

CONTACTS LINGUISTIQUES EN GRÈCE ANCIENNE

DIACHRONIE ET SYNCHRONIE

sous la direction d'Alcorac Alonso Déniz, Julián V. Méndez Dosuna,
Enrique Nieto Izquierdo et Gilles van Heems



CONTACTS LINGUISTIQUES EN GRÈCE ANCIENNE. DIACHRONIE ET SYNCHRONIE

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Quinze spécialistes de langues anciennes abordent dans le présent volume des questions variées sur la phonologie, la morphologie, la syntaxe, le lexique, l'onomastique, et la diffusion de systèmes d'écriture dans des contextes d'interrelations linguistiques. Leurs contributions explorent, d'une part, les influences du grec ancien sur d'autres langues et *vice versa*, et, d'autre part, les mécanismes qui déterminent les relations entre les divers dialectes du grec ancien. Ces deux regards complémentaires élargissent le panorama des études sur les contacts linguistiques dans la Méditerranée antique, en ouvrant de nouveaux sentiers de recherche par rapport à deux phénomènes qui sont fondamentalement parallèles.

Fifteen scholars of ancient languages address in this volume different questions on the phonology, morphology, syntax, lexicon, onomastics, and the diffusion of writing systems in the context of linguistic contacts. Their contributions explore, on the one hand, the influences of Ancient Greek on other languages and vice versa, and, on the other hand, the mechanisms that govern the relations between the various dialects of Ancient Greek. These two complementary perspectives broaden the panorama of studies on linguistic contacts in the ancient Mediterranean and open new avenues of research concerning two phenomena that are fundamentally parallel.



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Onomastics and linguistic contact in Aegean Thrace

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The aim of this paper is to analyse language contact phenomena in the stock of indigenous personal names from Aegean Thrace, a region which, according to Dana's classification of Thracian personal names (*OnomThrac*, p. LXXVII), belongs to a transitional onomastic area. The material coming from the Greek coastal colonies will be examined from the point of view of linguistic contact between the Greek and Thracian languages. The focus will be on the definition of the mixed character of anthroponyms from a twofold perspective: the description of the Thracian evidence in light of Dana's categorization and its adaptation to the Greek system of personal names. Particular attention will be paid to the emergence and diffusion of morphological processes of Hellenization of Thracian names.

L'objectif de cet article est d'analyser les phénomènes de contact linguistique dans le stock de l'anthroponymie indigène de la Thrace égéenne, une région qui, selon la classification de noms de personnes thraces établie par Dan Dana (OnomThrac, p. LXXVII), appartient à une aire onomastique de transition. Le matériel provenant des colonies côtières grecques sera examiné du point de vue du contact linguistique entre les langues grecque et thrace. L'accent sera mis sur la définition du caractère mixte des anthroponymes dans une double perspective : la description des témoignages thraces à la lumière de la catégorisation de Dana et leur adaptation au système anthroponymique grec. Une attention particulière sera accordée à l'émergence et à la diffusion des processus morphologiques d'hellénisation des noms thraces.

1. Linguistic contact and anthroponymy in Aegean Thrace

In ancient times, the peripheral region known as Aegean Thrace was a zone of intense linguistic and cultural contact, first between Greek colonists and the non-Greek populations – designated as “Thracians” by the Greeks – and later with Latin speakers.¹ Traditionally, the Rhodope Mountains acted as a physical barrier between this area colonized by Greek settlers from the 7th c. BC and Inner Thrace, the main dwelling place of Thracian tribes. According to Bouzek, Graninger 2015, p. 15, “Aegean Thrace was, due to its Greek neighbors, the most civilized part of the country and it became also soon Hellenized”.²

1. This paper is framed within the Spanish national research projects “Modos de contacto interdialectal en los textos epigráficos del griego antiguo II” (FFI2017-82590-C2-1-P) and “Onomástica y contactos lingüísticos en Griego Antiguo” (PID2020-114162GB-I00). I want to express my sincere gratitude to D. Dana, M.L. del Barrio Vega and the editors for their valuable comments on this work. All inconsistencies and errors remain my own. The following abbreviations are used: ded. = dedication, fem. = feminine, fun. = funerary inscription, gen. = genitive, Gr. = Greek, hon. = honorary inscription, masc. = masculine, nom. = nominative, Thrac. = Thracian.

2. On the geographical definition of this region and its poleis, see Loukopoulou 2004; Tsiafaki 2020.

Linguistic contact must have been a reality in this crossroads region of the Aegean Sea. In the broadest sense, we expect to find evidence not only of language contact between Greeks and the indigenous populations, but also among the different Greek linguistic varieties that arose in the area. As far as the Greek language is concerned, various epichoric Greek dialects must have come into contact from the 7th c. BC as a consequence of the establishment of Greek colonies in this coastal region, most of which were founded by Ionians. From this period, different Ionic varieties emerged in the broader area alongside Attic, which appeared from the 5th c. BC, because of the Athenian political activity in the Northern Aegean. In later times, the Attic-Ionic Koine gradually supplanted epichoric dialects in the region. In addition to the rich Graeco-Thracian cultural exchanges, linguistic contact between Greek and the indigenous languages must have taken place from the Archaic period to Late Antiquity. Various Thracian tribes (Sapaioi, Bistones, Kikones, Korpiloi) settled in Aegean Thrace prior to the Greek colonization, although they flourished between the 4th and the 2nd c. BC, especially when the Odrysian tribes grew in strength north of the Rhodope Mountains.³

The analysis of Thracian onomastics, and more specifically of Aegean-Thrace names, constitutes one of the most useful devices for the study of cross-linguistic and cultural interactions in the area. Personal names (PNs) are a growing source of knowledge, as they provide the largest amount of Thracian linguistic evidence. We will concentrate on the area between the rivers Nestos and Hebros, including the Samothracian *peraea*, as it is the region covered by *I. Thrake Aeg.* and because the adjacent Ionic areas, such as Thasos and its *peraea* (between the rivers Strymon and Nestos), belong to a different Thracian onomastic unit (see *infra* § 2.1). The analysis of Greek PNs begins in an early period (7th-6th c. BC), while the most recent attestation of Thracian names pushes the date forward to the 4th c. AD.

This research focuses on the classification of the extant Thracian onomastic material from this region based on its Graeco-Thracian hybrid character. On the one hand, we will analyse the corpus of Thracian PNs in accordance with the classification of Thracian anthroponymy into four onomastic areas (see *infra* § 2.1) and, on the other, we will examine the mechanisms of adaptation of these groups of foreign names into the Greek onomastic system (see *infra* § 2.3). We will also discuss possible cases of the reverse process, the “Thracianization” of Greek PNs (see *infra* § 2.4) and list some problematic names in the last section (see *infra* § 2.5). We seek to determine the type of linguistic contact and accommodation processes which can be detected on this micro-regional level and describe the transitional character of this Thracian onomastic region. However, our approach to language contact is conditioned, on the one hand, by the scarcity of the written evidence and, on the other, by our lack of information on the Thracian language. Consequently, the relevant phenomena of linguistic contact will be examined from the perspective of onomastics with all the necessary methodological precautions. To this effect, we will differentiate between Greek and non-Greek onomastic bases, suffixes and formations, considering them from both a diachronic and synchronic point of view.

2. Thracian anthroponymy in Aegean Thrace

Thracian onomastic material is now available thanks to the publication of new corpora of inscriptions from Aegean Thrace: *I. Thrake Aeg.* (2005), the reference corpus, and *Αρχαία Ζώνη I* (2015), devoted to the inscriptions found in the sanctuary of Apollo at Zone, a colony founded by Samothracians on the coastline.⁴ We also have at our disposal up-to-date linguistic descriptions of the Greek and Thracian languages and recent research studies on onomastics.⁵ One of them is the inventory of Thracian anthroponyms in Dana’s *Onomasticon Thracicum* (*OnomThrac*, 2014), which has proved crucial to

3. Parissaki 2007, pp. 288-289.

4. The corpus has been updated with later publications (*SEG*, *BE*, etc.). For the sake of clarity, inscriptions from *I. Thrake Aeg.* are quoted E, no. 1; E, no. 2, etc.

5. Along with the works quoted throughout this work, see Guijarro Ruano 2019 for an overview.

the present survey of North-Aegean Thracian names. Regularly updated online (*OnomThracSuppl*),⁶ this volume is essential for supplementing previous catalogues of PNs, such as the *LGPN IV* (2005). Frequency analysis of Greek and Thracian names has been facilitated by Parissaki's work (2007), whose approach is more prosopographical and historical than linguistic. Del Barrio Vega 2018, pp. 503-507, offers a concise summary of the principal linguistic features in this Greek-speaking region, which covers the geographical area between the rivers Strymon and Nestos, including Thasos. Her description on anthroponymy focuses on the most frequent onomastic formations of Greek and Thracian names. Finally, as far as the Greek PNs are concerned, Masson's studies have also proved decisive, especially his 1984 survey on the Greek names of some magistrates from Abdera and Maroneia (see Masson 1984).

Turning to the statistical distribution of Aegean-Thrace anthroponyms, Parissaki 2007, p. 267, provides 714 different PNs, distributed in around 1,250 occurrences. Greek names represent the highest proportion (78,5%) in comparison with Pre-Greek/Thracian (7,6%) and Latin names (12,3%).⁷ The larger amount of Greek evidence matches with the Greek-speaking character of the area, well established even during Roman times, and with the existence of epigraphic documents mainly in Greek. Concerning non-Greek anthroponymy, Parissaki 2007, p. 289, argues that 54 PNs must be Thracian or – more generally – Pre-Greek names.⁸ This terminology leaves the precise origin of this group of names unspecified. In this respect, most of the local anthroponyms are generally labelled as “Thracian” by default, despite the likely existence of previous non-Indo-European languages in the area and of different Thracian linguistic (sub)varieties over the centuries.⁹ In terms of chronological distribution, the ca 80 occurrences of Thracian PNs in the imperial period contrast with an average of ca 11-12 PNs from the Pre-Hellenistic and Hellenistic periods. This is in part due to the establishment of the Roman province of Thrace in 46 AD and the later bestowing of the Roman citizenship thanks to the *Constitutio Antoniniana* (212 AD). Indigenous elites started to be more present in local politics and, by extension, in local epigraphy. For earlier periods, the presence of non-Greek anthroponyms is hard to assess due to the conciseness of the inscriptions (reduced to PNs in most cases) and their combination with Greek(-sounding) names (see *infra* § 2.5). It is thus difficult to determine the actual phonetic and morphological interpretation of these foreign names and, ultimately, reconstruct Thracian linguistic features. The reason is not only their Greek rendering with all its diachronic peculiarities (confusion of vowel quantity, iotacistic spellings, etc.), but also the approximative spellings of non-Greek sounds and the Hellenization of indigenous words.

From a methodological point of view, the linguistic analysis of Thracian onomastics must address different issues which make linguistic reconstruction susceptible to bias and over-interpretation: our inability to understand Thracian, the scantiness of (early) Greek inscriptions of considerable length and of bilingual texts, the lack of previous works on regional anthroponymy and the risk of approaching the names from a single Greek or Thracian perspective. To begin with, it is generally acknowledged that Thracian belongs to the Indo-European family.¹⁰ It is considered a *Restssprache* which has survived

6. *OnomThracSuppl* is published on the website of HiSoMA (the version accessed in this work is that of December 2020, although, in the meanwhile, a more updated version [version 9] has seen the light in December 2022, which does not alter the conclusions of this research).

7. For an inventory of Latin PNs in Aegean Thrace, not examined in this work, see *I.Thrake Aeg.*, pp. 613-616; Parissaki 2007, pp. 282-288; more generally, Dana 2011.

8. 54 different PNs from over 92 references.

9. See Guijarro Ruano 2019, p. 74. Other non-Greek PNs belong to minorities: Egyptian names in Ἰσι^ο and Σερα^ο appear between the 2nd c. BC and the 2nd c. AD. On the Egyptian character of Ἀβρα^{τις} (E, no. 202, Maroneia, 1st c. BC-1st c. AD) and Ψάμμ^{ις} (E, no. 38, Abdera, early 4th c. BC), see Parissaki 2007, pp. 119 and 263. For the Galatian Ἀτευρίστου Βρίκκων (E, no. 215, Maroneia, early 2nd c. BC), see Parissaki 2007, pp. 144-145; and for the Greek, as opposed to Illyrian, character of Ἀρθέ^{ων} (E, no. 222, Maroneia, 4th c. BC), Parissaki 2007, pp. 136-137. We do not consider Hebrew names from early Christian inscriptions (Ἰσαάκιος, Ἰωάννης, Μαρία, etc.).

10. Up-to-date accounts of the Thracian language in Brixhe, Panayotou 1997; Panayotou 2007; Tzitzilis 2014; Yanakieva 2018; Brixhe 2018; Sowa 2020. On epigraphic and linguistic research on this specific area, see Guijarro Ruano 2019, pp. 69-76.

through Greek and Latin sources, mainly in some glosses and onomastics. Proper Thracian texts are limited to some undeciphered inscriptions from the 6th-4th c. BC written in the Greek alphabet.¹¹ Thracian anthroponymy – and the Thracian language – have also been generally examined from an exclusively Thracian perspective,¹² which ranges from a unified view of the material (and the language) to a classification into different onomastic areas, as will be seen below (see *infra* § 2.1). However, a comparative approach and frequency analysis can allow the detection of Thracian PNs and their formants. The rich amount of Thracian onomastics shows further typological differentiation into simple names, suffixed names and compound names according to Indo-European typology.

Recent studies on specific Thracian onomastic subregions are few (Dana 2016a; Proeva 2017), and those that deal with linguistic phenomena only focus on some specific features (Slavova 2006; Slavova 2007; Slavova 2015; Dana 2017; Dana 2019). Therefore, we still lack a systematic and comprehensive linguistic analysis of the onomastic material from this region describing the interaction between Greek and Thracian names diachronically and geographically. In this regard, would it be possible to spot the specific Greek variety – or varieties – with which Thracian came into contact over the course of centuries? In order to define the actual influence of the extant Greek varieties on Thracian onomastics, we must take into consideration that the earliest Ionic varieties that arose in the Aegean-Thrace area were largely linked to Cycladic Ionic (in colonies founded by Parians and Thasians) and Eastern Ionic (in Maroneia, Abdera, etc.). As mentioned above, Attic appeared in the region during the 5th c. BC, succeeded by the Attic-Ionic Koine.¹³

2.1. Aegean Thrace as a Thracian transitional onomastic area

Unlike the obsolete unified and homogeneous analysis of Thracian anthroponymy, Dana (2012a and 2014) claims that Thracian PNs should be examined from a diachronic and geographical perspective in order to be able to draw a further internal division within the onomastic stocks. According to the author (*OnomThrac*, pp. LXIII-LXXXIV), four different onomastic areas can be distinguished: (i) Pan-Thracian (or more generally Thracian), corresponding to Thrace proper and to the future homonymous Roman province; (ii) Dacian (or Daco-Moesian), in the North-Danubian territories; (iii) Western Thracian, which covers Eastern Macedonia, Thasos (and its *peraea*), the southern part of Moesia Superior and the western part of the Roman province of Thrace;¹⁴ and (iv) Bithynian, in Northwestern Asia Minor.¹⁵ This classification is based on the distribution and concentration of the PNs in specific Thracian territories which permit the establishment of different onomastic areas and, in some cases, of different micro-regions (as it occurs in Western Thrace, where we can identify the zones of Philippi, Sırha, the valley of Nestos, etc.).¹⁶ The theoretical approach to this onomastic analysis is based on similar studies applied to other peripheral regions such as Macedonia, Illyria

11. Thracian epigraphic texts can be found in Dimitrov 2009; however, his interpretation and linguistic analyses have been strongly questioned (see Dana 2012b). In our corpus, three inscriptions, gathered under the lemmata E no. 376-378 (Maroneia, undated), seem to be written in an indigenous language identified as Thracian.

12. Previous works on Thracian onomastics (Beševliev 1970; Vlahov 1972; Georgiev 1983; Duridanov 1995, etc.) are of varying quality and must be revised in the light of new findings and theoretical approaches; see Dana 2012a, p. 225; *OnomThrac*, pp. XII-XLI. For the problems of geographical limits, see Bouzek, Graninger 2015, pp. 12-15.

13. On the Ionic varieties, see del Barrio Vega 2015 and 2018; and on contact and Koineization processes, Guijarro Ruano 2023. For a general and updated linguistic description of Aegean Thrace, see Guijarro Ruano 2019.

14. On Western Thrace, see D. Dana's contribution in this volume, to whom I thank for the image of *fig. 1* and for his comments on a previous version of this work.

15. The classification was contested by Hálmagi 2015, pp. 266-267 (response in Dana 2016b) and by Proeva 2017 (but cf. *OnomThracSuppl*, p. 2, n. 3).

16. See *OnomThrac*, pp. LXXV and LXXVIII, where it is said that a general overview of the onomastics of this zone is still lacking.

and some western provinces.¹⁷ Therefore, following Dana's classification (*OnomThrac*, p. LXXVII), Aegean Thrace belongs to a transitional area between Thrace proper and Western Thrace and is defined as a mixed onomastic area (*fig. 1*). This classification primarily applies to the more abundant onomastic material of the imperial period.¹⁸

In the case of Aegean Thrace, few Thracian PNs can be isolated as epichoric or regional due to the scarcity of evidence. In this regard, Dana (*OnomThrac*, p. LXXXI) asserts: "Il est probable que d'autres

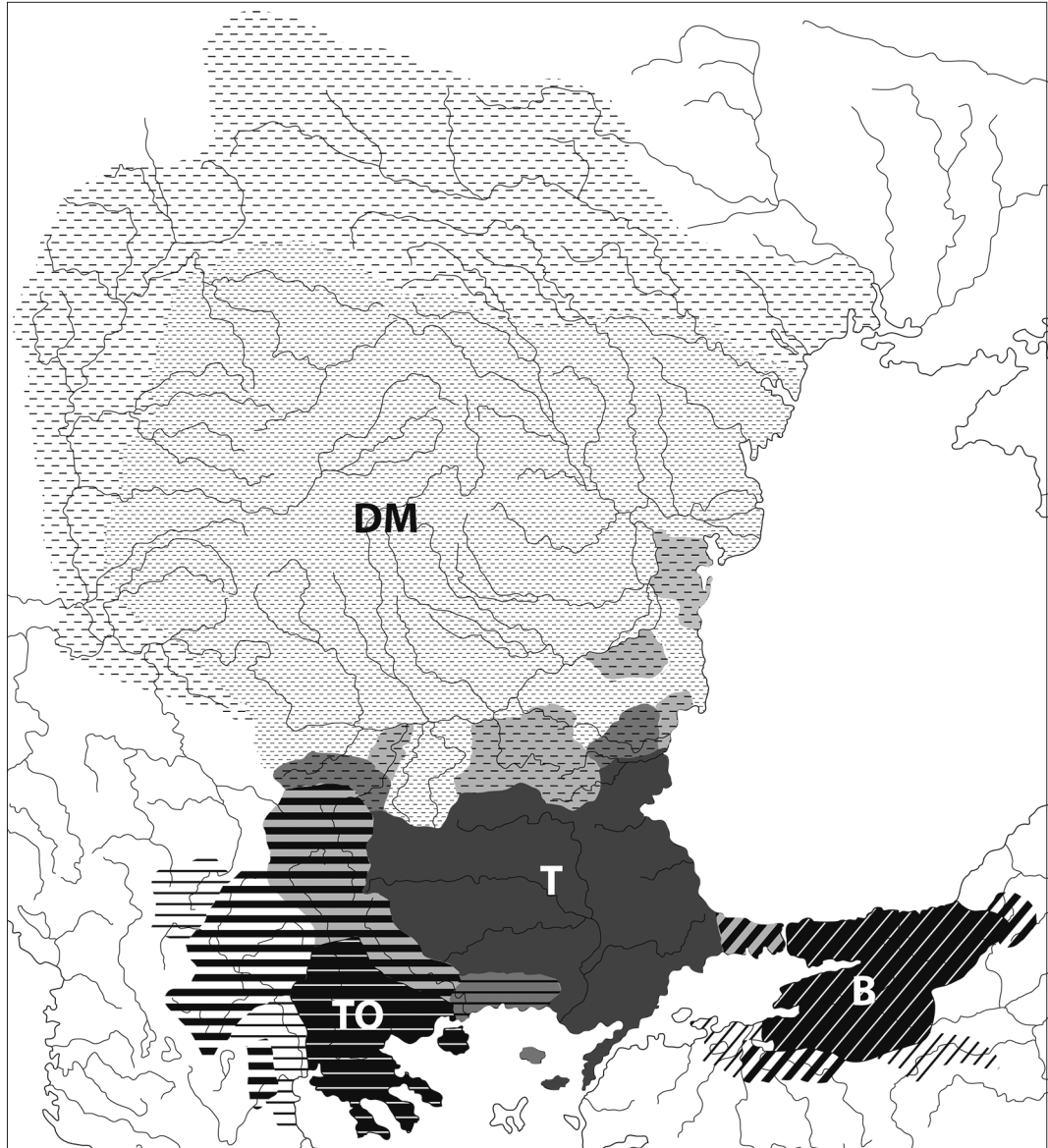


Fig. 1 – The four Thracian onomastic areas. T: Thracian, TO: Western Thracian, DM: Daco-Moesian, B: Bithynian (D. Dana, *OnomThrac*, p. LXXVII).

17. See references in Dana 2012a, pp. 225-226. Hatzopoulos' methodology for the analysis of Macedonian names (see Hatzopoulos 2000) lies at the origin of much recent onomastic research.
18. Many PNs are concentrated in E, no. 84 (Topeiros, 46-54 AD). It contains a list of 33 Thracian *strategoi* (23 with Roman citizenship). The stone was found *in situ*, but there are no explicit references to their origin or their districts, although some are known from other testimonies. Other names (Ἐσβενίς Ἀματόκου, Καρώσης Ἀύλουπόρεος, Ζυκούλησις Τυρέλσου, Κοισόρμας Σπόκου) seem to be from southern Thracia (Parissaki 2009, p. 330, n. 34). The interest lies in how these anthroponyms were rendered and Hellenised in the local copy of the text.

microrégions seront individualisées par les nouvelles découvertes, particulièrement dans les zones de contact entre les quatre territoires : ainsi, le nom Εζβενις est épichorique autour de la vallée du Nestos et en Thrace Égéeenne”. Nevertheless, this salient anthroponym is attested only twice in this region between the 1st and the 3rd c. AD with different spellings (Εσβεν^ο, Εζβεν^ο), while it is widespread in Western Thrace.¹⁹

In terms of occurrences, we find at least 15 of the 29 specific (Pan-)Thracian features identified in *OnomThrac*, pp. LXV-LVII (*tab. 1*; occurrences in parentheses). The four most common simple names are well documented: Κοτυς, Τηρης, Σευθης and Βειθυς. Some of these are well known, as they were also carried by Thracian kings. The latter also appears in dithematic formations such as Βειθυκενθου (E, no. 84, Topeiros, 46-54 AD).²⁰ The most common dithematic formations comprise Αουλου- as a first element and -ζενις/-σενις as a second. If not mere spelling variants, the names Δολης/Δωλης/*Doles* attested in Aegean Thrace with a root in Δολ^ο or Δωλ^ο and an -ης ending would be Pan-Thracian (cf. Δολης [E, no. 84.22, Topeiros, 46-54 AD]; Δολη, Δοληου [E, no. 212, Maroneia, 2nd-1st c. BC]; Δωλεου [E, no. 249, Maroneia, 2nd c. AD]; Δολεου [E, no. 386, Asomatoi, 3rd c. AD?]). Alternatively, according to *OnomThrac* (pp. LXXIX, 155-159 and 166-169), the Western Thracian rendering of this name would correspond to Δουλ^ο and Δολαζ/*Dola*, although there are no examples of them.

Dithematic PNs		Simple PNs
Αουλου- (8)	<i>rescu-</i>	Βειθυς (3)
Βειθυ- (1)	Ροιμη- (4)	Κοτυς (4)
<i>brinca-</i>	-κενθος (4)	Τηρης (3)
Δαλ- (1)	-πορις (5)	Σευθης (4)
<i>derzi-</i>	fem. <i>-puius</i>	
Δια- (3)	<i>-tocus</i>	
Διτι- (1)	<i>-tralis</i>	
<i>ditu-</i>	fem. τουρμη (1)	
<i>diza-</i>	fem. <i>-sucus</i>	
<i>dul-/δουλ-</i>	<i>-zelmis</i>	
<i>dutu- (f.)</i>	-ζενις/-σενις (8)	
Επται- (1)	<i>-zeris</i>	
μουκα-		

Tab. 1 – Thracian and Pan-Thracian PNs.

Western Thracian features (iii) can also be observed, specifically in 6 of the 15 occurrences gathered in *OnomThrac*, pp. LXXVIII-LXXIX. They comprise first elements in *sudi-* or *μουκα-*, second formants in *-bithu* (perhaps in *-πης*) and the simple Τραλ(λ)ις:

- *sudi-* in Σουδεικένθου (E, no. 21, Abdera, 2nd c. AD);
- Τραλ(λ)ις in Τραλλεις (*SEG* XL, no. 596, Kalyva, imperial period), which is a simple PN vs. compound names with a second element in *-tralis*;²¹

19. Εσβενις Αματοκου (E, no. 84, Topeiros, 46-54 AD), Κρονίων Έζβενεως του Τηρου, βουλ(ευτής) Μαρωνείτης (E, no. 396, Dione, 235-238 AD). The PN has been etymologically derived from i.e. **h₁k^wos* “horse” (cf. Greek ἵππος, Latin *equus*), which in Thracian would correspond to a form **esvas* or **ezvas* (perhaps related to a toponym Ασβηνοί). See more references in *OnomThrac*, p. 185.

20. The term “dithematic” applies to non-simple PNs composed of two lexical items which, in principle, do not seem to be suffixes. See *OnomThrac*, pp. LXXXVI-LXXXVII.

21. On this name and its use as an ethnic, see Parissaki 2007, p. 255 with previous bibliography.

- *-bithu* in Κιληβύζῶ (E, no. 415, Zone, ca 400-350 BC), vs. (Pan-)Thracian *bithu-*, Β(ε)ιθυ-;
- *μοκα-* in Μοκαπορις (E, no. 84, Topeiros, 46-54 AD; E, no. 387, Dymi, 1st c. AD)²² vs. Pan-Thracian *μουκα-*;
- perhaps the suffix *-πης* in Σκωμπης (E, no. 105, Kalyva, 2nd c. BC).²³

Other forms could also be Western Thracian, such as Διουκίλου (E, no. 279, Maroneia, 2nd c. AD) provided that its first formant is associated with the names [*Diula*], *Diulas* and Διουλας: according to *OnomThrac*, p. 143, *Diul-* and Διουλ- seem to be characteristic of the Western Thracian onomastic area. There may be a further connection between Καρτους (E, no. 295, Maroneia, 2nd-3rd c. AD) and fem. Καρτουζα (E, no. 328, Maroneia, 3rd c. AD; E, no. 450, Traianoupolis, imperial period) with Καρδους, considered Western Thracian (for a similar change *-ρτ-* > *-ρδ-*, see Σπαρτοκίων > Σπαρδοκίων, *OnomThrac*, p. XCV).²⁴

The influence of the Dacian and Bithynian onomastic stock (iv) is not evident. In the latter case, the name Σουσαῖς (cf. Σουσαῖ Βεΐθιος, E, no. 482, unknown provenance, Roman period) could be characteristically Bithynian in light of the distribution of this name (although it has also been assigned to the Asia Minor onomasticon).²⁵ Similarly, it has been proposed that Σποκης, found in the genitive in a late inscription (Κοισορμας Σποκου, E, no. 84, Topeiros, 46-54 AD), and in mid-4th c. BC coins (Βα(σιλεὺς) Σποκης, Peter, *Münzen*, pp. 146-147, territory of Abdera, ca 360 BC) could belong to a common Bithynian and South Thracian stock due to the geographical distribution of the examples (from Southern Thrace, Bithynia, Athens and Egypt). However, the evidence must be revised in the light of data from Egypt.²⁶ In any event, the absence of Dacian and/or Bithynian PNs in our region perfectly matches the minor impact of these Thracian populations in Aegean Thrace, whose Greek character is more evident in the local epigraphy even during Roman and imperial periods.

2.2. Graeco-Thracian linguistic contact

In the context of linguistic contact, there are different possibilities for introducing foreign names into a new (Greek) linguistic environment. They range from the direct preservation of the indigenous name to its full replacement. Therefore, non-Greek anthroponyms could be (a) maintained in the original language, retaining their phonology and morphological features; (b) adapted into Greek; or (c) replaced by Greek names.²⁷ The adaptation of Thracian PNs to Greek is the most common acculturation pattern in the accommodation process. The complete substitution of Thracian names could have taken place in certain contexts, but, to judge from the extant epigraphic evidence, they remained in use until a late date. Nevertheless, they coexisted with other Greek and Latin names within the same onomastic formulae; as a matter of fact, we do not find onomastic sequences exclusively composed of Thracian names (with *nomen*, *cognomen*, *praenomen* and other developments). The unaltered preservation of Thracian PNs cannot be ruled out, especially in some Thracian inscriptions written in the Greek alphabet in Inner

22. Μουπορις (cf. Δίας Μουπόρεως, E, no. 273, Maroneia, 2nd c. AD) can be the original name or an abbreviated form of Μουκαπορις (Parissaki 2007, p. 217).

23. On this PN, see Parissaki 2007, p. 245; *OnomThrac*, p. 308 (not included in *LGPN* IV). For other simple PNs in *-ης*, see *infra* § 2.3.3.

24. On Καρδους, see *OnomThrac*, p. 78. The bithematic Καρδενθης (E, no. 84, Topeiros, 1st c. AD), well attested in Thracia proper, could be related to this series; if *-δενθης* is a variant of *-δελθης*, it could also be a Western Thracian feature (*OnomThrac*, p. 120).

25. Parissaki 2007, pp. 247-248, n. 665; *OnomThrac*, pp. LXXX-LXXXI. On the frequency of *sus-/συσ-* in Bithynia, see *OnomThrac*, pp. 340-341 with examples in *OnomThracSuppl*, p. 39.

26. Parissaki 2007, p. 248. Examples in *OnomThrac*, pp. 332-333. For other Greek PNs inspired from Asia Minor hydronyms, see Parissaki 2007, p. 268; Dana 2019, pp. 180-183.

27. Dana 2017, pp. 201-202; Dana 2019, pp. 171-172.

Thrace between the 6th and the 4th c. BC.²⁸ In Aegean Thrace, several simple names (Bendis' names?) might exhibit Thracian features, but we cannot be certain about their original form. In what follows, we will concentrate on the mechanisms of adaptation of Thracian PNs.

2.3. Adaptation of Thracian names

Different linguistic strategies can be adopted in the process of adaptation (i.e. translation, Hellenization, hybridation or cover names) which divide the PNs into two different onomastic systems.²⁹ In Aegean Thrace, the addition of a Greek suffix to a Thracian root prevails.

2.3.1. *Übersetzungsnamen*

There are no certain examples of *Übersetzungsnamen* (*noms de traduction*, “loan translation names”) in Thracian: it is a complex task when one of the translation languages remains undeciphered. From a typological perspective, some correspondences between Greek and Thracian dithematic formations have been proposed on the basis of a shared Indo-European root (cf. Thrac. Δια-ζενις and Gr. Διο-γένης; Thrac. Διζα-ζενις and Gr. Θεο-γένης) and in the light of similar typological formations (cf. Thrac. Βρια-ζενις with Ἀστυ-γένης; Δεσα-κενθος/Διζα-κενθος with Gr. Θεό-τεκνος). Thus, the first elements Δια-, Διζα-/Δεσα- and Βρια- would correspond to Greek Δι(φ)ο-, Θεο- and Αστυ- respectively. The same would apply to the Thracian second formant -ζενις and the Greek -γένης (< **ǵēnh₁-es*).³⁰

We may find occurrences in Aegean Thrace in the simple name Διας (Διας Μουπορεως, E, no. 273, Maroneia, 2nd c. AD) and in the compound Διασενις/Διαζενις (cf. Αυλουζενις Διασενεος, E, no. 104, Abdera, 3rd c. AD; Ῥοιμηταλκου Διασενεως, E, no. 387, Dyme, 1st c. AD). Final -ζενις, which is “in majority in the Thracian region” (Dana 2019, p. 170) along with *-tralis* and the one with the most convincing etymology,³¹ is also present in the name Αυλουζενις (cf. Αυλουζενις Διασενεος, Τειουτα σύμβιος Αυλουζενεος [E, no. 104, Abdera, 3rd c. AD]³²; [Αύλου]ζενις [E, no. 476, Plotinopolis, 2nd-3rd c. AD]; Αυλουζενις Αυλου[ζ]εγεος [E, no. 478, territory of Hadrianopolis, 2nd-3rd c. AD]). Furthermore, a correlation between the Greek Εύρυγένης and Εβρυζενις has been proposed, based on the derivation of the first element from **h₁merH-* and its connection to the name of the river Hebros.³³ In Aegean Thrace, Εβρενις (E, no. 84, l. 25 and 27, Topeiros, 46-54 AD, 2 ex.), another possible variant of the Εβρ- names, is attested in the *cognomen* of two *strategoí*.

2.3.2. Hellenised and hybrid names

In areas experiencing intense contact, it is common to find hybrid PNs in which a non-Greek base is combined with a Greek base and a Greek suffix, as in Βενδίδωρος, but there are no such examples from Aegean Thrace nor cases of a Greek base + Thracian suffix. Hellenised names (Thracian

28. See *supra* n. 11.

29. An older introduction to the Hellenization and Latinization of PNs can be found in Beševliev 1970, pp. 38-46. For Hellenization, see Dana 2017 and 2019.

30. For the alleged etymologies, see Detschew 1957, p. 181; Duridanov 1995, p. 827. See also Brixhe, Panayotou 1997, pp. 192-193; Brixhe 2018, p. 1852. On the correspondences between translation names and *agnomina*, see *OnomThrac*, p. CIV.

31. *OnomThrac*, pp. 146 and 390; Sowa 2020, p. 793.

32. We follow Dana's correction (2006, p. 142) for Τειουτα (vs. Ταροϋλα in *I.Thrake Aeg.*) due to the absence of parallels of this name. Feminine Τειουτα/Τιουτα/Τυτα is well attested (*OnomThrac*, p. 372).

33. Detschew 1957, p. 163; *OnomThrac*, p. 174. On the etymological reconstruction of Ἐβρος, see main references in Yanakieva 2018, p. 30.

base + Greek suffix) represent the most significant group in the four Thracian onomastic regions. They reflect the indigenous adaptation to Greek inflection and, by extension, the acculturation processes in progress. According to Dana 2017, p. 202 (see also Dana 2019, p. 172), a PN can be Hellenised through the transformation/substitution of an onomastic element and through derivation; in these cases, hypocoristic suffixation and suffix variation play an important role. There are examples of both linguistic devices in Aegean Thrace. They can be better analysed in a broader category as morphological phenomena of accommodation (see *infra* §§ 2.3.3-2.3.5).

2.3.3. Transformation/substitution of an onomastic element

As an Indo-European language, Thracian probably distinguished between masculine and feminine, but the morphological differentiation of masculine *-ος* and feminine *-α* coincides with that of the Greek masculine and feminine suffixes, so that we cannot isolate proper Thracian inflectional morphemes:³⁴ e.g. masc. Καπρουβηβου (E, no. 387, Dyme, 1st c. AD) and fem. Καπρουβηα (E, no. 290, Maroneia, imperial period),³⁵ masc. *-ορμας* (Κοισορμας Σποκου, E, no. 84, Topeiros, 46-54 AD; see *infra* § 2.5) and fem. *-(τ)ουρμη* (cf. gen. Δαρουτουρμης, E, no. 387, Dyme, 1st c. AD); and probably the hypocoristic masc. Καρτους (cf. Καρτους Γαΐου, ἦρωσ, Καρτο[υ...], E, no. 295, Maroneia, 2nd-3rd c. AD, fun.)³⁶ and fem. Καρτουζα (E, no. 450, Traianoupolis, imperial period; E, no. 328, Maroneia, 3rd c. AD). Further Greek-looking suffixes are masc. *-ουλας*³⁷ and fem. *-ουλα*,³⁸ attested in other Thracian regions (cf. Μηφαζουλα, *IGBulg* III, 1, no. 1349, Burdapa, 2nd-3rd c. AD). They would presumably sound Greek, although *-ουλα* could be extracted from feminine roots like *ἔβουλα* or *ἔδουλα*, etc. The feminine ending *-σαλα* of the hapax Μακεσαλα Βειθουσ (E, no. 482, unknown provenance, Roman period) may be related to other μακ^οPNs.³⁹ These last cases point to a convergence with the Greek masculine forms in *-ας* and the feminine forms in *-α/η*.

Anthroponyms in *-πορις* were adapted to the Greek declension through the transformation of the final element *-πορις* > *-πολις*, as already known in the Thracian space:⁴⁰

- (1) βασιλεὺς Θρακῶν Κ[οτυς Ῥασκου]πορεως (E, no. 458, Plotinopolis, 42-31 BC, ded.);
- (2) Βεσουλας Μοκαπορεως (E, no. 387, Dyme, 1st c. AD, fun.);
- (3) Διας Μουπορεως (E, no. 273, Maroneia, 2nd c. AD, fun.);
- (4) Καρώσης Αὐλουπόρεως (E, no. 84.30, Topeiros, 46-54 AD, hon.);
- (5) εὐεργέτην Κ[οτυν Ῥασκου]πολεως βασιλέ[α Θρακῶν] (E, no. 207, Maroneia, 1st c. BC-1st c. AD, hon.).

34. Yanakieva 2018, pp. 49-50.

35. On the reading of these *unica* PNs, see Parissaki 2007, p. 195. A hypothetical connection with Hesychius s.v. Κάπρονται· ἐκαλοῦντο οὕτως οἱ Θράκες, and the epithet Καπρηνός (*IGBulg* V, no. 5323) would confirm their Thracian origin (*OnomThrac*, p. 77). *-βηα/βηη* appears (as a suffix/second element) in Δουτουβη (*IGBulg* I², no. 334, Mesambria, 2nd-1st c. BC).

36. However, Gr. *-οὺς* generally forms feminine anthroponyms following the Greek pattern (cf. Thrac. Βενδοῦς, Δαντοῦς, Νανοῦς and Σευθοῦς in *OnomThrac*, p. 383). Owing to its recent chronology, could Καρτους be rather considered a masculine in *-ος* with an erroneous spelling? On the diffusion of the suffix *-οὺς* in *LGPV* IV, see Dubois 2010.

37. Βεισουλας Ἀρτεμιδώρου (E, no. 64, Abdera, 1st c. BC-1st c. AD), Ἀλέξανδρος Ταρούλου ὁ καὶ Βέβιος, <Ζ>ώσιμος Ταρούλο<υ> (E, no. 379, Maroneia, 3rd c. AD) and Γλαυκίας Ταλούλου Μαρωνίτης (*IG* II², no. 9286, Athens, imperial period). On the variants Ταρουλ(λ)ας, Ταλουρας, Ταλουλας, see *OnomThrac*, p. 349.

38. τῆς γυναικὸς Βεσουλας Μοκαπορεως (E, no. 387, Dyme, 1st c. AD). Dana (*OnomThrac*, pp. 34 and 37) classifies Βεισουλας and Βεσουλα under different lemmata. Could they be associated to PNs in Βεσσός (*Bes(s)us*) built upon the ethnic?

39. *OnomThrac*, p. 204.

40. *OnomThrac*, p. 274. On *-πολις*, see Bechtel, *Personennamen*, pp. 375-377. Most of *-πολις* PNs are masculine. See also Mihailov 1943, p. 87.

Examples (1-4) present *-πορεως/πορεος*, while (5) exhibits *-πολις* in Rhascuporis (ca 48-42 BC), Cotys' father and king of the Sapaioi, the same person as in (1). The context probably exerted some influence: (1) was a dedication to Heracles Soter by Cotys himself and (2-3) come from the private sphere. Conversely, (5) is a public honorary inscription devoted to the king by a Greek community which called him *euergetes*. If the phonetic adaptation was spontaneous, it could be explained through an intermediate pronunciation between /l/ and /r/ in Thracian, but we do not have direct evidence of this phoneme. It seems more reasonable to see here a deliberate change which would respond to an attempt of acculturation. In terms of language contact, it can be analysed as a process of accommodation, although the final outcome (Thracian base + Greek *-πολις*) can also be viewed as a hybrid form. Nevertheless, this mechanism of substituting *-πορις* names with *-πολις* was far from systematic.

The evidence must be studied regionally and diachronically in order to detect contemporary phenomena of linguistic levelling applied to Hellenised names. We would expect *°αλκ°* names to have been transformed/accommodated into the s-stem declension *°αλκης, -ους*. However, the nominatives *-αλκας* (cf. Σιταλκας [E, no. 212, Maroneia, 2nd-1st c. BC]; Ῥοιμηταλκας [E, no. 84, Topeiros, 46-54 AD, 2 ex.]) and the Attic-Koine genitive Ῥοιμηταλκου (E, no. 84, Topeiros, 46-54 AD; E, no. 387, Dyme, 1st c. AD) point to an analogy with the masculine a-stems, as happens with other Greek PNs in the region. Similarly, the nominative Ταρσας (Ἀὐρ(ήλιος) Ταρσας Μύρωνος, E, no. 194, Maroneia, 3rd c. AD) presents a genitive Ταρσου (Ἡδεῖα Τάρσου, E, no. 298, Maroneia, 2nd c. AD). The expected forms are with η as in Ionic or, more probably, the Attic-Ionic Koine, unless *ā*-forms were related to the neighbouring Macedonian dialect. However, what it is striking is the arbitrariness of the *ā/η* distribution across the Thracian territory, as well as in Aegean Thrace, a more Hellenised region with Ionic speakers where the Attic-Ionic Koine was rapidly imposed. As has been suggested, these forms might reveal an original Thracian vocalism /æ:/, which is sometimes completely Hellenised as *-αλκης*, probably by Greek speakers in the earlier forms.⁴¹ Here the question also arises as to the identity of the authors of the epigraphic texts, which could be Greek speakers or Hellenised Thracians, gradually more present in the cultural and political life of these Greek colonies: *°αλκας* names are naturally expected from Thracian speakers, at least at an early stage, since they do not immediately associate this homophone onomastic element to Greek *-αλκης*. Thus, the graphic rendering of this /æ:/ was approximatively associated to an /a:/ rather than an /ε:/, morphologically motivated by the Greek declension. Be that as it may, the convergence of the genitives in *-ου* and *-ους* is common in s-stems in Greek forms from the mid-4th c. BC,⁴² and the *ā/η* variation concerns Thracian forms in general beyond our borders.

The Koine declension in *-ης, -ου* of the masculine a-stems can occasionally be observed in Aegean Thrace from the 2nd c. BC onwards: Δορζίνθης (E, no. 365, Maroneia, ca 200-150 BC; E, no. 84.37, Topeiros, 46-54 AD), Δορζίνθου (E, no. 457, territory of Traianoupolis, 3rd c. AD; E, no. 8.294, Topeiros, 46-54 AD), Σευθης (E, no. 255, Maroneia, 1st c. BC), Σευθου (E, no. 271, Maroneia, 1st c. BC; Osborne, Byrne 1996, no. 3549, Athens, Hellenistic and imperial periods), Διουζης (E, no. 84.34, Topeiros, 46-54 AD), Δι[ο]υζ[ί]ου (E, no. 87, Topeiros, 1st-2nd c. AD)⁴³, and Τηρης (E, no. 389, Maximianoupolis, 3rd c. AD), Τηρου (E, no. 384, Agiasma, 3rd c. AD; E, no. 396, Maroneia [Dione], 235-238 AD). The nominative Δολης (E, no. 84, l. 22, Topeiros, 46-54 AD; E, no. 212, Maroneia, 2nd-1st c. BC) exhibits different spellings of the genitive forms: Δοληου (E, no. 212, Maroneia, 2nd-1st c. BC), Δωλεου (E, no. 249, Maroneia, 2nd c. AD), Δολεου (E, no. 386, Asomatoi,

41. On the interpretations of *α/η* forms, see Yanakieva 2018, p. 41. The distribution of the variants lacks an obvious pattern: while we find *Ροιμηταλκας/αλκης* (gen. *Ροιμηταλκα/αλκου*) in Athens and in Ionic centers, *Ροιμηταλκης, -ου* is attested in Thracia (*OnomThrac*, pp. 293-296). Be as it may, the alternation *λ/ρ* is frequently found in some Thracian names (see, for instance, *Tarula*, Ταρουλας, Ταρουλλας, Ταλουρας, Ταλουλας in *OnomThrac*, p. 349).

42. Εὐπείθου (E, no. 41, Abdera, ca 350-300 BC), Διογένου (E, no. 257, Maroneia, 3rd c. BC), Διογένου, [Διογέν]νου (E, no. 259, Maroneia, Hellenistic period); more examples in Guijarro Ruano 2023, p. 130.

43. Διουζης is also attested, with a common *-ζης* suffix, see *OnomThrac*, pp. 145 and 392.

3rd c. AD?) [see *supra* § 2.1]. In other cases, the nominative in -ης is the only documented form: thus, Καρδενθης (E, no. 84.16, Topeiros, 46-54 AD), Καρωσης (E, no. 84.16, Topeiros, 46-54 AD) and the hapax Σκωμπης (E, no. 105, Kalyva, 2nd c. AD) present the Attic-Ionic form and not the aforementioned -ας. Outside this region, Καρδενθης and Καρωσης only have genitives in -ου.⁴⁴

The reconstruction of the paradigm exclusively based on the genitive forms is misleading and analogies between *s*- and *ā*-stems often take place, as discussed earlier (a standardized nominative is given, for instance, in the *LGP*N). Some PNs such as Καπρουβηβου (E, no. 387, Dyme, 1st c. AD) and Κιληβύζω (E, no. 415, Zone, ca 400-350 BC) are attested only once in these genitive forms. For the latter, Parissaki 2007, p. 150 proposes a connection between -βύζω, a variant of Βυζος (Βυζας/Βυζης), and Βίζου (E, no. 386, Asomatoi, 3rd c. AD?), which she reconstructs as Βίζος.⁴⁵

The restoration of the nominatives corresponding to gen. Ταρουλου/Ταλουλου, Σποκου, Τυρελσου, Διουκιλου and Δαδου is problematic. Ταρουλας must be the common nominative of the genitive Ταρουλου/Ταλουλου in the Thracian regions due to the absence of nominatives in -ουλος/-ουλης (Ἀλέξανδρος Ταρούλου ὁ καὶ Βέβιος, <Z>ώσιμος Ταρούλο<υ> [E, no. 379, Maroneia, 3rd c. AD]; Γλαυκίας Ταλουλου Μαρωνίτης [*IG* II², no. 9286, Athens, imperial period]). Similarly, the frequency of the nominative Σποκης outside the Aegean coast justifies this reconstruction from Σποκου (E, no. 84.38, Topeiros, 46-54 AD), which shows numerous genitive variants (Σποκη, Σποκητος, Σποκειους, Σποκειους, Σποκειως, Σποκηους). Τυρελσου, only documented in the genitive, is attested three times in Topeiros (E, no. 84, l. 33, 46-54 AD; E, no. 86, ca 50-100 AD; E, no. 87, 1st-2nd c. AD) and in Moesia Inferior (*IGBulg* II, no. 737, 200-250 AD). According to Dana (*OnomThrac*, p. XCVIII), it has an enlarged -σης suffix with an epenthetic -λ- (cf. *Didalsa*/Διδαλσα, Δοιδαλσης). As regards Διουκιλου (E, no. 279, Maroneia, 2nd c. AD), a nominative -κε(ι)λας has been proposed in view of other cognates (Διουκιλας, Abydos, Hellenistic period), suggesting a Western Thracian origin (*OnomThrac*, p. 143). Finally, the genitive Δαδου (E, no. 153, Molyvoti, mid-4th c. BC), a Thracian *Lallname* (see *infra* § 2.5), probably has a well-attested nominative Δαδας (Latin *Dada*, *ae*).⁴⁶ Δαδου is the usual genitive form (7 ex.) from the 1st c. BC-1st c. AD; it appears twice in Macedonia, a Greek area where the oldest example dates from the 3rd c. BC.⁴⁷

Regarding -κενθου names (Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος Ροιμηταλκας Βειθυκενθου, E, no. 84, Topeiros, 46-54 AD), only nominatives in -κενθος are attested in *OnomThrac* (instead of -κενθης). In Aegean Thrace, we have Δινικενθος, Επταικενθος (E, no. 84, l. 8 and 20, Topeiros, 46-54 AD). This ending -κενθου resembles the one of the genitives in Καρδενθου (5 examples in *OnomThrac*, 1st-3rd c. AD), whose nominative -ενθης is documented in Aegean Thrace in Καρδενθης (E, no. 84.16, Topeiros, 46-54 AD), if the segmentation is correct.⁴⁸

The corresponding nominative of the dative Δύδη (Δύδη [τ]ῷ καὶ Εὐαγρίῳ, E, no. 88, Topeiros, 3rd c. AD) is reconstructed as Δυδης/Δουδης by Parissaki 2007, p. 166 but as Δυδης in *OnomThrac*, p. 172. The identification with Asia Minor Δ(ο)υδης (also Δουδας, Δουδουπης, fem. Δουδουσα) leads the former, following Zgusta *Personennamen*, § 306, to suggest a Thracian origin parallel to the homonym *Lallname* from Asia Minor. However, this further connection applied to this *Lallname* is far from certain. Tellingly, *dud*-/δ(ο)υδ- names are separated from *dud*-, δυδ-, δοιδ- formations in *OnomThrac* (pp. 166, 172 respectively), where only *Dydies*/Δυδης forms and gen. Δυδιγγου could belong to the Western Thracian stock. In any event, it shows a clearly Attic(-Ionic) ending.

44. *OnomThrac*, pp. 77-78.

45. On °βυζ°, see *OnomThrac*, pp. 74-75; for υ/ο, Mihailov 1943, p. 22.

46. *OnomThrac*, pp. 105-106. A unique genitive Δαδεος (Paeonia, 2nd-3rd c. AD) points to a different nominative Δαδης not yet attested.

47. See Καλλίστρατος Δαδου (Amphipolis, ca 250 BC), Δαδου (Sintike, imperial period) in *OnomThrac*, p. 105.

48. *OnomThrac*, pp. 77-78. The name is Latinised as *Cardentes*. If related to *card*^h/καρδ^o, it could be connected to Καρτους (see *supra* § 2.1, n. 24).

The Greek third declension could be reflected in isolated nominatives in -ις, such as Δινις (E, no. 84, l. 8 and 7; E, no. 85, *Topeiros*, 46-54 AD, 3 ex.),⁴⁹ Εβρενις (E, no. 84, l. 25 and 27, *Topeiros*, 46-54 AD, 2 ex.) and Τραλλεις (*SEG XL*, no. 596, *Kalyva*, imperial period; see *supra* § 2.1). Iotacism could have affected these names, but nominatives in -ις (or -εις), not in -ης, are exclusively attested in *OnomThrac*. Other forms also seem to belong to this paradigm: nom. Δινις, gen. Δινεως, Δινεος, Δινιος, Δινιδος (also present in the toponym Δινισκορτα).⁵⁰ The genitive Δαλιος (E, no. 394, *Maroneia*, 3rd c. AD) seems certain.⁵¹ However, the genitives in -εος/-εως are ambiguous because of the loss of vowel quantity. They could be Ionic s-stem genitives in -εος (vs. Koine -ους), but these are absent from our corpus of Greek PNs after the mid-4th c. BC.⁵² Alternatively, they could belong to the *i*-stems following the Koine declension -ις, -εως, alongside -ιος, as seen in Δαλιος.⁵³ This seems to be the best explanation for the Thracian names in -πορευος, clearly assimilated into Greek -πόλις, -πόλεως. Consequently, the nominative of Βωσεος (E, no. 84, *Topeiros*, 46-54 AD) would be better understood as Βωσις (*LGPV IV*; *OnomThrac*, p. 64) and not as Βωσης (Parissaki 2007, p. 36).⁵⁴ This would also apply to the pair Διασενεος (E, no. 104, *Abdera*, 3rd c. AD) and Διασενεως (E, no. 387, *Dyme*, 1st c. AD). Regarding the genitives of Αυλοζενις, the genitive form Αυλουζενεος appears twice (E, no. 104, *Abdera*, 3rd c. AD; E, no. 478, *Komara*, 2nd-3rd c. AD), whereas Αυλουζειδος (E, no. 212, *Maroneia*, 2nd-1st c. BC) indicates a nominative Αυλοζεις, documented in Inner Thrace, and points to a different morphological adaptation into -ις, -ιδος. The suffix -ζις and its graphic variants (-ζεις/-ζι/-σις/-σι) are particularly productive in Thracian onomastics.⁵⁵

Βειθους, the genitive of Βειθυς (Τιβέρτιος Κλαύδιος Βειθυς, E, no. 84, *Topeiros*, 46-54 AD), is the most frequent form compared to Βειθυδος, which presents secondary dental forms. The compound Βειθυκενθου (Κλαύδιος Ροιμηταλκας Βειθυκενθου, E, no. 84, *Topeiros*, 46-54 AD) preserves -υ- as the final part of the first element.⁵⁶

2.3.4. Hypocoristic suffixation

Dana (2017, pp. 203-208 and 2019, pp. 171-176) has already collected the most common Greek hypocoristic suffixes used to adapt Thracian names, i.e., masc. -ίων, -αρίων, -ων, -ᾶς, -ίσκος; fem. -ιον, -άριον, -οῦς, -αροῦς, -ῶ, -αρώ. In the region, we find Thracian PNs in -ᾶς in the Roman period (ὑπὲρ τέκνου Σουσαῖ Βειθους, E482, unknown provenance, Roman period), but also in an earlier Βοστᾶς, if it is a Thracian specimen (see *infra* § 2.3.5). There also exists Βενδιον (Βενδιον Ῥούφο<υ>, E, no. 379, *Maroneia*, 3rd c. AD), whose base form Βενδις is attested three times as a PN (E, no. 268, *Maroneia*, 2nd-1st c. BC; E, no. 279, *Maroneia*, 2nd c. AD; E, no. 386, *Asomatoi*, 3rd c. AD?). If Thracian, Παπυλος (Ἡροφῶν Παπυλου, E, no. 212, *Maroneia*, 2nd-1st c. BC) would be derived from Παπας (cf. παπ(π)ας “father”), a common *Lallname* in Asia Minor and Greece (see *infra* § 2.5).⁵⁷ On Καρτους, see *supra* §§ 2.1, 2.3.3.

49. On its Thracian character, see Parissaki 2007, p. 161; *OnomThrac*, pp. 135-136.

50. *OnomThrac*, pp. 135-136. On Εβρενις and Τραλλεις, see *OnomThrac*, pp. 174 and 378-379 respectively.

51. On the Thracian interpretation of Δαλιος, see Parissaki 2007, pp. 155-156 (with previous references); *OnomThrac*, p. 109; Guijarro Ruano forthcoming, § 3.2. See *infra* n. 73.

52. Guijarro Ruano 2023, pp. 126-129.

53. On the Ionic genitives -ιος/-ιδος in Aegean Thrace, see Guijarro Ruano 2023, p. 121, n. 32.

54. See Μουκατραλις Βειθηους Βοσις and Μουκατραλις Βοσεος (*IGBulg III*, 2, no. 1690, b19 and c14 [respectively], *Augusta Traiana* territory, 202 AD). For the different spellings, see Zgusta, *Personennamen*, § 199.

55. See Αυλουζεις and Αυλουζειδος (*OnomThrac*, p. 22), but gen. Αυλουζενεω (*IGBulg III*, 2, no. 1794, *Hadrianopolis*, 2nd c. AD [date after *OnomThrac*, p. 19]). On the variants (nom. -ζηνεις/ζενεις/ζηνις/σανις/ζανος), see *OnomThrac*, pp. 18-22 and 406.

56. *OnomThrac*, p. XCIII; Sowa 2020, pp. 804-805.

57. Robert, *Noms indigènes*, pp. 62-63 and 57-58, n. 1; Parissaki 2007, pp. 227-228.

2.3.5. Ionic declension of Thracian names?

Due to the overall late chronology of Thracian anthroponyms, the search for examples of Ionization in the indigenous names remains a difficult task. Apart from the cases already mentioned, one must explore the possibility of finding Ionic-defining morphological features in specific anthroponyms. In Πόρκης Πόρκεω (E, no. 184, Maroneia, 2nd c. BC), Πόρκεω presents the characteristic Ionic inflection (vs. Attic and Koine -ου), but there is no agreement on its Thracian origin, as seen in Detschew 1957, p. 375 and *OnomThrac*, p. 275. Brixhe 2006, p. 139 and Parissaki 2007, p. 233 relate it to Greek πόρκης “hoop” in the absence of more parallels from other Thracian regions.⁵⁸ If Ionic, it would be a late instance of this Ionic genitive, as it also occurs in another rare Greek contemporary example Ἀθήνεω Μητροφάνου (E, no. 168, Maroneia, 167 BC), where -εω is combined with the Koine genitive Μητροφάνου (vs. regular Ionic Μητροφάνεος). Otherwise, if Thracian, it would presuppose a later phenomenon of morphological transfer from Ionic crystallized through onomastics in a moment where Ionic was not the main linguistic variant used in the area.

As far as Thracian names in -ᾶς, -ᾶδος and -ῦδος are concerned, the genitive -ᾶ is attested in some mid-4th century coins from Maroneia, in Βουτᾶ (Schönert-Geiss 1987, VIII, no. 502-503, 365-336 BC), and much later in Σουσαῖ (E, no. 482, unknown provenance, Roman period). Ionic -ᾶδος appears earlier in Zone in the patronymic Βοστᾶδος. In examples (1)-(3), this genitive accompanies a Greek idionym, even though the origin of Αδα in (3) is uncertain (see *infra* § 2.5). In (4), we can read Βοστᾶδος or the abbreviated Βοστᾶ (found on a pottery graffito):

- (1) Ἀδάμας Βοστᾶδος (E, no. 404, Zone, mid-5th c. BC);
- (2) Ἀπο(λ)λόδωρος [Β]οστᾶδος (E, no. 412, Zone, ca 400-350 BC);
- (3) Αδα Βοστᾶδος (E, no. 411, Zone, ca 400-350 BC);
- (4) Βοστα(δος?) (*Πρακτικά* 1984-1987, IA, no. 29, 4th BC).

There are also other parallels from Thasos and other Thracian areas: Βοστᾶδος appears in a contemporary Thasian inscription ([Δ]όρι[λ]λος Βοστᾶδος, Athens, prior to 385 BC) and a later Βοστᾶ in Mysia ([Μη]νόφιλος Βοστᾶ, Lehmann 1917, pp. 185-189, no. 1, col. A, l. 126, Kyzikos, 1st c. BC).⁵⁹ The distribution of these examples supports the Thracian nature of the name, but Dana (*OnomThrac*, p. 64; *OnomThracSuppl*, p. 19) and Parissaki 2007, p. 152 raise doubts. Admittedly, Βοστᾶς has no convincing etymology and its similarity to other Ionic simple names (Βουτᾶς, Βοτᾶς or Βαστᾶς) and co-occurrence with Greek names can be arguments for its Greek origin.⁶⁰ If Thracian, its Hellenised form would be due to the influence of Ionic, as seen in contemporary Greek PNs (Μολπᾶδος, Abdera, 450-425 BC, coin).

The Ionic rendering of the genitive Ἀνδραβυδος in Θραῖ[ττ]α Ἀνδραβυδος Μ<α>ρονίτις (*IG II²*, no. 9288, Athens, 1st c. BC-1st c. AD) is stressed by its ending in -υδος. Again its Thracian character,⁶¹ associated to Ἀδραβυς and to the Mysian city of Ἀδραμυττειον, can be questioned. It is included *dubitanter* in *OnomThrac* (p. 6), probably due to the presence of three late examples of the simple *Andra* from Syria (3rd c. AD), and in military *diplomata* found in Raetia (2nd c. AD). Furthermore, Russu 1958 and Lhôte 2007, p. 280 accept it as a Greek, more precisely as a compound name containing ἀνδρα^ο + ὀβιος.⁶²

58. Along with Πορκης, see Πόρκος (*LGN III.A*, Sicily, 5th c. BC). πορκ[] could be another Samothracian example of Πορκης (Brixhe 2006, p. 139). These PNs, absent from Bechtel, *Personennamen*, can be semantically associated to the fishing tacks and the fishing practice (cf. the meaning of πόρκης, πόρκος and πορκεύς).

59. Also, Βοσταν Διοκλέους (mentioned by Robert 1978, p. 530, Byzantium, 2nd c. BC). On its possible relation to the second part of the toponym Κηρυβωστ[η]νοι (*IGBulg I²*, no. 270, Odessos territory), see *OnomThrac*, p. 64.

60. On these Ionic names, see Curbera 2013. For its interpretation as Iranian (Βοστακων/Βοσταγων) or Thracian, see references in Parissaki 2007, p. 152.

61. Detschew 1957, p. 17; Parissaki 2007, p. 131.

62. On Ἀνδρα^ο/Ἀδρα^ο and β > μ, see Kretschmer 1896, p. 390.

2.4. “Thracianization” of Greek PNs?

It should be noted that the inscriptions and graffiti unearthed in Zone (6th-5th c. BC) could include examples of adaptation of Greek borrowings into Thracian. According to Brixhe 2006 and 2015, pp. 290-292, the theonyms <ΑΒΟΛΟ> for the Greek Apollo and certain PNs are “Thracianised” forms, in the same way as the name of the Thracian goddess Bendis (Βενδις) also appears in a local version of the Greek alphabet as Βενζι. The anthroponyms <ΠΙΛΑΥΕ> (*Αρχαία Ζώνη* I, no. 5, l. 18)⁶³, <ΑΠΟΛΟΔΟΡΕ> (*Αρχαία Ζώνη* I, no. 281) and <ΝΕΟΚΛΕ> (*Αρχαία Ζώνη* I, no. 32) could be nominatives equivalent to Greek Φίλαιος, Ἀπολλόδορος and Νεοκλής:⁶⁴ according to Brixhe 2015, pp. 294-297 and Brixhe 2006, § 6.5, the loss of -ς and the change of unstressed <Ο> to <Ε> in the nominatives in -ος could be explained as a case of vowel reduction of /o/ > [ə], a common isogloss shared with Macedonia, Thessaly (only in the region of Histiaeotis) and Thasos. Alternatively, Slavova 2017, pp. 123-124 sees vocatives pro nominatives and links them to the undeciphered <ΡΟΛΙΣΤΕΝΕ(?)> (Plovdiv [Bulgaria], 5th c. BC) and <ΔΑΔΑΛΕΜΕ(?)> (Duvanlij [Bulgaria], 5th c. BC), but these sequences, if correctly distinguished, have been read as genitives as well.⁶⁵ Slavova’s suggestion must be dismissed since we cannot isolate sequences of words in these inscriptions nor suffixes or word endings. Furthermore, Brixhe’s interpretation has been contested by Méndez Dosuna 2007: this change /o/ > /e/, also attested in modern Tsaconian in unstressed and stressed positions, is conditioned by the context. Besides, it does not imply any vocalic reduction.

Even so, there is no convincing explanation as to whether this change is better explained as Greek or Thracian, since there is no later evidence of this process (Yanakieva 2018, pp. 50-51). Admittedly, it only occurs after dental or palatal consonants in Φίλαιος and Ἀπολλόδορος, as J. Méndez Dosuna has proved with respect to other Greek examples. The loss of final -ς in <ΝΕΟΚΛΕ> reflects a different situation, in which the name is found in its Ionic form Νεο^ο without an intervocalic *w (*newo-).⁶⁶ What seems certain is that this change cannot be interpreted as a Thracian phonetic feature, as it only seems to affect Greek thematic names in -ος. For this reason, these -Ε forms are better explained as vocatives for nominatives, as I have argued elsewhere (Guijarro Ruano forthcoming, § 3.2). This phenomenon is quite common in situations of linguistic contact in which Greek speakers were involved; for non-Greek audiences, the use of vocatives of PNs was highly frequent and normal, so that they rendered these Greek vocatives Φίλαιε, Ἀπολλόδορε and Νέοκλε (from Νέοκλος, not from Νεοκλής) in the indigenous texts we found in the Thracian sanctuary of Apollo, located in the Greek settlement of Zone. Indeed, cultu(r)al and linguistic contact in this setting was granted, as this epigraphic corpus attests. Therefore, the spelling of the theonyms and of these particular -Ε forms invites us to interpret them more likely as Greek borrowings.

63. The name presents a local spelling which Brixhe renders with <y> for /i/ and /y/. It is also present in *πλαγε* (no. 15), the same PN with syncope, and in other examples from Zone and Samothrace. For Brixhe 2015, pp. 285-286, it represents a semitic *yod*, as it appears in Phrygia and Lemnos. Greek Φίλαιος is attested in Greek coins from Abdera: ἐπι Φιλαιῶ (May 1966, VII, no. 426-428, 360-350 BC).

64. The form Ολβε (no. 19) could also be understood in the same sense; see Brixhe 2015, pp. 295 and 301. See Guijarro Ruano forthcoming, § 3.2.

65. See Dimitrov 2009, pp. 13-17.

66. For Brixhe 2015, p. 216, the loss of final -ς is a Thracian grammatical feature, but the name seems to be followed by a patronym κυτονιδες (cf. Ionic -ίδης) with a written final -ς. This leads Brixhe to justify the exception because of the Greek character of this onomastic formula νεοκλε κυτονιδες. However, we cannot be certain that the loss of final /s/ was a Thracian feature since we have no examples from Thracian. We can detect it in a reduced number of Greek forms. Furthermore, if it is an athematic gen. -ιδος > -ιδες, as also C. Brixhe proposes, it remains difficult to explain why the weakening of final /s/ did not affect this word; conversely, it is better explained if we take into account that it is not a thematic masculine in -ος.

2.5. Problematic and ambiguous names

The assessment of the earliest attestations of Thracian PNs in the extant epigraphic corpus from Aegean Thrace is particularly challenging, since the majority of the well-established anthroponyms date from the imperial period. The Thracian character of non-Greek sounding names before this period is controversial, especially as regards simple names, which makes their classification doubtful. Along with other instances already examined (Πορκης, Βοστᾶδος, etc.), the mid-4th c. PNs Αδα (E, no. 411, Zone), Δαδας (Δαδου, E, no. 153, Molyvoti) and Νανη (E, no. 43, Abdera)⁶⁷ seem to be epichoric *Lallnamen*. They are comparable to the other well-attested homonymous names from Asia Minor and have therefore often been considered Microasiatic. However, Dana (*OnomThrac*, pp. XCVIII-XCIX) claims a Thracian origin, regardless of the (non-Thracian) Microasiatic occurrences, because of a common *Lallnamen* CVC(V) structure and their frequency in Thracian onomastic areas, including Bithynia and Egypt. They are “exemples de convergence fortuite avec l’espace iranophone du Pont septentrional (Δαδας), avec la Grèce [Νανα (f.)], avec l’espace microasiatique et les langues asiatiques [Δαδας, Διδας, Μαμα (f.), Λαλα (f.)]”. By way of illustration, Δαδας is particularly present in Moesia Inferior and testimonies also exist from Egypt, such as Δαδας Ζιτυρου Θραῖξ (*I.Syringes*, no. 693 and 698, Thebai, Hellenistic period). If this were so, our Δαδου would be one of the oldest Thracian PNs attested in Aegean Thrace, also present in Thasos in the same period (cf. Ἀμύντωρ Θάσιον Δαδας, ca 400-350 BC).⁶⁸

While Δαδου is Phrygian for Parissaki 2007, p. 155 (with previous bibliography),⁶⁹ Νανη and the later Παπυλος (Ἡροφῶν Παπυλου, E, no. 212, Maroneia, 2nd-1st c. BC, see *supra* § 2.3.4) belong to “the world of the Ionian colonists” (Parissaki 2007, p. 219). Dana is less certain about Αδα, Νανη and Παπυλος, which are introduced with a question mark in *OnomThrac*. The interpretation of Αδα is indeed more complex: its low occurrence in Greece compared to its higher frequency in Caria casts doubt on its Thracian provenance (Detschew 1957, p. 6). According to Robert 1973, p. 441 n. 33, the PN spread from Caria to Miletus. From there, it arrived at other Ionian parts, as Apollonia Pontica, its colony, where another occurrence is attested (*IGBulg I²*, no. 415, Apollonia-Sozopolis, 5th-4th c. BC). Another example from Thrace (Αδα Ἰκεσίου ἐλευθέρα, *IGBulg I²*, no. 334(9)a, Mesambria, 4th c. BC) must be added to those from Ionia (see *LGPN* V.A and V.B). Furthermore, its early date allows a Greek interpretation, favoured by the idea that the name, Αδα Βοστᾶδος, is (morphologically?) related to that of Ἀδάμας Βοστᾶδος (see *supra* § 2.3.5) since the two individuals could be siblings.⁷⁰ The Greek or Carian origin of the name is thus not well established.

Another problematic category is that of the dithematic names attested only once, such as Ανδραβυδος (see *supra* § 2.3.5) and Κοισορμας (Κοισορμας Σποκου, E, no. 84, Topeiros, 46-54 AD).⁷¹ Despite the Thracian interpretation of Κοισορμας,⁷² Parissaki 2007, p. 201 does not exclude a Greek origin: Κοισ- and -όρμας/ορμος/ορμίδας are documented in other Greek PNs (see Κοισέας, Κοίσων, Κοισύρα and Ἐγγόρμας, Λυκόρμας, Πυθόρμας, respectively). It may be, then, a Greek idiom adopted by a Thracian or a Greek-sounding name.

Cover names (*noms d’assonance* or *Decknamen*) are absent from our corpus. They began to appear quite late in Thracian, as those pointed out by Dana 2020 *Mucianus*/Μουκιανος, *Pistus*/Πιστος *Mestrius*/*Mestrianus*, *Torquatus*, etc. However, certain PNs could be felt as ambiguous at an earlier date in this bicultural region, “grec ou thrace selon l’appartenance culturelle de l’individu”, as

67. In E, no. 410 (Zone, 450-400 BC), the editors reconstruct Νανη in]νη []λβίο.

68. *OnomThrac*, pp. 105-106.

69. On Microasiatic examples, see Zgusta, *Personennamen*, § 244.

70. *I.Thrake Aeg.*, p. 518.

71. Also, [Κοι]σορμου (*IGBulg IV*, no. 2057, Pautalia, 135 AD)? See *OnomThrac*, p. 88.

72. Beševliev 1959, p. 68; Dana 2006, p. 138; *OnomThrac*, p. 88.

suggested by Brixhe's (2015, p. 295) interpretation of some names from the sanctuary of Apollo in Zone (see *supra* § 2.4).⁷³ Along with other PNs already examined (Κοισορμας, Δαλιος, etc.), this could also be the case of simple names such as Δινις (see *supra* § 2.3.3), Διας (Διας Μουπορεως, E, no. 273, Maroneia, 2nd c. AD) or Διειος (Παυσίμαχον Διείου Χ[]ον, E, no. 177, Maroneia, 2nd c. BC). Moreover, the phonetic similarity of Τηρης, a clear Thracian dynastic name attested three times in our region (E, no. 389, Paisoulai-Maximianoupolis, 3rd c. AD; E, no. 384, Agiasma, 3rd c. AD; E, no. 396, Dione, 235-238 AD), to other Greek PNs (Τηρεύς)⁷⁴ has been underlined by Hatzopoulos in *I. Chalcidique actes*, p. 53 and Hatzopoulos, Loukopoulou 1996, p. 315; they suggest that this Odrysian PN probably became an epichoric name in Macedonia.

3. Conclusions

Onomastics constitutes a significant tool for describing the linguistic situation in Aegean Thrace and for a meaningful approach to specific and diachronic linguistic contacts, especially when the evidence is limited. The hybrid onomastic character of this region, at least on a micro-regional level, is twofold. On the one hand, onomastic features of two different Thracian stocks converge in our corpus: over half of the specific anthroponymic characteristics of (Pan-)Thracian names are present in the studied examples (15/29), and almost the same proportion applies to Western Thracian names (6/15). This mixed situation was already sketched by Dana in *OnomThrac* (see *supra* § 2.1), but now we have at our disposal the actual data thanks to the thorough reappraisal of the corpus. On the other hand, Thracian PNs present clear hybrid or mixed formations, composed of a Thracian base and a Greek suffix (but not the opposite, a Greek base + a Thracian suffix, due to the Greek nature of the epigraphic evidence). To the best of our knowledge, it seems that Thracian names did not preserve their original form unaltered, but were adapted to the declension system of Greek, the dominant language in the region and the only one epigraphically attested (see *supra* §§ 2.3.2-2.3.5).

Linguistic contact between Greek and Thracian speakers becomes evident in Hellenised names, reintroduced into the Greek morphological system by means of phonetic/morphological accommodation, and bears testimony to the ongoing acculturation processes in this transitional area, also in later times. The final part of simple or compound PNs can be assimilated into quasi-homophonous Greek forms (-πορις > -πολις; °αλκης/αλκας) or inflected through the introduction of Greek suffixes, as well as hypocoristics. It is the most frequent strategy for the formation of names common to two onomastic systems. The Hellenization of non-Greek names – ultimately a case of onomastic hybridation – was affected by the specific linguistic variety that arose in this Greek area. Koine features are the best represented in our corpus, since most of the items date from the imperial period. The majority of the PNs follow the pattern of the Greek masculine \bar{a} -stems in -ης, -ου and the same levelling characteristics of the third declension, although these are often obscured by the spelling. Nevertheless, we could find some Ionic traces in the genitive Πορκεω (2nd c. BC), if we assume a Thracian rather than a Greek origin for this name. Furthermore, in earlier periods, the existence of Βοστᾶς-names from the 5th c. BC probably points to an Ionic formation, if we accept the indigenous nature of this simple name, attested in other Thracian regions apart from Zone in Aegean Thrace. Whatever the case, due to the difficulty of isolating Thracian features and determining the original inflectional system of the Thracian language, simple Thracian anthroponyms are difficult to identify. In this regard, some Thracian names show homophony with Greek PNs at an early date, mainly *Lallnamen* and simple names, which prevents their classification. Finally, the spelling of some recognizable Greek names in some graffiti from Zone which contain non-Greek words reveals the existence of real linguistic

73. On ΔαλιεΨα (*Αρχαία Ζώνη* I, no. 20) and the simple (gen.) Δαλιος (E, no. 394, Maroneia, 3rd c. AD), see *supra* § 2.3.3 and other PNs in Δαλα°. For a more in-depth study, see Guijarro Ruano forthcoming, § 3.2.

74. Also, Τηρίας, Τήριλλος, Εὐτηρίδας (< τηρός 'guardian') in Bechtel, *Personennamen*, p. 426.

contact through the transcription of vocative forms of thematic PNs in local Thracian texts dated in the 6th-5th c. (cf. Απολοδορε, Νεοκλε or Πίλαγε). These -E vocatives discard the possibility of identifying these particular linguistic features of Thracian, as it was proposed.

In essence, this survey hopes to contribute to a more nuanced understanding of contact onomastics in outlying Greek areas. It can be further enriched by future research lines exploring cultural contacts as reflected in onomastic formulae (with the addition of Latin names) and within the broader field of onomastic studies focused on Thracian toponymy.

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Abbreviations

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