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PART II.

AN OUTLINE OF THE GRAMMAR OF THE ITALIC DIALECTS.

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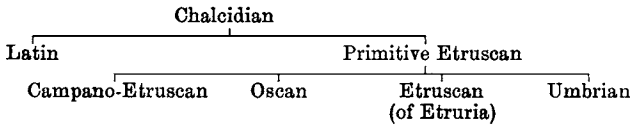
AN OUTLINE OF THE GRAMMAR OF THE
ITALIC DIALECTS.A. *The Alphabets.*

THE alphabets in which the dialect-inscriptions are written are as follows, in their geographical order :

1. Tarentine-Ionic.
2. Oscan.
3. Etruscan (of Campania, p. 96 ff.).
4. Latin, in more than one variety.
5. Faliscan.
6. Umbrian.

The Tarentine-Ionic is identical with the normal Ionic, say of Athens in the IV century, with certain additions, see below (p. 461).

The rest are derived from the Western Greek alphabet of the Chalcidian colonies, e.g. Cumae. Both the Cumaean and Ionic, like the other Greek alphabets, are, by almost universal consent, ultimately derived from the Phoenician. The place of the Faliscan alphabet in the Italic system has not been hitherto determined (see below), but the rest are connected thus¹:



Mommsen once held (*U. D.* p. 25 al.) that the Oscan $a\beta$ was derived immediately from the Umbrian, a supposition always open to obvious geographical objections, and now rendered needless by accumulated evidence, which shows that there were Etruscan settlements in Campania as well as in Latium; see pp. 52, 94, 99 and 148 sup. We can now date the Oscan inscc. from alphabetic and other considerations with sufficient clearness to know that none of them from any part of the Oscan-speaking territory are earlier than the Samnite conquest of Campania between 435 and 420 B.C., but that they begin to appear very soon after it. The close relation of the Oscan to the Campano-Etruscan $a\beta$ will be clear from the table. There appears to be no reason to doubt that the Umbrians learned to write from their Etruscan neighbours across the Tiber; but the date at which they did so, whatever it may have been (p. 464 inf.), has no direct relation to the course of events in Campania.

The annexed Table of Alphabets includes those already mentioned, with the Cumaean $a\beta$ of the VI century, as shown on the surviving inscc. (Roehl, *I. G. A.* 524 ff.),—the oldest direct representative of the mother $a\beta$ of all the Italic group—and also the $a\beta$ of Formello, which is the only complete, and doubtless, save in direction, the most exact presentment of the same type. It is incised on a vase, on which an Etruscan

¹ In reply to a request for his opinion Prof. Pauli (April, 1896) was kind enough to express to me his entire agreement with this scheme, reserving only the question of the Faliscan $a\beta$.

syllabary is also written, found at Formello near Veii in 1882, so that there is external as well as internal evidence of its close connexion with the Etruscan. "It is the only complete abecedarium extant which contains the archaic Greek forms of every one of the 22 Phoenician letters arranged precisely in the received Semitic order" (Roberts, *Intr. Gr. Epigr.* p. 20, to whose admirable summary the reader may be referred for all the relations of the Cumæan $a\beta$ outside Italy).

The Campano-Etruscan $a\beta\beta$ in the Table are taken (1) from the two abecedaria incised on pateræ from Nola (*U. D.* taf. i. 14) which are now in the Naples Museum, and (2) from the Oscan and Etruscan inscc. in which it is employed (p. 95 ff. and the Appendix).

The order of the letters is directly known to us from the $a\beta$ of Formello, confirmed by the similar $a\beta$ of Caere (Roberts p. 17); from the Etruscan $a\beta\beta$ of Bomarzo (*U. D.* init.) and of Nola (given in the fourth line of the Table) and from the Oscan $a\beta\beta$ of Pompeii (81).

In the lines showing the Oscan, Umbrian, Faliscan and Latin $a\beta\beta$ the Table shows the normal forms of each as it is used in the dialect inscc. we at present possess. Where more than one form is given, the first is the earliest, except (1) that *with* between two forms implies that the two are contemporaneous, and (2) that *and* between two forms implies that no opinion is expressed as to their chronological order.

A blank space indicates that the letter was probably wanting in the $a\beta$; but the sign .. that it was probably in use there and is only by accident absent from our inscc.

An asterisk denotes that the sign appears in retrograde writing.

Perigrams (i.e. symbols used singly or in combination as a rough equivalent for some other sound as well as for that which they properly represent in their particular $a\beta$ in that locality) are enclosed in brackets; e.g. in the Tarentine-Ionic $a\beta$ E | represents not only the Oscan diphthong $e\ddot{i}$ (e.g. in the genitive $\eta\epsilon\rho\epsilon\kappa\lambda\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ 17) but also the simple \ddot{i} ($\epsilon\iota\sigma\epsilon\iota\delta\omicron\mu$ 15 = $\ddot{i}\delta\ddot{i}$ -*dum* 44 etc.); hence it appears under the \ddot{i} column in brackets.

To the Tarentine-Ionic and Latin $a\beta\beta$ are added the special signs devised to facilitate their use for the different dialects; the order in this part of these lines is of course arbitrary.

TABLE OF ALPHABETS.

Value	A and A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	V	X	Y	Z	Y (old)	Z (old)
Transliteration, Italic c. 200 B.C.	A and A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	V	X	Y	Z	Y (old)	Z (old)
Osco-Umbro VI cent. B.C.	*A A	*B B	*C C	*D D	*E E	*F F	*G G	*H H	*I I	*J J	*K K	*L L	*M M	*N N	*O O	*P P	*Q Q	*R R	*S S	*T T	*V V	*X X	*Y Y	*Z Z		
Formello	A B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	V	X	Y	Z			
Campano-Etrusco (VI) Abertium	*A	*B	*C	*D	*E	*F	*G	*H	*I	*J	*K	*L	*M	*N	*O	*P	*Q	*R	*S	*T	*V	*X	*Y	*Z		
(E) Insc.	*A and *B	*C	*D	*E	*F	*G	*H	*I	*J	*K	*L	*M	*N	*O	*P	*Q	*R	*S	*T	*V	*X	*Y	*Z			
Oscan	*A and *B	*C	*D	*E	*F	*G	*H	*I	*J	*K	*L	*M	*N	*O	*P	*Q	*R	*S	*T	*V	*X	*Y	*Z			
Umbrian	*A	*B	*C	*D	*E	*F	*G	*H	*I	*J	*K	*L	*M	*N	*O	*P	*Q	*R	*S	*T	*V	*X	*Y	*Z		
Faliscan	*A and *B	*C	*D	*E	*F	*G	*H	*I	*J	*K	*L	*M	*N	*O	*P	*Q	*R	*S	*T	*V	*X	*Y	*Z			
Latin (VI) cent. B.C.	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	V	X	Y	Z		
(E) Oscan type c. 200 B.C.	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	V	X	Y	Z		
(S) Ubian type c. 120 B.C.	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	V	X	Y	Z		

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NOTES ON THE TABLE OF ALPHABETS.

1. *Tarentine-Ionic.*

This *aβ* appears in 1—10, 13—17, 22—24, 29, 142—3, 145—6, 151—2 and 183—4.

On the date of its adoption by Oscan-speaking tribes see p. 11, and compare pp. 2—5.

It is written from left to right except in 4*a*, 6, 7, 9, 10, 10 bis, 29*d* and 142, where the retrograde direction is due to the influence of the Oscan *aβ*.

□ and †.

The signs □ for *v* and † for *h* are survivals from the Western *aβ* used by Lacedaemon and its colony Tarentum before the Ionic *aβ* was adopted. † (the origin of the minuscule ‘) is a modification of H and appears also in insc. of Tarentine origin at Dodona, while □ is the later form of F. See Roberts p. 271 ff.

E, I, and O sounds.

The representation of the Oscan *e*-, *i*- and *o*- vowels and diphthongs shows, naturally enough, some variation, since the Oscan intermediate sounds *ĭ* and *ŭ* found no exact equivalents in Greek, while the long open vowels *η* and *ω* were equally foreign to Oscan. There seems to be at present no evidence that H and Ω were ever used¹ by Oscan writers to denote length, whereas O is clearly used e.g. in 5 to denote *ŭ*, the Oscan representative of an orig. *ō* (*Fερροπει* has the same ending as *regatureĭ* in the Tab. Agnon. 175*a* 13, *b* 15). Osc. *ĭ* is always² (save that *-iĭ-* appears as *-ue-*) represented by E|, and hence we often find H| written for the Osc. *-ei-* (as in 1, *στarrηis*) though E| also appears (*Fερροπει*). Osc. *ŭ* is generally *o*, but before *-μ* we have *ω* at Anzi (22), and before *-F-* at Vibo *ov* (*ΔιουFεi*, Osc. (*d*)*iŭveĭ*) and at Messana *ω* (*τωFρο*)¹. For Osc. *ŭ* we have OY regularly, though occasionally O, as we have seen; but *-iu-* is represented by |Y on the same insc. (1). Osc. *i* is always |, and Osc. *e* always E except in *-ei-* as we have seen.

¹ *τωFρο* in 1 can hardly represent *iŭy-*; it is written *iŭvtŭ* in Osc. *aβ* and *touto* in Lat. *aβ* (28. 15).

² Except in *ξεστις* 6 where the first *ε* must represent a long vowel whether the word be read *Sc(h)stius* = L. *Sēstius*, pure L. *Sextius*, or *Festius* = *Fēstius*.

Representation of f.

The sound of Osc. *f* was represented by what in Tarentum, if not everywhere, was the older form of sigma with three strokes, turned in the reverse direction to the rest of the writing, ζ normally, Σ in retrograde script, see the notes to 140, and 6, 7. Thurneysen put forward the same explanation, conjecturally, in *Idg. Anzeiger* 4. 38.

Representation of final -d.

The sound of Osc. *d* when it was final must have been more like that of Greek τ than when it was medial; hence final *-d* is always written Γ in Greek αβ, as was first pointed out by Bugge, *Kuhn's Z.* 22. 385, cf. Conway *Am. J. Ph.* 11. 307 ff.

2. *The Formello Vase.*

To what has been said above (p. 459 f.) I need only add that the variation in some signs is between the two copies of the αβ which are written on the vase one above the other.

3. *Etrusco-Campanian.*

In the abecedaria Mommsen points out (*U. D.* p. 7) that for San and φ the younger of the two vases substitutes 'perigrams' (see p. 460) in the usual Etruscan αβ, while even on the elder vase Ϸ appears as a perigram for κ.

The only authority for Ϸ=r and (except the second abecedarium) for Ϸ=s in this group is an insc. published by Von Duhn, see App. II. 6*. But Ϸ appears often on Etr. insc. elsewhere (Kirchhoff⁴ p. 131), cf. p. 464 inf. The only authority known to me for Ϸ=d is the insc. given App. II. 9*.

4. *Oscan.*

For the chief points in the gradual modification of the Oscan αβ on Oscan soil see pp. 56, 107 f. and the notes to 168 ff.

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Local variations in development.

It will be understood that where the Table shows older and younger forms this chronological relation is only asserted as between inscc. of the same locality; thus C is demonstrably older than S at Bovianum (p. 184 ff.) and Pompeii (p. 56), but at Abella we find the open form in use at the latest period; conversely, the early coins of Fistelia (184) show the closed as well as the open form (Dressel, *Beschr. Berl.* p. 96). Again we have many early inscc. (e.g. 101) in which simply I and V are written for I and V ; and yet V appears (as Y , V) on the coins of Hyria and Fistelia (142 and 184), while their order in the Pompeian abecedaria (81) seems to show that the two new symbols were invented at much the same time; since if u had been established long before i we should have expected to find u put first.

Representation of Greek Aspirates.

The perigrams given for the Greek aspirates appear in the forms *Santia*, *thesavrām*, *aphinis* (?), *Meelikieis*, *kūiniks*.

Signs for f.

The coins of Nuceria Alfaterna (144) vary greatly in the signs for *f* even in the third century. Besides S , S and S we have a reversed *b*, theta with the cross strokes omitted (O and O), f (like Fal. f), and a curious sign f exactly like the koppa of one of the Formello alphabets. This sign occurs also on Etr. inscc., possibly even in the syllabary of Caere (*U. D.* p. 17), with the same value, and Mommsen conjectured (ib. p. 16 n.) that the regular S was a modification of the Greek koppa for which Etruscans had no use. Since however there is no similarity of sound between f and *f* it seems simpler to regard the f -like symbols as modifications, either of O , which we find used to denote *f* at Fistelia (184) alone and at Allifae (182, according to Garrucci) in a modified form with H (O H), or of B which also represents it at the same place. We have hardly enough evidence to determine the origin of f ; it also might be a modified B or O ; Thurneysen (*Idg. Anz.* 4. 38) points out its resemblance to a fully rounded Z (Z), while the early date of the open form, combined with the use of a reversed b in Tar.-Ionic $\alpha\beta$ (see above) and the curious external hook in some of the Nucerrine forms (f), inclines me rather to suggest that the f was formed originally by a combination of a four-stroke sigma with itself reversed¹; and the f , which is clearly connected with the Faliscan f , might be regarded as a modified three-stroke sigma, though the prevailing view that it is a differentiation of f is perhaps on the whole more probable; especially if the curious spelling *alavfnum* in 144 (which

¹ Cf. the curious symbol f in 140 b.

in any case seems to have lost the syllable *-ter-* by abbreviation) be taken as showing a confusion of the special symbol for *f* with the perigram *vh* which we know (p. 467) was used for it by the Campanian Etruscans.

Signs for d and r in Osc. and Umb. aβ.

The most noteworthy point in the Oscan and Umbrian alphabets as contrasted with the Chalcidian from which they were ultimately derived lies in the curious changes in value of the symbols **Q** and **Q̄** (Umb. **q̄**). The course of the process is now, I think, fairly clear. On the Formello vase we have **D**=*d* and **P**=*r*, the latter bearing an inconvenient resemblance to **P** the rounded form of pi which appears beside it. In the Cumaean VI cent. *aβ* we find **Q̄** and **D**=*d*, **P**, **Q̄** and **R**=*r*. Now the Etruscans had no voiced explosives; hence the symbol **Q** was to them superfluous, and was treated by them as a by-form of **Q̄**, both occurring in Etr. insc.¹ with the value *r*, though at the date of our Campano-Etr. insc. the **Q̄** has almost completely disappeared. **Q** was clearly preferable as being less likely to be confused with **Q̄**=*p*. Hence

(1) Both Oscans and Umbrians took over **Q** with the value *r*.

(2) The Umbrians used **Q̄** to denote *d̄*, the special variety of *r*-sound (written **RS** in Lat. *aβ*) which they had developed from intervocalic *d*.

(3) The Oscans chose the symbol which between 450 and 400 B.C. was dying out² as a symbol for *r* in the Cumaean *aβ* to denote the sound of *d̄* for which they found no symbol in the Etruscan *aβ*. How closely Greek and Etruscan influence were intermingled in Campania may be seen from the coin-legends of the district given in 142 ff.; those of Nola and Cumae do not even appear among them because they were always pure Greek.

5. Umbrian.

For the history of the *aβ* at Iguvium see p. 400 ff.

On the sign **Q̄**=*d̄* see above under 4.

The palatal **Q̄** may be regarded as a modified **Q̄**, until some definite evidence of its origin is forthcoming; we may hope to find such evidence when the C. I. Etrusc. is complete.

The Etruscan *aβ* from which the Umbrian was borrowed seems to have been somewhat later than that from which the Oscan was taken, since the

¹ E.g. an insc. given by Lepsius in *Ann. Inst. Arch. Rom.* 8. 199; cf. also no. 142 sup.

² Roberts, *Intr. Gr. Epigr.* p. 210.