne (thus, it must have been wide-spread during the Imperial period);[34] and 4370 τὰ πρῶτα λέλογχε, with which the author might have tried to attain a hexametric rhythm, perhaps in an athletic or gladiatorial context;[35] and 4887 ΘΕΟΔΟΜΗΤΕ Μ ΑΠΑΤΡΑ / αἰθέριαι πτέρυγες δολίου, whose second line is an imitation of epic poetry, if not lifted from an unknown verse.[36] They might derive from the hand of a Greek, but they could also have been written by an educated Pompeian with Latin as his mother tongue, who wanted to exercise and advertise his familiarity with Greek verse.

If the authors of such Greek graffiti are not Greeks, how have they acquired the facility to produce Greek script? In part, a basic education could be responsible for the ability to write in Greek, but there must also be other sources for the diffusion of the knowledge of Greek. Pompeii was a port, and thus the Pompeians had the opportunity to meet foreigners and to speak with them. Also, it is important to bear in mind that the number of slaves and freedmen of Eastern origin was not inconsiderable in an industrial and commercial centre like Pompeii, and these will have furthered the knowledge of Greek in the population. This does not mean, however, that all the authors of Greek graffiti would have been Greeks. Persons of Greek origin could always express themselves in Latin, while native Pompeians could use Greek without scruple. Greek was, after all, the lingua franca of the Mediterranean during the middle and later Republican period and during the Principate.

There is a good, modern, parallel for such a situation. The walls of public facilities in Helsinki contain besides Finnish (and, to a lesser extent, Swedish) graffiti, others written in English, the lingua franca of the new generation. Partly, they contain rude words and expressions and romantic yearnings, but other types of sayings are also present, sometimes having popular-philosophical contents. They do not all come from native speakers of English since the English is of universally poor quality and unidiomatic. They must, for the most part, have been written by Finns who have borrowed these sayings from films, the internet and other similar sources.

It is often supposed in studies of Roman Italy in general, and of Pompeii in particular, that Greek inscriptions (mostly graffiti) and Greek names may be related to a Greek presence. But this cannot be supported by the choice of language, as I have tried to

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[31] Van Buren 1952, 2036 mentions a graffito containing this word. It is certainly that which was reported by Della Corte under 8007 from I 6, 2, in a room with mystic representations, of which he says 'non expedivi'. It is certainly the same graffito, as van Buren says he had seen it *am Eingang des Mysteriensaales der Casa del Crittoportico (wohl noch nicht veröffenlicht)* of I 6, 2.

[32] It occurs 21 times in the Iliad and 30 times in the Odyssey; cf., e.g., Latacz 2002², 91 to v. 201.

[33] For the interpretation see, e. g., Immisch 1891, 488 f. (erroneous); Gigante, 1979, 76f.

[34] The Lausanne graffito was most recently published in Nesselhauf - Lieb 1959, 135, no. 37. Also in a papyrus from Tebtynis (Di Benedetto 1965, 18–20 no. 3).

[35] Gigante 1979, 47 thinks of the prize of a victorious athlete. Given the findspot, the *ludus gladiatorius*, the graffito could also contain some hints at the gladiatorial games.

[36] Gigante 1979, 47 thinks (with hesitation) of Dolios, slave of Ulysses, but that does not fit the context. Perhaps the author had the deceitful Hermes in mind, Ἑρμῆς δόλιος (this epithet of the god appears in Soph. *Phil*. 113; Arist. *Plut*. 1157. *Thesm*. 1202). Hermes, the messenger of gods, is sometimes depicted in Greek and Roman iconography as winged. Thus, the verse could mean: the celestial wings of the deceitful Hermes.

show above. The use of Greek names cannot possibly have any implications regarding the ethnic origin of the name-bearers, as I have tried to demonstrate ever since my doctoral thesis of 1971.[37] To take just one recent example, Joan Berry in her interesting and well-written book *Complete Pompeii* of 2007, uses language choice and onomastic criteria without hesitation in defining the ethnic origin of the person in question.

What about Greek names which were written in Greek? In the examination above, Latin names written in Greek were mentioned. I think there is little to say about the origin of writers who have written their Greek names in Greek. They may have been Greeks, but could also have been Latin-speaking Romans. If the graffiti present divine names instead of names of persons, the probability of the writers being of Greek origin is a little higher. On this point, however, one has to be careful. Graffito 4169 runs ϵP ΔIΩNHC. The editor takes Διώνη as a divine name (index p. 768), but it could also be interpreted as the personal name *Dione*, which is attested in Rome and generally in the Roman world, if not very frequently, at least to some extent. Perhaps the writer wanted to mention two distinct persons: Ἔρ(ως) Διώνης.

Constraints of space do not allow me to deal further with personal names. I would just like to say that, in the Imperial period, the use of Greek names in southern Italy does not, in contrast to general opinion, differ essentially from that in the Roman world in general. That is to say, there is no noteworthy old substratum from Magna Graecia. Not even Naples, which remained (especially in terms of administration) a Greek city for a long time, preserved old Greek names characteristic of Magna Graecia. The Neapolitans used the same Greek and Latin names as the population of the rest of South Italy and of Rome. This is the impression one gets whilst going through Miranda's new corpus and also the corpus of Latin inscriptions from Naples. The same is true for the language-use reflected in the Pompeian graffiti, which surely represent a down-to-earth, everyday use; they reflect a normal koine used everywhere in the Hellenistic and Roman periods.

As for the influence of Greek on the Latin inscriptions of Pompeii, there is no space to deal with this topic here. The essential characteristics have been dealt with long before, and have been described in historical grammars of Latin and, of course, in Väänänen's book on the Latin of the Pompeian inscriptions.[38] There is, however, much work still to be done. Just to take one single example: nobody has observed the vocative *Pyrami* in 1382a *Purami, va(le)*, that must be explained as formed in a Greek manner. In correct Latin, the vocative would be *Pyramis*.[39]

To finish my Pompeian reflections, I would like to touch briefly on an interesting graffito, consisting mostly of Greek grammatical terms in Latin transliteration, otherwise unattested in Latin. This is inscription no. 1364, whose text runs, according to my reading, as follows:

Nomina NYCHI
genice,
thietice(?),
dotice, *patagricae,*
5 *onomastice,* *onagricae.*

[37] Solin 1971.
[38] Väänänen 1966.
[39] Väänänen 1966, 80 assumes (erroneously) a loss of the final *-s*.

phyrrice,
Byᶜz`antice,
Cretice,
dyᶜn`astice,
gymnice,
Chizecae,

This is an interesting list of words, which some Pompeian (or temporary resident) may have wanted to compose in order to recall past memories of his school-teaching. The author has inserted many of the words making fun of the practice of teaching, but it is not sure that he was a schoolboy concerned with grammatical exercises.[40] It is true that he might have had school-exercises still fresh in memory, which is shown by the fact that the selection of the words follows a certain order; first he offers Greek names of cases (I 2–5), which do not appear elsewhere in Latin, then various names or words provided with the Greek suffix -ική (I 6–11), and lastly he (or someone else – the hand might not be the same) added two words of Greek origin equipped with the same suffix (with the final eta written -*ae*). Be that as it may, all the words have the same ending -*ice* (written in I 11. II 1–2 -*icae*), which is correct in the names of cases, as πτῶσις is implied, but 6 ff. are of dubious interpretation: while 6 *phyrrice* and 10 *gymnice* are explicable as Latin words, *Byzantice* (as also -*icus*), *Cretice*,[41] *Dymantice* (as also -*icus*) or, if to be understood so, *dynastice* (as also -*icus*), *Cyzice* are not attested in Latin (in Greek, only Κρητική appears commonly in Greek literature, and δυναστικός -ή in Vettius Valens and Byzantine authors, Βυζαντικός -ική a few times in Byzantine literature, Κυζίκη only in Herodianus *Gramm. Gr*. III 1, 316, 10). Of the two words in the second column, the first remains fairly obscure, and *onagricae* would be a ghost word both in Greek and in Latin. It is difficult to say whether the author wanted to use Greek feminine forms or Latin adverbs. The names might have been rendered with the suffix -ική, but much remains obscure. One may conclude that the writer wished to perpetuate his jokes by writing them on the wall. Who he was remains obscure; at any rate he seems to have been equipped with some erudition which derived from his elementary education. It cannot be excluded that he was of Greek origin, judging from the fact that all he has done is to transliterate Greek words in Latin letters (the only Latin word is *nomina* put as a sort of heading) and that he used, in I 7, the letter X instead of Z. Perhaps this was influenced by the Greek alphabet, as these letters there were easily confused.[42]

I refrain here from a more detailed analysis of the contents of the graffito (where much is scarcely intelligible in virtue of the fact that the writer was either making fun consciously or corrupting words in ignorance) and refer to my commentary in the Supplement of *CIL* IV (forthcoming). A few remarks are appropriate here. At the start of the text the names of the cases in Greek are listed. Thus, one would also expect to see a mention of the accusative case, which might be found in I 3, if, as suggested by Helttula (1995), the corrupt word reflects efforts to spell the Greek name of the accusative, αἰτιατική. The wall seems to offer THIETICII (the last letter is an *e* written

[40] Some scholars suppose such a situation; thus Magaldi 1928, 143f.; Helttula, 1995 (important contribution). Helttula also thinks that the author has used in the selection of the word alphabetical order, which does seem to be the case; further Biville 2003, 221f.

[41] Only in transliterations of Greek words: Ps. Apul. *herb*. 38, 16 and 62, 18.

[42] Didym. *gramm*. In Demosth. 10, 38 ἐπὶ τὸ Βυξά[ν]τιον; but 2, 23 Βυζ-.

with two vertical strokes, a common cursive form, very popular at Pompeii), but how the corruptela of the 'correct' Latin transliteration *aetiatice* arose, is not clear.[43] – I 6: *phyrrice* is *pyrriche* (note the transposition of the aspiration to establish the suffix *-ice*), the name of a war-dance or reel.[44] – I 9: DYMA is certain, and the fifth letter was probably an S. It has often been supposed that ST was amended into NT,[45] in which case there would be a mention of the Trojan hero Dymas. Close examination has, however, revealed that the fifth letter was not amended. Thus, one has to read DYMASTICE for the correct spelling *dynastice* (see above). – I 11: the reading CHIZECAE is not completely certain, but plausible. If so, then it should be connected with the well-known town of Cyzicus.[46] This was situated near Byzantium which is mentioned earlier in the text. The anomalous form, with the aspiration *Ch-* and the ending *-e*, can be ascribed to the inventiveness of the fun-making writer. – II 1 offers a tough nut to crack. Some scholars have proposed that we should understand *podagrice*,[47] and indeed with valid arguments: the word is common in both Greek and in Latin, and, more importantly, this adjective (together with the more Latinate *podagrosus*) was discussed at school (cf. e. g. Probus *gramm*. IV 212, 14). An alternative suggestion concerns an otherwise unknown adverb **patagiarice*, but this is less likely.[48] – II 2: *onagricae* (the reading of which is not completely certain) has been explained in various ways. What is certain is that it is, in some way, related to ὄναγρος *onager* 'wild ass'.[49]

II

I would like to finish this paper by presenting a remarkable new collection of material from Capua, the wealthy and important ancient centre of Northern Campania. In 1977, some ten Greek graffiti were found in the excavations at Santa Maria Capua Vetere. I will soon be publishing them. They are all from the late Imperial period, as shown by the palaeography representing isolated forms of new Roman cursive. The contents also point to the same period. Perhaps I am not too far off the mark when I assign them to the 3rd or 4th centuries. On this occasion, I will deal with three which permit the recognition of several words and names.

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[43] Departing from the real pronunciation [*etiatice*], would it be possible to think that the writer had visualized the word as ἡ *thiatice*? If so, then the remaining errors would be slight mistakes (*th* instead of *t*, and *et* instead of *at*).

[44] See H. Breimeier, *ThLL* s. v. *pyrr(h)icha*, 2791f., who agrees with this explanation. Helttula 1995 relates it to the *versus pyrrhichius*, not convincingly.

[45] Thus Helttula 1995, who thinks that the writer had the Virgilian hero in mind.

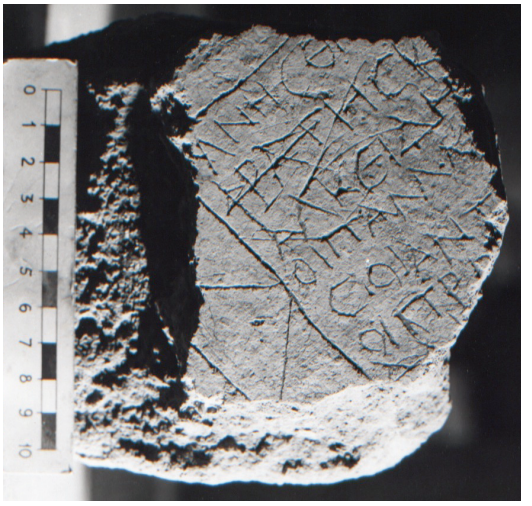
[46] Thus Helttula 1995. Väänänen 1966[3], 110 connects it with χέζω.

[47] Thus W. Heraeus, in the proofs of the Munich *Thesaurus* (see *ThLL* X 1, 651, 56f.), and Helttula 1995.

[48] Offered as an alternative by Helttula 1995.

[49] See the discussion in Helttula 1995, who sees the original of Plautus' Asinaria, *Onagros* (or *Onagos*: *Asin*. 10) as a possible source of inspiration for *onagricae*. However, she admitted that this word belonged to the repertory of grammatical examples (e. g. Char. *gramm*. p. 57, 3) to explain the Latin forms of the Greek names in -ρος with also this noun. Avellino (1841, 77) had observed a long time ago that *onagri* could have been seen in Pompeii in the spectacles at the amphitheatre; in the same way, Magaldi 1929–1930, 143f. – K. Plepelits, *ThLL*, s. v. *onagricae*, 628, 60–62 proposed that it would be written as a joke to imitate the word placed just before it, *onomastice*, hardly correctly.

1. The first is a μνησθῇ-graffito of the oriental type,[50] very interesting and full of peculiarities. It is on a fragment of wall plaster, containing a *tabula pseudo ansata*, which is broken on the right (Inv. n. 174229). The fragment measures 10.5 x 11 cm, the letters 1–1.5 cm. The text, written inside of the *tabula*, runs as follows:



Μνησθῇ [Εὐ-]
φράτης κ[αὶ?]
Ἀλκείδη[ς καὶ?]
οἱ Παμμ[ένει-?]
ς, οἱ Ἀντ[- - -]
οἱ Πρ+[- - -]
A++[- - -]
- - -(?)

If the supplement [Εὐ]φράτης in 1–2 is correct and there was no other name between the initial formula and that name, then we can calculate that only a few letters are missing on the right.

We can distinguish two personal names, *Euphrates* and *Alcides*, and three groups of persons, perhaps forming a sort of *sodalitas*. As for the two names, the supplementing of the former is practically certain, as no other names ending with -φράτης *-phrates* are known. *Euphrates* was a common personal name in the Imperial period, attested several times in Rome and also elsewhere in Italy,[51] as was *Alcides* as well.[52] Ἀλκείδης belongs to an old stock of Greek anthroponymy, which is often attested from the 5th century BC onwards, whereas Εὐφράτης came into use only in the Imperial period, with a solitary Hellenistic precursor.[53] The rest is made up of plural forms of names: either club names of some sort or ethnics. If *C* in 5 belongs to Παμμ[---] of line 4, a club name like οἱ Παμμένεις would match; if not, another club name like οἱ Παμμάχιοι or οἱ Πάμμουσοι (in that case, however, the initial *C*; in line 5 should be explained). Perhaps there was an ethnic, but of what kind? However, the interpretation of a club name is all but certain,

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[50] Of this kind of graffiti, see above.

[51] In Rome, 28 instances: Solin 2003², 697 s. In Italy: *CIL* XIV 2087 (Lavinium); IV 3340, 1; X 2719. 2872 (to this remarkable testimony cf. Solin 2005); V 6089; *AE* 1997, 463 (Cerfennia, regio IV); *Suppl. It*. 17 Ferrara 4. In Africa: *CIL* VIII 28031. The consul *Euphrata* or *Euphrates* of AD 192-206 (*AE* 2000, 1214) is of unknown origin.

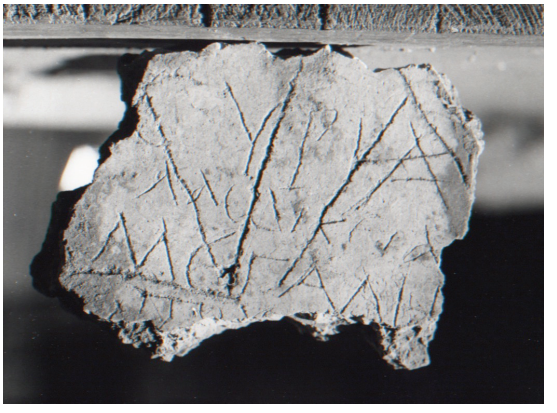
[52] In Rome, 16 instances: Solin 2003², 498. In Italy: *CIL* XIV 1144; X 1571. 2581. 8217 (Capua); V 2180. 3847; *Suppl. It*. 13 Nursia 96. In the provinces: *CIL* II 3607. XIII 2239. Of unknown origin: *CIL* XVI 78. 105.

[53] The name is missing in Bechtel 1917, which covers the time span until the end of the Hellenistic period, but the name is attested in a Rhodian inscription from ca. 100-70 BC: *SEG* XXXIX 750.

for such club names normally had the ending *-ius*, late coinages as they were.[54] In 5, an indication of the geographical group οἱ Ἀντιοχεῖς is not ruled out.[55] Line 6 offers a challenge. It is not certain which vowel follows ΟΙ ΠΡ, but it could be a badly written Ο. In that case it is possibly οἱ Προ[κοννήσιοι], or another club name, perhaps the one supposedly found in *CIL* VIII 16486 = 27824 (prov. proc.). The whole text there runs PROBATIOR, which could be explained as *Probatior(um)*.[56]

Due to their fragmentary state, it is not clear what these plural forms represent. They can refer to inhabitants of a city, or they may be some sort of club names, of the same stock as the so-called signa which became popular in the Roman world from the 3rd century AD onwards.[57]

2. Fragment of wall plaster. Inv. n. 174233. 6.5 x 8 cm; letters 0.8–2 cm. There seem to be two superimposed graffiti, one written with taller letters, of which VA or NA is preserved; the text written with smaller letters is Greek and runs as follows:



Συρία [---]
Λαοδίκεια [---]
Μεγάλη [---]
+ΠΟ+(?)

The fragmentary text seems to produce a few toponyms. The first clearly refers to Syria, but it is not certain in which grammatical case it stands. In addition to the nominative, the genitive also comes into question. If there is a reference in 2 to a Syrian Laodicea (*ad mare* or *ad Libanum*), then the mention of Syria could be a sort of heading, written in taller letters than the name of Laodicea, to be understood as Συρία· Λαοδίκεια, but this is far from secure. However, the name in 3 does not seem to refer to a Syrian toponym. The author of the graffito possibly had in mind Megalopolis in Arcadia, written, as happens in epigraphic sources, Μεγάλη πόλις (but I do not think one could combine

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[54] For such coinages, see Kajanto 1966.

[55] A signum *Antacius* in *CIL* VIII 2393.

[56] In the index of the cognomina of *CIL* VIII, a cognomen *Probatior* (which would be a unique formation) is registered. Thus, Kajanto 1965a, 277 too; but in 1966, 49 he proposes as an alternative to see here a compendium for *Probatior(um)*. Cf. also the signa *Probatius* (*CIL* VIII 12378); *Procopius* (*ILAlg* I 17); *Proserius* (*CIL* XI 379).

[57] All essential about the signa in Kajanto 1966. Some of his results are, however, open to debate.

Μεγάλη / πόλι[ς] in 3-4). Perhaps there lurks the epithet μεγάλη of another town? Such an epithet is attested a few times in epigraphic sources.[58]

3. Fragment of wall plaster. Inv. n. 174231. 20 x 12 cm; letters 1.5–3. The horizontal line in the upper part of the fragment could point to a *tabula* (*ansata* or not), but it is not certain. There seem to be two superimposed graffiti.

[---]+++[---]
[---] Μυλα[---]
[--- Ἀ]ντιο[χε---]
[---]ΘOICA[---]
[---Φ]ιλόξεν[---]

This graffito could also contain toponyms or ethnicons. Line 2 could be concealing either Mylasa, the Carian town, or Mylai in Sicily (or Perrhaibia?). 3 could refer to Antiochia, either the most famous town of that name, that on the Orontes in Syria, or another place. The whole fragment could be also composed of personal names: in 2, we could have something like Δαμυλᾶς/Δημυλᾶς; *Demylas* is attested as a male name also in Rome: *CIL* VI 17470. - In 3 Ἀντίοχος or the like. - 4: as the reading presented in the text does not give any intelligible name, I would read Y instead of I, even though the Y would be different from that in 2; so we would obtain a plausible name like Ἀνθοῦσα, a popular name in Rome and Italy in general. - 5: the fourth letter has the appearance of Z, but as ΙΛΟΖΕΝ would result in a *vox nihili*, it is better to take the letter as a Ξ, sometimes written in that way, thus producing Φιλόξενος, a popular name in both Greece and in Rome and Italy.

Thus, putting these possibilities together, we could give the text the following exemplary form:

[Δη]μυλᾶ[ς] / [Ἀ]ντίο[χος] / [Ἀν]θοῦσα / [Φ]ιλόξεν[ος] / [---].

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[58] E. g., *OGIS* 709 = *I. Smyrna* 901. Ἑρμούπολις ἡ Μεγάλη; *OGIS* 654 Διόσπολις Μεγάλη; *SEG* XXXII 1066 ἡ μεγάλη Ἡρακλεούπολις; Bosch 1967, 245, 184 ἡ μεγάλη Ἀλεξάνδρεια; *IDR* I 34 (Alburnus Maior) Ἀλβουρνος Μεγάλη.

The ten graffiti found in the complex vary considerably in the quality of writing and of expression. The whole group may originate from immigrants of lower social strata, who mostly come from Asia Minor and Syria.

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How to Say No in Latin: Negative Turns, Politeness and Pragmatic Variation

Rolando Ferri

Introduction

Latin speakers, like most speakers of modern living languages, often found themselves in the situation of wanting or having to say no to their interlocutors. This paper is about contradiction in Latin, and the strategies employed by Latin speakers, if and when they chose, to mitigate expressions of denial and refusal. I shall not therefore concentrate on the history and evolution of Latin negative adverbials,[1] but on the discursive strategies employed by Latin speakers, when we can reconstruct them, to minimize the offence of a no-reply.

The theoretical framework in which Latin speakers' linguistic strategies of refusal and denial are analysed is that of the well-known monograph of P. Brown and S.C. Levinson, *Politeness. Some Universals in Language Usage* (Cambridge 1987). Brown and Levinson define politeness as the effort to maintain face, that is an individual's reputation and respect, in a social context. Requests undermine an interlocutor's face, potentially involving a social threat which speakers try to go round in various ways, when they choose to adapt to conventions of politeness. In the same way, negative answers to requests, too, potentially wound an interlocutor's social pride: to say "no" requires a degree of diplomacy, at least if we aim at maintaining cordial terms, or if our interlocutor is socially superior to us.

This situation is neatly captured in (1), where a slave is too timid to say simply *no* to his master, when a positive answer was expected, for fear to displease him.

1) Pomp. *gramm. GLK* V.311.12 *charientismos est, quotiens e contrario dicimus. habemus etiam apud auctores hoc: ecce habemus in Afranio, interrogat servum adulescens 'numquis me quaesivit?' et ille servus respondet 'bona fortuna', id est nullus; quasi rem duram dictu mitius dixit.*

   We have *charientismos* when we use the contrary expression. We find this even in classical authors, for example we have that in Afranius, where the young man asks the servant 'did anyone look for me', and the servant answers 'only Lady Luck', that is no one, thereby glossing over something unpleasant.

In a similar vein, Donatus, *In Ter. Eun.* 341, shows that the straightforward answer *nihil* was too direct, in an "urbane" context (that is, in polite conversation), and was replaced by *recte*:

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[1] For a general outline of these adverbials cf. Hofmann and Szantyr 1965, 452; Hofmann 1985, 111–113; Thesleff 1960, passim.

2) Don. *In Ter. Eun.* 341 ROGO NVMQVID VELIT *hoc est: significo me abire; nam abituri, ne id dure facerent, 'numquid vis' dicebant his quibuscum constitissent.* RECTE INQVIT *pro eo quod est 'nihil' moraliter* ἀστειισμῷ.

'Anything else I can do for you?, I asked' – that is: I made him understand I intended to go; for people, when leaving, used to say *numquid vis* to those with whom they had happened to be, in order not to appear rude. He answered 'I'm fine' – a phrase meaning 'nothing', but used by people of good manners.

Neither Brown and Levinson nor the numerous subsequent contributions elaborated in the same theoretical framework devote much attention to the Classical languages, mostly because politeness tends to be observed in colloquial exchanges of living languages. However, a few studies have appeared in recent years in which some use is made of the Brown and Levinson politeness theory.[2]

The present paper has no claim to advance the theory; I chose this subject because Latin is generally absent or misrepresented in outlines of the Brown and Levinson theory; yet much can be gained for our understanding of spoken and informal Latin, especially, from paying closer attention to the politeness strategies of Latin speakers.

Firstly, attention to politeness issues is useful to clarify the literal meaning of some passages. Secondly, the study of polite language enhances our understanding of characterization, in dramatic and narrative texts. Thirdly, politeness is important to determine register variation in Latin, that is the need to adapt one's language and style of expression in response to contextual variants, typically social (addressing a superior), but also pragmatic (the urgency of one's request, the degree of intimacy with the interlocutor, the speaker's involvement, the benefit envisaged for either the speaker or the addressee, the intrinsic importance and relevance of the object of the debate).

I therefore discuss here a number of cases of contradiction, which can be read in social and, more often, in pragmatic terms. I'll endeavour to survey various different lexical and grammatical means of introducing politeness elements in a phrase, from zero or minimal politeness investment to the more elaborate attempts to minimize or hide the force of a denial.

The following evidence derives mostly from Roman comedy, Cicero (the letters, but also the orations and the dialogues) and Roman grammatical writers: special attention is paid to cases in which there is some metalinguistic commentary on the impact of a "no reply" phrase, and on the different strategies of redressive action for minimizing the effect of refusal. Of course, when assessing the linguistic realism of this documentation, some allowance must be made for the literary agendas of the sources: the representation of dialogue, counterintuitive as this may seem, is more characteristic of literary texts than of subliterary documents, such as the letters of Claudius Terentianus or the Vindolanda tablets. Moreover, the great majority of politeness phrases in real-life conversation consists of phatic moves, especially short and inarticulate responses signifying assent

[2] No attempt is made here to provide updates on the theory from the sociolinguistic point of view, as the number of publications in the wake of the Brown and Levinson monograph, first published in 1978, is very considerable. References to current issues in the politeness debate can be found in Watts 2003; Hickey and Stewart 2005. Recent applications of the theory to Greek and Latin texts can be found in Risselada 1993; De Melo 2007; Ferri 2008a; Ferri 2008b; Hall 2009; Lloyd 2005 and Lloyd 2009; Dickey 2010.

and cooperation, which ancient literary, and generally written, texts tend to ignore – with the partial exception of comedy.[3]

Straightforward no: *non*, *immo*, *nolo* vs. *non oportet*, *non opus est*

3) *CIL* IV 3494 *'HOC' 'NON, MIA EST'.*

Example (3) is taken from a wall painting in a Pompeii taberna, a pub in which customers went for their happy hour, and felt free to behave with not much inhibition with the barmaid taking orders. In this case two patrons are competing for the barmaid's attentions, the left-hand side one saying "here", the right-hand side saying "no, she's mine", with vulgar Latin vowel reduction in hiatus. That example is a simple straightforward *no* instance of no particular relevance, included mainly for the icastic nature of the scene. The girl's answer is not easily legible, but she basically says, true to her type: "who wants to take, let him take", presumably leaving it on purpose ambiguous whether wine or woman is meant.

4) Hor. *sat.* 1.5.12–14 *tum pueri nautis, pueris convicia nautae / ingerere: 'huc appelle!' 'trecentos inseris!' 'ohe, / iam satis est!'*

Then the bargemen started to yell at the slaves, the slaves to the bargemen: 'Close up here'. 'You're loading three hundred.' 'Oy, that's enough.'

Example (4) is from Horace's famous satire 5, at a point when travellers and their animals are being embarked on the barge to carry on with their journey down the Pomptine marshes. A traveller's slave complains that too many people are being embarked, the barge is brim full "You're loading three hundred", "Oy, that's enough." In this case the interjection and the phrase *satis est* convey more expressively the denial form.

5) Ter. *Hec.* 725 PH. *sed vin adesse me una, dum istam convenis? /* LA. *immo hinc abi, aliquam puero nutricem para.* (Don *ad l. SED VIN ADESSE ME VNA DVM ISTAM CONVENIS melius pronuntiaueris, si renitente et improbante hoc vultu dicere acceperis Phidippum, quasi non oporteat interesse socerum.*)

PH. Do you want me to be with you when you meet with her? LA. Quite the contrary, get away and find a nurse for the new-born baby. (Don. *ad l.* 'Do you want me to be with you when you meet with her?' You'll read this better if you make Phidippus say this, that is the offer to join Laches, with a reluctant and disapproving mean, almost implying that his fellow step-father ought not to approach the courtesan.)

Another very straightforward word for "no" in conversation is *immo*, which corrects a speaker's first statement. I discuss (5) to exemplify the point that politeness is a less important concern when the benefit entailed by request or denial is mutual for the speakers involved. Phidippus and Laches agree that Bacchis, a courtesan, must be responsible for the estrangement between the young married couple, their respective son and daughter, and

[3] I hope to be able to discuss this topic in a separate contribution.

that Bacchis should be met with and challenged. Phidippus says "Do you want me to be with you when you meet with her?" to which Laches replies "Quite the contrary, get away and find a nurse for the new-born baby." The expressions used by Laches are very direct (*immo, abi*), almost verging on rudeness. This directness and lack of ceremoniousness is strange given the two old men's strong intention to remain on good terms and their high social status. In annotating this passage, Donatus appears to have wondered about this. The answer he seems to have found was that Laches' rudeness is less prominent because deep down Phidippus does not wish to visit Bacchis ("You'll read this better if you make Phidippus say this [that is: to offer to join Laches], with a reluctant and disapproving expression on his face"). Be this as it may, Laches' directness is mitigated and somehow justified by the fact that he is acting in the interest of both.

A number of *no* phrases comes from Plautus' *Mercator*. In this play the young man, Charinus, a scapegrace, and a money waster, is sent abroad by his father, to manage the family business away from pretty girls, and to learn the trade. His father Demipho, as a young man, had the same inclinations as his son: now, however, he is a strict and harsh parent. Charinus does surprisingly well abroad and makes a lot of money; everything could be just as father wanted, except that he's fallen in love again, with a tan slave girl he has brought home and who waits presently in the ship's cabin. Demipho too falls in love with the girl, but attempts to conceal his real motives when he insists that such a beautiful girl is inappropriate as a waiting maid for Charinus' mother – the pretext given by the boy for the girl's presence on board. Demipho tries first to get Charinus out of the way by showing an uncharacteristic concern for the son's well-being: Charinus looks pale and ought to get some rest while Demipho will take care of everything. As discussion goes on, the father's intention to proceed to the ship cannot be opposed successfully by Charinus, who offers to come along. Thus cornered, Demipho resumes his true authoritarian persona to put an end to the discussion, and he just answers: "no".

6) Plaut. *Merc.* 462 CHA. *vin me tecum illo ire?* DE. *nolo.* CHA. *non places.*

[Why, I'm going hence at once to the ship; there she shall be sold.]. CHA. Do you wish me to go there with you? DE. I don't. CHA. You are not kind.

Charinus comments *non places,* literally "you displease me", but it is not clear if he is speaking this aside. For a comment on the perception of *nolo* as a rude answer we can turn to the following passage from Donatus:

7) Don. *Ter. Ad.* 379 *PRIVS NOLO superbe et pro auctoritate non dixit 'non oportet' sed 'nolo'.*

The tone of the phrase *prius nolo* is high-handed and imperious: (this character) did not say *non oportet* (there is no need to), but *nolo* (I don't want you to).

The speaker here, Syrus, is the slave in charge of the kitchen, and he is addressing his fellow-slaves. Donatus remarks that he has spoken superciliously and in an authoritarian manner. Donatus also adds that a less authoritarian option would have been "there's no need to", not a direct order but a remark about appropriateness, and therefore a more indirect, objective form of imparting orders by appealing to an interlocutor's reason and good sense.

Confirmation of the politeness of *oportet* is implied by (8) from *Phormio*, where the protagonist, speaking to an overcautious servant, bursts out impatiently, requesting direct and explicit orders: "enough with all these *oportet*, I want clear directions".

8) Ter. *Phorm.* 223 *aufer mi 'oportet': quin tu quid faciam impera.*

Stop repeating *oportet* and just give me clear orders.

This parallel places in the appropriate context Horace's *nil opus est* in (9), when Horace is vainly trying to get rid of the chatterbox who cannot be induced to go about his own business. The use of this phrase is one of many linguistic elements capturing Horace as a defenceless character, the ideal victim of the *garrulus*.

9) Hor. *sat.* 1.9.16–17 *nil opus est te / circumagi: quendam volo visere non tibi notum.*

There is no need for you to come by a long detour: I'm going to see someone you don't know.

A case of contradiction expressed by *nolo* in dialogue is reported by Cicero narrating a somewhat tense discussion he has had with Caesar. Caesar and Cicero are trying to resume good terms after Caesar's entry in Rome in 49, and Caesar invites Cicero to come and speak in the Senate "on the peace" – which really means in favour of Caesar's planned military expedition to Spain. Cicero, however, is naturally reluctant to kowtow to Caesar in everything, and describes himself, at least in his post factum resumé to Atticus, as nobly maintaining his stance of impartiality between Caesar and Pompey:

10) Cic. *Att.* 9.18 *cum multa, 'veni igitur et age de pace.' 'meone ' inquam 'arbitratu?' 'an tibi' inquit 'ego praescribam?' 'sic' inquam 'agam, senatui non placere in Hispanias iri nec exercitus in Graeciam transportari, multaque , inquam 'de Gnaeo deplorabo.' tum ille, 'ego vero ista dici nolo.' 'ita putabam , inquam; 'sed ego eo nolo adesse quod aut sic mihi dicendum est multaque quae nullo modo possem silere si adessem aut non veniendum.' summa fuit, ut ille quasi exitum quaerens, 'ut deliberarem.' non fuit negandum. ita discessimus.*

After a long discussion: 'Come along then and work for peace.' 'At my own discretion?' I asked. 'Naturally' he answered. 'Who am I to lay down rules for you?' 'Well' I said, 'I shall take the line that the Senate does not approve of an expedition to Spain or of the transport of armies into Greece, and' I added, 'I shall have much to say in commiseration of Pompey.' At that he protested that this was not the sort of thing he wanted said. 'So I supposed' I rejoined, 'but that is just why I don't want to be present. Either I must speak in that strain or stay away – and much besides which I could not possibly suppress if I were there.' The upshot was that he asked me to think the matter over, as though seeking a way to end the talk. I could not refuse. On that note we parted.

We may imagine that "after a long discussion" summarizes many compliments exchanged between the two personages to prepare the ground both for the request and for its refusal (what Brown and Levinson would call "positive politeness"). We can pick up thread by thread the brief but cleverly described double-act of politeness: *igitur* (presumably "since we agree on so many things, since we are now such good friends"); *an tibi ego praescribam* ("I am not one to give you orders – you who are such as distinguished public figure"); *sic*

agam ("I'll do it this way," a phatic move, aiming at winning some assent from Caesar). Caution and politeness are in evidence even in Cicero's most factually direct move against Caesar: *senatui non placere in Hispanias iri,* "that the senate is not in favour of marching on Spain." Even when Cicero voices a direct objection against Caesar's plan to attack Pompey's legions in Spain and Greece, he does it as indirectly as he can, omitting a verb of saying before the infinitive, using the understatement *non placere,* and the passive verb *iri* almost as if Caesar were not the target of Cicero's objection and the initiator of that military action. Nor does Caesar forget his manners at that by losing control: this is not what he wants, but he picks up Cicero's passive so as to avoid to mention a direct target for his irritation: *ego vero ista dici nolo*. He does not react with an angry "you shall not say such a thing", but with a more polite "However, I don't want such things to be said." Cicero's reply continues on a polite key, as he concedes that this has to be his interlocutor's position (*ita putabam*, "so I thought"), and that for this reason (ie. not to have to oppose him), he does not want to be present. Caesar too carries on in the same vein, landing on the opt-out conclusion "think about it" (*quasi exitum quaerens*, "seeking a [polite] way of ending the talk"), to which Cicero replies with a similarly polite "I could not refuse" (something like *certe equidem deliberabo ut petis*), which is intended not to force Caesar into a position of open hostility.

Noli as introductor of the negative imperative vs. optative *nolim*

Fruyt and Orlandini (2008, 230) describe *noli* + infinitive as "totally integrated in the verbal paradigm as a polite interdiction at a high level of speech". The polite element would be rooted in the word's etymology, since *noli,* "want not", apparently takes into account the addressee's intention to do or not to do something. Yet the full lexical meaning *want not* appears to have been obliterated from a relatively early date.[4]

11) Petron. 58 *ergo aut tace aut meliorem noli molestare, qui te natum non putat*

Therefore shut up, or don't annoy your betters who don't even think of you as born.

In (11) *noli* is part of a confrontational phrase addressed by a freedman to Giton, whom he believes to be another guest's slave. The fully grammaticalized status of *noli* as an introductor of the negative imperative is also clear in the paraphrases of commentators of school authors such as Horace or Vergil, where it routinely replaces *ne*+ imperative in the text.

12) Porph. *Hor. Carm.* 1.9.15 *nec dulcis a(mores) s(perne) p(uer): pro: dum puer es, noli spernere.*

And don't neglect sweet love, my boy – For: while you are a boy, don't neglect.

[4] Risselada 1993, 296–297 styles it as "non-authoritative, rather than polite".

13) Serv. *Aen.* 12.938 VLTERIVS NE TENDE ODIIS **noli velle** *crudelitatem tuam ultra fata protendere*.

'Don't extend your hatred further' – Don't desire to stretch your hatred beyond what is fixed by the fates.

This is clear especially from (13), where *noli* governs ***velle*** *protendere*, thus showing the full extent of grammaticalization, and the complete obliteration of the *volo* element in *noli*.[5]

As early as in Plautus, retention of the lexical etymological meaning of *noli* appears doubtful. *Noli* (28 occurrences) occurs both in pleading contexts, and/or when the addressees wield greater authority than the speakers, and in orders/injunctions imparted to inferiors or equals and intimates:

14) Plaut. *Asin.* 417 ME. *quaeso hercle noli, Saurea, mea causa hunc verberare.*

Please, really, Saurea, don't punish him on my account.

15) Plaut. *Cas.* 204–205 MY. *tace sis stulta et mi ausculta. / noli sis tu illi advorsari*

Will you shut up, you foolish woman, and listen to me. Don't oppose him, listen to me.

16) Plaut. *Persa* 622 DO. *noli flere*

Don't cry.

17) Plaut. *Curc.* 130–131 PA. *etiam mihi quoque stimulo / fodere lubet te.* PH. *tace, noli*. PA. *taceo.*

PA. I too feel like giving you such a thrashing... PH. Shut up, don't. PA. I will shut up.

Examples (15) and (16) are particularly clear instances of the non polite use of *noli*: in (15) the two women are on very confidential terms, and Myrrhina imparts her advice to Cleostrata without much regard for manners (cf. 204 *stulta*); in (16) Dordalus is perhaps truly moved by the damsel-in-distress charade the girl (Virgo) is putting up, but he does not say "desire not to cry". In (17) the servant Palinurus is about to beat the old drunkard

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[5] The point was originally made in Löfstedt 1966, 74–76, quoting especially Aug. *civ.* 14.8 *locutione vero usitatiore, quam frequentat maxime consuetudo sermonis, non utique diceretur: noli velle mentiri omne mendacium, nisi esset et voluntas mala* ("and the Scripture would not say [as it does using a very frequent manner of expression from current speech] 'don't desire to pronounce lies, unless will could be evil.'"). Löfstedt discusses also *ne velis* as a possible more polite variant (although in several instances it is simply the form used in indirect speech, 78–82), and the long-term debate about the difference between *ne* + present subjunctive and *ne* + perfect subjunctive, and in turn their possible distinction in urgency and politeness from *ne* + imperative (cf. in particular the distinction pointed out by the fourth century grammatical writer Dositheus between *ne fac* and *ne facias*: Dosith. *gramm. CGL* 1.412.12 *sed interest inter hoc (ie. ne facias) et illud quod dicimus ne fac, quod hoc imperamus, superius suademus*. "There is a difference between *ne facias* and the other expression *ne fac,* as the latter is an order, the former a suggestion.").

woman, but his master Phaedromus stops him, and politeness is certainly out of the question here.[6]

As a consequence, the elliptical use of *noli* for "don't" or "no" (with suppression of the infinitive), which occurs in some isolated cases (more frequently in late Latin), seems to have no polite connotations *per se*:

18) Ter. *Ad.* 780–781 SY. *quid agis? quo abis?* DE. *mitte me.* / SY. *noli, inquam.* DE. *non manum abstines mastigia?*

SY. What are you doing? Where are you going? DE. Leave me. SY. Don't, I say. DE. Will you keep your hands off me, you scoundrel?

19) *Vulg. Gen.* 32.10 *'frater mi, sint tua tibi.' dixit Iacob: 'noli ita, obsecro.'*

'Brother, keep your possessions for you.' And Jacob replied: 'No, I pray you.'

In (19) Jacob is being courteous to his brother Esau, to whom he hopes to become reconciled and who is potentially a threat to Jacob's family and servants, but the entreating, pleading element is conveyed by *obsecro,* like *quaeso hercle… noli* in (14).

More explicitly polite negative imperative periphrases are formed with *nolim* (followed by accusative and infinitive clauses). In these cases, all restricted to early Latin, the non-authoritative, pleading and polite element seems to be more demonstrable than with *noli*: presumably the relative rarity of the optative construction favoured the retention of the etymological lexical meaning:

20) Plaut. *Capt.* 941–942 *te / nolim suscensere, quod ego iratus ei feci male.*

I hope you will not be angry for the fact that I mistreated him in my anger.

21) Don. *Ter. Ad.* 695 *NOLIM CETERARVM RERVM TE SOCORDEM quam nihil imperiose ac pro auctoritate patria 'nolim te' inquit 'socordem ceterarum rerum esse', non 'ne sis socors'.*

'I wish you did not behave in such a rash manner in the other things, too.' – How different from the usual domineering and authoritative manner of a father: he used *nolim* etc. in the place of *ne sis socors* (don't be foolish).

"I don't mind" / "I don't care"

A variant form of refusal is "I don't mind" / "I don't care". In English, the two phrases have different implications and a different politeness content. "I don't mind" means that something is not important to the speaker, and amounts in fact to a concession to the

[6] Here we have disagreement about the allocation of the words between the speakers, and Lindsay, followed by the latest editor Lanciotti 2008, assigns *noli* to Palinurus (as a response to a threatening gesture from Phaedromus), but even so *noli* hardly means "don't want to" or "I hope you will not." – it means simply "don't, don't, I will shut up."

interlocutor to act as s/he thinks best with the implication that the speaker does not want to inconvenience the interlocutor ("don't go to great lenghts to help me, it's not so important for me, I can do without"). "I don't care" is often perceived as a rude answer, as it implies lack of interest for what the first speaker has suggested or stated. In the following list of examples I shall try to identify equivalent Latin expressions for both answer types.

22) Plaut. *Merc.* 439–440 CHA. *at illic pollicitust prior.* / DE. *nihili facio.*

CHA. But he was the first bidder. DE. I don't care.

23) Plaut. *Merc.* 453–454 DE. *ego scio velle.* CHA. *at pol ego esse credo aliquem qui non velit.* / DE. *quid id mea refert?*[7]

[He won't agree to sell you the girl.] DE. I know he will. CHA. But truly I know there's someone who won't agree to. DE. What's that to me?

The ruder form of expression is easier to find, and more abundantly evidenced, especially in comedy, as we can see in (22) and (23). The more considerate formula is more difficult to identify, but a possible candidate seems to be *nihil moror*, literally "I don't dwell on" and therefore "I attach no importance to it".[8]

24) Plaut. *Stich.* 713–714 SA. *nimis vellem aliquid pulpamenti.* ST. *si horum, quae adsunt, paenitet, / nihil est. tene aquam.* SA. *melius dicis; nil moror cuppedia.*

SA. How I wish we had a bit of tenderloin. ST. If you aren't satisfied with what's here, it's just too bad. Take some water. SA. You're right. I've got no use for dainties.

Nil moror may also mean "yes", "I make no objections to that": cf. example (25):

25) Plaut. *Persa* 767 LEMN. *tu Sagaristio, accumbe in summo.* SAG. *ego nil moror*

LEMN. You, Sagaristio, take place in the farthest bed. SAG. I don't mind.

Example (24) contains also the interesting answer *nihil est*, translated by Nixon "too bad". *Nihil est* is probably a potentially neutral comment (we should probably supply *ad hanc rem*), but more "it does not matter" than "I don't care". In the context, however,

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[7] For similar expressions in Greek cf. Men. *Epitr.* 409–414 Ον. βούλομαι / αὐτὸς φυλάττειν. Συ. οὐδὲ ἕν μοι διαφέρει. / εἰς ταὐτὸ γὰρ παράγομεν, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, / δεῦρ' ἀμφότεροι. Ον. νυνὶ μὲν οὖν συνάγουσι καὶ / οὐκ ἔστιν εὔκαιρον τὸ μηνύειν ἴσως / αὐτῷ περὶ τούτων, αὔριον δέ. "I'd rather keep it myself" "That does not worry me. We're both bound for one house here, I believe" "They've company, though, now. It may not be the proper time to break this news to him. I'll try tomorrow." (Arnott). In this passage two slaves compete for a ring, crucial for the further denouement of the plot. Syros is the brusquer of the two (οὐδὲ ἕν μοι διαφέρει), whereas Onesimos, who has recognized his master's signet, tries to be more accommodating in the hope of obtaining the ring (he therefore adopts more indirect directive expressions, such as οὐκ ἔστιν εὔκαιρον τὸ μηνύειν ἴσως). Men. *Georg.* 31–32 ΜΥ. βραχὺ /φίλη, μεταστῶμεν. ΦΙ. τί δ ' ἡμῖν, εἰπέ μοι, <τούτου> μέλει; ΜΥ. καλόν γ ' ἂν εἴη, νὴ Δία. ("Let's move a bit, dear." "Tell me, what concern is he of ours?" "I think it's better if we do it, by Zeus!").

[8] Cf. *OLD* s.v. *moror* 4b ("I don't much care for"), 4c ("I don't mind").

Nixon's *too bad* is probably correct: the passage should be printed with suspension dots or a hyphen, to mark a sudden change of tone, from friendliness to irrision: "if you don't like what we have – matters not!"

The neutral or objective tone of the comment *nihil/nil est* is made more explicit in (26), where Cicero vaguely criticized Atticus for summoning a servant without strong reasons:

26) Cic. *Att.* 13.22.4 *Tullium scribam nihil fuit quod appellares; nam tibi mandassem si fuisset.*

There was no reason to summon Tullius the scribe: I would have asked you if that had been the case.

Politeness is certainly implied in (27), where Periplectomenus is making a caricature of lower-class overly ceremonious guests who make compliments and try unsuccessfully to hide their eagerness for the meal offered to them:

27) Plaut. *Mil.* 753–759 PE. *nam ei solent, quando accubuere, ubi cena adpositast, dicere: 'quid opus fuit hoc, hospes, sumptu tanto nostra gratia? insanivisti hercle, nam idem hoc hominibus sat erat decem.'* [...] *sed eidem homines numquam dicunt, quamquam adpositumst ampliter: / 'iube illud demi: tolle hanc patinam: remove pernam, nil moror'*

PE. For they are in the habit of saying, when they have taken their places, when dinner is put on the table: 'What necessity was there for you to go to this great expense on our account? Surely you were mad, for this same dinner was enough for ten persons.' [...] But these same persons never say, although such an abundance has been provided, 'Do order that to be taken off; do take away this dish; remove this gammon of bacon, I'll have none of it.' (Nixon, Loeb).

Nixon's "I'll have none of it", however, probably does not hit the right note, as the hypothetical speaker is a guest, politely refusing the offer – although here directness too is part of the ritual of politeness, as refusal of the offer will save the host further expenses.

Addition of hedges ("honestly, really, truly, I think, I'm afraid")

I move on to examine more elaborate no reply forms, used in cases in which the interlocutors are trying not to hurt feelings, and see what syntactic and lexical devices they exploit.

Various strategies are available to say no without giving offence. One is to emphasize that ours is only an opinion ("in my view..., my opinion is..., I think...") rather than to phrase contradiction as an absolute statement. This falls under the Brown and Levinson heading of "addition of hedges".[9] Hedges are mitigating devices used to lessen the impact of an utterance (typically adverbs, such as *really, honestly, quite frankly*, but also clauses, for example parenthetical phrases such as *I think, I fear*, which emphasize the effort and painfulness of having to say no. A further category of more polite denial

[9] Brown and Levinson 1987, 145–172.

formulas is that of pseudo-agreement, whereby a speaker pretends to agree to at least part of an interlocutor's argument.[10] Though I have treated "hedges" and "pseudo-agreement" as two separate sections in my article, the two often co-occur in the same utterance.

Stressing that one's own view is merely a personal opinion, even a matter of taste, when not obviously ironic, is a less assertive argument strategy, emphasizing that the position taken is not necessarily the only possible one, but merely a subjective view. If I say "the film was ugly" on going out of the movie theatre, I impose my view to my interlocutors more crudely than if I say, "I'm not sure I liked the film so much". If I say "the movie was ugly", they are forced either to agree, which most people will do to avoid an argument or an unpleasant discussion, or to counterargue. It all admittedly depends on the roles we choose to play, the degree of intimacy with the interlocutor, the importance of the matter, and so on, but under normal circumstances, among adults, most people will at best ask why, limiting their response to a few essentials, while saying to themselves, "s/he's really rude, bossy, pushy".

In the *Mercator* scene I have already described in some detail, Demipho surprises his son, uncharacteristically, with first inquiring about the young's man's health – "you look pale, perhaps it's the long sea travel, you still have a sea stomach." Basically the old man says that his son is sick and needs to go home and rest, and the old man will take care of everything, so as to have a free hand with the girl, unseen. Charinus resists the old man's offers, adducing concern over the family business and so on. What is crucial is that Son is trying not to irritate Father, and Father is playing out the comedy of the conscientious parent.

28) Plaut. *Merc.* 371–372 DE. *per mare ut vectu's, nunc oculi terram mirantur tui.* CHA. *magis opinor.* DE. *id est profecto: verum actutum abscesserit.*

DE. As you've been travelling by sea, your eyes, I suppose, are at present rather unaccustomed to the shore. CHA. Rather, I think. DE. That's what it is, for sure. But it will be going off presently.

Magis opinor in (28) amounts to a "no, I'm not going home", but it is a *no* phrased cautiously: "rather... well, ehm... I think..." Editors who punctuate with suspension dots (Lindsay), *magis opinor*... intend to represent the intonation and uncertainty of the objection. Charinus is inarticulate and stuttering, and hopes that Father will understand the objection, but Demipho cuts in relentlessly: "That's what it is for sure."

In (29), the speaker is Chremes, the father of Philumena. Chremes had agreed, at an earlier time, to marry his daughter to his friend Simo's son. However, the discovery that the young man is in love with a courtesan has caused Chremes to withdraw his offer. Simo maintains that his son will tire of the courtesan, and thus the marriage is still justified. Chremes expresses a contrary opinion:

[10] Brown and Levinson 1987, 72, 115.

29) Ter. *Andr.* 563–564 CH. *tibi ita hoc videtur; at ego non posse arbitror, / neque illum hanc perpetuo habere neque me perpeti.*

[SI. Once he is tied down by a respectable marriage, he will easily extricate himself from the other situation.] CH. That's what you think, but I don't think he can keep that woman as his wife for ever, nor can I put up with it.

Chremes' reply begins with a seeming concession: *tibi ita hoc videtur* "you say so", which is then countered by the denial phrase governed by *arbitror*. Even if his words are firm, his intention is couched in a rounded and ultimately unaggressive form. His refusal is also softened by the use of *non posse*, "that it will not be possible", glossing over as a state of things which in fact depends on a series of human decisions. In Terence, this language is characteristic of *senes*, and is intended to represent a more sedate, phlegmatic manner of speaking, characteristic of the upper classes, especially when talking to their peers.[11]

The following is a select list of examples illustrating the use of *arbitror* as a hedge in Terence in old men's speeches in polite contexts:

30) Ter. *Ad.* 458 HE. *cave dixeris: / neque faciam neque me satis pie posse arbitror.*

Don't say that: I won't do it, and I don't think it may be done to my adequate satisfaction.

31) Ter. *Hec.* 255–257 *te mi iniuriam facere arbitror, Phidippe, / si metuis satis ut meae domi curetur diligenter.*

I believe you offend me, if you fear she would not receive all appropriate care at my house.

32) Don. *Ter. Hec.* 403 *ID VERO NEVTIQVAM HONESTVM ESSE ARBITROR 'neutiquam' non est omnino negativum, sed aliquid assertionis habet; est enim 'neutiquam' non nimis, non valde.*

'In fact, I don't think that is entirely correct' – the word *neutiquam* is not a complete negative, but has an element of assertion, and it means 'not too much, not very much'.

In (33), contradiction is conveyed by a question, and typically with a verb of opinion, "don't you think?". The two old men are surveying various options for giving the protagonist, a pennyless but proud young man, a sum of money, which was entrusted to one of them by the young man's father going abroad. The money is necessary for the young person to marry a suitable girl, but the old men are afraid to wound the young man's sense of pride. One possible solution is to forge a letter from abroad, in which the young man's father instructs his friend in town to pay the money. On reflection, however, one of the two men has doubts about the scheme, but phrases his objection cautiously, with a question: "don't you think the boy will recognize that the signet ring is not his father's?"

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[11] Some interesting observations on the use of language by *senes* can be found in Haffter 1969 and Maltby 1979, though the latter does not discuss politeness as a relevant factor in old men's language.

33) Plaut. *Trin.* 786–90 CAL. *sed epistulas quando opsignatas adferet, / nonne arbitraris tum adulescentem anuli / paterni signum nosse?* ME. *etiam taces?*

CAL. But when he brings those letters all sealed, don't you suppose the lad knows his father's signet ring? ME. Oh, stop fussing.

In (34) Cicero is upset and in exile. He is being comforted by Atticus' hopeful consideration on the likelihood of a reprieval of the exile legislation. But then he gets incensed at Atticus' suggestion to talk to Hortensius, whom Cicero sees as his main opponent behind the scenes. Here Cicero is clearly and vehemently contradicting his friend, and the resentful tone is in line with the plaintive, touchy tone of his exile letters. He starts with *obsecro*, which could also conceivably be translated "for god's sake" to render the emotion, but is a politeness modifier in most contexts, and the use of the vocative with *mi*, is also meant to stress closeness to the addressee and the seriousness of the situation. Briefly put, Cicero means "certainly not, and it's a stupid suggestion to make", but phrases it less aggressively for his friend's sake. *Quaeso* is also used in similar phrases, questioning a suggestion or a response, with no appreciable difference in meaning or tone.[12]

34) Cic. *Att.* 3.9.2 *quae quidem tamen aliquid habebant solaci ante quam eo venisti a Pompeio: 'nunc Hortensium adlice et eius modi viros'. obsecro, mi Pomponi, nondum perspicis quorum opera, quorum insidiis, quorum scelere perierimus?*

I was finding so much comfort in your letter, until you switched from Pompeius to this – 'time now to approach Hortensius and the likes of him'. But excuse me, my dear Pomponius, can't you see yet at whose hands, with whose connivance, for whose fault I was ruined?

In (35), contradiction is hidden or at least mitigated by an initial partial agreement. Moreover, the speaker's thought is introduced by a verb expressing fear, fear to displease the interlocutor by having to express dissent, a very apt frame for expressing regard and therefore minimizing dissent and disagreement: "there are two statements of yours, Crassus, which I fear I cannot admit."

35) Cic. *de orat.* 1.35 *tum Scaevola comiter, ut solebat, 'cetera' inquit 'adsentior Crasso, ne aut de C. Laeli soceri mei aut de huius generi aut arte aut gloria detraham; sed illa duo, Crasse, vereor ut tibi possim concedere: unum, quod ab oratoribus civitates et initio constitutas et saepe conservatas esse dixisti, alterum, foro, contione, iudiciis, senatu statuisti oratorem in omni genere sermonis et humanitatis esse perfectum.'*

Then Scaevola, with his habitual courtesy, said 'In everything else I quite agree with Crassus, having no desire to depreciate either the accomplishments or the reputation of my father-in-law C. Laelius, or of my own son-in-law; but there are two statements of yours, Crassus, which I fear I cannot admit, the one, that orators were originally the founders and often the saviours of our state, the other, that the orator, without limiting him to the various departments of public life, has attained perfection in every subject of discourse and polite learning.'

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[12] Cf. Cic. *Att.* 5.1.3 *quid quaeso istuc erat?*

We are all familiar with this polite circumlocution, mostly from the many English polite phrases starting with "I'm afraid", where the original semantic force of *fear* has weakened so much that you can hear even on the phone, from an impersonal voice, "I'm afraid we've run out of tickets for tonight", while booking a place at the theatre. In an academic context we have all heard "I'm worried by that part of your argument, I'm afraid I don't agree", and so on. Normally, fear is felt when one's life is under threat, or when an unpleasant situation is anticipated. Here, however, fear is used with weakened semantic content, and is a conventional way of representing one's respect for the interlocutor, and the regret for having to inconvenience him or her with a negative response (*vereor* rather than *timeo*, but *metuo* is also used with the same force in polite contexts).

A similar structure occurs later in the same dialogue, when Antonius is criticizing Crassus' claim that orators should possess the virtues of actors while delivering an oration:

36) Cic. *de orat.* 1.258 *illud vero fuit horribile, quod mehercule vereor ne maiorem vim ad deterrendum habuerit quam ad cohortandum*

Then that further claim of yours was terrifying, and upon my word I am afraid that its effect will be to deter rather than encourage.

This Latin idiom must have Greek precedents, and we find very close ways of mitigating both strong and moderate or even superficial disagreement in Plato's dialogues and elsewhere, with formulas introduced by φοβοῦμαι μή:

37) Plat. *Crat.* 428c φοβοῦμαι μέντοι μὴ τούτου πᾶν τοὐναντίον ᾖ

I fear however that the opposite is the case.

38) Plat. *Theaet.* 184a φοβοῦμαι οὖν μή [...] οὗ ἕνεκα ὁ λόγος ὥρμηται, ἐπιστήμης πέρι τί ποτ' ἐστίν, ἄσκεπτον γένηται.

So I am afraid [...] that the question with which we started, about the nature of knowledge, may fail to be investigated.

39) Ach. Tat. *Leuc.* 1.11 'μεγάλα μέν,' ἔφην, 'ἐφόδιά μοι δέδωκας καὶ εὔχομαι τυχεῖν, Κλεινία. φοβοῦμαι δ' ὅμως μὴ κακῶν μοι γένηται τὸ εὐτύχημα μειζόνων ἀρχή.'

'Kleinias,' I said, 'these are helpful directions for my project, and I hope it will be successful. Yet, I'm apprehensive that good luck now will only be the beginning of greater trouble.'

It is probably impossible to establish if linguistic interference should be recognized here: although Cicero's dialogues are strongly indebted to Plato, and this is particularly the case for *De oratore*, the use of a verb of *fear* in politeness contexts is widespread. In Latin, before Cicero, similar idioms occur in Terence, again in texts translated from the Greek:

40) Ter. *Ad.* 683-4 MI. *credo hercle: nam ingenium novi tuom / liberale; sed vereor ne indiligens nimium sies.*

I believe that too: indeed I know your generous character – yet I fear you may be acting too negligently.

Let us now move on to illustrate some adverbs used to mitigate contradiction.

A passage from the fifth-century grammarian Pompeius (41) is revealing as to his perception of how *quidem / equidem* is used in cautious, polite language, because *equidem,* basically meaning "on the one hand", paves the way for acceptance of some anticipated contradiction. The person who uses *quidem* knows or suspects that his/her intention will be opposed by his/her interlocutor, and thus phrases his/her suggestion cautiously. This use of *quidem*, a difficult particle in Latin, falls under the heading "contrasting use of *quidem*" in Solodow's crucial study of this word,[13] roughly matching that of Gk. μέν, especially when no δέ follows. The Pompeius passage reads:

41) Pomp. *gramm. GLK* V.267.4–7 *qui dicit 'volebam videre praefectum', hoc dicit simpliciter, 'volebam videre praefectum'; qui dicit 'equidem volebam videre praefectum', hoc dicit, 'volebam videre praefectum, nisi illud timerem, nisi illud obesset'. nam qui dicit 'equidem volebam videre', hoc significat, 'volebam videre, sed alia res intercedit, quae prohibet'; 'equidem volebam legere, sed illud timeo'.*

He who says 'I wanted to see the prefect,', simply says 'I wanted to see the prefect'; he who says 'in fact I wanted to see the prefect', says actually 'I wanted to see the prefect, except that I fear, except that that stood in the way. He who says 'in fact I wanted to see' conveys this meaning, 'I wanted to see, but something else happened, which made it impossible', 'indeed, I wanted to read, but I am worried that...'.

Pompeius, a grammarian not usually credited with much subtlety and sophistication, proves here to be alive to the pragmatic use of language in real conversation, a rare gift among Roman grammarians: he knows that the phrase beginning with *quidem/equidem* presupposes a more complex thought, an unexpressed second half.[14]

In (42), a passage from Plautus' *Poenulus*, Collybiscus is disguised as a foreign traveller, a soldier in search of some amusement in town. He is in fact one of master Agorastocles's slaves; the plan is that Collybiscus will later be surprised in the brothel-keeper's house by his master. The *leno* will therefore be liable of a heavy penalty for aiding and abetting a runaway slave, or even for abduction of property. Collybiscus, his pockets full of money, is thus shown the way to the brothel by some citizens who are to be later the supporting witnesses for Agorastocles' suit. At this point the citizens proclaim their intention to withdraw, but Collybiscus, speaking like a gentleman, and pretending to fear for his money in the brothel, says "I should have wished you to stay to see when I gave him the money". Collybiscus does not say "no, don't, don't go", but "in fact, I would have preferred you to stay when I gave him the money". The polite tone is conveyed not just by use of the particle *equidem,* but also by the choice of mood and tense, an imperfect

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[13] Solodow 1978, 30–75.

[14] The passage is analysed, but from a different perspective, in Baratin 1989, 121.

subjunctive: Collybiscus' wish is presented as an irreal hypothesis, thus minimizing the expectation or the claim on the citizens' compliance with the request.

42) Plaut. *Poen.* 681 COL. *videre equidem vos vellem quom huic aurum darem.*

Ideally, I had wished to have you here when I gave him the money.

A similar use of *equidem*, the imperfect subjunctive, and a mitigating *vereor* occurs again in the following example:

43) Cic. *Att.* 1.16.14 *quod ad me scribis te in Asiam statuisse non ire, equidem mallem ut ires, ac vereor ne quid in ista re minus commode fiat; sed tamen non possum reprehendere consilium tuum, praesertim cum egomet in provinciam non sim profectus.*

Relevant to what you write about the fact that you decided not to go to Asia, in fact I would have preferred you did go, and I fear some inconvenience may arise from this; however, I cannot blame your decision, especially because I too did not go to my province.

Pseudo- or partial agreement ("yes, well, no"); *nam* "certainly, sure, but..."

A further typical disagreement strategy with a considerable politeness investment is that of pseudo-agreement ("that's certainly true to some extent, but...", "I quite like your point about that; on the other hand I'm not convinced..., or, in its most 'comic' version, "yes, well, no").

Let us start with two straightforward "yes for no" examples from comedy, (44) and (45), from *Mercator*. In (44) Charinus is deliberating with his well-meaning but not very helpful friend Acanthius:

44) Plaut. *Merc.* 215–216 ACAN. *non visus est. / quin quicque ut dicebam mihi credebat.* CHA. *verum, ut tibi quidem visus est.*[15] ACAN. *non, sed credebat.*

[Did he seem to suspect that she was my mistress?] ACAN. He did not. On the contrary, in everything, just as I said it, he believed me. CHA. True; that he seemed to yourself at least. ACAN. Not so; but he really did believe me.

In (45), from the Demipho-Charinus scene we have discussed at some length, Charinus tries to explain why such a beautiful girl is not inappropriate as a gift for his mother, against Demipho's contention that they must get rid of her because she will only attracts loiterers and womanizers around the house:

[15] *verum* means 'yes' in early Latin.

45) Plaut. *Merc.* 399–400 DEM. *horunc illa nihilum quicquam facere poterit.* CHA. *admodum. / ea causa equidem illam emi, dono quam darem matri meae.*

[We stand in need of no female servant but one who can weave, grind, chop wood, make yarn, sweep out the house, stand a beating, and who can have every day's victuals cooked for the household.] DEM. This one will be able to do not any single one of these things. CHA. Precisely... In fact, I purchased her, to make a present of her to my mother.

In (45), with *admodum*, Charinus pretends to agree with what Demipho has just said – that is that the beautiful new servant won't be able to do the basic house chores they need – but then starts afresh with his earlier point that the girl is a present for his mother, as if Demipho had not even spoken.

Not too different from the "yes well no" class of denials are another group in which one says "gladly", glossing over entirely the negative element of the answer. (46) is taken from the late-antique bilingual school hand-books, the *Hermeneumata*. In this passage, a guest is being offered more wine (in the large cup), and instead of saying *no* he replies simply "in the small, gladly".

46) *Gloss.* III 653 (*Coll. Monac.*) *'misce caldum'. 'in maiorem?' 'in minorem libenter. spero enim et aliam bibere'.*

'Pour hot wine.' 'In the large cup?' 'In the small, gladly. Indeed I hope to drink yet another one (later).'[16]

The class of "partial agreeement" is well illustrated by the following extract from a letter of Pompeius Magnus to his general Domitius who was trying to oppose Caesar's march south. Pompeius had summoned all Senatorial armies towards Brundisium, and Domitius' resistance near Corfinium, brave as it was, was against Pompeius' general strategy: Pompeius, however, begins with partial praise – yet we know from other sources that he was greatly displeased by Domitius' refusal to move south and join the rest of the army:

47) Cic. *Att.* 8.12C *te animo magno et forti istam rem agere existimo, sed diligentius nobis est videndum ne distracti pares esse adversario non possimus.*

(Pompeius to Domitius.) I appreciate your generous and courageous spirit in this matter, but we must be careful to avoid a situation in which we are divided and therefore no match for the enemy.

In (48) an advocate (*patronus*), the knight Minucius, defends one Sopater in an unspecified capital trial in which Verres is presiding judge. Verres has dismissed the majority of the jury, who are to attend another trial, named the Petilius trial. Verres is glad of the opportunity to get rid of them, and counts on the remaining jurors, who are all in his

[16] For "gladly" introducing a polite refusal to comply with a request cf. the following passage from Heliodorus' *Aethiopica*: cf. Heliod. *Aeth.* 3.7.1 πυνθανομένῳ τί πεπόνθοι, τῆς κεφαλῆς ἄλγημα διοχλεῖν ἔλεγεν ἡδέως τε ἂν ἠρεμεῖν εἴ τις ἐπιτρέποι, "and to her father asking what happened, she blamed a headache and said that she would prefer to have some rest, if that was possible".

pocket. Minucius is invited to pronounce his defence counsellor speech, but he questions the legitimacy of the trial:

48) Cic. *Verr.* 2.2.73 *'idoneus es,' inquit, 'sed pervellem adessent ii qui adfuerant antea causamque cognorant.' 'dic,' inquit; 'illi adesse non possunt.' 'nam hercule,' inquit Minucius, 'me quoque Petilius ut sibi in consilio adessem rogavit'.*

['State your case', said Verres. 'To whom?' 'To me', says Verres, 'if I appear to you of sufficient dignity to try the cause of a Sicilian, a Greek.'] 'Certainly', says he, 'you are of sufficient dignity, but I wish for the presence of those men who were present before, and were acquainted with the case.' 'State your case,' says he; 'they cannot be present.' 'For in truth,' says Quintus Minucius, 'Petilius begged me also to be with him on the bench.'

Minucius does not challenge Verres head-on, and tries first to assuage the praetor's mounting anger with partial agreement (*idoneus es*). When he realizes that Verres won't listen to reason and won't accept that the trial is made invalid by his dismissal of the honest jurors, Minucius announces that Petilius has summoned him, too, thus refusing to act as counsel – not in itself enough to save his client from prosecution, but a desperate move of public censure, whereby he hopes to persuade Verres to give up the trial. Minucius announces his intention to leave with *nam hercule*, literally "indeed, truly" or something similar. Now, the problem with this phrase is that *nam* is a confirmative particle, yet Minucius is not obeying to Verres' summon to speak, to state his case. Minucius's *nam* is a pseudo-agreement device: his *nam* picks up a part of the previous speaker's sentence ("they cannot be present, as they are busy with the Petilius trial"), emphasizing the element of agreement, and thus hiding or underrating the, in fact more important, negative element. He says "no" while pretending to say "yes".

49) Cic. *Verr.* 2.1.133 *'tu Verres hic quod moliare nihil habes, nisi forte vis ad perpendiculum columnas exigere'* [...] *'nam mehercule' inquit 'sic agamus; columnae ad perpendiculum exigantur'.*

'You, O Verres, have nothing which you can do here, unless you like to try the pillars by a plumb-line.' [The man, utterly ignorant of everything, asks what is the meaning of the expression, 'by a plumb-line.' They tell him that there is hardly any pillar which is exactly perpendicular when tried by a plumb-line.] 'By my truth,' says he, 'that is what we must do; let the pillars be tested by a plumb-line.'

In (49) Verres discusses with his underlings how best to exact money from a family of contractors who were in charge of restoring a temple. A committee visits the temple, but they see nothing to report; nothing has been done amiss – except, says someone, if you'd like to try the pillars by a plumb-line. That is a paradoxical suggestion, Cicero explains: pillars are almost never exactly perpendicular to the ground, and therefore the plumb-line test is fated to fail even in the most perfect constructions. But that's exactly what Verres agrees to do – if the plumb-line test fails, Verres will be able to use this as an excuse to fine the contractors for delivering an imperfect job. Verres uses the *nam* phrase to pick up exactly that part of his interlocutor's phrase in which the suggestion to use the plumbline test was advanced: a rough translation would be "exactly", and reminds one of detective

stories in which the inspector astounds his partner, who's just made what he thought was a vacuous comment, with a sudden "exactly, you are a genius, Watson!"

Example (50) reports a fictitious conversation between Verres and one of the farmers whose corn Verres is supposed to buy at a fixed price, four *sestertii* for each *modius*.

50) Cic. *Verr.* 2.3.196–8 *venit praetor; 'frumentum, inquit, me abs te emere oportet'. 'optime'. 'modium denario'. 'benigne ac liberaliter; nam ego ternis HS non possum vendere'. 'mihi frumentum non opus est, nummos volo'. 'nam sperabam, inquit arator, me ad denarios perventurum; sed, si ita necesse est, quanti frumentum sit considera'.*

There comes the praetor: 'I must buy some corn of you'. 'Very well'. 'At a *denarius* for a *modius*'. 'I am much obliged to you; you are very liberal, for I cannot sell it at three *sesterces*'. 'But I don't want the corn, I will take the money'. 'Yes... I had hoped', says the cultivator, 'that the price would have hit the *denarii*[17]; but if you must have money, consider what is the price of corn now.'

The farmer first misunderstands Verres' intention, which is not to buy the corn on behalf of the Senate at the price allocated to him. Verres will in fact inflate the price to twelve *sestertii* the *modius*, requisition the corn at a nominal price of four, and exact from the farmers the remaining eight *sestertii*. At this turn in the conversation, the farmer has not been told this surreal conclusion, and his answer is not entirely clear, too: he seems to have understood that Verres will not pay a *denarius* for each *modius*, contrary to his expectation, or that he will not even buy the corn. The manner of his reply, however, is polite, as shown by the use of the past tense – he cannot say "no" to the Roman praetor. The problem is the meaning of *nam*. Translators sometimes omit it altogether:[18] I believe that, as in (48) and (49), *nam* is intended to pick up Verres' earlier and deceptive *modium denario*; another possibility is that the speaker hints tactfully at some unexpressed disappointement: "This is not what I had hoped: indeed I had hoped...".

Excuses

A time-old and in principle non aggressive way of saying no is that of finding some excuse. Excuses, even when incredible, attest to a speaker's at least formal adherence to the ritual of politeness, and in some cases at least are a proof of respect for his interlocutor. Of course excuses are a very broad category, encompassing a large variety of linguistic moves and strategies, and there is no univocal lexical or grammatical construction to signpost them. In the following telling example from Cicero (52), he complains to have received from his former dependant Dionysius worse treatment than that he always has care to reserve to even the most abject of his postulants. Even when Cicero has no intention to take up a defence (presumably when the postulant is too poor or uninteresting), he always leaves some room for hope, so to say, with the words, "if I can, unless some other case makes it impossible":

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[17] One *denarius* was four *sestertii*.

[18] Thus for example Yonge 1930; Fiocchi Vottero 2004, 781 have *veramente*.

51) Cic. *Att.* 8.4.2 *semper enim 'si potero', 'si ante suscepta causa non impediar'; numquam reo cuiquam tam humili, tam sordido, tam nocenti, tam alieno tam praecise negavi quam hic mihi plane <sine> ulla exceptione praecidit.*

One always says 'if one can manage it,' 'if I am not hindered by another case already undertaken.' I have never given any defendant, no matter how humble, how abject, how guilty, how complete a stranger, such a blank refusal as this quite unqualified 'no' I have had from Dionysius.

In the following list of excuses, an apologetic or pleading element is sometimes emphasized (cf. (52) *ignosce, rogo*); in (52) and (53) the asseverative adverbs *mehercules* and *quidem hercle* stress the truthfulness and sincerity of the claims:

52) Sen. *benef.* 5.22 *ignosce; non mehercules scivi hoc te desiderare, alioqui ultro obtulissem; rogo, ne me ingratum existimes; memini, quid mihi praestiteris*

Forgive me: truly I had no idea you wished to have this, otherwise I would have offered that myself. Please do not think me ungrateful – I truly know what services you have given to me in the past.

53) Plaut. *Trin.* 761 *mihi quidem hercle non est quod dem mutuom.*

Really, I have got nothing to lend.

54) Plaut. *Pseud.* 549 CA. *quin rus ut irem † iam heri constitueram.*

I had planned to go to the country, already, since yesterday.

Thanks

Finally, a well-established and codified way of saying no is "thanks". This mannerism has already been studied, for Greek, by Quincey 1966.

55) Plaut. *Pseud.* 714-5 CHAR. *quin tu si quid opust, mi audacter imperas?* PS. *tam gratiast. / bene sit tibi, Charine. nolo tibi molestos esse nos.*

CHAR. If you need anything, why don't you just confidently instruct me? PS. Many thanks, I'm so grateful, Charinus, I don't want to inconvenience you.

56) Hor. *epist.* 1.7.14-9 *'vescere sodes' 'iam satis est' 'at tu quantumvis tolle' 'benigne'*

'Please help yourself.' 'Thank you, I could not.' 'But do take as much as you wish.' 'No, thanks.'

Conclusion

As I have suggested in Ferri 2008b, it is almost impossible to correlate social class and linguistic choice in terms of politeness, in the Latin evidence. This is so mainly because the nature of the Latin corpora in which dialogue is represented is highly rhetorical and in general speakers tend to be upper class and higher education individuals. Slaves and lower class speakers sometimes figure in comedy, but linguistic realism is not the prime objective of the comic writers and these characters' linguistic behaviour is not subdued or respectful. The most salient and interesting feature of politeness studies in Latin, at least as far as I can see, is pragmatic, that is the possibility to observe and classify the range of variation in pragmatic terms. The more elaborate solutions, such as *vereor, metuo*, or the various pseudo-agreement formulas, appear to be upper class/ high education solutions, but we have no direct evidence that this was so in the everyday of Latin, nor can we state with much detail or certainty what were the distinctive features of upper class and lower class "polite conversation" in Latin.

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Again on *as*-nominatives: A New Approach to the Problem

Giovanbattista Galdi

Introduction

The use of the morpheme *-as* for *-ae* in the nominative plural of first declension nouns constitutes a well-known phenomenon of Latin morphology, which occurs since the first century BC, both in literary and non-literary sources, especially on late imperial inscriptions (ex. *CIL* II 38 *filias matri piissime posuerunt,* 2nd/3rd century AD). The aim of this paper is twofold: on the one hand, we shall provide an overview of existing research studies and their different approaches to the topic; on the other hand, we shall give an update on frequency and distribution of the form in the Roman Empire and, on this ground, we shall suggest the existence of certain elements that fostered its spreading in non-literary documents, especially in inscriptions.

Overview of the research

The appearance and significance of *as*-nominatives has been often discussed and variously interpreted since over 100 years, raising the interest of several fields of study.[1] On the one hand, Indo-European and Latin linguists have dealt with its origin and the reasons of its spreading over the Empire. On the other hand, Romance philologists have discussed more specifically the possibility of a direct connection between these forms and the plural of feminine nouns in the Romania.[2] In this paper we will face the problem from the perspective of a Latinist, hence focussing on the first type of approach.

The first systematic collection of all known instances of the form was done by Meister 1909, 82ff.[3] Apart from three uncertain literary examples in Pomponius' *Atellanae,*[4] Meister mentions two cases in republican inscriptions from Pisaurum (both with fall of final *-s*)[5] and 30 occurrences on 22 inscriptions, mostly from the imperial time. Of these, over a half (16) were found in Rome, eight in the oriental provinces, four in Africa and

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[1] It is nearly impossible to mention all studies referring to the form. We will hence restrict this survey to the most relevant ones.

[2] Special attention has been given to the feminine *-e* plural ending in Italian, which according to some scholars would not descend, as usually assumed, from the regular nominative *-ae* but from *-as* by way of an intermediate *-es*. See in particular the studies of Gerola 1950; Politzer 1952; Aebischer 1960.

[3] Sporadic mentions of *as*-nominatives are already found in the studies of Mohl 1899, 205–209; Diehl 1899, 204f; Carnoy 1906, 228; Konjetzny 1908, 320 and other scholars. For further details see Väänänen 1934, 81ff; Gaeng 1977, 46ff; Galdi 2004, 59ff.

[4] 141 R. *quot* ***laetitias insperatas*** *modo mi inrepsere in sinum*, 150 *ego quaero quod comedim;* ***has*** *quaerunt quod cacent*. These instances have been more recently discussed by Adams 2003, 118f.

[5] *CIL* XI 6300 *Iunone Reg*[*inae*] ***Matrona*** […] *Pisaurese* […] *dono dedrot*, 6301 *Matre Matuta dono dedro* ***Matrona***.

one each in Regio X, Regio IV and Spain.[6] The same type of study was performed a few years later by Hehl[7] who reported 44 instances in 35 inscriptions.[8] Again, most of the examples were found in Rome (21), the eastern provinces (eight) and Africa (five).[9] Hehl's study constituted an important reference point for later research as it contains the latest complete and detailed collection of inscriptional evidence of the morpheme from all over the Empire.[10] All remaining studies are restricted either to specific geographical areas or to single groups of inscriptions.[11]

Several different theories (most of which are not mutually exclusive) have been suggested to explain the origin and use of the form. One of the most accredited traces it back to an influence of the Oscan morphological system, in which *-as* was the inherited feminine nominative plural ending:[12] as a matter of fact, some of the first occurrences of the form in Latin inscriptions were found in Oscan territory.[13] The weak point of this view is, for one thing, that a few examples from republican time also occur in Rome[14] and, for another thing, that Oscan did not exert an analogous influence on plural of second declension nouns.[15] Other scholars suggested the following syntactical solution to the problem: the ending *-as* would result from the well-known extension of the accusative in Latin nominal system, which started at the beginning of the Empire and gradually increased over the centuries.[16] However, if this were to be the only reason, one would reasonably expect a similar confusion between nominative and accusative in the plural of

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6 Cf. Meister 1899, 84f.

7 Hehl 1912, 37–39.

8 Two among Hehl's occurrences must be excluded from the total figures: 1) *IHC* 413 *patrem hunc tutorem hab*(*u*)*ere pupilli viduas solamen captibis pretium* (Spain, 8th century): *viduas* here is a regular accusative determining the following *solamen* "consolation of the widows"; 2) *EE* IX, 776 *fundum q*(*ui*) *a*(*ppellatur*) *Duas casas* (Praeneste, 4th century): the inscription has been later reedited in *AE* 1904, 108 which reads *fundum q*(*ui*) *a*(*ppellatur*) (*a*)*d Duas casas*.

9 The remaining instances come from Spain (three), Regio I (two), Regio IV (two), Sardinia, Regio II and Regio X (one each).

10 Actually, there has been a further attempt by Berengario Gerola, whose figures appear much richer: he mentions over 65 occurrences, including Pompeian graffiti, most of which are found in Rome (ca. 30), Pannonia and Dalmatia (12), Africa (10) and Pompeii (six). Cf. Gerola 1950, 328f. However, Gerola doesn't distinguish between inscriptions, graffiti and *defixiones*, doesn't furnish any information on the date of the documents and, most importantly, doesn't give a detailed list of all the occurrences of the ending (only seven inscriptions are mentioned), so that one cannot prove the correctness of his figures. In fact, the aim of Gerola's paper was to offer some preliminary results of a wider research that unfortunately never appeared.

11 In particular, Väänänen 1934 focuses on the few examples from Pompeii, whereas the remarks of Gaeng 1977, 46ff, and Omeltchenko 1977, 376ff, refer to the Christian inscriptions of England, Africa, Italy and the Balkan provinces (latter studies mainly base on Diehl's collection *ILCV*). The occurrences in eastern European provinces have been discussed by Stati (1961, 76) Mihaescu (1978, 219) and by myself (Galdi 2004, 59ff). Special mention should be made furthermore of Bakkum's study (1994) dealing with the few instances of the morpheme on republican stones, along with the *-eis* second-declension masculine plural ending (see below).

12 See in particular Mohl 1899, 205ff; Norberg 1943, 26ff; Löfstedt 1956, 330ff; Ernout 1974, 21f.

13 Cf. *CIL* XI 6300, 6301 (Pisaurum) mentioned above and *CIL* I 2685 *duovir*(*is*) ***hasc***(*e*) *mag*(*istras*) *V*(*eneri*) *d*(*onum*) *d*(*ant*) (Minturnae).

14 See *CIL* VI 9430 [*liber*]*ti et libertas … et libertas*. Three occurrences are found on curse tablets: *K* 1.4.4/8, 1.4.4/9, 1.4.4/10. As for the literary instances, it has been noticed that neither Cato nor Pomponius originated from Oscan areas. Cf. Meister 1909, 87; Adams 2003, 119.

15 Cf. Väänänen 1934, 92; Petersmann 1973, 82. The latter argument, however, is weak because, as is well known, analogy is neither predictable nor rule-governed.

16 So for instance Konjetzny 1908, 320; Meister 1909; Altheim 1932, 157f.

masculine nouns (of the type *filios* pro *filii*) as well as in the singular of all declensions.[17] The third major theory is that of analogy. Väänänen assumed that the early loss of final *-m* in the accusative singular of feminine nouns resulted in a perfect morphological correspondence between nominative and accusative (both ending in *-a*): this might have fostered an analogous process in the plural, where the replacement of the nominative *-ae* through *-as* also had the advantage of reinforcing the thematic vowel *a*.[18] This certainly represents one of the most interesting hypotheses on the origin of the form, as it allows one to explain why this use of the accusative in place of the nominative is basically restricted to first declension nouns. Nevertheless, it must be noticed, that the type *filia* in the accusative singular is clearly more frequent than *filias* in the nominative plural and that the latter often occurs close to forms regularly preserving final *-m*.[19] Conversely, Norberg,[20] although basically pleading for an Oscan origin of the form, assumed that its large use in imperial inscriptions was probably fostered by the analogy with the plural of third declensions nouns and adjectives (*-am*: *-as* = *-em*: *-es*), for the two morphemes are often found together in inscriptions.[21] In most of the instances, however, this is not the case.[22]

Evidence of *as*-nominatives in non-literary sources

This section is devoted to the specific findings of our research. In the first place, we shall list all known instances of the ending. This latter relies upon the main studies on the language of inscriptions, as well as on the indices of the most common epigraphic corpora. Furthermore, several new instances of the morpheme could be detected through

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[17] This point is made by Löfstedt 1956, 330.

[18] Cf. Väänänen 1934, 94: "La cause principale qui l'a déterminée est sans doute l'action du singulier sur le pluriel, après la chute de l'*m* final : d'après le sg. acc. *filia*(*m*) – nom. *filia*, on a fait au pl. acc. *filias* – nom. *filias*. La forme *filias* était d'autant plus indiquée qu'elle renfermait la voyelle caractéristique *a* de cette déclinaison". It must be said, however, that, as indicated by Väänänen himself, an analogous theory was already suggested by other scholars such as Meyer-Lübke and Paris. Cf. Väänänen, *loc. cit.* and Norberg 1943, 31 (with n. 9).

[19] Ex. *ILCV* 497 *Fl. Cascinivo …* ***arcam*** *de proprio suo ubi positus est* ***collegas*** *sui conparaverunt si quis* ***eam*** *aperire voluerit dabit in fisco auri pondo sex* (Regio X, 4th/5th century AD).

[20] Norberg 1943, 26ff. (in particular p. 31).

[21] Ex. *CIL* III 3551 *hic quiescunt* ***duas*** *matres,* ***duas filias*** *numero tres fac*[*i*]*unt et* ***advenas*** *II* ***parvolas*** (Pannonia Inferior, 3rd/4th century AD).

[22] Mihaescu maintains that in the spoken language a merger took place between the ending of the feminine nominative *filiae* and the masculine *filii*. Thus, in order to disambiguate the gender, the speakers generalized the form *filias*, sacrificing, so to speak, the morphological nominative-accusative distinction in the plural. This process would be part of the more general tendency of spoken language "à réduire les forms multiples des cas à des forms doubles, voire unique". See Mihaescu 1978, 219. This theory is barely sustainable because we do not have any explicit evidence for the confusion between *-ae* and *-i* in the pronunciation, not even in the late centuries of the Empire. A fairly different approach to the problem is found in Bakkum 1994, who deals exclusively with the republican occurrences of sigmatic nominatives in the plural of first and second declension. Bakkum does not focus on the origin of the morpheme (that he, however, refuses to ascribe to any Italic idiom, due to the very scant number of instances, p. 34f.), but on its context of usage. He notices that the ending regularly occurs either with demonstrative pronouns or with various types of nouns constituting a larger heading or common denominator of a group of specifically named persons (he refers to that as *resumptiveness-parameter*). Bakkum's results apply however only to some of the *-as*-nominatives in imperial time. See Galdi 2004, 63 n. 282.

the use of the websites listed in final literature.[23] For the *defixiones*, we referred to the rich collection of texts edited in the CD-ROM of Kropp, 2008 (*K*).

The total figures appear quite impressive as compared to those of Hehl and Gerola: the *as*-ending occurs 82 times,[24] of which three in Pompeii,[25] five on republican inscriptions,[26] six on curse tablets[27] and 68 on imperial stones from the following areas:

> Rome (18),[28] Pannonia Inferior (10),[29] Africa (eight),[30] Pannonia Superior (seven),[31] Moesia Inferior (six),[32] Dalmatia (four),[33] Hispania (two),[34] Gallia Narbonensis (two),[35] Regio IV (two),[36] Regio X (two),[37] Sardinia (two),[38] Dacia,[39] Moesia Superior,[40] Ostia,[41] Numidia[42] and Regio II[43] (one each).

Besides, there are 35 uncertain cases in which a syntactical explanation (accusative in place of nominative) cannot be ruled out: of these, 15 figure on inscriptions and 20 on the *instrumenta* from La Graufesenque (we will return to these cases later on in this article).

Relevant differences from previous studies emerge also in connection with the geographical distribution of the form. Nearly all scholars referring to it mention the total lack of occurrences in Gaul, which appears rather surprising, in view of the later development of sigmatic feminine plural both in Provençal and French. Now, the numerous uncertain occurrences at La Graufesenque and the two instances in Gallia Narbonensis,[44]

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[23] Since none of these websites includes any sort of grammatical search or index, we conducted a stochastic research based on those words that occur more frequently with *as*-ending (as *filias, collegas, depositas*, *reliquias*, etc.): it is hence possible that some further instances still "hide" in these corpora.

[24] These figures (as those of Hehl and Gerola) refer to every single instance of the ending. For example *CIL* IV 1517 *sodales hic ad exemplar fela*(*n*)*t n*(*os*)*t*(*ras*) ***Stabianas puellas*** (Pompeii) accounts for two occurrences.

[25] *AE* 1912, 237 ***Asellinas*** *rogant*, *CIL* IV 1517 (see above).

[26] Pisaurum (*CIL* I 378; 379, twice); Rome (*CIL* I 2685, twice); Minturnae (*CIL* I 2685).

[27] Rome (*K* 1.4.4/8, 1.4.4/9, 1.4.4/10); Africa (*K* 11.1.1/8, 11.2.1/3); Arezzo (*K* 1.1.1/1).

[28] *CIL* VI 8398, 13830, 16821, 17959, 32588; *ICUR* I 544 (twice), 619, 1462 (twice), 1653, 2134; *ICUR* V 13217; *ICUR* VII 17861, 18046, 19063; *ICUR* IX 23981; *FER* 74.

[29] *CIL* III 3551 (five times), 13374; *AE* 1967, 371; *RIU* 1073, 1227 (twice).

[30] *CIL* VIII 9156, 18199; *ILCV* 791 (twice), 2042, 2044; *AE* 1908, 155; *EE* VII 519.

[31] *H* 158 (three times); *CIL* III 4590; *RIU* 83, 636, 714.

[32] *ISM* II 215, 303, 351; *ISM* V 104; *ILB* 170 (twice).

[33] *CIL* III 2386, 6551, 10107; *ILI* 597.

[34] *CIL* II 38, 5094.

[35] *EAOR* 12 (twice, see n. 44).

[36] *CIL* IX 3105, 3387a.

[37] *CIL* V 5078; *ILCV* 497.

[38] *ILS* I 100; *AE* 1978, 376.

[39] *AE* 1986, 614.

[40] *IMS* III 2, 45.

[41] *EE* IX 444.

[42] *AE* 1937, 149.

[43] *CIL* IX 959.

[44] *EAOR* 12 *Vivont dei Man*[*es*] *sacrum umane T. Vettius P. f. Pap. Loripes summae rudi P. Vettius T. f. .Pap. Martialis* ***duas Vettias*** *T. l. Suavis et Utilis*.

both from the first century AD, show that the *-as*-morpheme is likely to have been used also in this territory, and that this happened even at an early date.[45] A similar consideration applies to the two Moesiae: since no examples from this area were known before the studies of Stati (1961) and Mihaescu (1978), Hehl claimed that this situation would be in perfect agreement with the later evolution of Rumanian language whose feminine plural forms go back directly to Latin *-ae*.[46] More generally, our data from the eastern European provinces, especially Pannonia, Moesia and Dalmatia exhibit significant differences from the collections of Hehl and Gerola: here there are 29 instances, which corresponds to over 40 % of global occurrences. The data from Rome instead are smaller than those of Gerola, because he includes in his list some dozen occurrences of the form *ollas* (instead of the more common *ollae*) in funerary inscriptions indicating the urn holding the ashes of the deceased, ex. *CIL* VI 4952 *Fabiae Nomadis* ***ollas*** *II*. These instances should rather be classified as uncertain, since they can easily be ascribed (as suggested by Gerola himself) to the ellipse of a verbal expression as *hic habes*, *contines* or similar.[47] In the same so to speak "syntactical" group I included a handful of uncertain cases in which the forms involved can be explained as accusatives, as in the next two examples from Rome:

ILCV 3753 *locus Asteri, quem se vivu*[*m comparavit?*] ***filias intercedentes*** *cum pa*[*tre? ...] quae vix. ann. p.m. L. d*[*ep. ...*] <*Fl.*> *Mallio Sthillicon*[*e c.c.cons.*] (5th century AD)

ICUR IX 23807 *D.M. parentes filiabus que dulcissimis voluistis nobis esse* ***inimicas*** (4th century AD)

Although both inscriptions are mentioned by Gaeng (1977, 47) as examples of *as*-nominatives, in the first, fragmentary text, *filias intercedentes* might be an accusative absolute, whereas in the second *inimicas* could result from an erroneous usage of the infinitive construction depending on the preceding *voluistis*.

A special group is finally represented by the 20 uncertain occurrences on the pottery graffiti from La Graufesenque, all engraved around the first century AD. These forms have been ascribed both by Marichal and Adams to a possible influence of Gaulish morphology, which had a feminine plural ending *-ias* (see n. 45). Besides, a syntactical explanation (accusative of lists or ellipse of the verb) cannot be ruled out.[48]

The dates of the documents are summarized in the next table. The occurrences on curse tablets are in bold, while those on Pompeian graffiti are in cursive. The column marked as "Late" refers to a group of Christian inscriptions mostly edited in *ICUR*, which are very likely to have been engraved not earlier than late third century AD. Unfortunately, about 35 % of the inscriptional evidence (that is 32,5 % of the total occurrences) could not even approximately be dated. The remaining material, however, is enough to reveal a

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[45] The reason why the form is usually avoided on later imperial inscriptions from Gaul remains unclear. There might be however a connection with Gaulish noun morphology. Since here *-ias* was the regular plural ending of feminine nouns (cf. Marichal 1988, 74–75; Adams 2003, 701), it is possible, as suggested by Adams 2007, 675, that "because of its Gaulish association" the form *-as* was generally "stigmatized" in local Latin and consequently avoided, at least at the written level.

[46] Hehl 1912, 38f. Both examples show how dangerous it is to assume or exclude a regional diversification of the language on the base of epigraphic data, whose findings, as well known, are often due to fortuitous elements.

[47] See Konjetzny 1908, 320; Gerola 1949–1950, 215f.

[48] Cf. Adams 2007, 675.

quite frequent and regular appearance of the form over the centuries, especially in the late period: so from the first century BC to the third century AD the ending occurs 24 times, 16 of which on inscriptions, whereas in the later period (until at least the sixth century) it figures 31 times, only in inscriptions.

Century	1 BC	1 AD	2 AD	2/3 AD	3 AD	3/4 AD	4 AD	4/5 AD	5 AD	5/6 AD	Late	Undated
No. of epigraphs	**3** + 5	4 + *3*	2 + **1**	2 + **1**	4 + **1**	7	4	1	2	2	15	25

Table 1. The chronology of the documents.

Discussion of the data

Leaving aside the question of a possible connection of *as*-nominatives with other Italic languages, which we probably do not have enough data to answer, it can be preliminary observed that this form occurs in different areas and over a very long period (from the first century BC until early Middle Ages).[49] In particular, it becomes very frequent in Late Latin inscriptions, in which, as is well known, many features of spoken language emerge,[50] and it occurs in various types of texts, some of which – notably graffiti and *tabellae defixionum* – are typically characterized by a smaller degree of linguistic control. Interestingly enough, in more than 30 cases, which approximately correspond to 40% of the total figures, the text containing the form exhibits at least one further "deviating" feature, which hints at a poor (or at least imperfect) command of the language by its author. These are two examples from the imperial time:

> *ICUR* VII 18046 *Sindina vixit annis numero XXII messe n. X dies n. VIII Urbica et Vincentia* ***eilias*** *fecirunt matri oulcisime* (Rome, late)

> *CIL* III 13374 *Domo Mursa, vix. an. XXXVI stip. XVIII. Aurelia Priscilla coiiux eiu Prisca et Probilla* ***filias*** *et eredes posuerunt, qui defunctus est Perento et ossua eiius in unc locu sunt* (Pannonia Inferior, 3rd/4th century AD)

The first inscription exhibits, apart from the nominative *filias* (wrongly engraved as *eilias*), the variants *messe* for *menses* and *fecirunt* for *fecerunt*; in the second one we read *eiius, Perento ossua*, *unc* and *locu* respectively for *eius, Perinthi, ossa, hoc* and *loco*.

Very instructive in this connection are the occurrences on curse tablets. As it clearly emerges from the recent monograph of Kropp, this type of documents is characterized by a large use of "pre-romance" linguistic features (the loss of neuter, the use of the ending

[49] For details see Gerola 1950, 329f.

[50] I refer here to those non-classical linguistic features which due to their appearance and frequency also in other sub-literary texts as well as to their occasional survival in the Romance languages are very likely to have been spread in some registers of spoken usage.

-o in the accusative masculine singular, etc.), which already occur in the first century BC.[51]

In view of all these aspects, that is, the variety of documents, the low level of correctness of many of them, the diachronic and diatopic distribution, and the probable survival in some Romance languages, we can assume that *as*-nominatives were rather common in spoken language, at least in some spoken varieties of Latin.[52] In literary texts, instead, this form, along with many others certainly spread in common usage was "filtered out" by the conservative character of the language. The first certain examples go back to the fourth century AD.[53]

However, it is well known that the possible or even probable existence of a special phenomenon in spoken usage does not necessarily imply its emergence in sub-literary texts. Thus, the question one has to face is whether any – and, in the affirmative, which – special reason has fostered the use of *as*-nominatives in the extant sources. Some plausible explanations have already been presented above. So, it is rather likely that the extension of the ending in imperial time, especially in the late period, has been fostered by the parallel spreading of the accusative in the Latin nominal system, where it tended to impose itself as a sort of "Universalkasus".[54] A look at the distribution of the forms confirms this guess. The areas with the highest number of occurrences are respectively a) Rome, b) the eastern provinces and c) Africa. Now, the studies of Poukens and Konjetzny on the syntax of African and Roman inscriptions report numerous instances of "deviating" accusatives, which reflect a general extension of this case.[55] Also the inscriptions from Dalmatia, Pannonia and Moesia, in which nearly all eastern occurrences were found, exhibit a remarkably high number of irregular accusatives.[56] Conversely, the results of Carnoy (1906), Martin (1909), and Pirson (1901), hint at a much more regular use of the accusative on the inscriptions of Spain and Gaul, where the *filias*-type is nearly non-existent.[57] A further significant element is the reinforcement of the thematic vowel invoked by Väänänen (1934): after the early monophthongization of *ae* to *e*, one might have felt the necessity of strengthening, at least at a graphical level, the thematic *a*, characteristic of feminine nouns, through the use of the *filias* type. An aspect in support of this view is found in the dative and ablative plural in which the form *filiis* posed a similar problem: the

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[51] See Kropp 2008, 255f: "So ergibt sich aus der sprachlichen Analyse der Texte, daß typisch 'romanische' Phänomene (durch Synkopen verkürzte Wörter, Aufgabe des Neutrums oder Universalkasus Akkusativ) bereits in Zeugnissen aus dem 1. Jh. v.Chr. nachweisbar … sind."

[52] An analogous conclusion is reached by Väänänen 1934, 94f, who though bases his view on fewer elements: "Le nom. plur. en -ās du latin est une formation qualifiable de «vulgaire», étant donné, d'un côté, qu'il n'apparaît que dans les documents d'un caractère populaire, et de l'autre, qu'il se poursuit jusqu'aux langues romanes."

[53] For details see Gerola 1950, 329.

[54] On this phenomenon see in particular Calboli 1996; Herman 1997, 66f; Galdi 2004, 443.

[55] Cf. *CIL* VI 3067[d] 1ff. *coh*(*ors*) *VII vig*[*i*]*lum* ***centuriam*** *Crispini sebaciaria fe*(*cit*) (Rome), *CIL* VIII 7467 ***[f]i[l]ios et ne[p]ote[s] salvos*** *m*[*emo*]*ria*(*m*) *... posuerunt* (Africa). See Poukens 1912, 254–261; Konjetzny 1908, 316–320.

[56] Cf. Galdi 2004, 443–462. In these three areas there also emerges the highest amount of "errors" involving final *-m* and *-s*. The relatively high frequency of both phenomena (especially of the loss of final *-s*, which, as well known, is usually maintained on imperial inscriptions, even in later times) suggests that in Dalmatia, Pannonia and Moesia these phonological changes were more developed, a phenomenon which might have contributed to the syntactical confusion between nominative and accusative. See Galdi 2004, 64.

[57] In particular, Pirson 1901, 186–191 observes that the most irregular uses of the accusative are basically confined to the late Christian era (5th/6th century AD).

large use of the form *-abus* for *-is* on inscriptions and its retention up to the late period[58] seems to reflect the same necessity of marking feminine nouns and distinguishing them from the corresponding masculine ones.[59]

Beside these aspects, whose weak points were summarized above, a third, very important one (so far neglected in the literature) emerged from the analysis of the single occurrences of the form. Specifically, I focussed my attention on the epigraphic material, as this offers by far the highest number of instances.

An onomastic analysis of the texts reveals that the great majority of the personal names that appear in the inscriptions are Latin. There are only very few exceptions, as the name *Ziles* on a Moesian inscription.[60] On the other hand, a great variety appears in the type of words involved: the ending is found with 36 different termini (substantives, adjectives and pronouns), only a few of which occur more than once, notably *filias* (23 times),[61] *reliquias* (five times)[62] and *collegas* (four times).[63] To more interesting and specific results lead the study of the type of inscriptions involved. Leaving aside the three examples from the first century AD and three further instances from imperial time (ex. *CIL* VI 2817 *Iovi Optimo Maximo Capitolino cives* ***Dalmatas*** *posuerunt*), all remaining occurrences were found on funerary inscriptions. A closer examination of the structures typically found on these texts provides significant elements for the explanation of the form.

Non-metrical funerary inscriptions are usually characterized by two elements. The most important one is, obviously, the name or names of the deceased, usually found at the beginning of the text and followed by various types of indication, such as years of life, military service, or marriage, social status, etc. The second section, instead, mostly exhibits the name of the donor or donors who commissioned the inscription. As for the syntax of the text, in older inscriptions the deceased is often put in the genitive, depending on the initial formula *Dis Manibus* or *D.M.*, but in imperial time there is a very large extension of the dative, which becomes the typical case of the dedicatee. The donor, instead, is constantly found in the nominative. Very important is the indication of the relation between donor and deceased, which is mostly based on kinship, but can also rely on friendship, a particular group affiliation etc. Thus, in the second part of the epigraph we typically observe a central pragmatic opposition between the nominative of the giver and the dative specifying the role or position of the deceased, according to the schema *Corneliae, quae vixit annis tot. Licinia titulum posuit filiae benemerenti.* Even in the not infrequent cases in which the text begins with the nominative of the dedicatee, this is usually taken up by a further dative: *Cornelia vixit annis tot. Licinia titulum posuit*

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[58] The ending occurs, for instance, 765 times in *CIL* VI 2. For details cf. Hehl 1912, 42ff; Galdi 2004, 68ff.

[59] However, despite these similarities, there is an important difference between the endings *-as* and *-abus*. The former, as seen above, is very likely to have been spread in the spoken language, whereas the latter is generally considered a feature of juridical and religious language, which, although largely attested on inscriptions, was confined to written texts. In particular, most of the occurrences are found within the fixed formulas *filiis filiabusque, diis deabusque* and similar. Cf. Galdi 2004, 69f with further bibliography.

[60] *ISM* II 303 *D.M. Saturn*[*i*]*nus Biti vixit annis XXXX et Curitthie filius et Valeria et Sabina* ***filias*** *eius;* ***Ziles*** *marita … titulum posuit*.

[61] Cf. *CIL* VI 17959 *Flavianae filiae bene* [*merenti*] *Macriae Hilarae matri bene merenti q. v. ann. XXXVIIII d. V* ***filias*** *in pace fecerunt*.

[62] Cf. *CIL* V 5078 *bone memorie et perpetue securitati bene quiescant* ***reliquias*** *Maximini* (Regio X, late).

[63] Cf. *ICUR* IX 23938 *Fl. Castino singulari off. p. p. q. vix. an. p. m. XXX* ***collegas*** *kar. posuerunt* (Rome, late).

filiae benemerenti. Within this scheme, the ending *-ae* could pose some problems due to its polyfunctionality. Specifically, since dative gradually becomes the normal case of the dedicatee and there are thousands of epigraphs engraved for one single woman, the ending *-ae* (when referred to persons) chiefly marked the dative feminine singular. In comparison, much less frequent are the stones commissioned by two or more women, which might have required the nominative plural ending *-ae* (ex. *filiae posuerunt*). It is therefore conceivable that in these special cases the need of distinguishing in a clear-cut way the donors and their relation to the dedicatee favoured the use of *as*-nominatives (which, as previously noticed, was probably spread in spoken usage). This didn't cause any sort of syntactic ambiguity between the accusative and the nominative, because Latin funerary inscriptions (as distinguished from the Greek ones) typically do not display the accusative of the person. In support of this theory we can observe that 45 of the total occurrences of the *filias*-type in imperial stones (that is approximately 65 %) were found with the name of the donors, ex. *ICUR* V 13217 *Dp. pri. Non. Ian. dilectissime matri Successe* ***filias*** *fecerunt* (see also the examples above).

Besides, in several of these instances, the deceased is a woman as well, and thus the use of the morpheme *-ae* could be particularly ambiguous. Two examples from Spain are reported below:

CIL II 38 *D.M.S. M.L. filia Cupita ann. XXXXIII Q.L.N. marite t Antonia Fundana et Mumia Rufina* ***filias*** *matri piissime posuerunt h.s.e., s.t.t.l.* ($2^{nd}/3^{rd}$ century AD)

CIL II 5094 *Cor. Suriacis an. XXXXI, pia in suis* ***amicas*** *merenti aram posuerunt h.s.e., s.t.t.l.*

In the first text, the use of *filias* clarifies the number and role of the donors (Antonia Fundana and Mumia Rufina) and distinguishes it from that of the deceased (*matri piissime*). In the second one *amicas* differentiates the unspecified donor from the dative of the deceased (*merenti*). Similar cases are found in the next three epigraphs:

H 158 [*Cocceie I*]*smare* ***Cocceas*** *Vitalin Nonnita et Fidentia sorores* ***carissimas vivas*** *mimoriam fecert* (Pannonia Superior)

RIU 1227 *D.M. Domitio Longino vet. coh. Heme.* (*e*)*t Domit*(*i*)*ae Avitae parentibus posuerunt* ***Domitias*** *Revocata et Amata* [***fi***]***lias vivae****, instantibus Ar. Firmo vet. et Aur. Aunio generis* (Pannonia Inferior)

ILS I 100 *D.M. Arrius Callistus vix. XX per annis. quen tumulant* ***Arriae*** *Chia et Crispinilla* ***patronas*** *b.m.f.* (Sardinia)

In the first inscription, the three nominatives *Cocceas, carissimas* and *vivas* syntactically disambiguate the givers from the initial dative *Cocceie Ismare*. More interesting is *RIU* 1227, in which both nominative plural endings *-ae* and *-as* occur side by side. Apart from the *as*-morpheme, the text exhibits good Latin. In the initial section (*D.M. ... posuerunt*), the ending *-ae* refers to one of the deceased (*Domitiae Avitae*). The repeated use of this form after the verb *posuerunt* might have caused confusion in the text due to the very high frequency in funerary stones of the pattern: *alicui ponere*. Probably therefore, the mason first employs the *-as*-morpheme (*Domitias filias*), which distinguishes number and case of the donors, and then the form *vivae* which due to its

proximity to *filias* doesn't generate any morphosyntactical ambiguity.[64] Similarly, in *ILS* I 100 the concomitant use of the two nominative morphemes (*Arriae, patronas*) appears to be favoured by the need of making clear gender and number of the donors.[65]

The remaining 25 occurrences of *-as*-morpheme are all found with the name of the dedicatee or with the form *reliquias* referring to him. Interestingly enough, in most of the cases the name of the donor is not expressed, so that no possible ambiguity could result between the two elements, ex. *ICUR* I 1462 [*hic r*]*equiescent in pace sacra*[*s virgines*] ***germanas*** *unius utere* ***natas*** *Rufi*[*na*] [*B*]*onifatia d*(*e*)*p*(*osita*) *VIIII Kal. Ian. cons. S*[…] (Rome, 5th century AD). As for the explanation of these instances, we can assume that in some cases the involved nominatives were felt as psychological object of the sentence and thus put in the accusative.[66] However, if we consider that nearly all these occurrences were found on late inscriptions (from the late third century onwards), they basically appear to be the result of a larger and more generalized use of the morpheme not only in the spoken language but also in written texts, as emerges from the fact that around the fourth century AD *as*-nominatives begin to spread even in literary documents.

Conclusions

The use of the *-as*-ending as a nominative plural of feminine nouns represents one of the most debated problems of Latin noun morphology since the end of 19th century. Although several explanations have been so far suggested, at least one main objection for each of them can be raised. The purpose of this paper, without claiming to give a "universal" solution to the problem (which is not likely to exist), is to offer an update to the problem, by focussing specifically on the non-literary occurrences of the ending, as well as to underline the importance of some factors accountable for its use (the problem of its origin has not been considered due to the very few number of occurrences from republican time). At first, it was observed that at least four elements hint at the use of the ending in spoken varieties of substandard Latin, namely: a) the diversity of the documents involved, b) the low level of correctness of many of them, c) the large diachronic and diatopic distribution of the occurrences, and d) the likely survival in some Romance languages. On the other hand, the emergence of the morpheme in written texts must be ascribed to a plurality of causes. Data emerging from previous epigraphic studies show that its large extension in imperial times is very likely to be connected to (or fostered by) the parallel spreading of the accusative in the syntactical system. Equally important appears to be the necessity of strengthening (at the least at the graphical level) the thematic vowel *a*, characteristic of

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64 It is theoretically possible that *vivae* is a dative referring to Domita Avita: this would mean that, when the inscription was made, the mother of the two donors was still alive. However, since the epigraph refers to both parents and these are considered together (*parentibus*), it is preferable to intend *vivae* as a nominative plural.

65 There is another aspect to consider. In all eastern inscriptions of the Empire (which are approximately 30000) there appear over thirteen hundred cases of monophthongization *-ae* > *-e* in the dative singular and only three in the nominative plural. See Galdi 2004, 65f. This glaring difference could be fostered, once again, by the will of keeping distinct at a graphical level the endings of the two cases. This hypothesis should be confirmed, however, by further research in other geographical areas and by a systematic comparison of the three forms *-ae*, *-e* and *-as* in the nominative plural.

66 This is particularly likely in the examples with past participle or passive verbal forms, ex. *ICUR* I 619 *Petronia q*[*uae*] *vixit annus* […] *et Martina soror eius que vixet annus VI* ***depositas*** *pridia Idus Iulias bene merentibus in pace* (Rome, late); AE 1908, 155 *hic abetur* ***reliquias*** *martiris Bincenti* (Africa, late).

feminine nouns, after the early monophthongization *-ae* > *-e*. Besides, a closer look at the occurrences in non-literary texts has revealed that the form is found almost exclusively on funerary inscriptions and mostly with the name of the donors. Thus, due to the very large diffusion in funerary texts of the dative singular *-ae* (or *-e*) in connection to the dedicatee, it has been suggested that the form *-as* was often preferred to *-ae* in the nominative plural in order to distinguish the name of the givers and to avoid confusion with that of the deceased, especially when both elements were feminine in gender. This need might have fostered its use also in cases in which the text was not ambiguous. A final, equally important aspect to consider is the late age of the documents involved, most of which go back to the late period (from the end of the third century onwards), when the morpheme was certainly more extended in common use and began to be accepted and codified even in literary texts.

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Abbreviations

AE = *L'Année Epigraphique*, Paris 1888ff.
CIL = *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, Berlin.
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Literary Late Latin and the Development of the Spoken Language

Gerd V.M. Haverling

Introduction

All languages change over time, and we can observe that process particularly well in Latin and Greek, since we have documents written in these languages from a very long period of time. Some of the changes from Early to Late Latin occur in texts of every kind from the later periods; but due to a conservative school tradition, the language in the literary texts is often astonishingly similar to that of the Classical or early Post-classical period. The definition of the literary standard varies, however, a great deal. It changes gradually over the centuries, but there are also differences between contemporary literary authors, some of whom were more conservative than others; and sometimes one and the same author may be more conservative in one text than in another.

The differences in language and style which we find in the texts from the Late Latin period are therefore considerable. Several less literary texts provide us with many linguistic features which do not meet the requirements of the literary standard, whereas the authors of the literary texts differ in attitude towards the ongoing changes in the language. Some of the changes occur, however, in all sorts of Late Latin texts, since there is a difference between changes in the language of which the educated authors were aware and had learnt to avoid and those changes of which they were not aware.

Many new linguistic features in the Late Latin texts reflect the growing difference between spoken and written language in Late Antiquity. Some of them, however, may reflect not the language of the authors themselves, but rather the competence of later scribes.

The problem of the manuscripts

The substandard Latin expressions occurring in some Late Latin texts are often found in contemporary inscriptions too, which thus confirm the existence of such expressions in the Latin of the time.[1] However, in the texts transmitted to us by manuscript traditions such substandard features are often very problematic, because the manuscripts contradict each other. A famous example of this is the late sixth century historian Gregory of Tours, whose Latin appears in a more irregular shape in his most popular work, the *Decem libri historiarum* "Ten Books on History", than in his other works.[2] The contradictions in the manuscripts of such texts concern in particular the spelling system and the use of case forms and prepositions.

Many orthographical problems of this kind occur in the 11th century manuscript which is our only source for a text of some importance for our assessment of the difference

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[1] See e.g. Galdi 2004.

[2] Haverling 2008a; Hilchenbach 2009, esp. 85–87.

between spoken and literary Latin in the late fourth century CE, the *Itinerarium Egeriae*.[3] By the late fourth century the final *-m* in for instance the accusative forms had been weakly pronounced for centuries,[4] but its spelling is nevertheless quite consistent in the literary texts. From this point of view Egeria's *Itinerarium* is in a mess: we sometimes read *per giro* without the *-m* (*Itin. Eger.* 2.5, 3.6, 19.10), sometimes *per girum* with it (*Itin. Eger.* 2.6, 3.1, 4.4, 8.1, 13.3); and in one passage we read *Antiochia* 'to Antioch' as well as *Ierusolimam* 'to Jerusalem' (*Itin. Eger.* 22.1); with the preposition *cum* we have both the ablative form *epistula* (*Itin. Eger.* 19.16) and the accusative form *epistulam* (*Itin. Eger.* 19.17); and in one passage the form *terra* is an accusative and what looks like the infinitive *nosse* 'to know' is actually the first person imperfect subjunctive form *nossem* 'I knew' (*Itin. Eger.* 7.1). There are, however, also problems which could not easily be ascribed to the phonetic development. With the preposition *cum* we usually have the ablative (e.g. *Itin. Eger.* 35.2 *cum apostolis*), but in a couple of cases we have the accusative and in one of them the accusative form could not just be ascribed to the slack pronunciation of *-m* (e.g. *Itin. Eger.* 24.1 *cum monazontes*).

Similar orthographical problems occur in the manuscript traditions to for instance Gregory of Tours, Jordanes, Benedict of Nursia and the Late Latin translation of the *Hippocratic Aphorisms*. In such cases there is often a variation between different manuscripts, some of which have a more irregular form of Latin than others. There is, however, often also much variation within the manuscripts which present us with a less elegant form of Latin, in the sense that both correct and incorrect expressions occur in them: the manuscripts which have the correct form *a septem mensibus* 'from the age of seven months' in the commentary to Hippocr. *Aphor*. 3.25 tend to always be correct in the choice of case form in such prepositional phrases, whereas the manuscripts which have the incorrect form *a septem menses* in that passage oscillate between correct and incorrect forms with the preposition *ab*.[5]

Sometimes this variation reflects the ongoing changes in the language in a direct manner, as for instance the use of the accusative with the preposition *cum*, which we encounter in inscriptions and other contemporary documents from the first century onwards, which means that it probably was a common feature in the language spoken in the late fourth century CE.[6] This is, however, not always so: the variation between, for instance, *post quas lectiones* and *post quibus lectiones* in the manuscripts to Benedict's rule (Bened. *Reg*. 11.4) and *de quibus ... testatur* and *de quas ... testatur* in Jordanes' *Getica* (Iord. *Get*. 44) does not indicate that the incorrect forms *post quibus ...* and *de quas ...* occurred in the spoken language,[7] but rather that the changes in the case system had reached a point where the accusative and ablative case endings were regarded as equivalent written varieties.

The question is whether we may ascribe such substandard features to the authors of these texts or whether they should be ascribed to later scribes. Väänänen thought that

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[3] This manuscript was found in Arezzo in 1884; cf. Maraval 1982, 40ff.

[4] Leumann 1977 § 228; Väänänen 1981 § 127.

[5] Haverling 2003a, 166; Haverling 2010b, 109–110.

[6] The earliest examples of this usage occur in inscriptions from Pompeii (e.g. *CIL* IV 698 *Saturninus cum discentes suos*) and in a letter by Claudius Terentianus (*C.Epist.Lat.* 146 = *P. Mich.* VIII 471 l. 22 *con tirones*): see Väänänen 1981 § 247.

[7] On the variation in Benedict's rule, see Coleman 1999, 351; in Iord. *Get*. 44, Mommsen (1882, 65) has *de quas*, whereas Giunta and Grillone (1991, 20) have *de quibus*; on Jordanes, see also Galdi 2008.

we could ascribe much of the orthography in the only manuscript in which we have her *Itinerarium* to Egeria herself.[8] This is, however, by no means certain. There were medieval scribes, especially after the Carolingian Renaissance, who were very well capable of rendering our texts more handsome – perhaps more so than they should be – and there were scribes, especially in the earlier Middle Ages, who obviously created quite a lot of confusion when they dealt with our texts.[9] This does not mean that the *Itinerarium Egeriae* is no longer of value for our assessment of the colloquial Latin of around 400 CE – just that we do not know whether all the inconsistencies in grammar and spelling actually belong to the author.

The problems of such manuscript traditions is thus of importance for the assessment which we make of the development of the spoken language. It is, however, also of importance for the way in which we look upon the historical development and the cultural setting in Late Antiquity and especially in the sixth century CE.

Cases and prepositions in literary and less literary Late Latin

The changes in the case system and in the use of the prepositions are reflected in different ways in literary and in less literary Late Latin texts. In Late Antiquity the grammarians were very well aware of the ongoing changes in this field and they warned against them and recommended the usage found in Classical authors such as Terence, Cicero, Sallust and Virgil. One example of the less literary character of her language is Egeria's use of the preposition *de* instead of *ex* 'out of' (*Itin. Eger*. 3.6 *de ecclesia* 'from the church') and *ab* 'from' (*Itin. Eger*. 1.2 *de eo loco* 'from that place'). The grammarians warn against this kind of mistake (1). In the literary Late Latin texts we usually find the prepositions recommended by the grammarians (e.g. Amm. 29.5.19 *e latibulis ... egressi* 'having left their hiding places') or, especially in the more conservative literary texts, the separative ablative (e.g. Iul. Val. 1.7 *conclavi exit* 'he left the room'):[10]

1) Terent. Scaur. *Gramm*. 7 p. 31 *'de' quoque non numquam perperam ponitur pro 'ex', ut cum 'de provincia venire' quis dicit ... eximus ut 'e nave', 'e circo', sic 'e provincia'*

   De is also often incorrectly used instead of *ex*, as when someone says *de provincia venire* 'to come from the province' … as we say *e nave* 'from the ship' and *e circo* 'from the circus', so we also say *e provincia* 'from the province'.

Another example of this variation in the choice of the preposition is found in the expressions meaning 'from a city/town'. In such expressions, we find the separative ablative in the Latin of the late Republic (e.g. Cic. *Catil*. 2.16 *Roma profectus est* 'he left Rome'), but from the early empire onwards the prepositional phrase with *ab* becomes frequent (e.g. Liv. 26.15.8 *ab Roma venit* 'he came from Rome'). In literary Late Latin

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[8] Väänänen 1987, 19–21. For some more examples of the spelling, cf. Väänänen 1987, 25f.

[9] See e.g. Coleman 1999, 345ff.; cf. Haverling 2005a; Haverling 2008a. Even a text written in perfect Classical Latin might be affected by "Merovingian" orthography and there are traces of an archetype of that kind in the later manuscripts to Caesar's *De bello Gallico*: see Buchner 1955, XXXVII.

[10] See Hofmann and Szantyr 1965 § 72.I; cf. Haverling 1988, 223ff.; Haverling 2006, 352; cf. also Arusianus Messius, 469 l. 27; Dosith. *Gramm*., 425 l. 16.

the more frequent form is *ab* (e.g. Aug. *Conf*. 5.13 *a Mediolanio* 'from Milan'), whereas the separative ablative has an archaic and poetic character (e.g. Amm. 31.7.1 *Antiochia ...egressurus* 'intending to leave Antioch'). Egeria normally uses the preposition *de* (e.g. *Itin. Eger.* 13.2 *profecta sum de Ierusolima*, 18.1 *profecta sum de Antiochia*), but once she has an expression without a preposition (*Itin. Eger.* 10.3 *proficiscens ergo Ierusolima*). In the late sixth century, Gregory of Tours frequently uses the preposition *ab* (e.g. *Franc*. 3.10 *ab Arverno*), but sometimes he has *de* instead (e.g. *Franc*. 3.2 *de Rutino*).[11]

Egeria often has a prepositional phrase where contemporary literary Latin usually does not. In the expressions meaning 'to a city', she sometimes has the accusative of direction (e.g. *Itin. Eger.* 17.3 *revertebar Constantinopolim*) and sometimes the prepositional phrase with *in* (e.g. *Itin. Eger.* 12.11 *regressi sumus in Ierusolimam*). She never uses the locative but usually replaces that form with prepositional phrases with *in* (e.g. *Itin. Eger.* 25.12 *in Bethleem ... in Ierusolima*) or *apud* (e.g. *Itin. Eger.* 23.3 *apud Ierusolimam*); and in one case she has the form *Ierusolima* without preposition in the sense 'at Jerusalem' (*Itin. Eger.* 49.2). In contemporary literary Late Latin, however, the use of the accusative of direction is still the rule (e.g. Aug. *Conf*. 4.7 *veni Carthaginem* and Symm. *Epist*. 2.24 *Romam ... venit*); and although it is quite clear that the locative had lost ground in the language of everyday conversation,[12] it is still regularly used in the higher register of fourth century literary Latin (e.g. Symm. *Epist*. 1.102 *Mediolani* and Aug. *Conf*. 5.12 *Romae* and 6.7 *Carthagini*), although there are instances in which *apud* and the accusative seems to have this function as well (e.g. Aug. *Conf*. 5.8 *apud Carthaginem* and Symm. *Epist*. 9.48 *apud Ariminum*). In the late sixth century, Gregory of Tours frequently uses the accusative of direction (e.g. *Franc*. 2.1 *Romam veniens*), but also indeclinable nouns (e.g. *Franc*. 2.38 *Parisius venit*), the dative (e.g. *Franc*. 3.13 *Arverno regressus est*) or prepositional phrases (e.g. *Franc*. 10.12 *in Pectavum*, 2.37 *ad Arvernus*).[13] He occasionally uses the locative (e.g. *Franc*. 1.40 *Romae*), but also indeclinable expressions (e.g. *Franc*. 3.18 *Parisius*) and prepositional phrases (e.g. *Franc*. 2.36 *in Arverno*, 2.43 *apud Parisius*) in that function. Literary Late Latin, as reflected by Symmachus and Augustine, is in this respect very close to Classical and early Post-classical Latin, whereas the usage met with in the *Itinerarium Egeriae* is closer to what we find in sixth century texts like Jordanes' *Romana* and the *Decem libri historiarum* by Gregory of Tours.[14]

There is thus a certain amount of inconsistency in the choice between case forms and prepositional phrases in Late Latin. There is, however, more such inconsistency in the less literary texts. In the sense 'with his/their hands', Egeria has the classical ablative of instrument, *manibus suis*, in one passage (*Itin. Eger.* 3.6) and the prepositional phrase,

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[11] See Hofmann and Szantyr 1965 § 72.I; cf. Bonnet 1890, 576–578; Väänänen 1987, 27, 35f.; Haverling 2005a, 340; Haverling 2006, 351.

[12] The use of the locative in expressions indicating direction is found in a letter of Claudius Terentianus (*C.Epist. Lat.* 146 = *P. Mich*. VIII 471 l. 25 *venio tecum Alexandrie* 'I come with you to Alexandria') and perhaps already when a freedman is speaking in Petronius (*Sat*. 62.1 *forte dominus Capuae exierat*); it also occurs in a *Vetus Latina* translation of the Bible (Vet. Lat. II *Tim*. 1.17 cod. d *cum venisset Romae*; cf. Vulg. II *Tim*. 1.17 *sed cum Romam venisset*): see Hofmann and Szantyr 1965 § 88b; cf. Haverling 1988, 203f.

[13] See Hofmann and Szantyr 1965 § 72.Ia; cf. Bonnet 1890, 569–574; Väänänen 1987, 26; Haverling 2005a, 338; Haverling 2006, 349–350.

[14] See Bonnet 1890, 574–576; Väänänen 1987, 26; Galdi 2008; cf. Haverling 2005a, 339; Haverling 2006, 350; Haverling 2011b, 280.

de manibus suis, in another (*Itin. Eger.* 37.2);[15] and in an adverbial phrase meaning 'that day', she seems to have both the ablative *ea die* (*Itin. Eger.* 29.6) and the prepositional phrase *in ea die* (*Itin. Eger.* 3.2). There is, however, some inconsistency of this kind even in the literary texts: in the sense 'in that night' Augustine has both *hac nocte* (e.g. Aug. *Cons. evang*. 3.2.7) and *in hac nocte* (e.g. Aug. *Cons. evang*. 3.2.6).[16]

Sometimes we find a pure case form instead of a prepositional phrase used in Classical Latin. With the verb *ingredior* 'go into' Egeria sometimes uses the preposition *ad* (*Itin. Eger.* 11.1 *cum ... ingressi fuissemus ad eos*), as in Classical Latin and in literary Late Latin (e.g. Aug. *Conf*. 8.12 *ad matrem ingredimur*), but in one passage she uses the dative in that function (*Itin. Eger.* 39.5 *ingressus est discipulis*); this dative of direction is more frequent two centuries later, for instance in Gregory of Tours (e.g. *Franc*. 3.5 p. 112.20 *Lugduno regressus est* 'he returned to Lyon').[17]

There are, however, new uses of the genitive which we find in the literary texts from the late fourth century. The ablative is often replaced by other expressions when occurring with adjectives. In Egeria we have the expression *instructus de scripturis* 'learned in the Holy Scriptures' (*Itin. Eger.* 20.9), where Classical Latin would prefer the so-called 'ablative of respect', *instructus litteris* 'equipped with literary learning' (e.g. Cic. *De orat*. 3.137), and where a more literary late fourth century author like the Christian historian Sulpicius Severus uses the genitive 'of respect', *vir divinarum rerum instructissimus* 'very learned in the religious matters' (*Chron*. 2.42.2). Sometimes we even find this genitive with verbs, such as with *dissentire* 'disagree' in Symmachus (2a) and with *erubescere* 'be ashamed' in Jerome (2b). With *dissentire* Cicero preferred the construction with *de* (e.g. *De orat*. 3.114); and with *erubescere* too, Classical Latin used the construction with *de* (e.g. Sen. *Contr*. 2.3.8).[18] Here we have both a change in the function of the old case form and a growing overlap between the function of the case form and the prepositional phrase:

2a) Symm. *Epist.* 1.15.2 *tunc nostrates viri, qui inter se aliarum rerum saepe dissentiunt, concordem sententiam super huius laude tenuerunt*

who among themselves often disagree about other matters

2b) Hier. *Epist.* 22.7 *non erubesco infelicitatis meae*

I am not ashamed of my unhappiness.

One of the problems which we are facing in literary Late Latin concerns the extent to which such new uses of the old case forms reflect a new use of these forms in the spoken language and the extent to which they are to be regarded as hypercorrect. In the late fourth century, the new use of the genitive found in the literary texts does not freely occur on any occasion when the preposition could be used: in (2a–b) there is a connection with the

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[15] See Väänänen 1981 § 248; cf. de la Villa 1998.

[16] See Hofmann and Szantyr 1965 § 87; cf. Haverling 1988, 217.

[17] See Hofmann and Szantyr 1965 § 70; cf. Bonnet 1890, 536ff., 572f.; Löfstedt 1911, 10f., 323; Skahill 1934, 38; Bieter 1938, 62ff.; Molinelli 1996; Haverling 2006; Haverling 2011b, 280, 282.

[18] See Haverling 1988, 141, 176ff., 186; Haverling 2005a, 341–342.

genitive of respect with adjectives. However, the fact that there was this expansion of the case forms in literary Latin at the same time as they apparently declined in the spoken language suggests that there is a connection with the development of the prepositional phrases: this is suggested when the genitive is used instead of Classical Latin *ab* (and Late Latin *de*) in the sixth century (cf. e.g. Greg. Tur. *Franc*. 7.29 *detractu a balteo gladio* and Greg. Tur. *Franc*. 7.47 *extracto baltei gladio* 'having drawn his sword from the belt').[19]

Sometimes old features were reinterpreted and given a slightly new function or sense in the later texts. One example of this is the overlap between the genitive and the nominative, which is the result of a reinterpretation of certain earlier uses of the genitive of possession. In Classical Latin we encounter this kind of genitive, always with an attribute, in expressions indicating what was in accordance with somebody's habit (e.g. Cic. *Verr*. 2.1.66 *negavit moris esse Graecorum* 'he said that it was not in accordance with Greek custom'); there is a similar expression with the possessive dative and the nominative without an attribute (e.g. Liv. 5.27.1 *mos erat Faliscis* 'it was the custom of the Faliscians'). In the first century CE, however, these two expressions overlap and this kind of genitive occurs without an attribute (e.g. Vell. 2.37.5 *sicuti Pompeio moris erat* 'as was Pompey's custom'). In later Latin this genitive sometimes competes with the corresponding nominative constructions. In Egeria we have the expression *consuetudinis nobis erat* 'it was our habit' (*Itin. Eger*. 10.1 and 15.4) and *desiderii fuit* 'it was (my) wish' (*Itin. Eger*. 7.1). In Symmachus we have several examples of this use of the genitive; a particularly striking case is in (3):[20]

3) Symm. *Epist*. 8.61 *vulgati quippe proverbii est, enavigato Maleo oblimari eorum memoriam, quos domi reliqueris ...*

An old proverb says that once you have passed Maleum the memory of those you have left back home will fade away.

This use of the genitive seems to be a part of the literary language rather than of the language of everyday conversation.[21] If that is so, we have here one of several examples of Egeria's use of literary linguistic features.[22]

Some of the changes in the case system and in the use of the prepositions which we find in a text like the *Itinerarium Egeriae* do not occur, or are rare, in the more literary texts from the same period. There is, however, some variation between prepositional phrases and the pure case forms even in the literary texts, but there are also examples of new uses of the old case forms, which are sometimes due to a reinterpretation of the old case functions and sometimes connected to the growing use of the prepositional phrases in the spoken language.

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[19] See Haverling 2006; Haverling 2011b, 290f.; on the use of the prepositions in the more colloquial language, see e.g. Molinelli 1996.

[20] See Haverling 1988, 155–157; cf. the nominative in Sen. *Epist*. 22.1 *Vetus proverbium est gladiatorem in harena capere consilium: aliquid adversarii vultus, aliquid manus mota, aliquid ipsa inclinatio corporis intuentem monet*.

[21] Cf. Löfstedt 1911, 278ff.

[22] Another example is her use of polite formulations such as *nolo aestimet affectio vestra* (*Itin. Eger*. 20.13): cf. Haverling 2005a, 324–325. For such "literary" features in the letters of Claudius Terentianus, see Halla-aho 2009, 62–63.

Subordination in literary and less literary Late Latin

One of the fundamental changes from Early and Classical Latin to Late Latin and Romance is the increasing tendency to use conjunctions instead of the accusative and the infinitive with the so-called *verba dicendi et sentiendi*. The accusative and the infinitive is in these cases the by far most frequent construction in the Late Latin texts, but there is a difference in the choice among the alternative constructions. In a very conservative author like the fourth century pagan senator Q. Aurelius Symmachus, the only alternative found is *quod* (e.g. Symm. *Epist*. 9.1, 9.87), which is the alternative met with in the highest register of literary Late Latin. However, a Christian bishop like Ambrose sometimes also uses *quia* (e.g. *Epist*. 57.6), which represents a somewhat less conservative level of style in literary Late Latin. In Augustine there is a variation between the more conservative style in the *Contra Academicos* (five examples of *quod*), the somewhat less conservative style in the *Confessiones* (where there are also some examples of for instance *quia*), and the more colloquial style in his sermons, where *quia* is the by far most frequent alternative.[23] With the verb *dico* 'I say' a less literary author such as Egeria has *quoniam* (e.g. *Itin. Eger*. 12.7), *quia* (e.g. *Itin. Eger*. 12.9) and *eo quod* (e.g. *Itin. Eger*. 19.17).

Another difference between Late Latin and Classical Latin concerns indirect questions, which in Classical Latin were usually introduced by the conjunctions *num* and *-ne*; the conjunction *an* occurs in certain expressions, such as *haud scio an* 'I do not know that not' or *dubito an* 'I hesitate whether' (= 'perhaps'). In Post-classical Latin, however, *an* is often the conjunction used in indirect questions in the sense 'if, whether'. In less literary Late Latin we often find *si* (and the indicative) in this function (4a), whereas literary Late Latin normally has the post-classical use of *an* (4b) or a new literary Late Latin use of *utrum* (4c) (and the subjunctive) in this function.[24] The use of *num* (e.g. Symm. *Epist*. 1.11.2) or *-ne* (e.g. Symm. *Epist*. 1.76) is a kind of archaism in Late Latin:[25]

4a) *Vet. Lat. Sap*. 2.17 ap. Lact. *Inst*. 4.16.8 *videamus ergo, si sermones eius veri sunt*

Let us then see whether his speeches are true.

4b) Symm. *Epist*. 6.64 *scire postulo, an praedicta curatio efficax fuerit*

I would like to know whether the said cure was efficient.

4c) Symm. *Epist*. 6.8 *vestra in manu est, utrum hoc inultum esse patiamini*

It is up to you to decide, whether you shall let this behaviour go unpunished.

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[23] See Hofmann and Szantyr 1965 § 312a Zus. α; cf. also Haverling 1988, 243ff. and Haverling 2005a, 331–332. For an analysis of this development in Late Latin, see Cuzzolin 1994.

[24] Cf. also e.g. Aug. *Civ*. 1.21: *et merito quaeritur, utrum pro iussu Dei sit habendum, quod* ... 'it is rightly asked whether it is to be taken as God's order that …'; see Hofmann and Szantyr 1965 § 250d; cf. Haverling 1988, 237–238.

[25] See e.g. Ernout and Thomas 1953 § 319; Väänänen 1981 § 379; cf. Haverling 1988, 236–239; Haverling 2003a, 168.

The different attitudes towards the literary standard are thus reflected by the choices in the syntax of subordination made by some contemporary authors who were all active in the late fourth century CE.

The verbal system in literary and less literary Late Latin

Some of the changes in the verbal system do not occur or are very rare in the more literary Late Latin texts. The periphrastic future with *habere*, which now and then occurs in Egeria (e.g. *Itin. Eger.* 2.1, 4.5, 24.1), is known from around 200 CE, when we meet it in Tertullian (e.g. *adv. Marc*. 4.40, *adv. Marc*. 5.13.3 and *anim*. 35.1) and Porphyrio (*Hor. epist*. 2.1.17), but although such expressions seem to have been common in the spoken language they are remarkably rare in the Late Latin texts, where they usually retain the original modal function when they occur. In the translations of the Bible, the *Vetus Latina* often has the construction with *habere* (e.g. Vet. Lat. *Luc*. cod. 5 19.4 *quia inde habebat transire* 'for he was to pass that way'), where the *Vulgate* has the periphrasis with the future participle (Vulg. *Luc*. 19.4 *quia inde erat transiturus*).[26] The colloquial character of the construction with *habere* is underlined by the fact that the only example of it in Gregory of Tours in the late sixth century is found in a passage of conversation (5):

5) Greg. Tur. *Mart*. 1.16 *dicit sanctus ad illam: 'In Gallias habui iam redire, sed propter istum qui foris iacet in atrium me remoratum profiteor*'

The holy man said to her: "I was already going to go back to Gaul, but I confess I stayed in the atrium because of him who is lying outside".

What appears to be the first example of the new synthetic future formed from this construction and found in most Romance languages, the form *daras* 'you shall give' (< *dare habes*), occurs as a pun in a conversation in Fredegar's *Chronicle* from the seventh century (Fredeg. *chron*. 2.62 p. 85).[27]

In later Latin there is a development where the constructions with past participles and forms of *esse* gradually stop expressing the perfect tense. In this new system the passive present form *amatur* is replaced by expressions like *amatus est* in the sense 'is loved'. The earlier examples are often in the subjunctive: *auditus sit* is by Egeria used in the sense of *audiatur* (*Itin. Eger.* 36.3) and *electae sint* 'are elected' (Pallad. 1.28.3) corresponds to *eligantur* in that sense in an earlier text (Colum. 8.11.11). Here we have a difference between less elegant Late Latin texts which have the new periphrastic forms (e.g. Chiron 307 *maxillae constrictae fient* 'the jaws are tied together') and more elegant texts which have the old synthetic passive forms (e.g. Veg. *mulom*. 2.92.2 *astringuntur ... maxillae* 'the jaws are tied together').[28] Connected to this development is the use of *fui* and *fueram* instead of *sum* and *eram* in the passive perfect and pluperfect. In Classical Latin there is a system in which the passive forms with *fui* or *fueram* and a past participle

[26] See Hofmann and Szantyr 1965 § 175g and Stotz 1998 § 62.1; cf. Haverling 2010a, 396–399; cf. NT *Luc*. 19.4 ὅτι ἐκείνης ἤμελλεν διέρχεσθαι 'for he was to pass that way'.

[27] See Bonnet 1890, 690.

[28] See Hofmann and Szantyr 1965 § 170 Zus. d; cf. Svennung 1935, 456–461; Kiss 1982, 23–26; Haverling 2010a, 371–372.

indicated anteriority, but in later Latin this system is blurred. In Classical Latin, in for instance the sense 'a city was founded', we only find the perfect with *est* (e.g. Cic. *Rep*. 2.10, Liv. 44.11); the first example of *condita fuit* is from the third century (Justin. 13.7.1 *Cyrene autem condita fuit ab Aristaeo* 'but Cyrene was founded by Aristaeus'); in later Latin we have more examples of this form, but the by far most frequent form met with in literary Late Latin is still *condita est*, as in Augustine (e.g. *Civ*. 18.22 *tempore igitur, quo Roma condita est* 'at the time, when Rome was founded').[29] In Egeria we have several examples of this phenomenon. Most of them are, however, in the pluperfect, where we meet the form *fueram* instead of the expected *eram* (e.g. *Itin. Eger.* 16.5 *quod ei fuerat revelatum*). But in the more literary texts of the late fourth century, we find a usage more in accordance with the classical rules and for instance Augustine normally uses the pluperfect with *eram* (e.g. *Conf*. 1.19 *in quam proiectus eram*).[30]

There are, however, changes which occur more frequently in literary Late Latin texts too. One such change is reflected by the inconsistency sometimes found in the use of tense forms. One example is found in a historical *cum*-clause which indicates a situation anterior to the one described by the main clause. In such cases Classical Latin prefers the pluperfect subjunctive (e.g. Cic. *fam*. 13.29.4), but Egeria has the imperfect subjunctive in such a clause (6a). There are examples in the Vulgate too (6b); and in Augustine we sometimes find the pluperfect (7a) and sometimes the imperfect (7b) in such clauses:[31]

6a) *Itin. Eger.* 13.4 *ego autem cum <u>viderem</u> locum tam gratum, requisivi*

but as I saw such a beautiful place, I asked

6b) Vulg. *Luc*. 13.12 *quam cum <u>videret</u> Iesus vocavit ad se et ait illi*

and when Jesus saw her, he called her and said to her

7a) Aug. *bapt.* 2.1.2 *cum <u>vidissem</u>, quia non recte ingrediuntur ad veritatem evangelii, dixi Petro*

as I had seen that they do not go into the truth of the gospel in the right way, I said to Peter

7b) Aug. *epist*. 82.2 *cum <u>viderem</u>, quia non recte ingrediuntur ad veritatem evangelii, dixi Petro*

as I saw that they do not go into the truth of the gospel in the right way, I said to Peter

The construction represented by *ne hoc feceris* 'don't do this!', which is quite frequent in Classical Latin, loses ground in Late Latin, and the corresponding use in the aorist in Greek (NT *Marc*. 10.19 μὴ φονεύσῃς, μὴ μοιχεύσῃς, μὴ κλέψῃς 'do not kill, do not commit adultery, do not steal') may be translated by the present subjunctive in the

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[29] See Hofmann and Szantyr 1965 § 179 Zus. b; Stotz 1998 § 64; cf. Haverling 2010a, 428–432.

[30] In temporal clauses introduced by *cum* and with the nominative of the participle *ingressus*, we encounter only the imperfect subjunctive (e.g. *cum ingressus esset*) in texts from before ca. 200 CE, but in texts from ca. 200–500 CE we have 17 examples of the imperfect and 20 of the pluperfect subjunctive (e.g. *cum ingressus fuisset*): see CLCLT–6. In the eMGH–4, where the number of later and less polished texts is greater, we have 8 examples of the imperfect against 44 of the pluperfect.

[31] See Haverling 2010a, 418–419, 435–437.

Vulgate (Vulg. *Marc*. 10.19 *ne adulteres, ne occidas, ne fureris*). The use of constructions like *ne dixeris*, however, remains rather frequent in literary Late Latin, where there is an overlap with the constructions with the present subjunctive (8):[32]

8) Aug. *spec*. 23 *non sequaris concupiscentiam cordis et ne dixeris: 'quomodo potui?' ... ne dixeris: 'peccavi et quid accidit mihi triste?' ... et ne dicas: 'miseratio dei magna est, multitudinis peccatorum meorum miserebitur'*

Do not follow your heart's desire and do not say "how could I?" and do not say "I have sinned and what bad thing happened to me?" and do not say: "God's compassion is great; he will have pity on my numerous sins".

Classical Latin features were sometimes reinterpreted and given a slightly new function or sense in the later texts. One example of this is the use of the future perfect *videro* in main clauses, which in Classical Latin means 'I shall have a look at it later, I defer the matter for the present' (e.g. Cic. *fin*. 1.10.35, *de orat*. 2.2.33).[33] The future perfect had already become rare in main clauses in Classical Latin and in the subsequent development it became a form typically occurring in subordinate clauses, which the Late Latin grammarians (e.g. Sacerd. *Gramm.* 1 p. 453 ff., Don. *Gramm.* 1.4 p. 360 ff., p. 384, and Prisc. *Inst*. 8 p. 416 ff.) regarded as the future of the subjunctive and not, as Varro (*Ling*. 9.57, 9.96), as the future of the *perfectum*.[34] The use of *videro* in some literary Late Latin texts is therefore a reflexion of the phenomenon occuring in the earlier texts, but it is there found in the new sense 'I leave aside, I shall not discuss' (9a–b). In the old function 'I shall have a look at it later', later Latin has the simple future (e.g. Quint. *decl. min*. 275.2 *Postea videbo qua causa dimissus sit* 'I shall later discuss for what reason he has been discharged'):[35]

9a) Symm. *rel*. 3.10 *videro quale sit quod instituendum putatur*

I shall leave aside what it is that they want to introduce.

9b) Ambr. *exc. Sat.* 2.131 *sed videro quid vos de vobis, gentes, opinionis habeatis*

I shall leave aside what opinion you have of yourselves, you pagans.

The changes in the actional system are reflected in both literary and less literary Late Latin texts. In Classical Latin the opposition between atelic and telic actionality is often indicated by a prefix: we have for instance *edo* meaning 'eat of something' (e.g.

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[32] See Ernout and Thomas 1953 § 251.II.B.1; Hofmann and Szantyr 1965 § 186.III; cf. Haverling 2010a, 399–400.

[33] See Haverling 2010a, 377–385, esp. 361f.; cf. Haverling 2010c, esp. 164–165.

[34] See Binnick 1991, 12, 42, 467; cf. Haverling 2010a, 377–385; Haverling 2010c, 167–171, Haverling forthcoming, section 2. For an overview of the changes in the modal function of the tense forms, see Haverling 2010d; Haverling forthcoming.

[35] See Haverling 2010a, 401–402: cf. also Aug. *fid. et op.* 12.18 *unde mox videbo, si deus iuverit, quid secundum scripturas sentiendum sit* 'therefore I shall soon discuss, if God helps me, what we have to think according to the scriptures'.

Plaut. *Capt*. 77) and *comedo* meaning 'eat up something' (e.g. Plaut. *Most*. 559). In Late Latin this opposition is blurred and *comedo* is frequently found in the atelic function (10). In this text, as well as in some other later texts we find partitive expressions (*de ligno* etc.) used to emphasize the atelic function:[36]

10) Vulg. *Gen*. 2.16–17 *(Deus) praecepitque ei dicens: ex omni ligno paradisi comede. de ligno autem scientiae boni et mali ne comedas. in quocumque enim die comederis ex eo morte morieris*

And the Lord God commanded the man, saying, "You may freely eat of every tree of the garden; but of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil you shall not eat, for in the day that you eat of it you shall die".

We have the same change in the relationship between *bibo*, which in Early and Classical Latin means 'drink of something' (e.g. Plaut. *Poen*. 534, Cato *orat*. frg. 221), and *ebibo*, which in Early and Classical Latin means 'drink something, empty a glass of something' (e.g. Plaut. *Curc*. 359, Cels. 5.27.4). In Late Latin we sometimes find a prepositional phrase emphasising the atelic function of *bibo* (11a), since the unprefixed verb now may be used in a telic sense as well (11b). There are, however, still some instances of *ebibo* in what resembles the old sense (11c):

11a) Vulg. *Ier*. 51.8 *de vino eius biberunt gentes*

The nations have drunken of her wine.

11b) *Hist. Aug*. 19.4.1 *bibisse autem illum saepe in die vini Capitolinam amforam constat, comedisse et quadraginta libras carnis ...*

It is clear that he often drank a Capitoline amphora of wine in a day and ate forty *librae* of meat.

11c) Ambr. *Noe* 29 *neque iustus vinum ebibit, sed de vino*

And the just man does not drink all the wine, but of the wine.

The opposition between a state and a change into a state was in Early and Classical Latin often expressed by the opposition between two verbs; for instance *taceo* means 'I am silent' (e.g. Plaut. *Curc*. 21) and *tacui* 'I have been silent, was silent' (e.g. Plaut. *Truc*. 817) on the one hand and *conticesco* 'I stop talking' (e.g. Plaut. *Bacch*. 798) and *conticui* 'I (have) stopped talking' (e.g. Plaut. *Asin*. 448) on the other. In Late Latin, however, this opposition is blurred and *tacui* now often occurs in the sense 'I stopped talking' (12a–b); and we also have some examples of a hypercorrect use of the prefixed *conticui* in the sense 'I have been silent' (13a), of which the earliest example is from around 200 CE (Ulp. *Dig*. 48.19.6). In the infectum *conticesco* and *taceo* were now regarded as synonyms (13b). *Conticeo*, which occurs in the sense 'stop talking' once in the first century CE, is a poetic formation (Calp. *Ecl*. 4.98); in Late Latin it occurs in some literary prose (e.g. Hier. *In Psalm*. 20) and in the grammarians, for instance in Priscian who describes it

[36] See Haverling 2000, 205–209; Haverling 2003b, 113ff.; Haverling 2008b, 74–82.

as the infectum form that corresponds to *conticui* (13c); a seventh century grammarian even mentions the verb *tacesco* (Virg. *Gramm. Epist*. 3.9). Many of the examples of the prefixed verb forms occur in grammarians; the other examples occur in the more literary forms of Late Latin:[37]

12a) Vulg. *Act*. 15.13 *postquam tacuerunt, respondit Jacobus*

when they stopped talking, J. answered

12b) Amm.16.6.3 *et Dorus evanuit et Verissimus ilico tacuit*

And Dorus disappeared and Verissimus immediately stopped talking.

13a) Symm. *Epist*. 5.89.1 *hucusque conticui*

I have kept silent so far.

13b) Mar. Victorin. *Defin*. p. 37.3 *conticescere est tacere*

Conticescere means the same as *tacere.*

13c) Prisc. *Gramm*. III 469.22–25 *'conticuere' quae pars orationis est? verbum. quale? perfectum. quo modo dictum? indicativo, coniugationis secundae. cur secundae? quia in praesenti tempore secundam personam in -es productam desinit, 'conticeo', 'contices'...*

Conticuere – what kind of word is it? A verb. Of which kind? A perfect. What form? The indicative, of the second conjugation. Why second? Because in the present tense the second person ends in -es, *conticeo*, *contices.*

In Early and Classical Latin we have the non-dynamic *latere* 'to be hiding' (e.g. Plaut. *Most*. 5, *Amph*. 432) and the dynamic *delitescere* 'to hide oneself' (e.g. Plaut. *Rud*. 466, Cic. *Nat. deor*. 2.52); but in literary Late Latin the prefixed verb is frequently used in the non-dynamic sense (14a–b):

14a) Amm. 27.12.11 *mensibus quinque delitescentes*

hiding for five months

14b) Claud. Mam. *Anim*. 2.9 p. 137.13–14 *qui hactenus delituere*

who have been hiding so far

The sometimes hypercorrect use of the old forms indicates the change that was going on in spoken forms of Latin – even in the form of Latin that was spoken by the educated authors of literary Late Latin texts. The obsolete forms remain for some time in the

[37] See Haverling 2000, 224–225, 262ff.; Haverling 2005b, 283–284; Haverling 2010a, 327–330.

literary texts, but are replaced by others in the language of everyday use (cf. the section on vocabulary below).[38]

In literary Late Latin texts, there are no or very few traces of some of the fundamental changes in the tense system, but there is sometimes some inconsistency in the use of the tenses and a phenomenon known from the Classical texts, such as the use of *videro* in (9), is reinterpreted and used in a somewhat new manner. The changes in the actional system, which were not understood by the grammarians, occur, however, in all kinds of texts and are in the literary texts often reflected by a new use of the old prefixed forms.

The Late Latin vocabulary in literary and less literary Late Latin

Quite a few lexical items in a text like the *Itinerarium Egeriae* do not occur in the more literary Latin texts of the same period.[39] One example is the frequently recurring use of *in giro* (e.g. *Itin. Eger.* 37.1) or *per girum* (or *per giro*, e.g. *Itin. Eger.* 2.5) in the sense 'around'; in the more literary texts from the same period we have *circum* (e.g. *Hist. Aug*. 23.10.6) or *circa* (e.g. *Hist. Aug*. 23.9.3) in that sense.[40] Egeria's words for 'town' or 'city' are *civitas* (e.g. *Itin. Eger.* 19.9) and *metropolis* (e.g. *Itin. Eger.* 9.5); but in the more literary style we usually find *civitas* in its old sense of the body of citizens (e.g. Aug. *Conf*. 5.13) and the old words *oppidum* (e.g. Aug. *Conf*. 6.7) and *urbs* (Aug. *Conf*. 8.6) in the sense 'town' and 'city' respectively. Egeria's word for 'evening' is *sera* (*Itin. Eger.* 3.1 *sabbato sera* 'on Saturday evening' and 39.5 *sera hora forsitan noctis secunda* 'perhaps around the second hour of the evening'). Augustine uses this word as an adjective meaning 'late' (15) and *vesper* (Aug. *Conf*. 5.9 *bis die, mane et vespere* 'twice a day, in the morning and in the evening') and *vespera* (Aug. *Serm*. 4 lin. 158 *facta est vespera* 'it became evening') in the sense 'evening':

15) Aug. *Epist*. 8.6 *ad discendum, quod opus est, nulla mihi aetas sera videri potest*

To learn what is necessary no age is in my view too late.

In the late sixth century, Gregory of Tours uses the preposition *circa* 29 times (e.g. *Franc*. 2.32) and *in giro* once as an adverb (*Franc*. 10.29) and once as a preposition (*Franc*. 10.16). He often uses *civitas* in the sense 'town, city' (e.g. *Franc*. 1.7), but he also uses *oppidum* (e.g. *Franc*. 1.19) and *urbs* (e.g. *Franc*. 3.12). For 'evening' he uses *vesper* (e.g. *Franc*. 9.6) and never *sera*. In this respect his lexicon seems more similar to that of literary fourth century Latin than to Egeria's Latin.

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[38] We have a similar pattern in the decreasing use of enclitics from Early to Late Latin discussed by Janson 1979, 90–119.

[39] On the vocabulary in Late Latin texts of different kinds, cf. Haverling 1988, 27ff. On the *Itinerarium Egeriae*, cf. Swanson 1966–1967.

[40] Cf. Väänänen 1987, 46, 103. In Classical Latin *gyrus* means 'circle' and is used of the circular movement of a creature or an object and *in gyro* means 'in a circle'. In Late Latin we find *in gyro* used as a preposition with the genitive or with the accusative; this usage is found especially in some Christian texts. The examples are relatively rare before 500 CE, but in the later centuries the number of examples grows. In this respect the language met with in Egeria's text thus seems to be in accordance with the later development. See ThLL VI 2 (s. v. *gyrus*) 2388.55ff.; cf. also Löfstedt 1911, 66f.

Another change in the spoken language concerns the function of diminutive suffixes, which in later Latin tend to replace forms without the suffix (16a–b).[41] In literary texts we still find the old diminutive forms in their old function, as for instance in Symmachus around 384 CE (17a). In the late sixth century, Gregory of Tours sometimes seems to use the old diminutive forms instead of the unsuffixed forms (he prefers, for instance, the diminutive form *geniculum* in the accusative singular and the unsuffixed form *genua* in the accusative plural),[42] but normally he uses them in a way which reflects literary language rather than the contemporary development in the spoken language (17b–c):[43]

16a) Pelagon. 153 in 153 *cimicem vivum in aurem equi mittito*

Put a living bug in the ear of the horse.

16b) Pelagon. 54 *spongiam mollem ... in auriculam mittito*

put a soft sponge in the ear

17a) Symm. *Rel*. 15.2 *sumite igitur ... sollemniter auro ducta munuscula*

Take then ... these small gifts of gold fashioned in the usual way.

17b) Greg. Tur. *Glor. conf*. 27 *et sic fenestella parvula patefacta*

And thus a small window was opened.

17c) Greg. Tur. *Glor. conf*. 30 *hospitiolum cuiusdam pauperis*

the little lodgings of a certain poor man

As the old diminutive suffixes lost their diminutive function in the spoken language, they were replaced by other suffixes in that function, for instance by *-īnus*, of which we have a few examples in some technical texts (18a) and in the inscriptions (18b). When describing the not altogether enthusiastic reaction of the people at the court of the emperor Constantius II when they learned about the unexpectedly glorious military successes of the young prince Julian, Ammianus mentions that they called him *Victorinus* 'the Little Vanquisher' – which probably gives us an example of the use of this suffix in the spoken language (19):[44]

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[41] Cf. the warning in *Appendix Probi* p. 197 *auris non oricla, ..., neptis non nepticla, anus non anicla*; cf. Haverling 2011a, 245f.

[42] There are four examples of the acc. sing. *geniculum* (*Hist*. 2.37; *Glor. mart*. 87; *Mart*. 3.9, 4.41) and nine examples of the acc. pl. *genua* (*Hist*. 3.18, 6.36, 10.25; *Glor. mart*. 40; *Mart*. 2.47; *Vit. patr*. 1, 8; *Glor. conf*. 90, 104); for example Pelagonius prefers the form *geniculo* in the abl. sing.: cf. Adams 1995, 545.

[43] See Bonnet 1890, 459ff.; cf. Haverling 2011a, 246ff.

[44] See Niedermann 1954; cf. Haverling 2011a, 251ff.

18a) Chiron 965 *ciconinas iam paene volantes*

little storks almost capable of flying

18b) *CIL* VIII 12794 *Nimp*(*h*)*ydua miserina, vixit anno uno m. VIII diebus XX*

Poor little Nymphidia lived for one year, eight months and twenty days.

19) Amm. 16.12.67 *inrisive ideo Victorinum nominabant, quod verecunde referens, quotiens imperaret, superatos indicabat saepe Germanos*

Therefore they mockingly called him 'Little Vanquisher', since he, although in a modest manner, whenever he described his military activities often indicated that the Germans had been defeated.

A morphological change which clearly was going on in Late Latin, although there are remarkably few traces of it in the texts, is the decline of the neuter. From Early Latin onwards some words occur both as neuter and as masculine nouns (e.g. *aevus* / *aevum*, *caelus* / *caelum*, *loca* / *loci*, *gelu* / *gelus*). When Petronius in the first century CE describes the speech of the freedmen, he sometimes makes them use previously unattested masculine forms, such as *vinus* instead of *vinum* (*Sat*. 41.12) or *fatus* instead of *fatum* (e.g. *Sat*. 42.5). There are examples of another aspect of this development in Egeria, when the plural of two neutral nouns have become new feminine singular forms, *stativa* 'pause' (*Itin. Eger*. 23.2) and *virgulta* 'shoot' (*Itin. Eger*. 4.6).[45] Another change not represented in literary Late Latin is the use of new verbal forms such as *potebam* instead of *poteram*, of which we have an example in a *Vetus Latina* manuscript (Vet. Lat. *Luc*. 19.3 cod. d *et non potebat*), but not in the corresponding passage in the Vulgate (Vulg. *Luc*. 19.3 *et non poterat*). In the late sixth century, Gregory of Tours still uses the form *poteram* (e.g. *Franc*. 2.30), whereas Fredegar (20) and the grammarian Virgilius in the seventh century (Virg. *Gramm. Epist*. 15 p. 92, l. 17) have *potebam*:[46]

20) Fredeg. *Chron*. 2.62 *...cumque eum* (sc. *Bellisarium*) *Antunina adflictum et merentem vidisset, et non potebat cognuscere, quae haec esset adflictio ... dixit ...*

When Antonina saw Bellisarius sad and full of sorrow and she was unable to find out the reason for his sadness, she said …

Such morphological changes are very rare in the more literary Late Latin texts, but a change of this character of which we have some examples in literary Late Latin is the use of the Late Latin verb *odire*, which replaces the older perfect *odisse* in the sense 'to hate'. Augustine normally uses the present perfect *odi* 'I hate' in the traditional manner, but in a few instances he uses the new verb *odio*, which he probably heard other people use quite frequently, in that sense. He has seven instances of the new present *odis* 'you hate' (21a) and 96 instances of the present perfect *odisti* 'you hate' (21b):

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[45] See Väänänen 1981 §§ 213–225; cf. also Löfstedt 1911, 134ff.; Väänänen 1987, 22f.

[46] See ThLL X 2 (s. v. *possum*) 126.64ff.; Väänänen 1981 § 315; cf. also Fredeg. *Chron*. 2.57 *Amicus eiusdem Tolomeus nullo ingenio potebat qualiter eidem res agebatur narrare* (var. l. *poterat*).

21a) Aug. *discipl.* 4 *'odis te'. quanto magis dicis quia amas te, odis te*

"You hate yourself"; the more you say that you love yourself, you hate yourself.

21b) Aug. *in psalm*. 140.2 *et convincit quia non te diligis; immo convincit quia et odisti te*

And he proves that you do not love yourself, indeed he proves that you even hate yourself.

In Augustine there is sometimes a certain variation between more recent and earlier forms. A famous example is his choice of constructions with the *verba dicendi et sentiendi*, which varies between the more conservative style found in the *Contra Academicos* and the more colloquial style found in his sermons (cf. the section on subordination above).

In later Latin the anaphoric pronoun *is* is frequently replaced by demonstrative pronouns such as *hic* and *ille* and sometimes even by *ipse*.[47] The frequent use of *ipse* in the function of *ille* or *is,*which is met with in Egeria and which sometimes resembles the use of the Romance article (*Itin. Eger*. 15.1 *requisivi de eo, quam longe esset ipse locus* 'I asked him, how far away the place was'), is not found in more literary texts. The confusion of *hic*, *ille* and *is* is, however, frequent in the literary texts too. Classical Latin had *illis diebus* in the sense 'in those days' (e.g. Liv. 3.5.11) and *his diebus* and in the sense 'in these days, nowadays' (e.g. Cic. *Epist. ad Q. fr*. 3.1.11); but in the late fourth century we find *his diebus* in the sense 'in those days' not only in Egeria (22a) but also in a more literary text such as the *Historia Augusta* (22b):[48]

22a) *Itin. Eger.* 5.3 *ubi fuerunt castra filiorum Israhel his diebus, quibus Moyses fuit in montem*

where the camp of the sons of Israhel was located in those days, when Moses was on the mountain

22b) *Hist. Aug*. 16.5.1 *his diebus, quibus ille natus est*

in those days when he was born

In this case a part of the change is met with in all sorts of texts from the later periods, whereas another part of it is found only in the texts representing the lower registers of the language.

As a result of the changes in the actional system (cf. exx. 10–14 in the section on the verbal system) some old verbs tend to disappear in Late Latin. The unprefixed *bibo* 'drink' is very frequent and occurs in all sorts of later texts, whereas *ebibo* is found only in more elegant Late Latin texts.[49] The old *ēsse* or *edere* 'eat' becomes rare in the later texts and of the remaining two verbs used in that sense, *comedo* seems to have a

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[47] See Väänänen 1981 §§ 269–274.

[48] See Väänänen 1981 §§ 272, 275; on *ipse* in Benedict's rule, see Coleman 1999, 348–349; cf. Haverling 1988, 39f.

[49] *Ebibo* occurs in Ambrose (4 ex. vs. 260 *bibo*), Augustine (7 ex. vs. 1010 *bibo*), Jerome (7 ex. vs. 622 *bibo*), Sulpicius Severus (1 ex. vs. 2 *bibo*), Cassiodorus (6 ex. vs. 44 *bibo*), and Gregory the Great (8 ex. vs. 137 *bibo*). *Bibo* is the only one of these two verbs found in e.g. Ammianus (4 ex.), in the *Historia Augusta* (26 ex.), Egeria (2 ex.), Caesarius from Arles (118 ex.), and Gregory of Tours (13 ex.).

higher stylistic value than *manduco*. Egeria's word for 'eat' is *manduco*; we have many examples of this verb in the Vulgate too, but the by far most frequent word for 'eat' there is *comedo*, which is the verb preferred in the more literary Late Latin texts and by Jerome. *Comedo* is the more frequent word also in Gregory of Tours and Gregory the Great, whereas *manduco* is more common in for instance Ambrose, Augustine, Cassiodorus and Caesarius of Arles.[50]

A parallel to the disappearance of *ebibo* is the disappearance of *emorior* 'pass away, leave life' and *emortuus* 'dead'. The use of this verb as well as of *conticesco* and *conticeo* and *delitesco* still occurs in certain literary Late Latin texts, but it becomes rare in the lower registers of Late Latin. Around 400 CE we find them in Augustine and Jerome but not in Egeria. In the sixth century CE, we find these verbs in Cassiodorus and Gregory the Great, but not in Caesarius from Arles, Gregory of Tours and in the *Historia Apollonii regis Tyri*.[51]

The atelic and dynamic function of the *sco*-suffix is now blurred and new verbs formed with the prefix *in-* and the intransitive suffix *-are* tend to replace old *sco*-verbs. The transitive use of a verb like *inveterare* is old (e.g. Cic. *nat. deor*. 2.5), but in Late Latin there was a tendency in the somewhat less elegant language to use such verbs intransitively (e.g. Vulg. *Is*. 65.22). Old *sco*-verbs are often replaced by these new verbs: for instance *pinguescere* 'grow fatter' (e.g. Lucr. 5.899) and *crassescere* 'grow thicker, thicken' (e.g. Colum. 8.9.2) are replaced by *impinguare* (Apic. 8.7.5) and *incrassare* (e.g. Vet. Lat. *Is*. 6.10 in Cypr. *Testim*. 1.3) in the sense 'grow fat' in the less literary form of Late Latin.[52] In the Late Latin translation of the Hippocratic *Aphorisms* we find several verbs of this kind, for instance *insurdare* 'become deaf' (Hippocr. *Aph.* 4.60), *infrigdare* 'cool down' (Hippocr. *Aphor.* 4.40, Hippocr. *Aphor.* 5.19), and *incrassare* 'grow fat' (Hippocr. *Aphor.* 5.44). The evidence provided by the manuscripts is, however, contradictory, because some manuscripts prefer the active and intransitive verbs (23a, 24a, 25a), whereas others have the passive forms of the active and transitive verbs (23b, 24b, 25b).

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[50] There are 45 examples of *edere*, over 540 of *comedere* and ca. 170 of *manducare* in the Vulgate: see ThLL V 2 (s. v. *edo*) 100.10ff.; *comedere* is the verb most frequently found in the parts which were translated by Jerome himself and we have reasons to believe that he preferred it because it was considered to be the "better" word: see Löfstedt 1959, 40–41. *Comedo* is the more frequent verb in Jerome (763 vs. 186 *manduco*), *Historia Augusta* (17 ex. vs. 1 *manduco*), Gregory of Tours (11 vs. 2 *manduco*) and Gregory the Great (245 vs. 59 *manduco*); and *manduco* is the more frequent verb in Ambrose (253 vs. 7 *comedo*), Augustine (1327 vs. 174 *comedo*), Sulpicius Severus (2 vs. 1 *comedo*), Cassiodorus (73 vs. 24 *comedo*), and Caesarius from Arles (101 vs. 17 *comedo*).

[51] *Emorior* occurs in Ambr. (3 ex.), Aug. (17 ex.), Hier. (6 ex.), Greg. M. (6 ex.) – but *not* in Amm., *Hist. Aug*., *Itin. Eger*., Sulp. Sev.; *emortuus*: occurs in Ambr. (6 ex.), Aug. (24 ex.), Hier. (12 ex.), *Hist. Aug*. (1 ex.), Cassiod. (3 ex.), Greg. M. (4 ex.) – but *not* in Amm., *Itin. Eger*., Sulp. Sev. *Conticesco* occurs in Ambr. (13 ex.), Aug. (11 ex.), Hier. (13 ex.), Amm. (1 ex.), Cassiod. (6 ex.), Greg. M. (18 ex.) – but *not* in *Hist. Aug*., *Itin. Eger*., Sulp. Sev., Caes. Arel., Greg. Tur., *Hist. Apoll*.; *conticui* occurs in Ambr. (5 ex.), Aug. (3 ex.), Hier. (21 ex.), Amm. (5 ex.), Sulp. Sev. (2 ex.), Cassiod. (2 ex.), Greg. M. (5 ex.) – but *not* in *Hist. Aug*., *Itin. Eger*., Caes. Arel., Greg. Tur., *Hist. Apoll*.; and *conticeo* occurs in Hier. (3 ex.), Greg. M. (2 ex.) – but *not* in Ambr., Aug., Amm., *Hist. Aug*., *Itin. Eger*., Sulp. Sev., Cassiod., Caes. Arel., Greg. Tur., *Hist. Apoll*. *Delitesco*: occurs in Ambr. (7 ex.), Aug. (13 ex.), Hier. (4 ex.), Amm. (7 ex.), Greg. M. (1 ex.) – but *not* in *Hist. Aug*., *Itin. Eger*., Sulp. Sev., Cassiod., Caes. Arel., Greg. Tur., *Hist. Apoll*.; *delitui* occurs in Amm. (1 ex.) – but *not* in Ambr., Aug., Hier., *Hist. Aug*., *Itin. Eger*., Sulp. Sev., Cassiod., Caes. Arel., Greg. Tur., Greg. M., *Hist. Apoll*.

[52] See Haverling 2000, 153ff., 183ff., 302ff., 311ff.; Haverling 2003a, 168ff.; Haverling 2003b, 123ff.

23a) Hippocr. *Aphor.* 5.44 *antequam incrassent*

before they become fat – e.g. ms. *Mu* and *P2*; and Müller-Rohlfsen (1980)

23b) Hippocr. *Aphor.* 5.44 *antequam incrassentur* – e.g. ms. *P1*, *Vc1*

24a) Hippocr. *Aphor.* 5.26 *aqua, quae cito calefit et cito infrigdat, levissima est*

water which quickly gets warm and quickly gets cold is very light – e.g. ms. *P2*

24b) Hippocr. *Aphor.* 5.26 *aqua, quae cito calefit et cito infrigdatur, levissima est* – so ms. *Mu*, *P1*, *Vc1*, and $P2^2$; and Müller-Rohlfsen (1980)

25a) Hippocr. *Aphor.* 1.3 comm. *et de multo sanguine corpora eorum incrassant .... vel alii, qui impinguant*

and their bodies get thick with blood … or others, who become thick – so ms. Re, Ei, P5, P4; and Kühn (1981)

25b) Hippocr. *Aphor.* 1.3 *incrassantur … impinguantur* – so ms. Ba, Vc2, Mc, G

This variation is due to the difference in style between the intransitive verbs, which were clearly regarded as substandard and of which there are very few examples in the texts, and the transitive verbs used in the passive voice, which are quite frequent in the literary texts too.[53]

Several of the changes in the vocabulary which we find in less literary texts such as the *Itinerarium Egeriae* or certain technical texts do not occur or are very rare in the more literary texts from the same period: this can be seen particularly in the introduction of new kinds of word formation. Certain changes are, however, found in texts of all kinds from the later periods: demonstrative pronouns and prefixed verbs from older Latin are used in a new manner even in literary texts. The more conservative literary texts tend to keep the old words, which are sometimes used in a hypercorrect manner, since the original function is no longer fully understood. In the less literary texts such words tend to disappear.

Conclusions and discussion

In several respects the differences between "lower" and "higher" registers in Late Latin are considerable. We find these differences in the vocabulary, in the subordination syntax, in the case syntax, and in the morphology of verbs and nouns. The features belonging to the "lower" register occur not only in texts which are characterized by a substandard form of Latin, but sometimes also in literary texts, for instance when spoken language is depicted, or when literary authors choose to pick up certain features typical of the spoken language. These rare descriptions of spoken language in literary texts indicate that there

[53] See Haverling 2005b, 282–283; Haverling 2010a, 324–326.

was a growing difference between the written language and the language of everyday conversation, even among those who belonged to the educated elite.[54]

In several respects literary Late Latin remains very conservative. The changes of which people were aware were generally avoided. Only few of the changes in the use of prepositions and cases occur in such texts, although they are quite frequent in less literary texts from the same period. The changes in the system of the tenses are also very rare in literary texts, although the later development indicates that they were frequent in the spoken language and they occur quite often in less literary texts. The use of the locative in the names of towns and cities is an interesting example of this conservatism: in the language of everyday conversation of the majority of the population the locative was dead in Late Latin – and it is even likely that this was so in the everyday language of the educated elite – but nevertheless it remains very frequent in the higher literary register.

The development of the spoken language is, however, reflected in literary Late Latin in several different ways. First, there are certain changes which appear in all sorts of texts, even if they do so to a lesser degree in the more literary texts. Among the changes occurring in the highest registers of Late Latin are the change in the use of determinative pronouns (e.g. *hic = is* or *ille*), some of the changes in the subordination system (e.g. *quod* instead of AcI with *verba dicendi et sentiendi*), in the case system (e.g. a certain oscillation between prepositional phrases and case forms or the use of the genitive instead of the ablative of respect), and in the actional system (e.g. the use of *comedo* in the sense 'eat of' in ex. 10 and of *tacui* in the sense 'I stopped talking' in ex. 12).

Then there is sometimes a new use of certain old forms, for instance as a result of the changes in the case system (e.g. the reinterpretation of the function of the genitive which paves the way for the use of the genitive instead of the nominative in ex. 4), in the system of the tenses (e.g. the use of *videro* in the sense 'I leave aside, I shall not discuss' in ex. 9), and in the actional system (e.g. *conticui* in the sense of *tacui* in ex. 13 or *delitescere* in the sense of 'be hiding' in ex. 14). Sometimes, however, the relationship between the development of the written language and the development of the spoken language is more subtle and we cannot always ascribe the new ways in which the case forms are used to hypercorrection even when there is a connection to a corresponding use of the prepositional phrase (as e.g. in ex. 2).

Developments are sometimes accepted only in part: a verb like *incrassare* is accepted as a transitive verb in literary Late Latin, but the corresponding intransitive use of that verb is not. Some of the differences found between contemporary Late Latin texts should not be ascribed to differences in education and learning, but to different attitudes towards the literary norm: this is particularly clear in the syntax of subordination, but to some extent also in the choice of words and kinds of word formation.

Literary Late Latin authors sometimes give us a hint of the spoken language when describing a conversation, as when Ammianus informs us of the fact that Julian the Apostate was called *Victorinus* 'the little vanquisher' (ex. 19) or when Gregory of Tours and Fredegar use new forms indicating future in passages describing a conversation (ex. 5). However, in literary Late Latin private letters, where "colloquial" features should be used according to the prevailing rhetorical ideals, the elements reflecting spoken Latin

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[54] For the different registers in fourth century Atticistic Greek, see e.g. Fabricius 1962, 143ff.

are usually not taken from the contemporary form of spoken language but from the Early Latin comedies or Cicero's letters.[55]

The kind of Latin which we find in the literary texts from Late Antiquity remains remarkably stable for several centuries, but there are certain changes. In the late sixth century several new features become more frequent in the literary texts, which were, however, already established in less literary Latin (e.g. the use of the dative of direction mentioned in the section on cases and prepositions). This development seems to reflect a change in the form of Latin spoken in educated circles in the fourth and fifth centuries.

The relationship between the evidence met with in the written texts and the language that was actually spoken at the time is therefore very difficult to assess and has been much discussed;[56] but perhaps the clearest indication of the conservative character of the written literary language and the difference between that language and the spoken language is found when some historians give us a hint of what somebody actually said or when conservative and learned Late Latin authors use old forms in a new manner.

[55] On Symmachus, see Haverling 1988 (e.g. 260); on a similar attitude in Gellius, see Holford-Strevens 2010.
[56] See e.g. Banniard 1992; Wright 2002.

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