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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

*I am grateful to Helena Fracchia and Catherine Parnell for correcting the English text.

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 *Ajax* 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 *Ajax*, 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.

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 Ἀρταμῖς, whereas *Arthem* and *Aritimi* are to be linked to the Ionic Ἀρτεμῖς.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 Thucydides. 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

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 Schwyzler 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 Ἀρταμῖς 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 Ἀρταμι 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 inscription¹⁸ 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 Ἀρταμῖς and Ἀρτεμῖς 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 Ἀρταμιν (acc. sing.) alternates with Ἀρτεμιν.²² If the personal name *Artemes* and the alleged one *Artamihi* are to be related to the Greek variants Ἀρταμῖς, Ἀρτεμῖς, 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 | <i>Artumes</i> | <i>Aritimi</i> | |
| Messapian | <i>Artami(hi)</i> (poss. personal name) | <i>Artemes</i> (pers. name) | |
| South Italian – Greek | Ἀρτεμίσιον (place name) | | Ἀρτεμίτιον (place name) |

Fig. 1. Artemis' name.

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 Threutte 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 Plato²⁹ 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 *Appelluneis* (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

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* < *Ἀπροδίτη*. 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 Schwyzler 1968 I, 568 and repeated by Parlangei 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: Ἀπεῖλων; c) Ionic dialects: Ἀπόλλων with regular vowel shortening in the vocative (Ἄπολλον) and in compounding (e.g. personal names Ἀπολλόδωρος, Ἀπολλόδοτος³⁸; d) Thessalian dialect: Ἄπλουv. 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 ἀπλοῦς, 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 | <i>Apollō(n)</i> | | <i>Apellinem</i> (?) |
| Etruscan | <i>Apulu, Apalu</i> | | <i>Aplu</i> |
| Marsian | <i>Apols</i> | | <i>Aplone</i> |
| Faliscan | <i>Apolonos</i> | | |
| Oscan | | <i>Appelluneī</i> | |
| Vestinian | | <i>Apellune</i> | |

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)* / *-īnis* 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)* / *-īnis* implies a vowel shortening *-ōn* > *-ōn* starting from the vocative Ἄπολλον.⁴⁷ However, the long vowel is reflected by its evolution /ō/ > /u/, both in Oscan *Appellunēi* 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 Ἀπλουν, attested to by a very archaic inscription.⁴⁸ It cannot even be excluded that a variation *-ōn-* / *-ōn* 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 /ō̄/. According to Biville,⁴⁹ this possibility could be supported by parallel alternations *-ōn-* / *-ōn* 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)* / *-īnis* of Apollo's name is not surprising. In inherited Latin nouns *-ō(n)* / *-ōnis* and *-ō(n)* / *-īnis* coexisted at times with different distributions within the Latin vocabulary, such as *Turbo* / *-ōnis* (proper name) and *turbo* / *turbīnis* (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)* / *-īnis* fits

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 Ἀείλων is evidenced in Cypriot.⁵⁸

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 messorum 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, Ἀέλλις, Ἀελλίων, Ἀπελλίδης, Ἀελλᾶς, Ἀέλλιχος, Ἀέλλαῖος.⁵⁹ The use of personal names derived from Ἀέλλ- 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* (< Ἀέλλων) 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 BC⁶⁵ 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 ἀπλοῦν: Ἄπλουν γὰρ φασὶ πάντες Θεταλοὶ 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.

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 Ἀέλλ- 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 (= Schwyzler 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 Danko 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* / *Uthuše* ~ *Uthuste* / *Uthuzte* ~ *Utuze*.

| | Ὀδυσσεύς | *Ὀδυσδεύς / *Ὀδυστεύς | Ὀδυζεύς | Ὠλίξις / Ὀυλίξις |
|----------|--------------------------------|---------------------------------|--------------|---------------------|
| Etruscan | <i>Utuse</i> / <i>Uthuše</i> / | <i>Uthuste</i> / <i>Uthuzte</i> | <i>Utuze</i> | |
| Latin | | | | <i>Ulixēs</i> |

Fig. 3. Odysseus' name.

Archaic documentation of *Uthuzte* in Etruria (seventh century BC)⁶⁸ works against an evolution of *Utuze* / *Utuse* / *Uthuše* > *Uthuste* / *Uthuzte*, which was presumed to be peculiar to Etruscan.⁶⁹ *Uthuste* / *Uthuzte* cannot even be explained as a compromise form between “proper Attic” Ὀλυττεύς and “proper Corinthian” Ὀλισσεύς.⁷⁰ On the other hand, Etruscan *Utuse* / *Uthuše*, 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 *Uthuste* / *Uthuzte*, due to the consonant cluster /st/, /zt/ not coinciding with Chalcidian and Corinthian spelling <σσ>. Therefore, E. Fiesel related the Etruscan *Uthuste* / *Uthuzte* 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 *Uthuste* / *Uthuzte* and *Uthuze* 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* / *Uθuše*, 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* / *Uθuše* 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* / *Uθuše*, 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 / κριξός⁷⁸ and it frequently occurs in Attic epigraphy (e.g. Ἀλέξανδρος 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 / Οὐλίξης, nor the dental sound like Ὀλυττεύς.

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

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 Ibykos⁸⁰ (a poet from the Sicilian Strait) and Ὀυλίξης (mentioned by Plutarch⁸¹ 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 colonies⁸² 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* / *Uthuše* probably come from; 3) further routes, not precisely identified (*Ὀδυσδεύς), which are likely to be responsible for the Etruscan *Uthuste* / *Uthuzte* 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*, *Hercalc*, *Herecles*, *Herecele*.⁸³ On the other hand, Latin inscriptions from Praeneste, alongside *Hercoles*, attest to the variants *Hercle* and *Herecele*. However, since *Herecele* 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. *Tiφίλε*; Gr. Ἱπποκράτης: Etr. *Hipucrate*; Gr. Ἑτεοκλῆς: 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:

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 Arsiaciades Odysseus Polutlas*. See also Vallet 1958, 296; Biville 1990, 73ff.

⁸¹ Plut., *Marc.* 20: ἱδρυμα λέγεται Κρητῶν γενέσθαι τὸ ἱερόν. Καὶ λόγχαίς τινα ἐδείκνυσαν καὶ κράνη χαλχᾶ, τὰ μὲν ἔχοντα Μηριόνου, τὰ δ' Οὐλίξου ταύτεστιν Ὀδυσσεύος 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 | <i>Hercules, Herculis, etc.</i> | <i>Herculī</i> (gen. sing.), <i>Hercle</i> (voc.) | | <i>Hercele, Herecles</i> |
| Oscan | | <i>Hereklúi</i> (dat. sing.) | | |
| Etruscan | | | Hercle | <i>Heracle, Hercale, Herecles, Herecele</i> |
| Greek | | | | Ἡρόκλων |

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 | <i>Hereklúi</i> | | <i>Herclei</i> |
| Inflected as -o-stem | | <i>Hercolo</i> | <i>Herclo</i> |

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 Ἡρόκλων 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 Ἡρόκλων, in the place of Ἡρόκυλον; b) as influenced by Latin *Hercoles*, whose rendering in Etruscan might be nothing but *Hercale*.⁸⁹

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 opinion⁹⁶ 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 *hīr*-.

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

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 Hesychius¹⁰² 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 Εὐκλε basing upon Εὐκλος¹⁰⁴ and Εὐκλῆς 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 Ἡρακληεῖν βίη arises from a consonantal inflection Ἡρακλῆς and not from *Ἡρακλος. As M. Durante observed,¹⁰⁶ the Homeric syntactic cluster Ἡρακληεῖν 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

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. *Hereklúi*, dat. sing. -o-declension) and Latin variants, such as *Herculī* (gen. sing.); *Herclē meherclē* (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. Schulze¹⁰⁷ reconstructed a form *Ἡράκλος not attested to in Greek, as a source of the -o-inflection shown by Oscan and (partially) by Latin. According to Schulze, the vocative *Ἡράκλε (allegedly parallel to Πάτροκλε or Ἑυκλε, 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* < Πάτροκλῆς (by Ennius) and *Agathocoles* < Ἀγαθοκλῆς (by Plautus), which perfectly parallel the nominative of Hercules' name, such as *Hercoles* (attested to in early Latin epigraphy¹⁰⁹).

On the other hand, vestiges of the -o-declension in Latin, namely the genitive *Herculī* (besides *Herculis*) and the vocative *Herclē*, 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 *Herclē* do not need to belong to a unitary paradigm.

Instead, their origins can be considered separately. Firstly, it is clear that *Herclē* is not the unique vocative pertaining to Hercules' name that existed in early Latin, because *Hercules* is already attested to by Plautus.¹¹⁰ But *Herclē* and *Hercules* appear to have a functionally different distribution: *Hercules* is used in invocations to the divinity,¹¹¹ whilst *Herclē* 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 English, *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

¹⁰⁷ Schulze 1893, 311; 1923, 90.

¹⁰⁸ The attested vocative forms of Hercules' name are Ἡράκλεες, Ἡράκλεις and (later) Ἡράκλες; See also Schwyzler 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 occipisti, 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, Varro¹¹⁴ 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* / *-ēī*.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 *-ē*-vocative, so that the rise of the vocative *Herclē* 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 *-εὺς* -endings in the nominative could alternate with *-ης*, such as *Ἀχιλεὺς* ~ *Ἀχίλης*. This alternation was widespread in the western Greek colonies as well,¹¹⁷ as shown by *Ἀχίλης* (instead of *Ἀχιλεὺς*) 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 *-εὺς* 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*; *Δημοσθήνης* / *Δημοσθήνου*. For mythical names like *Ἀχίλης*, *Ὠλίξης*, *Ὀρφης* the accusative *Ἀχίλην*, *Ὠλίξην*, *Ὀρφήν* 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.

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 Schwyzler 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 Ὀρφης et Ὀρφήν dicunt (scil. Dores), pro Τυδεύς Τύδης Sic Antimachus in I Thebaidos (fr. 6 Wyss)... similiter Ibycus ὀνομάκλυτον Ὀρφήν 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: Ἡδυλος, as well as in morphological variants of names arising from the same base, such as Σιμ(ί)ων, Σιμμίας, Σιμυλος¹²¹, Φίντων Φιντίας Φίντυλος¹²² or results from compounding with -λαος, such as Ἀστύλαος; Ἀστυλλος; 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*: *Stenikhum*; 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 *Ai*ax

The name of the epic hero *Ai*ax is also quite interesting with regard to variations distinguishing the languages of ancient Italy. First of all, the different outcome of the name *Ai*ax 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 *Ai*ax. 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 *Ai*ax 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* (< Φιολάος), *Velparun* (< Φελπάνωρ); *Vilatas* (< Φοιλάδας),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 *Ai*ax, unlike Latin, where the loss of the ancient *digamma* points to an origin other than Etruscan:

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.

| | | |
|----------|-------------------------------|-------------|
| | Αἴψας | Αἴας |
| Latin | | <i>Aiax</i> |
| Etruscan | <i>Aivas</i> / <i>E(i)vas</i> | |

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, Ἀρίμματος 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 παστιάδα of παστιάς. 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 *-āk-*/ *-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.

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 *-akōs* > *-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* (< *-āk-/ -āk-*) could synchronically correspond to Oscan *-ak(s)*, which diachronically could arise both from *-āk-/ -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 < *Σκυλλήτες ~ 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 Μῖνας < **Minatos* (originally an *-o*-stem), which is simultaneously inflected following, partly, *-ak*-stems, partly, *-ad*-stems: (nom. sing.) Μῖνας (< **Minatos*): (gen. sing.) Μῖναδο(ς) or Μῖνακος.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 *Aiāx* 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 *Aiāx*' name in Latin from these contexts in Southern Italy is not surprising if compared with Odysseus' name, which also points to the same area.

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] Ajax's name in Latin).
- d) linguistic contacts (e.g. Hercules's name and Ajax' name in contexts of Greek-Oscan contacts in Southern Italy and Sicily).

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