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Lat. *baptizāre* 'to baptize', *baptismus* 'baptism' are only two out of many hundreds of Greek loanwords belonging to the → Christian vocabulary. Greek, the language of Christianity, was rich in elements of Semitic origin, be it Hebrew or Aramaic (→ Greek and Hebrew; → Greek and Aramaic). Many of these passed on to Latin without any particular formal adjustments, through the mediation of Greek: Lat. *pascha* 'Easter' < Gk. *páskha* < Aram. *pasḥā* < Heb. *pesaḥ*, Lat. *ge(h)enna* 'Gehenna' < Gk. *géenna* < Aram. *gêhinnām* 'the valley of Hinnam'. But even more important were the many loanwords referring to figures or concepts central to the Christian world: Lat. *apostolus, blasphemia, ecclesia, episcopus, euangelium, presbyter* etc. ('apostle', 'curse/ blasphemy', 'church', 'bishop', 'gospel', 'priest') < Gk. *apóstolos, blasphēmía, ekklēsía, epískopos, euangélion, presbúteros*. Also in Christian Latin the influence of Greek appears in semantic calques too: Gk. *pneûma* was the trigger for the Christian adoption of the meaning 'divine breath' alongside the native meanings of Lat. *spiritus* 'air, blow, breath'.

When we look beyond the lexical level it becomes more difficult to find safe evidence for Greek influence on Latin. Nonetheless, in syntax too a number of examples have been investigated in some detail. We will cite here the use of the → genitive case in expressions of time (*accipi fenum contur[m]alibus meis mensis Iuni* 'I received the interest of the month of July for my comrades', *ChLA* 3,203.4–5 (130 CE)), surely borrowed from Greek: the traditional Latin ways to express time were by means of the accusative or the ablative case.

In the contact between Greek and Latin the main direction of the mutual influence and interference was undoubtedly from the most to the less culturally prestigious part. Of course this process also went the other way around, but the Latin influence on Greek was undoubtedly less extensive. Nonetheless, we find several Latinisms in the Greek of the → New Testament, mainly → personal names but also nouns related to everyday life (*dēnárion* 'denary' < Lat. *dēnārius* 'Roman silver coin', *soudárion* 'napkin' < Lat. *sūdārium, léntion* 'towel' < Lat. *linteum*) or to officials of the Roman administration (*kenturíon* < Lat. *centuriō* 'centurion', *legeṓn* < Lat. *legiō* 'legion') (→ Latin Loanwords in Greek). In the Imperial period, the bulk of non-literary data comes from Egyptian papyri, a major source of linguistic data (→ Papyri, Language of), especially with regard to common, informal documentation. The Latinisms amount to several hundreds: once again, they are primarily military and administrative terms (*diktátōr* < Lat. *dictatōr, aktouários* 'paymaster' < Lat. *actuarius, k(o)órtē/khṓrtē* 'armed force' < Lat. *cohors/*corte* (Vulg. Lat.)); but there are also names for common objects such as *pállia* < Lat. *pallia, lōdíkous* 'blankets' < Lat. *lōdicēs* (both acc. pl.); etc. These data show that, although marginally used, Latin was actually suitable for speakers of different sociolinguistic levels in the Roman society of the Late Empire.

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LUCA LORENZETTI

Greek and Lycian

Lycian is attested in more than 175 inscriptions, nearly all on stone and mostly dating from the 5th and 4th centuries BCE, from sites in Classical Lycia and immediately surrounding regions. The vast majority are tomb inscriptions, but there are also several decrees, most notably that establishing a cult for a deity called 'King of Kaunos' at a sanctuary of Leto near Xanthos, which exists in trilingual form: Lycian, Greek and Aramaic (the 'Létôon Trilingual'). By far the longest Lycian text, the 'Stele of Xanthos', recounts the military exploits and building activities of local dynasts. Thanks to the Lycian-Greek portion of the trilingual and comparison with other related languages of the Anatolian Indo-European subgroup (especially Luvian), our grasp of Lycian grammar is reasonably good, but knowledge of

the lexicon is still quite restricted. Hence we understand most of the fairly stereotyped tomb inscriptions, but even here the sense of certain formulas remains under debate, and our understanding of the content of the decrees and of the 'Stele of Xanthos' is of a very generalized sort – few passages in these texts can be reliably translated with any precision. Melchert (2004) offers an overview of the grammar, but the definitions given for individual lexemes should be viewed with due caution, especially those marked with qualifiers. We understand even less of the second portion of the 'Stele of Xanthos' and one other text written in a separate dialect of Lycian known as either 'Lycian B' or 'Milyan'. A useful discussion of the problem of its relationship to Lycian (A) is found in Gusmani 1989–90. For one attempt to scan the Lycian B texts as verse see Eichner 1993.

Lycian clearly shares a number of significant common innovations with Luvian, and forms with the latter a dialectal sub-group within IE Anatolian (probably along with Carian). However, claims that first-millennium Lycian is a descendant of attested second- and first-millennium Luvian are false, since Lycian shows some archaisms not present in Luvian (see Gusmani 1960 and Melchert 1993:267–270). On the other hand, one of the features that make interpretation of the longer Lycian texts difficult is that the language has radically altered its configurational syntax from the type seen in the rest of the IE Anatolian group. It has abandoned SOV word order and for the most part replaced enclitic conjunctions with new proclitic ones. These changes often make it impossible to locate clause boundaries with certainty.

The most thorough treatment of possible contact and interference effects between Lycian and Greek is that of Rutherford (2002), who cautiously but helpfully attempts to distinguish different periods of contact and potentially different Greek dialects involved. Brixhe (1993:70–79) also offers an overview of the latter question, concluding that there are virtually no traces of Ionian in the Greek of Lycia, but that it reflects almost entirely Attic (Koine).

Most discussion of Greek effects on Lycian has been limited to a few loanwords, of the typical cultural sort: Lycian *stala-* 'stele' is transparently from Greek *stālā*, probably from the Doric dialect of Rhodes, and *trijere-* 'trireme' from *triḗrēs* (Rutherford 2002:204 with refs.). Given

the probable new identification of native Lycian *nelezẽ Trqqñt-* as 'Zeus of the Agora' (Neumann 2007:239), we may now also interpret *garãi Zeusi* of the Stele of Xanthos as the same, with a Lycian *gara-* < Greek *agora* (for the → aphaeresis one may compare *Tẽnegure* < *Athēnagóras*). Other suggested Greek loans into Lycian are uncertain. There are also at least two calques: the use of Lycian *kumehe/i-* 'sacred, sacralized' as a noun for 'sacrificial animal' is surely based on Greek *hiereîon* (Oettinger 1981) and *ahñta-* (plural of the present participle of 'to be') is used to mean 'possessions', modeled on Greek *ónta* or *ousía* (Laroche 1979:68; the doubts of Rutherford 2002:204 are unfounded).

It also seems likely that the use of the Lycian adverb *epi* to mean 'upon' is due to influence from Greek *epí*, since the cognates *āppi* in Luvian and *āppa* in Hittite mean only 'back(ward)' and temporally 're-, again'. The meaning 'upon' also appears in the univerbated *hrppi* 'upon' (as a preverb) < *hri* 'above' + *epi*. The complete absence in second-millennium Luvian of compound personal names of the structure X(divine name)+Y(past participle) 'Y-ed by X' strongly suggests that the type of name seen in Lycian *Natrbbijẽmi* 'Given-by-N' = *Apollódotos* is based on the Greek type (Melchert forthcoming). The name *Ornepeimis* (= Lycian **Urnepijẽmi*) is also likely to be a Lycian equivalent of the name of his father *Megistódotos* (see Schürr 2007:36, who correctly compares Lycian **urne-* with Luvian *ura-* 'great'). For an excellent survey of the problem of Lycian and Greek names in Lycian naming practices, see the treatment by Colvin, who also points out (2004:66–67) that Lycian names can sometimes be partially Hellenized, so that next to *Purimatis* as a direct rendering of Lycian *Purihimeti* we find also *Puribatēs** (gen. *Puribatous*).

Rutherford (2002:214), following a suggestion of Anna Morpurgo Davies, raises the possibility that the innovative non-SOV word order of Lycian vis-à-vis the rest of IE Anatolian may be due at least in part to Greek influence. One may wonder whether the large-scale replacement of enclitic conjunctions by preposed proclitic ones is likewise: i.e, the syntax of Lycian *se* (which links both noun phrases and clauses) could have been influenced by that of Greek *kaí* (compare Rutherford 2002:207 on the opposite claim of Blomqvist that Greek *kaí* in the Létôon Trilingual is mimicking Lycian *se* – the two ideas are by no means mutually exclusive).

Very worthy of consideration is the suggestion of Seyer (2006:727) that the use of *atli* 'for himself' in Lycian tomb inscriptions is modeled on Greek *heautôi* (the Lycian seems redundant in addition to the enclitic reflexive particle *-ti*). In discussing possible Lycian effects on the Greek of Lycia, Rutherford (2002:212) also suggests that the few instances in Lycian of a patronymic (genitive of a noun or a possessive adjective) used without the word *tideime/i-* 'son, child' may be modeled on Greek, while conversely the explicit use of the word 'son' in Greek texts of Lycia may reflect the standard Lycian practice, where *tideime/i-* is regular.

As to further effects of Lycian on the local Greek, Lycian *miñti-*, usually taken to refer to a body that somehow administered or oversaw the necropoleis, appears in a Greek-language text as *míndis*, and there is even a derived term for a member thereof, *mendítēs* (but the alleged *touksomenduos* does not exist; see Schürr 2008:162 after Wörrle). The precise nature of this institution remains much debated. Brixhe (1999) treats the problem of the mismatches in meaning between Lycian and Greek terms of relationship and words for social roles (e.g. the fact that Lycian *xñtawat(i)-* 'ruler' covers everything from a local dynast up to Darius, whereas Greek must inevitably choose something more specific for each instance). Schürr (1999) has shown that the word *piatra* that occurs in Greek-language texts of Lycia is a loanword from Lycian for 'daughter-in-law', etymologically 'one bearing gifts' (i.e., in this case, a dowry).

While the univerbated Lycian *hrppi* in the sense of 'upon' probably shows ultimate influence from Greek *epí*, the derived meaning 'for (the benefit of)' of *hrppi* is likely taken over in turn by *epí* in some Greek translations of Lycian tomb inscriptions (Rutherford 2002:206 after Dressler). The curse formula of the Greek-language inscriptions *éstō hamártōlos (eis)* 'be a sinner towards' (a deity or deities) also continues Lycian *sm̃mati (pddẽ)* 'be held accountable (before)' (Schürr 2010:149–151). More generally, the overall structure of the Lycian tomb inscriptions, which begin with 'So-and-so built this tomb...' and include proscriptions against misuse, persists into the Greek-language inscriptions well after the end of texts in Lycian.

Despite the caution of Rutherford (2002:208–209), recurrent omission of the definite article in the Greek of both Lycia and Caria is likely due to interference from the respective local Anatolian languages, both of which lacked an article. The question of Lycian effects on the configurational syntax of the Greek versions of various bilingual texts is more complicated. Rutherford (2002:217) stresses that the opening of the Greek version of the Létôon Trilingual is unusual in using a 'when' clause as a dating formula, and might be an imitation of the Lycian, but he concedes that the Lycian structure may itself be modeled on Greek. Furthermore, the discrepancy he notes in the way the 'when' clause is linked to what follows may well indicate that we are not in fact dealing with a direct translation of the Greek from a Lycian 'original', but rather with two independent but parallel renderings of the content given by the commissioner of the text. One must not overlook how differently the Greek is formulated from the Lycian in the rest of the text. On the issue of Lycian effects on the word order of the corresponding Greek texts, see the balanced treatment by Rutherford (2002:212–218) (see → Greek and Anatolian Languages).

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CRAIG MELCHERT

Greek and Lydian

Lydian, an Indo-European language from the Anatolian subgroup, is attested in more than a hundred texts, mostly from Sardis, but only a score of these are of significant length and well-preserved. Aside from coins and graffiti, the texts date from the fifth and fourth centuries BCE. Several features set Lydian apart from the other Indo-European Anatolian languages, including a combination of both massive syncope and apocope that sometimes leads to formidable consonant clusters (*dcdtid, kśbλtaλkś*). In the absence of a substantial Lydian-Greek bilingual monument, our understanding of the texts and the lexicon remains limited – the two very short Lydian-Greek bilinguals (Gusmani 1964, numbers 20 and 40) are not very informative. The gist of the shorter funerary inscriptions is clear, but much of the content of other texts that appear to be decrees of some sort eludes us. Even more obscure are the handful of texts apparently in verse. For a sketch of Lydian grammar see Melchert 2004, but for some important correctives also Gérard 2005.

Demonstrable contact effects between Greek and Lydian in either direction are sparse. The most plausible grammatical effect of Lydian on the local Greek is that of → psilosis in eastern Ionic and the Aeolic of Lesbos: Oettinger (2002) has argued that the loss of initial *h*- precisely there reflects the matching loss of initial "laryngeal" (probably [x]) in Lydian, versus preservation elsewhere in Anatolian. Loanwords are few: the Lydian word *qaλmλu*- 'king' appears in Ionian

Greek as *pálmus*. As properly emphasized by Gusmani (1964:277), the word's relatively robust attestation and the treatment of the Lydian labiovelar stop as Greek *p* (and simplification of the complex Lydian sequence of [lʲmlʲ] to [lm]) make it likely that this is a genuine old loanword rather than a foreign word. Since it likewise refers to an important social role, the word *kaúes* (acc. sg. *kauein*) 'priest(ess)' is probably also an Ionian adaptation of Lydian *kave*- 'priest', with [aw] for the Lydian [av] (see Gusmani 1964:150 and 278). Far more speculative is the suggestion by Melchert (2008) that Greek *mólubdos* 'lead' is a borrowing of Lydian *marivda*- 'dark, black' via a transferred epithet.

Most discussion of Lydian contact effects on Greek focuses on Lydianisms in the works of Hipponax, the sixth-century lyric poet from Ephesus. For a thorough critical discussion of this material see Hawkins (2013:121–157). Since a meaning of 'to steal' makes excellent sense for the Lydian verb *kabrdokid* in context, it remains tempting to see it as the source for the infinitive *skaperdeûsai* 'to pilfer' of Hipponax (see Oettinger 1995:39 and 45 with references to Weiss and Melchert), but the details of the adaptation are irrecoverable, and proof unachievable. Less likely is Oettinger's suggestion (1995:39–42) that Hipponax' gloss of 'Maeonian' *Kandaúlēs* as *kunánkhēs* 'dog throttler' for an epithet of Hermes is accurate. One should suppose rather with Schürr (2000:167–168) that the true Lydian source word **kan-dav-la*- had reinforcing *kan*- as its first member (cf. Latin *con*-) and the rather more fitting meaning 'overpowering', and that Hipponax exploited the resemblance to 'dog' in Lydian for satiric effect. The implication remains that Hipponax had more than a passing knowledge of Lydian and expected at least some of his listeners to also have enough to appreciate the word play. See further the suggestion of Watkins (2007:119–120) that Hipponax' derogatory term *nikúrta* is Lydian for 'a nobody', that of Weiss (2007:261) that the Hesychian gloss *arphútnon*: *ho dískos hupò Ludôn* reflects a genuine Lydian word for a discus, and that of Schürr (2011:75–78) that *bask(e)*- and *zakrolea* in two glosses of Hesychius also reflect Lydian of Hipponax and can be identified with attested Lydian *(fa)śq*- and *caqrla*- (likely divine epithets).

There are no evident influences of Greek on Lydian grammar, and loanwords are thus far limited to a few divine names such as *lev/fś* <