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Direzione

Prof. Giovanni Salanitro

Università di Catania - Dipartimento di Scienze Umanistiche

Piazza Dante 32 - 95124 Catania

posta elettronica: g_salanitro@virgilio.it

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NOTE E DISCUSSIONI

A NAMELESS ETYMOLOGY: ANONYMOUS AND ITS PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN BACKGROUND*

GIULIO IMBERCIADORI

0. INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

The present contribution aims to shed light on the development of the Greek adjective for «nameless», spanning from its origin in the Greek pre-history to its *Fortleben* in most European modern languages. The paper exhibits following structure: section 1. explores which forms of the adjective for «nameless» are attested in the oldest Greek literature; section 2. and 3. deal, respectively, with the pre-Greek and inner-Greek development of the adjective for «nameless», discussing the relative chronology of the attested variants and to what extent these variants interacted with each other; section 4. briefly summarizes the main results of the paper.

* This paper is based on an oral presentation held in occasion of the International Workshop *The Power of Anonymity in the Material, Historical, and Literary Cultures of the Ancient World* (18–19 June 2021, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München). I wish to thank the advisor Prof. Dr. Ruth Bielfeldt and the organizers of the conference for having given me the chance to take actively part in the workshop. I am further indebted to Prof. Dr. Olav Hackstein and Dr. habil. Sergio Neri for valuable comments on earlier drafts of this paper. Last but not least, a special thanks goes to my colleague and friend Fabio Nolfo, without whom the realization of this work would have not been possible. The responsibility for all remaining errors is of course only mine.

1. Attested Forms

One of the most striking features of the Greek adjective for «nameless» is that it is attested in three different variants, which will be discussed in details in the present section.

a. Νώνυμος¹.

This rare variant is attested three times in Homer, where it refers to the ethnonym Ἀχαιοί «Achaeans» in *Il.* XII 70 and to two substantives meaning «family, clan, race», namely γενεή (Attic γενεά) in *Od.* I 222 and φύλον in *Od.* XIV 182. As to *Od.* I 222, where the goddess Athena is speaking, the adjective νώνυμος is modified by the negation οὐ «not» and refers particularly – through a litotes – to Odysseus' family:

οὐ μέν τοι γενεήν γε θεοὶ νώνυμον ὀπίσσω
θήκαν, ἐπεὶ σέ γε τοῖον ἐγείνατο Πηνελόπεια².

One further attestation comes from Hesiod (*Op.* 154), where the nominative plural νώνυμοι refers to the third generation of mortal men, in particular the bronze one:

βῆσαν ἐς εὐρώεντα δόμον κρυεροῦ Αἴδαο,
νώνυμοι· θάνατος δὲ καὶ ἐκπάγλους περ ἔοντας
εἶλε μέλας, λαμπρὸν δ' ἔλιπον φάος ἡέλιος³.

¹ Cf. B. Snell, *Lexikon des frühgriechischen Epos*, vol. 3, Göttingen 1955-2010, 452 s.v. νώνυμ(ν)ος; and H.G. Liddell – R. Scott – H.S. Jones – R. McKenzie, *The Online Liddell-Scott-Jones Greek-English Lexicon*, s.v. νώνυμ-ος ~ νώνυμος, <http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/>, last accessed: 31/01/2022.

² Hom. *Od.* I 221-222 («Surely, then, no nameless lineage have the gods appointed for thee in time to come, seeing that Penelope bore thee such as thou art» – translation by A.T. Murray, *The Odyssey with an English Translation*, 2 vols., Cambridge, MA et al. 1919).

³ Hes. *Op.* 153-155 («and passed to the dank house of chill Hades, and left no name: terrible though they were, black Death seized them, and they left the bright light of the sun» – translation by H.G. Evelyn-White, *Hesiod, The Homeric Hymns and Homeric with an English Translation*, Cambridge MA. 1914).

Finally, it is remarkable that νώνυμος is used by Pindar (*Ol.* 10, 51) as a synonym of the adjective ἀκλεής «lacking κλέος (i.e. fame, glory)», on which passage see the discussion by Meusel⁴.

b. Νώνυμος⁵.

The variant νώνυμος is attested two times in the *Odyssey* (XIII 239, XIV 182) – cf. e.g. XIII 239, where νώνυμος refers to Ithaca:

νήπιός εἰς, ὃ ξεῖν', ἣ τηλόθεν εἰλήλουθας,
εἰ δὴ τήνδε τε γαῖαν ἀνείρεια. οὐδέ τι λίην
οὔτω νώνυμός ἐστιν· ἴσασι δέ μιν μάλα πολλοί⁶.

The first occurrence of νώνυμος in the Attic tragedy appears in Aeschylus (*Pers.* 1003), where the most important commanders of Xerxes' army are described by the chorus as ingloriously dead:

Ξε. βεβᾶσι γὰρ τοίπερ ἀγρέται στρατοῦ.
Χο. βεβᾶσιν, οἷ, νώνυμοι⁷.

For a further attestation of the present variant νώνυμος cf., e.g., Democritus (Fr. 26 Diels-Kranz).

c. Ἀνώνυμος⁸.

⁴ Cf. E. Meusel, *Pindarus Indogermanicus. Untersuchungen zum Erbe dichtersprachlicher Phraseologie bei Pindar*, Berlin et al. 2020, 221.

⁵ For refs. see fn. 1 above.

⁶ Hom. *Od.* XIII 237-239 («A fool art thou, stranger, or art come from far, if indeed thou askest of this land. Surely it is no wise so nameless, but full many know it» – translation by A.T. Murray, op. cit.).

⁷ Aesch. *Pers.* 1002-1003 («Xe.: Gone are they who were leaders of the host; Ch.: Gone, alas, ingloriously» translation by H. Weir Smyth, *Aeschylus with an English Translation*, 2 vols., Cambridge MA. 1926).

⁸ Cf. Snell, op. cit., vol. 1, 970 s.v. ἀνώνυμος; and Liddell – Scott – Jones – Mckenzie, op. cit., s.v. ἀνώνυμος.

This third variant is attested since *Od.* VIII 552, in the famous passage where Alcinoos personally asks Odysseus for his proper name, for – he says – no one among men is born without a name:

οὐ μὲν γάρ τις πάμπαν ἀνώνυμός ἐστ' ἀνθρώπων,
οὐ κακὸς οὐδὲ μὲν ἐσθλός, ἐπὶ τὰ πρῶτα γένηται,
ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πᾶσι τίθενται, ἐπεὶ κε τέκωσι, τοκῆες⁹.

Beside this Homeric use in the literal meaning «lacking a (proper) name», ἀνώνυμος can also be employed in the metaphorical sense «inglorious», as shown by the syntagma ἀνώνυμον / γῆρας «inglorious old age» attested in Pindar (*Ol.* 1, 82-83).

Ἀνώνυμος became the standard lexeme for «nameless» in Classic and Koine Greek and has been thus borrowed into Latin as *anonymus*, firstly attested since Plinius the Elder (*Nat.* XXVII 31)¹⁰. From Latin, this adjective could spread to the majority among European modern languages, as part of the so called pan-European lexicon¹¹: cf. New High German adjective *anonym* ~ substantive *Anonymus*; Present Day English adjective *anonym-ous*¹² / substantive *anonym*; French *anonym*; Italian *anonimo*, etc.

The above philological analysis leads to the interim conclusion that all three attested variants νώνυμος, νώνυμος and ἀνώνυμος exhibit both the original meaning «lacking, without a (proper) name» and the metaphorical one «inglorious, infamous».

2. ETYMOLOGICAL PREHISTORY

In order to establish which of the variants under 1. is original, two basic assumptions have to be discussed.

⁹ Hom. *Od.* VIII 552-554 («For there is no one of all mankind who is nameless, be he base man or noble, when once he has been born, but parents bestow names on all when they give them birth» – translation by Murray, op. cit.).

¹⁰ Cf. *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*, s.v. *anonymus*, <https://tll-degruyter-com.emedien.ub.uni-muenchen.de/>, last accessed: 31/01/2022.

¹¹ On this concept see G.E. Booij, *The Grammar of Words: An Introduction to Linguistic Morphology*, Oxford 2007, 19.

¹² Actually a hybrid formation, since it exhibits further suffixation through an adjectival morpheme borrowed from Latin, namely Present Day English *-ous* ← Latin *-ōsus*.

a. The first assumption concerns the reconstruction of the underlying Proto-Indo-European (PIE) lexeme for «name», which in the following is set up as a neutral *men*-stem $*h_1n\acute{e}h_3-mn\grave{e} / *h_1n\acute{e}h_3-mn-$ – with an exceptionally acrostatic rather than proterokinetic inflection. This proto-form can be reconstructed on the base of following *einzel sprachlich* continuants: (i) Greek ὄνομα, -τος n., Aeolic / Doric ὄνυμα vs. Laconic *ἔνυμα in the proper name Ἐνυμα-κρατίδας – literally «having power (cf. κρατ-) in the name»; (ii) Latin *nōmen*, -inis n., Oscan gen. sg. *numneis*; (iii) Vedic *nāman-* n., Old Avestic *nāman-* n.; (iv) Old Church Slavonic *imę* n.; (v) Tocharian A *ñom*, B *ñem* (alternans); (vi) Hittite *lāman-* n., etc.

Although the reconstruction of the Proto-Indo-European word for «name» famously represents a *vexata quaestio* of the Indo-European Studies, the assumption of the initial segment $*\#h_1-$ rather than $*\#h_3-$ is here preferred. The reason for this is that $*\#h_1-$ enables to motivate the *e*-vocalism of the Laconian proper name Ἐνυμα-κρατίδας, which would otherwise remain unexplained. Consequently, the *anlauting o*-vocalism of the Greek standard form ὄνομα ought to be accounted for through assimilation to the following vowel -o- (< PIE $*-h_3-$)¹³. For the latter assimilation process inner-Greek parallels are available: cf. μέγαθος ~ μέγεθος n. «greatness»; *ἔροφος ~ ὄροφος m. «cover» beside ἐρέφω «to cover»; and see further 2.c. below on Greek ὀδούς «tooth»¹⁴.

b. The second assumption consists in the derivation of a negative compound from the above mentioned substantive $*h_1n\acute{e}h_3-mn\grave{e} / *h_1n\acute{e}h_3-mn-$ «name». This compound exhibited possessive (= exocentric) semantics

¹³ For the morphological prehistory of the Indo-European «name» word I mostly rely on S. Neri, *Riflessioni sull'apofonia radicale di proto-germanico* $*namō$, «HS» 118, 2005, 201-250. Cf. also H. Frisk, *Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, vol. 2, Heidelberg 1960-1972, 396-397 s.v. ὄνομα; P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la Langue Grecque: histoire des mots*, achevé par Jean Taillardat, Olivier Masson et Jean-Louis Perpillou, Paris 2009 (1968-1980¹), 803-804 s.v. ὄνομα; R.S.P. Beekes, *Etymological Dictionary of Greek*, Leiden et al. 2010, 1084-1085 s.v. ὄνομα; and further, with some differences, G.-J. Pinault, *L'expression indo-européenne de la nomination*, «Études indo-européennes» 3, 1982, 15-36; and L. Van Beek, *Vowel Assimilation in Greek: the Evidence Reconsidered*, in T. Krisch – T. Lindner (eds.), *Indogermanistik und Linguistik im Dialog. Akten der XIII. Fachtagung der Indogermanischen Gesellschaft vom 21. bis 27. September 2008 in Salzburg*, Wiesbaden 2011, 49-58, in part. 52-53.

¹⁴ Cf., among others, Neri, op. cit., 207 fn. 29; and A. Blanc, *Les adjectifs sigmatiques du grec ancien. Un cas de métamorphisme dérivationnel*, Innsbruck 2018, 141.

and should thus be classified as a *bahuvrīhi* with the meaning «(having) no name» → «nameless»¹⁵. Since no exact cognate for such a negative compound derived from $*h_1nēh_3-m̥$ is known outside Greek, it is safer to project back this formation not to Proto-Indo-European, but rather to Pre-Proto-Greek. According to the insightful treatment by Nikolaev¹⁶, (Pre-Proto-)Greek exhibited two strategies for deriving negative *bahuvrīhi* compounds from athematic *men*-stems¹⁷.

- (i) On the one hand, beside the negative first member $*\eta$ - «not» the second member remained athematic but assumed suffixal *o*-grade. Cf. following examples: πατήρ (stem πατέρ-) «father» → ἄ-πάτωρ (stem ἄ-πάτορ-) «fatherless, without a father» (Soph.); αἷμα, -τος (stem $*\alphaῖμν$ -) «blood» → ἄν-αίμων (stem ἄν-αίμων-) «bloodless» (Il.); $*τέραμα$, -τος (stem $*τέραμν$ -) «softness» → ἄ-τεράμων (stem ἄ-τεράμων-) «without softness, hard» (Ar.). Beyond this purely descriptive perspective, however, things are much less clear, since the reasons for the introduction of the suffixal *o*-grade in compounding are not yet fully understood, as this suffixal *o*-grade does not seem to be connected with the arising of proper amphikinetic inflection¹⁸. Furthermore, if the derivational base was athematic but belonged to an inflectional class other than *men*-stems – e.g., *s*-stems – the compositional process run differently, since in this

¹⁵ On *bahuvrīhi* compounds in Proto-Indo-European see the seminal study by J. Schindler, *Zu den homerischen ῥοδοδάκτυλος-Komposita*, in A. Etter (ed.), *O-o-pe-ro-si: Festschrift für Ernst Risch zum 75. Geburtstag*, Berlin et al. 1986, 393-401; and cf. further M. Malzahn, *All Indo-European Compounds Are Derived from a Common Origin: New Evidence for a Darwinian View of IE Nominal Compounding*, in S.W. Jamison – C.H. Melchert – B. Vine (eds.), *Proceedings of the 21st Annual UCLA Indo-European Conference, Los Angeles, October 30th and 31st, 2009*, Bremen 2010, 183-187.

¹⁶ Cf. A. Nikolaev, *Through the thicket. The text of Pindar Olympian 6.54 (βασιᾶ τ' ἐν ἀπειράτῳ)*, «HSCP» 110, 97-115, in part. 106-108; and A. Nikolaev, *YAv. Spitiiura- and the Compositional Form of PIE $*\mu h_1$ -en- 'Lamb' in Indo-Iranian*, «IJ» 64, 2021, 145-162, in part. 148-154.

¹⁷ On the accentuation of Proto-Indo-European negative possessive compounds, which is only marginally relevant for the present contribution, see the recent discussion by J. Lundquist, *Does tvátpitārah = εὐπάτωρ? Accents, amphikinetics, and compounds in Sanskrit, Greek, and Indo-European*, «IEL» 9, 2021, 128-170, in part. 154-162.

¹⁸ On the last point see most recently Lundquist, op. cit.

case no trace of suffixal *o*-grade is found in the second member: cf. βάθος, -ους «depth» → ἄ-βαθής (stem ἄ-βαθέσ-) «shallow»¹⁹.

- (ii) On the other hand, beside the negative first member **h₂* - «not» the second member assumed thematic inflection: e.g., **τέρμα*, -τος (stem **τέραμν-*) «softness» → ἄ-τέραμν-ο-ς «without softness, hard» (*Od.*) – alternative form to the athematic compound ἄ-τεράμων «id.» listed under (i) above. In this second derivational strategy the thematization had the function of marking explicitly the compound as an adjectival formation: indeed, the sequence -μν-ό- was typical of adjectives in Greek – cf. ἔρπυμα «protection» → adjective ἐρπυμν-ό-ς «protected».

c. Since all its attested variants are thematic (see section 1.), one has to assume that the Pre-Proto-Greek negative compound for «nameless» has been created through the derivational pattern under 2.b.ii. above. In particular, one might operate with a scenario like that in (1):

- (1) Substantive PIE **h₁neh₃-mn̥* / **h₁neh₃-mn-* n. «name»;
→ Adjective (negative compound) Pre-Proto-Greek **h₂-h₁nh₃mn-o-*²⁰
«(having) no name, nameless» > (laryngeal vocalization) **h₂-h₁nomn-o-*
> **nēnomno-* > (Cowgill's Law)²¹ Proto-Greek **νήνυμνο-* >> (influence of the base ὄνομα) νώνυμος «lacking a name; inglorious».

For the assumption of the analogical reshaping **νήνυμνος* >> νώνυμος one should compare the similar case of Greek *ωδός* «toothless» << **νηδός* < Pre-Proto-Greek **h₂-h₁d-ó-* ← substantive **h₁(eé)d-ont-* «tooth», where

¹⁹ On *s*-stem compounds in Greek and Indo-European see most recently T. Meissner, *S-stem Nouns and Adjectives in Greek and Proto-Indo-European: A Diachronic Study in Word Formation*, Oxford 2006; Blanc, op. cit.; and J. Lundquist, *Penelope's αἰνοπαθῆ* (σ 201): *Very old or very young?*, «JGL» 21, 2021, 193-223 – all with refs.

²⁰ Cf. Neri, op. cit., 215 fn. 59 and 216 fn. 61 *contra* J.E. Rasmussen, *Studien zur Morphophonemik der indogermanischen Grundsprache*, Innsbruck 1989, 188-189. For the formal treatment of a similar sequence **^oNHNHNo-* in the prehistory of Latin cf. S. Neri, *Zur Wortbildung von lat. germānus 'leiblich; echt'*, in Matteo Tarsi (ed.), *Studies in General and Historical Linguistics offered to Jón Axel Hárðarson On the Occasion of his 65th Birthday*, Innsbruck 2021, 365-385, p. 371.

²¹ See most recently B. Vine, *On 'Cowgill's Law' in Greek*, in H. Eichner – H.C. Luschützky (eds.), *Compositiones indogermanicae in memoriam Jochem Schindler*, Praha 1999, 555-600.

*# h_1 - is secured by the Aeolic continuant ἔδοντες «teeth» (Procl.) and the cognates Latin *ed-ō* «I eat», Hittite *ēd-mi* «id.», etc. The standard form Attic ὀδοῦς (~ Ionic ὀδών) «tooth» exhibits a trivial vowel assimilation *e...o* > *o...o*, after which the reshaping *νηδός >> νωδός could take place²².

The main take-away from the scenario under (1) is that the already Iliadic form νώνυμος (see 1.a. above) should be regarded as the oldest variant of the Greek adjective for «nameless».

d. As a side remark before tackling the inner-Greek development of νώνυμος (see 3. below), it warrants mention that Indic too exhibits compounds featuring «name» as their second member, although no perfect equation with Greek νώνυμος occurs. Cf. following examples²³:

- (i) RV *puru-ñāman-* «having many names», whereby the second member *-ñāman-* < * $h_1nēh_3$ -*mon-* would correspond to a hypothetical second member Greek *-ωνύμων (~ *νώνυμων), built according to the athematic pattern in 2.b.i. above;
- (ii) Skt. *sa-nāma-* «having the same name», whereby the second member *-nāma-* might have been built according to the thematic pattern in 2.b.ii. and even exhibit the Proto-Indo-European simplification */-mn-/ → *[-m-]²⁴. However, the post-Rigvedic attestation date invites caution and rather suggests that the second member *-nāma-* represents a recent inner-Indic creation.

3. ETYMOLOGICAL HISTORY

The present section is concerned with the explanation of the other attested variants νώνυμος and ἄνώνυμος, which according to 2.c. should be regarded as secondary.

²² Cf. K. Stüber, *The Historical Morphology of n-stems in Celtic*, Maynooth 1998, 54; Neri, *Riflessioni sull'apofonia*, cit., 207 fn. 29; and see 2.a. above.

²³ On which see J. Wackernagel, *Altindische Grammatik*, vol. 2.1: *Einleitung zur Wortlehre, Nominalkomposition*, Göttingen 1905, 115; M. Mayrhofer, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen*, vol. 2., Heidelberg 1996, 36-37 s.v. *nāman-*; Meusel, op. cit., 315-316; and Nikolaev, *YAv. Spitiura-*, cit., 154 with fn. 45.

²⁴ Cf. Neri, *Zur Wortbildung*, cit., 374-379 with refs.

a. In order to explain the variant $\nu\acute{\omega}\nu\upsilon\mu\omicron\varsigma$ (see 1.b.), one has to keep in mind that negative *bahuvrīhi* compounds derived through the thematic strategy from *men*-bases with roots ending in a consonant underwent a Pre-(Proto-)Greek simplification $*-mn- > -m-$ – likely a tendency inherited from the proto-language, as per 2.d.ii. above. Following examples might be quoted: $\sigma\acute{\epsilon}\rho\mu\alpha, -\tau\omicron\varsigma$ (stem $*\sigma\epsilon\rho-\mu\nu-$) «seed» $\rightarrow *{\check{\alpha}}-\sigma\epsilon\rho\mu\nu-\omicron-\varsigma > {\check{\alpha}}-\sigma\epsilon\rho\mu\omicron\varsigma$ «seedless» (Il.); $\alpha\acute{\iota}\mu\alpha, -\tau\omicron\varsigma$ (stem $*\alpha\acute{\iota}-\mu\nu-$) «blood» $\rightarrow *{\check{\alpha}}\nu-\alpha\iota\mu\nu-\omicron-\varsigma$ $*[\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\iota\mu\omicron\varsigma]$ $> {\check{\alpha}}\nu-\alpha\iota\mu\omicron\varsigma$ «bloodless» (Pl.) – beside $\acute{\alpha}\nu-\alpha\iota\mu\omega\nu$ «id.» as per 2.b.i. above –, etc. From such cases speakers were able to extract the derivational pattern in (2):

(2) Base X-μα $\rightarrow$ negative compound $\check{\alpha}(\nu)$ -X-μος,

which consists in a synchronic base truncation – specifically, deletion of *auslauting* -α# – with additional thematization²⁵.

Crucially, this derivational pattern of α-deletion plus thematization spread analogically to *men*-stems whose roots did not end in a consonant (like $\sigma\acute{\epsilon}\rho-\mu\alpha$) but in a vowel (like $\delta\acute{\nu}\omicron-\mu\alpha$). As a consequence, beside original $\nu\acute{\omega}\nu\upsilon\mu\omicron\varsigma$ a new *bahuvrīhi* compound $\nu\acute{\omega}\nu\upsilon\mu\omicron\varsigma$ could be created in analogy to cases like $\check{\alpha}-\sigma\epsilon\rho\mu\omicron\varsigma$ or $\check{\alpha}\nu-\alpha\iota\mu\omicron\varsigma$, where the simplification of the cluster $*-mn-$ was regular.

b. Moving on to the third variant $\acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\omega}\nu\upsilon\mu\omicron\varsigma$ (see 1.c.), one should note that the synchronic relation between $\nu\acute{\omega}\nu\upsilon\mu(\nu)\omicron\varsigma$ «nameless» and its derivational base $\delta\acute{\nu}\omicron\mu\alpha$ «name» was no longer transparent. In particular, speakers might have felt as disturbing the absence of any explicitly negating morpheme, which would have blatantly contrasted with the negative semantics «name-less». Therefore, an $\acute{\alpha}$ - *privativum* was analogically prefixed to the variant $\nu\acute{\omega}\nu\upsilon\mu\omicron\varsigma$ (see 3.a. above) as recharacterizing morpheme. Notably, further parallels are available for such recharacterization process through $\acute{\alpha}$ -: cf. Mycenaean nom. pl. n. *no-pe-re-a₂* /nōp^heleha/ vs. Greek $\acute{\alpha}$ -νωφελής «useless»²⁶.

²⁵ Cf. E. Risch, *Wortbildung der homerischen Sprache*, Berlin et al. 1974 (1937¹), 53; and, particularly, Nikolaev, *Through the Thicket*, cit., 110; Nikolaev, *YAv. Spitiiura-*, cit., 154 with fn. 47.

²⁶ Cf. Frisk, op. cit., 451 s.v. $\acute{\alpha}\nu\phi\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\lambda\omega$; F. Aura Jorro, *Diccionario micénico*, vol. 1., Madrid 1985, 477-478 s.v. *no-pe-re-a₂*; Chantraine, op. cit., 841 s.v. $\acute{\alpha}\nu\phi\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\lambda\omega$; Beekes, op. cit., 1133 s.v. $\acute{\alpha}\nu\phi\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\lambda\omega$.

Interestingly, the thus recharacterized lexeme for «nameless» received a new morphological segmentation, whereby the segment -v- [-n-] – originally belonging to the base – was parsed together with the prefix ἀ-. This made the synchronic relation between the negative compound ἀν-ώνυμος and its derivational base ὄνομα even more transparent, as per (3) below:

(3) Greek νώνυμος >> (recharacterization) ἀ-νώνυμος >> (new morphological parsing) ἀν-ώνυμος «nameless» ~ base ὄνομα «name».

From cases like this, a secondary allomorph ἀν- (~ ἀ- «not») has been extracted and analogically applied to further bases beginning with a vowel: cf., e.g., ἡδονή «pleasure» → ἀν-ἡδονος «not having pleasure» (Joseph.)²⁷.

Finally, on the model of ἀν-ώνυμος other compounds in -ώνυμος has been formed: cf. the already Homeric creations ὁμ-ώνυμος «having the same name», ἐπ-ώνυμος «given as a significant name; giving one's name to» (literally «having the name on»), etc. Among these formations, ἀν-ώνυμος ought to be regarded as the pivotal one, since the lengthened vowel -ῶ- (<< *-ῆ-) can have come to light only in this negative compound, exhibiting the Pre-Proto-Greek sequence **#ῆ-h₁^o* (see 2.c. above).

4. CONCLUSIVE REMARKS

The main achievements of the present contribution can be summarized as follows.

- (i) As to the Greek adjective for «nameless; inglorious» – a negative *bahuvrīhi* compound –, the variant νώνυμος (*Il.*) should be regarded as the original one: although it changed the inherited sequence **#νή-* (< **#ῆ-h₁^o*) to *#νώ-* in analogy to its derivational base ὄνομα, it still keeps the etymological cluster -μν-, regularly preserved in postvocalic position.
- (ii) Greek νώνυμος developed a variant νώνυμος (*Od.*) in analogy to negative possessive compounds like ἀ-σπερμος «seedless», where the cluster **-μν-* had been *lautgesetzlich* simplified to -μ- after a non-syllabic segment.

²⁷ Cf. Blanc, op. cit., 84.

- (iii) Finally, νόνημος has been morphologically recharacterized as ἀ-νόνημος >> ἀν-ώννημος – with ἀ- *privativum* – at latest since the *Odyssey*. The latter variant represented the source for the borrowing of the Greek adjective meaning «nameless» first in Latin and from there in most among European modern languages.

SVMMARIVM: De Graeco adjectivo agitur, quod significationem «anonymus» vel «sine nomine» fert et alternatim νόνημος, ώνήμος et άνήνημος scribi solet. Quarum formarum primam antiquissimam fuisse ostenditur, unde postea varias scripturas νόνημος et άνήνημος ortas esse. Postrema autem, in Latinum sermonem illata, eiusdem significationis voces genuit in plerisque praesentis aetatis linguis usitatas.

*ABSTRACT: The present paper investigates the history and prehistory of the Greek adjective for «nameless; inglorious», which is attested in three different variants. It is shown that the original variant is represented by the Iliadic form νόνημος, which is analyzable as a negative bahuvrihi compound. Later, ώνήμος developed the secondary variants νόνημος and άνήνημος – both attested since the *Odyssey* –, which can be explained through independently provable analogical processes. The latter form άνήνημος has been borrowed into Latin and then gave rise to the standard lexemes for «nameless» in most European modern languages.*