

The GREEK DIALECTS

Grammar
Selected Inscriptions
Glossary

By
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PREFACE

The changes from the previous editions of the *Introduction to the Study of the Greek Dialects* have been so great that the old plates could not be used, and this is virtually a new book.

I have changed the title to *The Greek Dialects*, as both simpler and in a measure also appropriate. For it is fair to claim that the book is, for the time being, the most up-to-date treatment of the subject. Bechtel's monumental work (3 vols; 1,781 pp.) is a storehouse containing many items of detail not noticed here. But there is a deal of repetition incident to the arrangement adopted, and, more important, much new material has become available since its date.

The new material furnishes significant additions to our knowledge of several dialects, as Thessalian, Boeotian, and notably that of Cyrene. But I have hoped in vain for the greatest desiderata—early inscriptions of some extent from Lesbos and from East Locris.

I am more than ever convinced that the arrangement adopted here is not only more economical of space, but also more illuminating, than the separate treatment of the several dialects followed in other works.

I am indebted to the University of Chicago Press, to which the copyright has been transferred from the previous publishers, for undertaking the new publication and for the competent services in its execution; and to Dr. D. Georgacas for painstaking proofreading and other assistance.

The present volume is a complete revision and expansion of *Introduction to the Study of the Greek Dialects*, published by Ginn and Co., Copyright 1928.

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ABBREVIATIONS

The following abbreviations are employed for languages, dialects, and local sources of the forms quoted.

Acar. = Acarnanian	Eub. = Euboean
Ach. = Achaeae	Germ. = German
Aegin. = Aeginetan	Gortyn. = Gortynian
Aetol. = Aetolian	Herac. = Heracleae
Agri. = of Agrigentum	Herm. = of Hermione
Amorg. = of Amorgos	IE = Indo-European
Amphiss. = Amphissan	Ion. = Ionic
And. = of Andania	Lac. = Laconian
Arc. = Arcadian	Lat. = Latin
Arc.-Cypr. = Arcado-Cyprian	Lesb. = Lesbian
Arg. = Argive (of Argos)	Locr. = Locrian
Argol. = Argolic (of Argolis, outside of or including Argos; but mostly marked Epid., Troez., etc.)	Mant. = Mantinean
Astyp. = of Astypalaea	Meg. = Megarian
Att. = Attic	Mel. = of Melos
Att.-Ion. = Attic-Ionic	Mess. = Messenian
Avest. = Avestan	Mil. = of Miletus
Boeot. = Boeotian	Mycen. = of Mycenae
Calymn. = of Calymna	Nisyr. = of Nisyros
Carpath. = of Carpathos	N.W.Gr. = Northwest Greek
Chalced. = of Chalcedon	Olynth. = of Olynthus
Chalcid. = Chalcidian	Orop. = of Oropus
Cleon. = of Cleonae	Pamph. = Pamphylian
Cnid. = Cnidian	Phlias. = Phliasian (of Phlius)
Corinth. = Corinthian	Phoc. = Phocian
Corcyr. = Corcyraean	Rheg. = of Rhegium
Cret. = Cretan	Rhod. = Rhodian
Cypr. = Cyprian	Selin. = of Selinus
Cyren. = Cyrenaean	Sicil. = Sicilian
Delph. = Delphian	Sicyon. = Sicyonian
Dodon. = of Dodona	Skt. = Sanskrit
Dor. = Doric	Stir. = of Stiris
El. = Elean	Styr. = of Styra
Eng. = English	Sybar. = of Sybaris
Ephes. = Ephesian	Syrac. = Syracusan
Epid. = Epidaurian	Teg. = Tegean
Epir. = Epirotan	Thas. = of Thasos
Eretr. = Eretrian	Ther. = Theran
	Thess. = Thessalian
	Troez. = of Troezen

For abbreviations of modern works of reference see pp. 337 ff. Those used for the names of Greek authors are familiar. Likewise those used for grammatical terms, as adj., adv., sb. (= substantive, noun), vb., cpd., sg., pl., masc., fem., gen., dat., act., mid., pass., subj., opt., infin., inv., pple., etc. Note also gram. = grammarians or grammatical (with reference to forms quoted from the ancient grammarians), and lit. = literary (with reference to forms quoted from the literary dialects without mention of the individual authors).

certainly here is as to the extent of territory which was once Ionic. There are various accounts according to which Ionians once occupied the southern shore of the Corinthian gulf, the later Achaea (e.g., Hdt. 1.145-46, 7.94), Megara (e.g., Strabo 9.392), Epidaurus (e.g., Paus. 2.26.2), and Cynuria (Hdt. 8.73). If these accounts in themselves are of questionable value, yet we cannot doubt that the Ionians before the migration were not confined to Attica. The close relations of Epidaurus and Troezen with Athens, in cult and legend, are significant for the Argolic Acte, and it is reasonable to assume that at least the entire shore of the Saronic gulf was once Ionic. Indeed it is now a widely favored view, uncertain yet not unlikely, that the ancestors of the Ionians (the name of course is later) constituted the first wave of Greek migration and once occupied much of the territory which, with the next waves of migration, was held by speakers of Aeolic and the dialect which later survived as Arcado-Cyprian.

The affinities of the Aeolians were more obscure, for theirs was the earliest migration to Asia Minor, the most remote from the historical period. But Thessaly was the scene of their favorite legends, the home of Achilles, as also of their eponymous hero Aeolus, and many of their place-names had their counterpart in Thessaly. In Herodotus we find the tradition that the Thessalians of the historical period were invaders from the west who occupied what had hitherto been an Aeolic land¹, and with this the linguistic evidence is in perfect accord. For Thessalian is of all dialects the most closely related to Lesbian, and at the same time shares in some of the characteristics of the West Greek dialects, this admixture of West Greek elements being somewhat stronger in Thessalitis than in Pelasgiotis. See 201, 202, 210, and Charts I, II. The Boeotians also are called Aeolians by Thucydides,² and the Boeotian dialect is, next to Thessalian, the most closely related to Lesbian. These three have several notable characteristics in common (see 201 and Charts I, II),

¹ Hdt. 7.176: ἐπεὶ Θεσσαλοὶ ἤλθον ἐκ Θεσπρωτῶν οἰκίσοντες γῆν τὴν Αἰολίδα, τὴν περ νῦν ἐκτέταται.

² Thuc. 7.57: οὗτοι δὲ Αἰολῆς Αἰολεῦσι τοῖς κτίσαισι Βοιωτοῖς τοῖς μετὰ Σαρακοσίῳ κατ' ἀνάγκην ἐμάχοντο, i.e., the Aeolians of Methymna, Tenedos, etc., were compelled to fight against the Aeolians who founded these cities, namely, the Boeotians; id. 3.2: Βοιωτῶν ξυγγενῶν ὄντων (of the Lesbians)

INTRODUCTION

CLASSIFICATION AND INTERRELATION OF THE DIALECTS

1. When the ancient grammarians spoke of the four dialects of Greece—Attic, Ionic, Aeolic, and Doric, to which some added the κοινή as a fifth—they had in mind solely the literary dialects, which furnished the occasion and object of their study. But these literary dialects represent only a few of the many forms of speech current in Greece, most of which play no part whatever in literature, and, apart from some scattered glosses, would be entirely unknown to us were it not for the wealth of inscriptions which the soil of Greece has yielded in modern times.

The existence of Ionic, Aeolic, and Doric elements in the people and speech of Greece is an undoubted fact of Greek history, and one of the first importance to an understanding of the dialect relations. But there is no warrant, either in the earlier Greek tradition or in the linguistic evidence, for making this an all-inclusive classification. These three elements were precipitated, as it were, on the coast of Asia Minor, where their juxtaposition gave rise to the historical recognition of the distinction. And as the Ionians, Aeolians, and Dorians of Asia Minor were colonists from Greece proper, it was a natural and proper inference of the historians that they reflected ethnic divisions which also existed, or had once existed, in the mother country.

As to who were the Dorians of Greece proper there was of course no mystery. They formed a well-defined group throughout the historical period, and the tradition that they came originally from the Northwest is completely borne out by the close relationship of the Doric and Northwest Greek dialects (see below).

That the Ionians were akin to the inhabitants of Attica was an accepted fact in Greek history, and the Athenians are called Ionic both in Herodotus (e.g., 1.56) and Thucydides (6.82, 7.57). The linguistic evidence is equally unmistakable. The only un-

and are known as the Aeolic dialects. But in Boeotian there is an even stronger admixture of West Greek elements than in Thessalian (see 217 and Charts I, II), the historical explanation of which must be the same. If we credit the statement of Thucydides that the Boeotian invaders were from Arne, whence they had been driven by the Thessalians,³ we should recognize in these Boeotians not a part of the old Aeolic population of Thessaly, but a tribe of West Greek invaders from Epirus (cf. Mt. Boeon), like the Thessalians who forced them onward. The Aeolic element is to be ascribed rather to the tribes, or some of them, comprising the early stratum, as, for example, the Minyans of Orchomenos. However obscure such details may be, the evidence is perfectly clear that both Boeotia and Thessaly were once Aeolic, but were overrun by West Greek tribes which adopted the speech of the earlier inhabitants in greater or less degree.

It is a natural presumption, of which there are some specific indications, that not only Thessaly and Boeotia but the intermediate lands of Phocis and Locris, and even southern Aetolia—in fact, all that portion of Greece north of Attica which plays a role in the legends of early Greece—was once Aeolic. Phocaea in Asia Minor, which, though later Ionic, surely belonged originally to the strip of Aeolic colonies, was believed to be a colony of Phocis and in the dialect of Phocis there are actually some relics of Aeolic speech as the dative plural of consonant stems in -εσσι, which is also found in Locris (107.3). As for southern Aetolia, the region of Calydon and Pleuron was once called Aeolis according to Thucydides,⁴ and the probability is that the Aetolians of the Homeric period were Aeolic, though their name was taken by the later, West Greek, invaders. The Aetolian occupation of Elis was an accepted tradition, and the existence of an Aeolic element in the dialect of Elis, like the dative plural in -εσσι, may be brought into connection with this if we assume that while the invaders were Aetolians in the later sense, that is, West Greek, as Elean is distinctly a West Greek dialect, they

³ Thuc. 1.12: Βοιωτοὶ τε γὰρ οἱ νῦν ἐξηκοστῷ ἔτει μετὰ Ἰλίου ἐλωσιν ἐξ Ἀρνης ἀναστάντες ὑπὸ Θεσσαλῶν τὴν νῦν Βοιωτίαν, πρότερον δὲ Καδμηίδα γῆν καλούμενην ᾤκησαν.

⁴ Thuc. 3.102: ἐς τὴν Αἰολίδα τὴν νῦν καλούμενην Καλυδῶνα καὶ Πλευρώνα.

had nevertheless adopted certain characteristics of the earlier Aeolic Aetolian and brought them to Elis. Corinth was also once occupied by Aeolians according to Thucydides,⁵ and it is a noteworthy fact that the dative plural in *-εσσι*, which is unknown in other Doric dialects, is found in various Corinthian colonies (107.3).

But we have passed beyond the limits within which the term Aeolic, or in general the division into Ionic, Doric, and Aeolic, can with any propriety be applied to the peoples and dialects of the historical period. It is only in Strabo that these three groups are made into an all-inclusive system of classification, by means of an unwarranted extension of Aeolic to include everything that is not Ionic or Doric. And yet it is, unfortunately, this statement of Strabo's,⁶ the error of which has long since been recognized, that has often been taken as representative of ancient tradition and still colors, in the literal sense, our maps of ancient Greece. The historical Phocians, Locrians, Aetolians, etc., were not, as Strabo's statement implies, called Aeolic. Neither in Herodotus, Thucydides, nor any early writer are they ever brought under any one of the three groups. Their dialects, with that of Elis, which Strabo also calls Aeolic, all of which may be conveniently designated the Northwest Greek dialects, are, in spite of some few traces of Aeolic as mentioned above, most closely related to the Doric dialects. There is scarcely one of the general characteristics common to the Doric dialects in which they do not share, though they also have certain peculiarities of their own (see 223, 226, and Charts I, II). If we were to classify them under any one of the three groups, it is unquestionably Doric to which they have the best claim, and if Strabo and our maps so classed them there would be no very

⁵ Thuc. 4.42: ὑπὲρ οὗ ὁ Σολύγειος λόφος ἐστίν, ἐφ' ὃν Δωριεὺς τὸ πάλαι ἰδρυθέντες τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει Κορινθίοις ἐπολέμουν, οὓς αἰολεῖσι.

⁶ Strabo 8.333: πάντες γὰρ οἱ ἐκτὸς Ἰσθμοῦ πλὴν Ἀθηναίων καὶ Μεγαρέων καὶ τῶν περὶ τὸν Παρνασσὸν Δωριέων καὶ νῦν ἔτι Αἰολεῖς καλοῦνται . . . καὶ οἱ ἐκτὸς (sc. Ἰσθμοῦ) Αἰολεῖς πρότερον ἦσαν, εἴτ' ἐμίσθησαν, Ἴωνων μὲν ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς τὸν Αἰγιαλὸν κατασχόντων, τῶν δ' Ἡρακλειδῶν τοὺς Δωριεὺς καταγαγόντων . . . οἱ μὲν οὖν Ἴωνες ἐξέπεσαν πάλιν ταχέως ὑπὸ Ἀχαιῶν, Αἰολικοῦ ἔθνους· ἐλείφθη δ' ἐν τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ τὰ δύο ἔθνη, τὸ τε Αἰολικὸν καὶ τὸ Δωρικόν. ὅσοι μὲν οὖν ἦσαν τοῖς Δωριεῦσι ἐπεπλέκοντο, καθάπερ συνέβη τοῖς τε Ἀρκάσι καὶ τοῖς Ἠλείοις, . . . οὗτοι αἰολιστὶ διελέχθησαν, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι μικτῇ τι ἐχρήσαντο ἐξ ἀμφοῖν, οἱ μὲν μᾶλλον οἱ δ' ἦσαν αἰολίζοντες.

serious objection. Indeed, modern scholars do often class them under "Doric in the wider sense," calling them specifically "North Doric". But on the whole it seems preferable to retain the term Doric in its historical application and employ West Greek as the comprehensive term to include the Northwest Greek dialects and the Doric proper. As to the Arcadians too, calling them Aeolic is without warrant in earlier usage. For example, Thucydides in describing the forces engaged at Syracuse (7.57) makes the most of the distinction between Ionic, Doric, and Aeolic elements, but does not class the Arcadians with any of these.

The most fundamental division of the Greek dialects is that into the West Greek and the East Greek dialects, the terms referring to their location prior to the great migrations. The East Greek are the "Old Hellenic" dialects, that is, those employed by the peoples who held the stage almost exclusively in the period represented by the Homeric poems, when the West Greek peoples remained in obscurity in the northwest. To the East Greek division belong the Ionic and Aeolic groups, though, of the latter, Thessalian and Boeotian, as explained above, are mixed dialects belonging in part also in the West Greek division. And to East Greek belongs also the Arcado-Cyprian.

No two dialects, not even Attic and Ionic, belong together more obviously than do those of Arcadia and the distant Cyprus. They share in a number of notable peculiarities which are unknown elsewhere. See 189 and Chart I. This is to be accounted for by the fact that Cyprus was colonized, not necessarily or probably from Arcadia itself, as tradition states, but from the Peloponnesian coast, at a time when its speech was like that which in Arcadia survived the Doric migration. This group represents, beyond question, the pre-Doric speech of most of the Peloponnesus, whatever we choose to call it. The term Arcado-Cyprian, while describing accurately what is left of the group in historical times, is strikingly infelicitous when applied to the prehistoric period. But it is difficult to find a substitute which is not arbitrary or ambiguous.⁷

⁷ Both, in the case of "Achaean," a term used in this sense by some and so in the previous editions of this book, but now discarded. Its

This group is by several scholars combined with the Aeolic under the head of "Achaean" ("North Achaean" = Aeolic, "South Achaean" = Arcado-Cyprian) or "Central Greek." There are in fact notable points of agreement between Arcado-Cyprian and Aeolic (see 190.3-6 and Chart I), which cannot be accidental. On the other hand, many of the common Aeolic characteristics are lacking, and there are certain points of agreement with Attic-Ionic (see 190, 193.1, 2), as well as many quite special features (see 189). It is probable that the connections with Aeolic reflect a remote period of geographical contiguity with Aeolic peoples in northern Greece or even before the migration into Greece, with a subsequent quite independent development. If, then, we classify the dialects, not according to supposed prehistoric relations, but as we actually know them, it is only proper to class Arcado-Cyprian as a distinct group coordinate with others of the East Greek division.⁸

Just as in the Northwest Greek dialects some traces of the former Aeolic speech have survived, as noted above, so there are also some traces of pre-Doric speech (either Aeolic or of the Arcado-Cyprian type) in the Doric dialects. Thus Lac. Ποιοῖδαν and Ποιοῖδαια unmistakably represent (with Lac. *h* from *σ*) a form of the name which is attested in Arc. Ποσειδᾶν, and is in contrast to the genuine Dor. Ποσειδάων, Ποσειδάν. And the Ποσειδάν which also occurs in inscriptions of many Doric lands may represent another pre-Doric form. But see 61.4. The *iv* = *év*, regular in Arcado-Cyprian and Pamphylian, occurs also in two Cretan towns and the Achaean colony of Metapontum (see 10a). The occurrence of the Aeolic dat. pl. *-εσσι* in consonant stems

specific application to this group does not conform to any of the accepted uses of *Ἀχαιοί*, namely, (1) those of Achaea Phthiotis, (2) those of the Peloponnesian Achaea, (3) in Homer a generic term for the Greeks before Troy by no means restricted to the southern group; and furthermore stands in rivalry with various other modern and partly visionary applications of the same term.

⁸ The partial decipherment of the tablets in Cretan script (Linear B) from Pylos, Mycenae, and Knossos, dating from about 1400-1200 B.C. (Pylos) and earlier, has revealed an early Greek dialect, one that must be a precursor of Arcado-Cyprian. In view of the incomplete state of decipherment, it would be premature to attempt a detailed description of this dialect. But a notable feature is the preservation of the old labiovelar voiceless stop with a value like that of Lat. *qu*, as in *quero* = Att. *τετρα-* (for *το* cf. Thess. *τετρο-*, etc., 6). This lines up with the fact that in Arcado-Cyprian labiovelars show a special development different from that in other dialects (see 68.3).

in Corinthian colonies, as well as in the Northwest Greek dialects, has already been noted.

The peculiar development of secondary *vs* as seen in Lesb. *παῖσα* from *πάνσα*, etc. is now fully attested for Cyrene, with traces in Thera (see 77.3). The agreement is such a striking innovation that it is surely not accidental. True, any direct connection with the Asiatic Aeolians is unlikely. For the missing link we must assume that a continental mother dialect of the Asiatic Aeolic, one containing forms like *παῖσα* though such are unknown in the actual Thessalian and Boeotian dialects, once existed in a part of this once Aeolic territory before the West Greek overlay. We may then credit the accounts of Minyan participation in the colonization of Thera (e.g., Hdt. 4.145 ff.) with reflecting some genuine tradition.

There are some other alleged, and possible, but more dubious, examples of pre-Doric survival. The question of survival versus accidental agreement or historical borrowing is often difficult.

The classification of the dialects is then, in outline, as follows:

WEST GREEK	EAST GREEK
NORTHWEST GREEK	ATTIC-IONIC
Phocian	Attic
Locrian	Ionic
Elean	Aeolic
Northwest Greek	Lesbian
κοινή	Thessalian
	Boeotian
DORIC	ARCAIDO-CYPRIAN
Laconian	Arcadian
Heracleian	Cyprian
Megarian	
Argolic	
Rhodian	
Coan	
Theran, Cyrenaean	
Cretan, etc.	
	Pamphylian

2. The Greek dialects, classified in accordance with the preceding scheme, and with their important subdivisions noted, are the following. For summaries of the characteristics of each, see 180-271.

EAST GREEK

I. THE ATTIC-IONIC GROUP

1. Attic.

2. Ionic.

A. **East Ionic**, or Ionic of Asia Minor. The Ionic cities of the coast of Asia Minor and the adjacent islands, Samos, Chios, etc., together with their colonies, mostly on the Hellespont, Propontis, and Euxine. There are some local varieties, of which the most marked is Chian, containing some Lesbian features.

B. **Central Ionic**, or Ionic of the Cyclades. The Ionic Cyclades, Naxos, Amorgos, Paros with its colony Thasos, Delos, Tenos, Andros, Ceos, etc.

C. **West Ionic**, or **Euboean**. Chalcis (with its colonies in Italy, Sicily, and the Chalcidian peninsula) and the other cities of Euboea. A local dialect with marked characteristics is the Eretrian, seen in the inscriptions of Eretria and Oropus.

II. THE ARCAID-CYPRIAN GROUP

1. **Arcadian**. The material is now considerable, owing to the increasing number of newly found inscriptions.

2. **Cyprian**. There are numerous short inscriptions, and one of considerable length, the bronze of Idalion. All are in the Cyprian syllabary. Inscriptions in the Greek Alphabet, beginning in the Macedonian period, are all in the *κωινή*.

3. **Pamphylian**. The only inscription of any extent (Schwyzer 686) though the interpretation is in many parts doubtful, contains plenty of clearly identifiable words. The dialect shows many notable characteristics of this group, combined with others which are West Greek or reminders of Cretan. See 200. The earliest colonists were doubtless pre-Doric Peloponnesians, as in Cyprus followed by Dorians. The mixture is then somewhat similar to that of Aeolic and West Greek in Thessaly and Boeotia.

Of the speech of Aeniania and Malis previous to the Aetolian domination we have no remains. It is natural to suppose that Northwest Greek dialects were once spoken also in Acarnania and Epirus. But here the influence of the Corinthian colonies was strong from an early period, as shown by the use of the Corinthian alphabet in the few early inscriptions; and in later times, from which nearly all the material dates, the language employed is not the Northwest Greek *κωινή*, but the Doric *κωινή*, like that of the contemporaneous inscriptions of Corcyra. See 279. Hence the actual material from Acarnania and Epirus is more properly classified with Corinthian. From Cephallenia and Ithaca we have decrees in the Northwest Greek *κωινή* from the Aetolian period (see 279), but from earlier times not enough to show whether the dialect was Northwest Greek or Doric. From Zacynthus there is almost nothing. The dialect of Achaia (i.e., Peloponnesian Achaia in the historical period) is generally believed to belong to this group. This is probable on general grounds, but there is as yet no adequate linguistic evidence of it. For, apart from the inscriptions of Achaean colonies in Magna Graecia, which, on account of both their meagerness and the mixed elements in the colonization, are indecisive, nearly all the material is from the time of the Achaean league, and this is not in the Northwest Greek *κωινή*, but in the same Doric *κωινή* that was used in Corinth and Sicily.

V. THE DORIC GROUP

1. **Laconian and Heracleian**. Laconia and its colonies Tarentum and Heraclea. Heracleian, well known from the Heracleian Tables, has peculiarities of its own, and is treated as a distinct dialect.

2. **Messenian**. Most of the material is late and with considerable *κωινή* mixture, as the famous cult inscription of Andania (nearly 200 lines).

3. **Megarian**. Megara, and its colonies in Sicily (especially Selinus) and on the Propontis and Bosporus (as Byzantium, Chalcedon, etc.). Except from Selinus the material is late.

4. **Corinthian**. Corinth, Sicily, Cleonae, Phlius, and the Corinthian colonies Corcyra (with its own colonies Apollonia and Pyrrhachium), Leucas, Anactorium, Ambracia, etc. For Syracuse, etc., see below. 10. Material from places other than Corinth, though coming under the general head of Corinthian, is generally quoted specifically as Sicyonian, Corcyraean, etc.

5. **Argolic**. Argos, Mycenae, etc., and the cities of the Acte, as Hermione, Troezen, and Epidaurus, together with Aegina.

III. THE AEOLIC GROUP

1. **Lesbian**, or Asiatic Aeolic.⁹ The inscriptional material is fairly extensive, but late. There is nothing approaching the time of the poems of Alcaeus and Sappho, and very little that is older than the Macedonian period. Most of the inscriptions are from the cities of Lesbos, but a few are from other islands and towns of the Aeolic mainland.

2. **Thessalian**.¹⁰ Two subdivisions with marked differences are formed by the dialect of Pelasgiotis and that of Thessaliotis. For these and for other parts of Thessaly, see 214.

3. **Boeotian**.¹⁰ The material is very extensive, and representative of all the important Boeotian towns, but is meager for the early period.

WEST GREEK

IV. THE NORTHWEST GREEK GROUP

1. **Phocian**. A large part of the material, including nearly all that is of an early date, is from Delphi, and is quoted specifically as **Delphian**.

2. **Locrian**. The two early inscriptions long known, to which a third is now added, are from Western Locris, but one of these is presumably based on an East Locrian draft. Most of the other material is much later and with more or less mixture. See 236.

3. **Elean**. Numerous very early inscriptions from Olympia, with a few later ones that are still in dialect with some mixture. See 241.

4. **The Northwest Greek *κωινή***. Employed in Aetolia and other regions under the domination of the Aetolian league. See 279.

NOTE. Only Phocian, Locrian, and Elean are known to us as distinct dialects of this group. Of others which presumably belong here we have almost no material from a time when they retained their individuality. In Aetolia, except for a few very short inscriptions, the material is from the time of the Aetolian league, and in the mixed Northwest Greek *κωινή*.

⁹ Sometimes simply called Aeolic. But, to avoid confusion with Aeolic in its wider sense, the designation Lesbian is to be preferred in spite of the formal impropriety of applying it to a dialect not restricted to Lesbos. Most of the material is actually from Lesbos.

¹⁰ That Thessalian and Boeotian are only in part Aeolic, in part West Greek, has been explained above.

Argolic (Argol.) is used as the general term, while Argive (Arg.) refers more specifically to the material from Argos (with the Argive Heraeum), as Epidaurian to that from Epidaurus. From Aegina there is not much material from the period before the Athenian occupation, but enough to show that the dialect was Argolic.

Argos (or in some sources one of the other Argolic cities) was the reputed mother city of Crete, Rhodes, Cos, etc., and in historical times Argos was often chosen as arbitrator in their local disputes (cf., e.g., nos. 85, 86). There are in fact some, but not too impressive, points of agreement (besides the general Doric) in the dialects.

6. **Rhodian**. Rhodes with the adjacent small islands and the mainland settlements (the Rhodian Peraea), Phaselis in Pamphylia, Cnidus, Syme, Telos, Nisyros, Carpathos, Casos, the Sicilian colonies of Gela and Agrigentum. An inscription of Rhegium, though not a Rhodian colony, is in the same dialect and there are other signs of the spread of Rhodian influence, notably the infin. *-μεν* (154.5). The material is extensive, but little of it early. The inclusion of Cnidus and some of the islands named, in which examples of distinctive features like the infin. *-μεν* are lacking, is at least convenient and probably justified (cf. now IG XII. Suppl., p. 1).

7. **Coan**. Cos and Calymna. The material is considerable, but not early.

8. **Theran and Cyrenaean**. Thera, with Melos, Cimolos, Pholagandros, Sicinos, probably Anaphe, and perhaps Astypalaea.—Cyrene. There are archaic inscriptions in the same type of alphabet from Thera, Melos, Sicinos, and Anaphe. Those of Sicinos (IG XII. Suppl. pp. 178, 180), which was formerly classed among the Ionic islands, indicate that it was, at least in the early period, Doric. For, though metrical to be sure, they show regular Doric forms like *σᾶμα* and *μνᾶμα* and the loss of *ῥ* as in the earliest Theran.

The dialect of Cyrene, a colony of Thera, is now by far the best known, owing to the discoveries of the last decades.

9. **Cretan**. This is now the best known of all the Doric dialects, owing to the very extensive early material, especially from

Gortyn. The dialect of Gortyn and other cities of the great central portion of the island is also known more specifically as Central Cretan, to exclude the divergent type seen in the inscriptions, mostly late, from the eastern and western extremities of the island. See 273. But the term Cretan alone is to be understood as referring to this Central Cretan, unless otherwise stated.

10. **Sicilian Doric.** Owing to the mixture of population it is the exception that the dialect of Sicilian cities can be clearly grouped with that of their mother cities. That of Selinus and Megara Hybla may be classed as Megarian, and that of Gela and Agrigentum as Rhodian. But in Syracuse Gelon's wholesale transplantation of population from Gela and other cities must have left the old Corinthian element in a minority. There are (at least, as yet) no inscriptions written in the Corinthian alphabet or with the typical early OV for secondary δ (25d), and there is nothing distinctively Corinthian in the dialect of either the inscriptions or the works of the Syracusan writers. With but few exceptions, the inscriptions of Syracuse and the other cities are late. The longest, those of Halaesa and Tauro-menium, are in a mixture of Doric and Attic $\kappa\omicron\iota\nu\eta$, with some local features in vocabulary. A noteworthy spread of Rhodian influence is seen in the typical infin. $-\mu\epsilon\iota\nu$ used by Epicharmus and occurring in several places in Sicily and Magna Graecia (154.5).

THE DIALECTS IN LITERATURE

3. Of the numerous dialects of Greece a few attained the rank of literary dialects, though for the most part in a mixed and artificial form not corresponding to anything actually spoken at a given time and place. Moreover, in the course of literary development these dialects came to be characteristic of certain classes of literature, and, their role once established, the choice of one or the other usually depended upon this factor rather than upon the native dialect of the author.

The literary development of epic songs began with the Aeolians of Asia Minor, whence it passed into the hands of the neighboring Ionians, and the language of Homer, which became the norm of all epic poetry and strongly affected subsequent poetry of all

The dialects mentioned are the only literary dialects known and cultivated throughout the Greek world. But some few others were employed locally. Epicharmus and Sophron wrote in their native Syracusan Doric, as did later, but in a more mixed form, Archimedes and Theocritus. A form of Doric prose was developed among the Pythagoreans of Magna Graecia, seen in some fragments of Archytas of Tarentum, Philolaus of Croton, and others, though the greater part of the writings of this class are spurious. The comic poet Rhinthon, from whom the grammarians sometimes quote, used the Doric of Tarentum. The fragments of Corinna of Tanagra, whose fame was scarcely more than local, are in Boeotian, and the Boeotian dialect, as well as Megarian and Laconian, are caricatured by Aristophanes. But the great majority of the dialects play no role whatever in literature.

Even for those dialects which are represented, the literary remains must for the most part be regarded as secondary sources, not only because of their artificial character but also because of the corruptions which they have suffered in transmission. Exceptional importance, however, attaches to the language of Homer because of its antiquity, and to the Lesbian of Alcaeus and Sappho because it is relatively pure and much older than the inscriptional material.

NOTE. In the following exposition, dialectal forms from literary and grammatical sources are not infrequently quoted, especially where the inscriptional evidence is slight, as it is, for example, quite naturally, for the personal pronouns. Such forms are sometimes quoted with their specific sources, sometimes simply as literary Doric (lit. Dor.), literary Lesbian (lit. Lesb.), literary Ionic (lit. Ion.), or grammatical (gram.). But a detailed treatment of the dialectal peculiarities observed in our literary texts is so bound up with questions of literary tradition and textual criticism that it is best left to the critical editions of the various authors. It would be impracticable in a work of the present scope, and would, moreover, tend to obscure that more trustworthy picture of the dialects which is gained from inscriptions, and which is so important as a basis for the critical study of the mixed literary forms. However, see the Appendix, pp. 342 ff.

classes, is a mixture of Aeolic and Ionic—in the main Old Ionic but with the retention of many Aeolic forms, such as $\tilde{\alpha}\mu\epsilon\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ beside $\eta\mu\epsilon\tau\epsilon\varsigma$, genitive singular in $-\tilde{\alpha}\omicron$ beside $-\epsilon\omega$, etc. The language of Hesiod is substantially the same, but with some Aeolic forms not used in Homer, also some Boeotian and Doric peculiarities. The elegiac and iambic poets also use the epic dialect with some modifications, not only Ionians like Archilochus, but the Athenian Solon, the Spartan Tyrtaeus, the Megarian Theognis, etc.

Of the melic poets, Alcaeus and Sappho followed very closely their native Lesbian dialect, though not entirely unaffected by epic influence. The language of these and other Lesbian poets was directly imitated by some later writers, notably by Theocritus in three of his idyls, and contributed an important element to the language of many more, e.g., Anacreon of Teos, who in the main employed his native Ionic (New Ionic), and, in general, to the choral lyric, which was mainly Doric.

The choral lyric was developed among Doric peoples, though under the impulse of Lesbian poets, who we know were welcomed in Sparta, for example, in the seventh century. Its language is Doric, with an admixture of Lesbian and epic forms, no matter whether the poet is a Dorian, or a Boeotian like Pindar, or an Ionian like Simonides and Bacchylides. This Doric, however, is not identical with any specific Doric dialect, but is an artificial composite, showing many of the general Doric characteristics, but with the elimination of local peculiarities. An exception is to be made in the case of Alcman, whose Doric is of a severer type and evidently based upon the Laconian, though also mixed with Lesbian and epic forms.

The earliest prose writers were the Ionic philosophers and historians of the sixth century, and in the fifth century not only Herodotus, but Hippocrates of Cos, a Dorian, wrote in Ionic. In the meantime, with the political and intellectual supremacy of Athens, Attic had become the recognized language of the drama, and before the end of the fifth century was employed in prose also, though the earlier prose writers as Thucydides, like the tragedians, avoided certain Attic peculiarities which were still felt as provincialisms (e.g., $\tau\tau = \sigma\sigma$, $\rho\rho = \rho\sigma$). Henceforth Attic was the language of literary prose.

PHONOLOGY

THE ALPHABET

4. The numerous differences in the local alphabets, so far as they consist merely in variations of the forms of the letters, need not be discussed here, important as they are to the epigraphist in deciding the age and source of inscriptions. But certain points in the use of the alphabet and its development as a means of expressing the Greek sounds should be noted.

1. In the most primitive type of the Greek alphabet, as it is seen in the earliest inscriptions of Crete, Thera, and Melos, the non Phoenician signs Φ , X , Υ have not yet been introduced, and the Ξ is not in use. The sounds of φ , χ are represented by πh , κh (or φh), or, as in Crete, where Θ (H) when used is η not h , are not distinguished from π , κ ; those of ψ , ξ by $\pi\sigma$, $\kappa\sigma$.

2. In the next stage of development, after the introduction of Φ , X , Υ , the alphabets fall into two classes, according to the values attached to these signs. The eastern division, to which Ionic belongs, employs them as φ , χ , ψ , and also uses the Ξ as ξ , though a subdivision of this group, represented mainly by the Attic alphabet, uses only the first two and expresses ψ , ξ by $\varphi\sigma$, $\chi\sigma$. The western division,¹ to which belong the majority of the alphabets of Greece proper as well as that of Euboea, and which became the source of the Latin alphabet, employs Φ , X , Υ as φ , ξ , χ , not using Ξ at all, and generally expressing ψ by $\pi\sigma$ or, oftener, $\varphi\sigma$ (but a special sign for ψ in Locris and Mantinea, another rarely in Elis and Laconia).

3. In the earliest inscriptions nearly all the alphabets have the

¹ This distinction of Eastern and Western alphabets, the distribution of which is clearly shown in the map in Kirchhoff's Studien zur Geschichte des griechischen Alphabets (which, however, now needs some corrections; see Appendix), has no connection with that of East and West Greek dialects and is anything but coincident with it. From the coloring of Kirchhoff's map the convenient short terms, "red," "blue," and "green" alphabets, have come into use.

Ϝ (vau or digamma); and many the ϙ (koppa), which is used before o or u, and that too even if a liquid intervenes, e.g., ϙορινθόθεν, ἡρόρος, Λογρός, ἐφρότῃ, Πάτρογλος, λέγυθος, γλύτος (in other positions it is very rare).

4. The four Phoenician signs for sibilants were taken over, but with varying distribution or values. Both the Ϻ or ϻ (sigma) and Ϻ (san) were used for σ, but, with few exceptions (e.g., once Ϻ beside Ϻ in the Locrian no. 59), only one or the other at the same place and time. A sign Ϻ, a simplified form of Ϻ is used in an Arcadian inscription for a sibilant of special origin, as Ϻς = τς, Cypr. σς (no. 17; see 68.3). Τ, occurring also in the Carian alphabet and perhaps ultimately another modification of the san, is used for usual σσ = Att. ττ at Halicarnassus (Ἀλικαρνατῆς(ω)ν beside Ἀλικαρνασσεών), Teos (θαλάτης beside θάλασσαν), Ephesus (τέταρες, etc.) and elsewhere (see p. 348). This is the source of the numeral sign for 900, namely Ϻ, known by the late name "sampi" (σάν πῖ 'like πῖ', from its form).

Ξ and Ι were adopted, but for a time without full stabilization in value. Ξ = ξ in the Ionic, Corinthian, and (Ϻ) Argive alphabets, but lacking in the majority of alphabets (not only where X = ξ, but also in Attic where φσ = ξ, and occurring = Ι in Thera Ξεύς, Ξήύς, Corinth. ΞΕΥΜ = Ζεύς. Conversely Ι for Ξ in Epid. Ἀνάις. Ι in earliest Cretan, precise phonetic value uncertain, = later ττ; Att. σ, as δΙος, etc. (82).

5. In Boeotian ι, a compromise between E and I, is sometimes used for the close ε, later ι (9.4). At Corinth with Corcyra, Sicyon, Cleonae, and Megara there were two characters for the ε-sounds, namely, Corinth. Ϻ, Sicyon, Ϻ = ε or η, but Ϻ or (Corcyr.) Ϻ = original ει or secondary ε̄ (but Ϻ in an archaic Meg. inscription = ε only, not η, and at Cleonae = η only. Cf. nos. 91-97).

6. In most of the alphabets the Η (early Ϻ) is the sign of the spiritus asper, and neither η and ω nor the secondary ε̄ and ο̄ (25) are distinguished from the short ε and ο. But in East Ionic, where the sound of the spiritus asper was lost at a very early period, the Η, which was thus left free, was turned to account as a vowel sign, not so much to show a difference in quantity (in the case of ᾱ, ῑ, ῡ no such need was felt) as one of quality. It was probably used first only for the extremely open ε̄ coming

from ᾱ, that is, for the specifically Attic-Ionic η (8), which for a time was more open than the sound of the inherited ε̄, though this was also open as compared with the short ε, and both soon became identical and were denoted in the same way. To be sure, no such distinction is to be observed in East Ionic inscriptions, but it is seen in some of the Cyclades, to which the use of the Η has passed from East Ionic, e.g., from Naxos (no. 6) Νικάνδρη, γόρη, etc. but ἀνέθεκεν (with E in the penult). Similar examples from Andros and Ceos (nos. 7, 8), also Amorgos.

The use of Η = η extended not only to the Ionic but also to the Doric islands, Rhodes, Thera, Melos, and Crete, where it is found in the earliest inscriptions, though in Crete it went out of use for a time, not appearing, for example, in the Law Code. In Central Ionic, where the sound of the spiritus asper still survived, as also in Rhodes, Thera, and Melos, the sign was used both as η and as Η. It occurs also with syllabic value = ηε or η̄ε, as Ηκηβόλῃ (Naxos, no. 6), Ησπέρης (Oropus, no. 14.46), Ηλλέν (Paros), Ther. Ηρμιοκρέ(δν), Arg. (no. 85) Ηραι beside ΗΕραι, Boeot. (no. 39) Ηνδεκα, ΗΞ, Ημῖτα, even late Aetol. Ητέων (= ηετέων, cf. ξτος 58c).

The Ionic alphabet is also characterized by its distinction of the o-vowels through differentiated forms of Ο, usually Ω = ω, which became universal, but in archaic inscriptions of Delos, Paros, Thasos, and Siphnos Ω = ο and Ο or Θ = ω; of Thera Ο = ο, Θ = ω; of Melos and Cnidus c = ο, Ο = ω.

7. In 403 B.C. the Ionic alphabet was officially introduced at Athens, and not much later replaced the native or "epichoric" alphabets in other parts of Greece. Inscriptions of the end of the fifth or the beginning of the fourth century often show a transitional form of the alphabet, partly epichoric, partly Ionic. Even with the full Ionic alphabet, Ϝ was generally retained where it was still sounded, and sometimes a form of Η was used for the spiritus asper, as ι in the Heracleian Tables and occasionally elsewhere (Elis, Cumae, Sicyon, Epidauros). The Delphian Labyadae inscription (no. 52) has Η = Η, Η = η; likewise an Argive inscription.

For the Cyprian syllabary, see p. 210.

VOWELS

α

5. ο for α before or after liquids. Examples are most numerous in Lesbian, mainly from literary and grammatical sources, as στρότος = στρατός, βροχέως = βραχέως, χόλαισι = χαλῶσι; etc. (see p. 342). So ἀμβρο[δ]την (no. 25) = ἀμάρτεϊν, like Hom. ἡμβροτον = ἡμαρτον (μβρ from μρ, as regularly). Both στρόταγος and στράταγος occur in inscriptions; likewise in Boeotian στροτός in numerous proper names, στροτιώτας, ἐστροτεῦαθη, but also στρατός in proper names, στραταγίοντος. The στρατ-forms, which are the only ones so far attested for Thessalian, are to be attributed to κοινή influence. Boeot., Thess. ἐροτός = ἐρατός, βροχύς = βραχύς, attested by proper names, Boeot., Lesb. πόρνοψ = πάρνοψ, whence Lesb. Πορνοπία, Thess. πετρο- = τετρα-.

In Arcado-Cyprian also we find Arc. ἐφθορκώς = ἐφθαρκώς, πανάγορσις belonging with West Ion. ἄγαρρις (49.2) τέτορτος, Βρόχης, στορπάος = ἀστραπαῖος (also Arc. στορπά, Cypr. στορπά in Hesych.), Cypr. κορζία (Hesych.) = καρδία, κατέφοργον = *κατε-φαργον aorist of *κατ-εφέρω (κατείργω) with the weak grade of the root as in ἔδρακον from δέρομαι (49.2).

Here perhaps also, as an Aeolic survival, Aetol. Λόφριον beside usual epithets Λάφριος, Λάφρια. But for the widespread γροφεύς, etc. see 49.2.

6. ο for α in other cases. ὄν = ἀνά in Lesbian, Thessalian (Pelasgiotis), and Arcado-Cyprian (also ὄν-, see 22). Cf. also Thess. ὄστροφά, from *ὄνστροφά = ἀναστροφή. Lesb., Arc. δέκοτος = δέκατος, also Arc. δέκο = δέκα, ηχοτόν = ἐκατόν, and Lesb. ἐνοτος = ἐνατος. Thess. ἐξόμεννον = ἐξάμηνον. Delph. ἐντοφήα 'burial rites,' Cyren. ἐντόφιον 'burial gift,' Heracl. τοφίων 'burial place' (cf. τάφος). καθάρος = καθάρος in Heraclea, Sybaris, Locris (Περ-φοθαριῶν), Lesbos, Elean κόθαρισς.

a. The explanation is uncertain, and not necessarily the same for all the forms cited here. For example, it is possible that the ο of δέκοτος, etc. is to be viewed in the same light as that of εἰκοσι = West Greek ἑκατι. See 116a. But the preference for ο appears to be, here as in 5, an Aeolic-Arc.-Cypr. characteristic.

7. ε for α. For forms with ε beside α which fall within the regular system of vowel-gradation, see 49.2-4.

An actual change of final α to ε is seen in Thess. διέ = διά. Cf. Thess. -αι = -αι (27).

ᾱ

8. Attic-Ionic η from ᾱ. Original ᾱ, which remains unchanged in all other dialects, becomes η in Attic-Ionic. Thus τιμή, φημί, ἵστημι, but in other dialects τιμά (ᾱ-stem), φᾶμι (Lat. fāri), ἵσᾶμι (Lat. stāre). For the contrast between this η and that which represents an inherited ε̄-sound and is common to the other dialects also, note Att.-Ion. μήτηρ, elsewhere μάτηρ (Lat. māter).

But Attic differs from Ionic, in that it has ᾱ, not η, after ε, ι, and ρ, as γενεά, οἰκία, χώρᾱ = Ion. γενεή, οἰκία, χώρη.

a. In some Central Ionic inscriptions, as noted in 4.6, only this η from ᾱ was written Η, vs. E for η = original ε̄. This distinction was probably once general Attic-Ionic, the sound resulting from ᾱ being still somewhat more open than that representing original ε̄.

b. It is a widely held, but also disputed, view that the change of ᾱ to η, or rather to the sound close to but not quite identical with η = original ε̄ (above, a) was general Attic-Ionic and that the ᾱ of Att. γενεά, etc., was a reversion rather than an uninterrupted retention of ᾱ in such cases. The evidence is complicated and open to more than one interpretation. As the problem is a purely Attic one, it need not concern us further.

c. In Att. κόρη, δέρη the η after ρ is explained by the fact that it was originally preceded by Ϝ (54). But Att. εἰρήνη, κρήνη vs. Dor. ῥᾶνᾱ, κῥᾶνᾱ are anomalous and variously explained.

d. The ᾱ arising from lengthening of α in connection with original intervocalic, vs. σν, etc., undergoes the same change, e.g., Att.-Ion. ἔφηνᾱ from ἔφᾶνᾱ, original *ἔφανσα. See 76, 77.1. But in τᾶς from τάνς and πᾶσα from πάνσα, original *πάντῃᾱ, the ᾱ was of later origin and was unaffected. See 77.3, 78.

ε

9. ι from ε before (mostly α- and ο-) vowels.

1. Even in Attic an ε before another vowel had a closer sound than in other positions, and was frequently written ει, as θεῖός = θεός, νειώς = νεώς. So, sometimes, in Ionic, as εἰως = ἔως, δειόμενος (Oropus) = δεόμενος.

In several dialects the ε progressed so far in the direction of ι that it was frequently, or even regularly, written ι. Thus:

2. Lesbian. Spelling ε in θεός, ἑών, etc. But χρύσιος, χάλκιος,

συκία, κυνία, δστιον, etc., show the same phonetic tendency as in other dialects, although the uniform spelling here may be due to the favoring influence of parallel suffixes. So also τίσις (cf. Hom. τέω, δτέοισιν) in which the ι may have been reinforced by that of τίς.

3. Thessalian. Frequently ι, as θιός, λίθιος, λίοντα, etc., but also ε in κυλδρόντος, παρέοντος, τοίνεος, etc.

4. Boeotian. The spelling is usually ι, but sometimes ε, ει, or ι (see 4.5), as θιός, θεός = θεός, άνέθιαν, άνέθειαν, beside άνέθειαν, Πολυκλήτης = Πολυκλήτης, ίδντος = έόντος, ρίντος = ρέοντος.

a. Boeotian ε in general had a relatively close sound, and the spelling ει occurs occasionally even before a consonant, as Ξενκρείτω = Ξενκρέτου, Θιόφειτος = *Θεόφειτος (68.2), πεποιόντεισαι = -εσαι. In έν Θεισπιής, Θεισπιεύς, etc., the spelling ει is so constant that it perhaps stands for original η (16), which in other dialects was shortened as if the name of the town were connected with θέσις, etc.

5. Arcadian. Regularly ε before a back vowel, as θεός, Φέτα, έόντος, etc. But ι before a front vowel in άπυδίδει = άποδέει, Αύκλεια = Εύκλεια (?); so also -ει to -ι, whence -ι in dat. sg. πλήθι, έτι, ιερή, etc. A somewhat different, but related, case is άπυλιώναι (no. 22.20), from an elsewhere attested άπολειώω (162.10).

6. Cyprian. At Idalium the spelling is regularly ι, as θιός, ίδ(ν)τα = έόντα, Φέτις = έπεα. So Pamph. Φέτις, άνδριδών.

7. Cretan. We find ι regularly, except where the ε was once followed by F. That is, the change was prior to the loss of intervocalic F; and the ε which later, with the loss of F, came to stand before another vowel, was unaffected. Thus ίδντος = έόντος, καλίων = καλέων, πλίες = Hom. πλέες, —but υίός, Φοικέος, δρομέδν.

8. Laconian. We find ι, with the same restriction as in Cretan, in early inscription (also in Alcman and Ar. Lysist.), e.g. θιός, άνιοχίδν = ήνιοχέων. In later inscriptions the spelling is usually ε.

9. Heracleian. Verbal forms show ι, with the same restriction as in Cretan, e.g., άδικίων, έμετρίωμες, άναγγελίοντι, but ρέοντα, δεόμενα. In other words, Τιμοκράτιος, τοφίων, but usually ε, as Φέτεος, owing to κοινή influence.

10. Argolic. Frequently θιός, Θίων, etc., in Argos and Epidaurus, but otherwise usually ε.

11. Corinthian. Usually ε; but θιαρός in two late decrees of Corcyra and Epidamnus.

10. ι from ε before ν in Arcado-Cyprian. Here ιν = έν is the regular form (cf. also Pamph. ι πόλι and ις from *ινς = ένς, εις), also in compounds as Arc. ινάγω, ιμφαίνω, ινφορβίω, ιγκεχηρήκοι, ινδικος, ινπασις, ινπολά, ιγγυος, ινμενφής and ινμονφος 'blame-worthy' (opp. to άμεμφής, άμομφος), Cyp. ιναλίνω (ιναλαλισμένα). Cf. also Arc. μίνονσαι = μένουσαι, Έρχομίνιοι = Όρχομένιοι, άπεχομίνος, άπυσεδομίνος, διαβαλευσαμίνος = -μένους, etc., but in such forms the later inscriptions have εν. There are a few examples in other positions, as Arc. Τιλείας, Cyp. Μιγαλαθέδ, indicating that in general ε had a relatively close sound (as also in Boeotian, 9.4a). The foreign names appearing as Έδάλιον, Κέτιον in the Cyprian texts were usually rendered 'Ιδάλιον, Κίτιον.

a. ιν = έν is found also, probably a pre-Doric survival, in some inscriptions of the Cretan towns of Eleutherna and Vaxus, and the Achaean colony of Metapontum.

11. ι beside ε in other cases. The interchange is occasionally seen among dialectal forms of the same word, as in Hom. πίσυρες = πέσσυρες, τέσσερες. Att. έστία appears with ι in all other dialects, so far as quotable, e.g., Ion. ιστή, Lesb. ιστία, Thess. 'Ιστιαίειος, Boet. 'Ιστιήω, Delph. 'Ιστιώ (but hoμέστιος), Loc. ιστία, Heracl. 'Ιστιέιος, Syrac. 'Ιστία, Rhod. ιστιατόριον, Coan ιστία, Cret. 'Ιστία, Arc. Φιστίαν. Here the ι may be due to the influence of ισημι.

12. α from ε before ρ in Northwest Greek. Loc. φάρειν, πατάρα, άμάρα, άνφόταρος, Φεσπάριος (but μέρος no. 57, περί, ένφέροι, Φερρέτω no. 59). Here also ηαρέσται (no. 57; but ηελέσται no. 58) = έλέσθαι, with ρ for λ after the analogy of the present αίρέω (as, conversely, Cret. αιλέω = αίρέω, with λ from the aorist). El. φάρην, Φάργον, Φάρρην, πάρ (= περί), όπόταρος, έλεύθαρος, υσταριν, but the spelling αρ is not quite uniform even in the early inscriptions, and later gives way to ερ (see 241). Delph. φάρην, ματάρα, Φαργάναι, δάρματα, πενταμαριτεύων, but in the later inscriptions the spelling is ερ (φέρην even in no. 52). Cf. also Ach. Ζεύς 'Αμάριος, Pamph. ύπαρ = ύπερ, Thess. Κιάριον = Κιέριον.

a. Elean has α also after ρ, as λατραί[όμενον] beside λατρείόμενον, ματράαι from *μαστρεία (31), κατιαραίον, κατιαραύσει in contrast to

φυγαδείην, φυγαδεύαντι (see 161.1); also before final ν, as μάν = μέν, γνῶμαν = γνῶμεν, 3 pl. opt. άποτίνοιαν, έπιθειάν, συνέαν, etc.; occasionally elsewhere, as εύσαβέοι = εύσεβέοι, σκευάδν = -έων, showing that Elean ε in general had a very open sound. Cf. El. α = η (15).

b. A similar change before λ in Delphian appears in Δαλφοίς of an inscription and in Δα, Δαλ, Δαλφικόν of the earliest coins.

c. Epid. κραμάσαι = κρεμάσαι and μάντοι = μέντοι, though more isolated, and open to other possible explanations (μάντοι blend with μάν = μήν, κραμάσαι weak grade or assimilation), are perhaps to be viewed in the same light as the Elean forms under α.

13. West Greek α = East Greek ε. Besides the examples of dialectal interchange of α and ε cited under the head of vowel gradation (49.2-4), in which the distribution of the α and ε forms is various (e.g., άρσην, έρσην, —βάλλω, δέλλω), there is a group of parallel forms in which the preference for the α forms is a marked West Greek characteristic.

1. ιαρός (or ιαρός) is the regular form in early inscriptions of all West Greek dialects, Pamphylian (ηιαρό), and Boeotian, ιερός occurring only later and plainly due to κοινή influence. The situation is probably the same in Thessalian, though the occurrences of both forms are late. ιερός (or ιερός) is Attic-Ionic and Arcado-Cyprian, while a third form is seen in Lesb. ιρος, (likewise ιρευς, ιρεια, ιρητεύω, late κατείρων with ει = ι), Ion. ιρός, ιρός beside ιερός, ιερός. There are many other words with variation between -ερός and -αρός, as μιερός, μιαρός (likewise πύελος, πύαλος, etc.), but with widely different dialectal distribution.

2. Άρταμις, so far as the name is quotable from early inscriptions, is the form of all West Greek dialects except Cretan, and of Boeotian. In later Doric and Delphian inscriptions this is usually replaced by Άρτεμις. Thessalian has both forms.

3. κα = κε (δν) is the form of all West Greek dialects and Boeotian, while Thessalian has κε, like Lesbian and Cyprian. See 134.2. West Greek and Boeotian δκα, etc. = Att.-Ion., Arc.-Cyp. δτε, etc. (but Lesb. δτα, etc.). See 132.11. -γα = -γε is likewise West Greek and Boeotian. Adverbs in -(σ)θα = -(σ)θεν, -(σ)θε are usual in West Greek (προσθα- also Arc.). See 133.1.

a. άτερος = έτερος is not confined to West Greek dialects, but is also quotable from Arcadian, Boeotian, and Lesbian, and even for Attic is

implied by άτερος with crasis. So far as we know, έτερος belongs to Attic-Ionic only, all examples in other dialects being late.

η

14. Original η, that is, η representing original ē, remains unchanged in nearly all dialects. Contrast the special Attic-Ionic η from ā (8), both being seen in Attic-Ionic μήτηρ = μάτηρ of other dialects. On the introduction of the character η, see 4.6.

15. ā from η in Elean. The sound of η was so open in Elean that it approximated that of ā, and was frequently, though by no means consistently, denoted by α. Thus μά (but also μέ, μή) = μή, Γράτρα = ρήτρα, βασιλᾶες = ἥες, έα (but also εἴε) = εἴη, δαμοσιοα = -οἴη πλαθύνοντα beside πλεθύνοντι, 3 sg. subj. εκπέμπᾱ (149). Cf. α for ε (12a).

a. An isolated case outside of Elis is ποίασε on a vase from Ithaca.

16. ει from η in Thessalian and Boeotian. In these dialects the sound was so close that with the introduction of the Ionic alphabet it was uniformly denoted not by η but by ει, which at that time represented a close ē. Thess., Boeot. μεί = μή, άνέθεικε = άνέθηκε, μεινός = μηνός, Thess. βασιλείος, Boeot. γραμματεῖος = -ῆος, Thess., Boeot. στατεῖρας, Boeot. μάτειρ, πατεῖρ = -τηρ.

a. The spelling ι also occurs in Cyp. ι = ἥ 'or' (no. 23.24), perhaps δπι (no. 23.29) = δπη (132.7), in Pamph. Μάντιους beside Μάνεινς (gen. sg. = -ητος), and some late Boeot. forms, as παρίς beside παρείς (εἴς = ἥς, Att. ἥν. 163.3).

17. Lesb. αἰμισέων (no. 25), αἰμιθέων (Alc.), αἰμιόνους (Sappho), all = ἡμι-. The explanation is difficult, since in all other cases η remains unchanged in Lesbian. Perhaps η was more open initially than in other positions, and this, in connection with an epenthetic vowel (but see 47), led to αι.

18. ε from ι after ρ in the Aeolic dialects. An open pronunciation of ι after ρ is indicated by occasional spellings such as Lesb. Δαμοκρέτω = Δημοκρίτου (but κρίνω, κρίτων), Thess. κρέννέμεν (Lesb. κρίνω), Υβρέστας beside Υβρίστας, άπελευθερεσθένσα from άπελευθερίζω, Boeot. Διοκρένῆς = -κρίνης, τρέπεδδα, τρεπεδδίτας (Hesych. τρίπεζαν· τήν τράπεζαν. Βοιωτοί).

a. Cf. also Lesb. $\epsilon\rho = \rho\iota$ (probably through the medium of a syllabic ρ) in $\tau\epsilon\rho\tau\omicron\varsigma$ (in glosses and proper names) = $\tau\rho\iota\tau\omicron\varsigma$, and in forms cited in 19.2; also Lesb. $\epsilon\rho = \iota\rho$ in $\kappa\epsilon\rho\nu\alpha\nu = \kappa\iota\rho\nu\alpha\nu$ (influence of $\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\rho\alpha\sigma\alpha$, etc.?).
 b. There are scattered examples of ϵ for ι elsewhere, as El. $\pi\acute{o}\lambda\epsilon\rho$ beside $\pi\acute{o}\lambda\iota\rho = \pi\acute{o}\lambda\iota\varsigma$, $\beta\epsilon\nu\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\iota = *βινέοι$ (Att. $\beta\acute{\iota}\nu\epsilon\omega$), Ach. $\epsilon\rho\alpha\nu\epsilon\sigma\tau\alpha\iota = \epsilon\rho\alpha\nu\sigma\tau\alpha\iota$, Sicil. Dor. $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota\omega\rho\epsilon\sigma\iota\alpha = *περιωρισία$.

19. Consonantal ι (ζ) from antevocalic ι in Lesbian and Thessalian. The consonantal pronunciation of antevocalic ι might occur anywhere in rapid speech, but was especially characteristic of Aeolic, as indicated by the following related phenomena in Lesbian and Thessalian.

1. Lesb. ζ from $\delta\iota$ in $\zeta\acute{\alpha}$, $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\rho\zeta\alpha$, $\text{Zónnu}\varsigma\omicron\varsigma$, from glosses or late inscriptions, the usual inscriptional spelling being $\delta\iota\acute{\alpha}$, etc. Cf. also $\text{Zi}\nu\acute{o}\nu(\sigma\iota\omicron\varsigma)$ on an early coin of Phocaea, Cypr. $\kappa\omicron\rho\zeta\iota\alpha$ $\kappa\alpha\rho\delta\iota\alpha$ (Hesych.). Compounds with $\zeta\alpha-$ = $\delta\iota\alpha-$ are frequent in the Lesbian poets, as $\zeta\acute{\alpha}\beta\alpha\iota\varsigma$, $\zeta\acute{\alpha}\delta\eta\lambda\omicron\varsigma$, etc., and occur elsewhere, as Hom. $\zeta\acute{\alpha}\theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$ (Boeot. $\delta\acute{\alpha}\theta\iota\omicron\varsigma$ Corinna), etc.

2. Lesb. $\mu\epsilon\tau\epsilon\rho\rho\omicron\varsigma$, $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\acute{o}\tau\epsilon\rho\rho\omicron\varsigma$, $\Pi\epsilon\rho\rho\alpha\mu\omicron\varsigma$, $\Pi\epsilon\rho\alpha\mu\omicron\varsigma = \mu\epsilon\tau\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$, $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\acute{o}\tau\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$, $\Pi\rho\acute{\iota}\alpha\mu\omicron\varsigma$, the development being $\rho\iota$, $\rho\iota$, $\epsilon\rho\iota$, $\epsilon\rho\rho$.

3. Thessalian doubling of consonants before ι , which may then be retained or omitted in the spelling, as $\iota\delta\delta\iota\alpha\nu$, $\iota\tau\delta\iota\alpha\nu$, $\pi\acute{o}\lambda\lambda\iota\omicron\varsigma$, $\pi\rho\acute{o}\zeta\epsilon\nu\iota\omicron\upsilon\nu$, $\epsilon\zeta\alpha\kappa\acute{\alpha}\tau\tau\iota\omicron\iota$, $\epsilon\kappa\kappa\lambda\eta\sigma\iota\alpha$, $\kappa\ddot{\upsilon}\rho\rho\omicron\nu$ beside $\kappa\ddot{\upsilon}\rho\iota\omicron\nu$, $\acute{\alpha}\rho\gamma\ddot{\upsilon}\rho\rho\iota$ gen. sg. = $\acute{\alpha}\rho\gamma\upsilon\rho\iota\omicron\upsilon$ beside $\text{M}\nu\alpha\sigma\sigma\acute{\alpha} = \text{M}\nu\alpha\sigma\acute{\iota}\alpha$. Cf. Att. $\beta\omicron\rho\rho\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ from $\beta\omicron\rho\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$.

4. Omission of ι , as Lesb. $\acute{\alpha}\rho\gamma\upsilon\rho\alpha = \acute{\alpha}\rho\gamma\ddot{\upsilon}\rho\iota\alpha$, Thess. $\tau\rho\alpha\kappa\acute{\alpha}\delta\iota = \tau\rho\iota\alpha\kappa\acute{\alpha}\delta\iota$, etc. (see also under 3.)

20. Interchange of ι and υ . Assimilation of ι to υ of the following syllable is seen in $\eta\mu\upsilon\sigma\upsilon = \eta\mu\iota\sigma\upsilon$, which appears in an Ionic inscription of the fifth century B.C. ($\tau\acute{\omega}\mu\upsilon\sigma\upsilon$), also in Attic and elsewhere; the opposite assimilation in $\beta\epsilon\lambda\lambda\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu$ beside $\beta\upsilon\beta\lambda\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu$. Influence of the preceding $\epsilon\upsilon$, or of the suffix $-\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\nu\eta$, in Lac. $\text{'}\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\theta\acute{\upsilon}\nu\iota\alpha = \text{'}\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\acute{\iota}\nu\iota\alpha$ (also Olynth. $\text{'}\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\nu\iota\omicron\varsigma$, name of a month). Other by-forms, the relation of which is uncertain, are $\text{'}\alpha\mu\phi\iota\kappa\tau\acute{\iota}\omicron\upsilon\epsilon\varsigma$ and $\text{'}\alpha\mu\phi\iota\kappa\tau\ddot{\upsilon}\nu\omicron\epsilon\varsigma$, Meg. $\alpha\acute{\iota}\sigma\iota\mu\acute{\nu}\alpha\tau\alpha\varsigma$, $\alpha\acute{\iota}\sigma\iota\mu\acute{\nu}\alpha\omega = \text{Ion. } \alpha\acute{\iota}\sigma\iota\mu\acute{\nu}\eta\tau\eta\varsigma$, $\alpha\acute{\iota}\sigma\iota\mu\acute{\nu}\alpha\omega$, $\mu\acute{o}\lambda\upsilon\beta\delta\omicron\varsigma$ beside $\mu\acute{o}\lambda\upsilon\beta\omicron\varsigma$, $\beta\acute{o}\lambda\iota\mu\omicron\varsigma$, etc. (88).

a. A secondary ι before σ + consonant appears in sporadic spellings, as Boeot. $\alpha\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\epsilon\alpha = \acute{\alpha}\sigma\tau\epsilon\alpha$, Lesb. $\pi\alpha\lambda\alpha\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\alpha = \text{Att. } \pi\alpha\lambda\alpha\sigma\tau\acute{\eta}$ (but also $\pi\alpha\lambda\alpha\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\eta}$ Aristot., papyri), Argol. $\alpha\lambda\sigma\kappa\lambda\alpha\pi\acute{\iota}\delta\varsigma$ (cf. also Corinth. $\alpha\lambda\sigma\kappa\lambda\alpha\beta\acute{\iota}\omicron\varsigma$ and Lat. *Aesculapius* from a similar source) = usual $\text{'}\alpha\sigma\kappa\lambda\alpha\pi\acute{\iota}\delta\varsigma$, $\text{'}\tau\rho\iota\zeta\acute{\alpha}\nu\omicron\varsigma$

(in a fourth-century inscription of Hermione, otherwise only late) = usual $\text{'}\tau\rho\iota\zeta\acute{\alpha}\nu\omicron\varsigma$, beside $\text{'}\tau\rho\iota\zeta\acute{\alpha}\nu$, the usual spelling until Roman times.

But for Lesb. $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\kappa\omicron\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$, etc., commonly cited in this connection, the uniform spelling (seven occurrences) favors a different and more special explanation, for which see 77.2, 116a. For Thess. $\pi\rho\epsilon\iota\sigma\beta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha$, etc., see 86.3.

τ

21. τ remains unchanged-everywhere. But in late inscriptions it is sometimes denoted by $\epsilon\iota$, which had come to have the sound τ , as $\tau\epsilon\iota\mu\acute{\alpha}$ or $\tau\epsilon\iota\mu\acute{\eta} = \tau\epsilon\iota\mu\acute{\eta}$.

ο

22. υ from $\omicron$, especially in Arcado-Cyprian. In both Arcadian and Cyprian, final $\omicron$ nearly always appears as υ . Gen. sg. $-\acute{\alpha}\upsilon = -\acute{\alpha}\omicron$, as Arc. $\text{Καλλί}\acute{\alpha}\upsilon$, Cypr. $\text{'}\text{Ονασιγ}\acute{\omicron}\rho\alpha\upsilon$. Middle endings $-\tau\upsilon$, $-\nu\tau\upsilon = -\tau\omicron$, $-\nu\tau\omicron$, as Arc. $\text{διωρθ}\acute{\omega}\sigma\alpha\tau\upsilon$, $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha\nu\tau\upsilon$ (but also $-\tau\omicron$, from Attic), Cypr. $\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\iota\tau\upsilon$, $\acute{\epsilon}\text{'}\rho\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}\sigma\alpha\tau\upsilon$. Arc., Cypr. (also Lesb., Thess.) $\acute{\alpha}\pi\acute{\upsilon} = \acute{\alpha}\pi\acute{\omicron}$, Arc. $\acute{\omicron}\pi\acute{\upsilon} = \acute{\omicron}\pi\acute{\omicron}$, also $\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\upsilon}$ by analogy, $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\upsilon = \acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron$. Cf. also $\acute{\upsilon}\nu$ for $\acute{\omicron}\nu = \acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\alpha}$ (6) in Cypr. $\acute{\upsilon}\nu\acute{\epsilon}\theta\epsilon\kappa\epsilon$ (once) beside $\acute{\omicron}\nu\acute{\epsilon}\theta\epsilon\kappa\epsilon$, and Arc. $\acute{\upsilon}\nu\acute{\epsilon}\theta\upsilon\sigma\epsilon$, $\acute{\upsilon}\nu\iota\epsilon\rho\acute{\omicron}\sigma\epsilon\iota$ beside $\acute{\omicron}\nu\delta\iota\kappa\alpha$ (later $\acute{\alpha}\nu-$ due to Attic influence).

a. In Pamphylian, υ for $\omicron$ not only when final, but also in final syllables ending in a consonant and once medially in composition, e.g., gen. sg. $\text{Πυλ}\acute{\omega}\rho\alpha\upsilon$, 3 sg. mid. $\acute{\epsilon}\beta\acute{\omicron}\lambda\acute{\alpha}\sigma\epsilon\tau\upsilon$, nom. sg. $\acute{\upsilon}\beta\acute{\omicron}\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\mu\epsilon\nu\varsigma$ (= $\acute{\omicron}\beta\omicron\lambda\acute{\omicron}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$), gen. sg. $\text{Μάν}\acute{\epsilon}\tau\upsilon\varsigma$, cpd. $\nu\omicron\iota\kappa\upsilon\tau\omicron\lambda\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ (= $*\text{'}\text{Φουκοπολ}\acute{\iota}\varsigma$).

b. In Lesbian there are several examples (beside $\acute{\alpha}\pi\acute{\upsilon}$) of $\upsilon = \omicron$, especially before μ , as $\acute{\upsilon}\mu\acute{\omicron}\iota\omega\varsigma$, $\acute{\upsilon}\mu\omicron\lambda\omicron\gamma\acute{\iota}\alpha$, and (lit.) $\acute{\upsilon}\mu\omicron\iota$, $\acute{\upsilon}\pi\acute{\iota}\sigma\sigma\omega$, $\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\delta\omega\nu$. Also Arc. $\acute{\upsilon}\mu\acute{\omicron}\iota\omicron\varsigma$, $\sigma\tau\upsilon\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron$.

c. $\acute{\delta}\nu\upsilon\mu\alpha = \acute{\delta}\nu\omicron\mu\alpha$ is common to nearly all, perhaps all, dialects except Attic-Ionic. Cf. the compounds $\acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\omega}\nu\upsilon\mu\omicron\varsigma$ etc., which are universal.

d. In Chalcid. $\eta\upsilon\pi\acute{\upsilon} = \acute{\upsilon}\pi\acute{\omicron}$, and $\rho\acute{\upsilon}\phi\upsilon\varsigma$, the second υ is due to assimilation to the first.

ω

23. $\omicron\upsilon$ from ω in Thessalian. Long δ in Thessalian, whether original or secondary (25), became a close δ , then $\acute{\iota}$, and, after the introduction of the Ionic alphabet, was regularly denoted by $\omicron\upsilon$. $\chi\acute{\omicron}\upsilon\rho\alpha = \chi\acute{\omega}\rho\alpha$, $\phi\acute{\iota}\lambda\acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\rho\upsilon\pi\alpha = \phi\acute{\iota}\lambda\acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\rho\omega\pi\alpha$, $\tau\acute{\omicron}\upsilon\nu\tau\alpha\gamma\acute{\omicron}\upsilon\nu\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\omicron\upsilon\nu = \tau\acute{\omega}\nu\tau\alpha\gamma\acute{\omicron}\omega\nu\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\omicron\upsilon\nu$. Cf. $\epsilon\iota$ from η (16).

υ and ῡ

24. Instead of becoming a sound like German $\ddot{u}$, French u , as it did in Attic at an early period, the original u -sound (English oo in *food*) was retained in several, perhaps the majority of, dialects. This is most obvious where, the Attic values of the letters being taken as a basis, the spelling υ was replaced by $\omicron\upsilon$.

In Boeotian, $\omicron\upsilon$ begins to appear in the early fourth century B.C. (no. 39), and is frequent after 300 B.C., though υ is not uncommon until the last quarter of the century. Thus $\omicron\upsilon\pi\epsilon\rho$, $\kappa\acute{\omicron}\upsilon\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$, $\acute{\alpha}\rho\gamma\acute{\omicron}\upsilon\rho\iota\omicron\nu$, $\tau\acute{\omicron}\upsilon\chi\alpha$, $\acute{\delta}\nu\omicron\upsilon\mu\alpha$, (22c), etc. In the third century the spelling $\iota\omicron\upsilon$ (pronounced like English u in *cube*?) is also employed, though never consistently, after τ , δ , θ , ν , and λ , as $\tau\acute{\omicron}\upsilon\chi\iota\alpha$, $\delta\iota\acute{\omicron}\upsilon = \delta\acute{\upsilon}\omicron$, $\text{'}\text{Ιθι}\acute{\omicron}\upsilon\delta\iota\kappa\omicron\varsigma$, $\acute{\delta}\nu\iota\omicron\upsilon\mu\alpha$, $\Delta\iota\omega\nu\iota\acute{\omicron}\upsilon\sigma\iota\omicron\varsigma$, $\Lambda\iota\omega\nu\iota\acute{\omicron}\upsilon\sigma\iota\omega$, etc.; also once after σ ($\Sigma\iota\acute{\omicron}\upsilon\acute{\nu}\epsilon\sigma\iota\varsigma$) and once initially ($\iota\omicron\upsilon\acute{\omicron} = \upsilon\acute{\omicron}$). Another spelling is $\omicron$, as Boeot. $\acute{\omicron}\pi\epsilon\rho = \acute{\upsilon}\pi\epsilon\rho$, $\theta\omicron\sigma\acute{\iota}\eta\varsigma = \theta\upsilon\sigma\acute{\iota}\alpha\iota\varsigma$, also (no. 39) $\delta\omicron\acute{\omega}\delta\epsilon\kappa\alpha$, $\sigma\acute{\kappa}\acute{\omicron}\phi\omicron\varsigma$, and perhaps $\kappa\acute{\omicron}\rho\tau\omicron\nu$, $\kappa\acute{\omicron}\tau\omicron\varsigma$, Arc. $\acute{\omicron}\pi\acute{\upsilon}$, $\acute{\omicron}\pi\epsilon\rho$.

a. Except in Boeotian, the spelling υ is generally retained in inscriptions. So in Laconian, for which the retention of the u -sound is amply attested by the numerous glosses spelled with $\omicron\upsilon$ in accordance with Attic values, and by the pronunciation of the modern Tsakonian. In various other dialects, as Arcadian, Cyprian, Thessalian, Lesbian, Cretan, Euboean, there are indications, of one kind or another, of the same pronunciation, such as the occasional spelling $\omicron\upsilon$ or $\omicron$ for υ , or υ for $\omicron$ (22a), use of φ before υ (Chalcid. $\rho\acute{\upsilon}\phi\upsilon\varsigma$, $\lambda\acute{\eta}\rho\upsilon\theta\omicron\varsigma$, etc.) and occasional F for υ (52c).

Secondary ē and ō. „Spurious Diphthongs“

25. In many dialects, as in Attic, ϵ and $\omicron$ differed in quality from η and ω , being close vowels (ϵ , $\omicron$). Consequently the long vowels which came from them by contraction or compensative lengthening, since they retained the same quality, were not identical with η and ω , but were $\bar{\epsilon}$ and $\bar{\omicron}$, the latter becoming $\acute{\iota}$, and eventually came to be designated by $\epsilon\iota$ and $\omicron\upsilon$ after these original diphthongs had become monophthongs in pronunciation (28, 34). But in other dialects they became identical with η and ω , and were so written. Hence such dialectal variations as $\tau\rho\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ — $\tau\rho\eta\varsigma$ from $*\tau\rho\acute{\epsilon}\iota\epsilon\varsigma$ (42.3), $(\acute{\epsilon})\kappa\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\varsigma$ — $\kappa\eta\eta\omicron\varsigma$ ($-\epsilon\text{-}\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$), $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\mu\acute{\iota}$ — $\eta\acute{\iota}\mu\acute{\iota}$ from $*\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\mu\acute{\iota}$ (76), $\phi\theta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\rho\omega$ — $\phi\theta\eta\eta\omega$ from $*\phi\theta\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omega$ (74), $\xi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\varsigma$ —

$\xi\eta\eta\omicron\varsigma$ from $\xi\acute{\epsilon}\nu\text{F}\omicron\varsigma$ (54), $\chi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\lambda\iota\omicron\iota$ — $\chi\acute{\eta}\lambda\iota\omicron\iota$ from $*\chi\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\lambda\iota\omicron\iota$ (76), $\chi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\rho$ — $\chi\acute{\eta}\rho$ from $*\chi\epsilon\sigma\rho$ (76), $\beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\acute{\eta}$ — $\beta\omega\lambda\acute{\alpha}$ (75), $\kappa\acute{\omicron}\upsilon\rho\eta$ — $\kappa\acute{\omega}\rho\alpha$ from $\kappa\acute{\omicron}\rho\text{F}\acute{\alpha}$ (54), gen. sg. $-\omicron\upsilon$ — ω from $-\omicron\iota\omicron$ (106.1), acc. pl. $-\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ — $\omega\varsigma$ from $-\omicron\nu\varsigma$ (78).

The dialects which regularly have η and ω in such forms are Arcadian (and presumably Cyprian, though the spelling of course is indeterminate), Lesbian, Elean, Laconian, Heracleian, and Cretan. Boeotian and Thessalian properly belong to this group, since Boeotian has ω , and $\epsilon\iota$ is the same as for original η (16), and Thess. $\epsilon\iota$, $\omicron\upsilon$ are the same as for original η , ω (16, 23).

In several dialects there is some evidence of a qualitative difference between the vowels resulting from lengthening and those resulting from contraction.

a. Cretan. The earliest Cretan inscriptions which have the letter θ show this for the vowel resulting from the early lengthenings (before original $\sigma\mu$, etc. as $\theta\mu\epsilon\nu$), but E for that before original νF , as $\kappa\sigma\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma =$ later $\xi\eta\eta\omicron\varsigma$, and usually for the result of contraction, as $\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\iota\rho\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$, $\mu\acute{\omicron}\lambda\epsilon\nu$ (= later $\mu\omega\lambda\eta\nu$, $\kappa\omicron\sigma\mu\epsilon\nu$, $\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\delta\omicron\mu\epsilon\nu$, $\theta\mu\epsilon\nu$, etc. (rarely $-\mu\beta\nu$; $\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\mu\beta\nu$, and $\theta\mu\epsilon\nu$ and $\theta\mu\beta\nu$ in the same inscription, no. 116). After the introduction of ω there are a few cases of O for the contracted vowel, as gen. sg. $\kappa\acute{\omicron}\delta\mu\text{O}$. In later times regularly η , ω for both lengthened and contracted vowels.

b. Theran and Cyrenaean. Regularly η , ω for the lengthened vowels, as $\delta\eta\lambda\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$, $\eta\mu\epsilon\nu$, $\beta\omega\lambda\acute{\alpha}$ (in proper names), Cyren. $\chi\acute{\eta}\lambda\iota\omicron\iota$. Before original νF , etc., Cyren. $\eta\eta\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$ but Ther. $\omicron\upsilon\rho\iota$. For contraction archaic Theran E (vs. θ) in $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\iota\theta\epsilon$, etc., later $\epsilon\iota$, rarely η as $\tau\rho\eta\varsigma$. Cyren. 3 sg. mid. Dor. future $\delta\eta\sigma\eta\tau\alpha\iota$ and $\pi\alpha\iota\sigma\epsilon\acute{\iota}\tau\alpha\iota$ in the same inscriptions. Ther. gen. sg. archaic $-\text{O}$ (vs. $\text{O} = \omega$); similarly in Melos gen. sg. $-\text{C}$ (vs. $\text{O} = \omega$), later $-\omicron\upsilon$. Cyren. gen. sg. $-\text{O}$ in a fifth-century inscription which has ω , later always $-\omega$; also ω from $\omicron\epsilon$ in $\lambda\omega\sigma\acute{\alpha}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$.

Somewhat similar situation in Rhodes, Cos, etc. Rhod. $\eta\mu\epsilon\nu$, Rhod., Coan $\delta\eta\lambda\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$, $\beta\omega\lambda\acute{\alpha}$ (in proper names), $\kappa\eta\eta\omicron\varsigma$, but more commonly $\epsilon\iota$, $\omicron\upsilon$. c. Argolic. By lengthening, $\eta\mu\acute{\iota}$, $\chi\eta\eta\omicron\varsigma$, $\chi\eta\eta\omicron\varsigma$, $\eta\eta\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$, $\beta\omega\lambda\acute{\alpha}$, $\acute{\alpha}\rho\omicron\varsigma$, etc., but frequently, and especially later, $\epsilon\iota$, $\omicron\upsilon$. By contraction η in augmented forms, $\eta\eta\pi\epsilon$, $\eta\eta\chi\omicron\nu$, $\eta\eta\lambda\epsilon\tau\omicron$ (beside $\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\tau\omicron$), but in forms of verbs in $-\epsilon\omega$ usually $\epsilon\iota$ and at Argos even ι in $\tau\epsilon\lambda\acute{\iota}\tau\omicron$, $\acute{\alpha}\phi\alpha\iota\rho\acute{\iota}\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ (no. 85, about 450 B.C.) and later $\kappa\alpha\lambda\acute{\iota}\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$. Also, strangely, ι for genuine $\epsilon\iota$ in the thrice recurring $\delta\acute{\iota}$, $\text{I} = \epsilon\text{I}$ (132.2). By contraction ω in $\lambda\omega\tau\eta\rho\iota\omicron\nu$ gen. sg. and acc. pl. of σ -stems, $-\omega$, $-\omega\varsigma$ at Hermione, but usually $-\omicron\upsilon$ and $-\omicron\nu\varsigma$, $-\omicron\varsigma$.

d. It is to be remembered that in the inscriptions of most dialects before the introduction of the Ionic alphabet, and except for the early vowel use of θ , H in Crete, Rhodes, etc., or the use of different signs for

ο and ω in some of the islands, the spelling was simply E, O, which we transcribe ε, ω, whether the later spelling is ει, ου or η, ω.

In Corinthian the identity of secondary ε, ω and original ει, ου belongs to the earliest period, owing to the very early monophthongization of the diphthongs (28, 34). The spelling is E at Corinth and Sicyon (vs. Corinth. S, Sicyon X = ε, η), B at Corcyra, and OV in all three places. It is possible that the situation was similar in Megarian, where there is some indication of early monophthongization of ει (28).

In early Locrian, no. 58, 59 have only E, O, while no. 57 has EI (φάρειν, etc.) and OV in the acc. pl. (τὸν) but O in the gen. sg. (δαμό). Later regularly ει, ου.

In Attic-Ionic, E, O are common until after 400 B.C. and occasionally much later, while EI, OV in general begin to appear in the fifth century B.C. But remarkable is the exceptionally early appearance of EI in EIμί, of which there is one example from the eighth (Hesperia 5.33) and several from the sixth century B.C. in Attic (e.g., no. 1 in the Attic, vs. Eμί in the Ionic version), Eretrian, etc. Conversely, there are a few very early examples of E = original ει, as 3 sg. ἄρχε, etc.

e. An early change of ε to ι occurs in Att. χίλιοι vs. Ion. χεῖλιοι, etc. (76), and ἱμάτιον vs. εἰμάτιον in other dialects, like εἶμα.

f. The lengthening of ο before σ + nasal (76), gives Att.-Ion. ω not ου, as in ὤμος (cf. Goth. *ams*, Skt. *ansa-*, Lat. *umerus*, and Lesb. ἐπομμάδαις), ὠνή (cf. Skt. *vasna-* 'price,' Lat. *venum* 'sale,' and Lesb. ὠνά), Hom. Διώνυσος. The relation of Att. ὄν to ὦν of other dialects is obscure; likewise the history of Att.-Ion. δοῦλος vs. Dor. (Cret., Lac., etc.) δῶλος.

DIPHTHONGS

αι

26. η from αι in Boeotian. The diphthong is retained in the earliest inscriptions, sometimes as αι, sometimes as αε, especially at Tanagra, e.g., Αέσχονδας, Ὀκίβας. But it came to be pronounced as a monophthong, an open ē, and with the introduction of the Ionic alphabet was regularly denoted by η, e.g., κή = καί; ἦ = αἶ; Θειβῆος = Θεβαῖος; dat. sg. and nom. pl. -η = -αι; dat. pl. -ης = -αις; infin. -ση, -σθη = -σαι, -σθαι. In very late inscriptions even ει is found, as Θειβεῖος.

a. An alleged Cret. κή = καί in an early inscription (SEG 2.509, Inscr. Cret. I, p. 90) is at variance with all other evidence and is surely to be rejected. The first occurrence has already been eliminated by a corrected reading. Namely, αἰ δέ κα κή ρίς ροοσει is to be read αἰ δέ κα κηρ (= χηρ) τρῶσει. The second occurrence, which still stands in the latest edition, namely, αἰ δέ κα ρίνος αἶμα ρυή, may be read αἰ δέ κ' with elision

(and so corresponding to αἰ δέ κα of the previous clause), followed by ἦ ρίνος αἶμα from ἐς (=ἐκ) ρίνος with the development as in medial σρ (76).

27. ει from αι in Thessalian. In general αι remains, but at Larissa we find ει for final αι; e.g., ἐψάφισται = ἐψήφισται, βέλλεται = βούληται, γινύεται = γίγνηται; and with added ν (139.2, 156) πεπεῖσται = πεπεῖσθαι, ὀγγράφειν = ἀναγράφαι, ἐφάνγρενθαι = ἐφαιρῶνται, βέλλουνθαι = βούλωνται. Also Ει-μύνειος (Αἶμων).

ει

28. Sooner or later ει became everywhere a monophthong, a close ē (ē), though the spelling was retained and in certain dialects extended to the secondary ē (25). In Corinthian this had taken place at the time of the earliest inscriptions, and, while at Corcyra the spelling was ει (25d), at Corinth the sound was nearly always denoted by a single sign, though generally differentiated from ε or η, e.g., ΔΕνία = Δεινίου, Ποτεδάν (rarely with ΕΞ or ΕΣ), but ἀνέθηκε = ἀνέθηκε. From Megara there are a few examples of E = ει, as names in -κλεδας.

a. At a late period the ē progressed still further to an ī, usually with retention of the old spelling ει, which then came to be used also for original ī (21), but sometimes with phonetic spelling ι. In some words this late spelling with ι became fixed in our texts, e.g., τίσω, ἔτισα, ἔκτισις, of which the proper spelling, as shown by inscriptions and papyri, is τείσω, ἔτισα, ἔκτισις.

b. But before vowels it remained ē for some time after it had become ī elsewhere, and to distinguish it from ει = ī, was often written η, e.g., πολιτήν, ἱέρη, etc., especially in the Augustan period.

c. For Elean αι from ει after ρ, see 12a.

29. ι from ει in Boeotian. The change in pronunciation which took place everywhere at a late period (28a) occurred very early in Boeotian, and here showed itself in the spelling, which in the fifth century varies between ει, ι (4.5), and ι, but later is regularly ι, e.g., Τησιμένες = Τεισιμένες, ἐπί = ἐπεί, ἐπιδεί = ἐπειδή (cf. also 16), ἔχι = ἔχει, κίμενας = κειμένας. For Arg. hī = εἶ, see 25c.

οι

30. υ from οι in Boeotian. The diphthong οι was retained much longer than αι (26) or ει (29), appearing as οι, but also, in some of the earliest inscriptions especially of Tanagra, as οε, e.g. Χοερῖλος, Ήξαδάμος. But in the third century it became a monophthong, probably similar to the German ö, to denote which, approximately, the υ, with its Attic value of ū as a basis, was employed with increasing frequency from about 250 B.C. on, though not uniformly until the end of the century, e.g., Φυκία = οἰκία, dat. sg. and nom. pl. -υ = -οι, dat. pl. -υς = -οις. Where οι is followed by a vowel, it is usually retained (in contrast to αι, 26), as Βοιωτῆς, though Βυωτῶν occurs once.

In some late inscriptions of Lebadea and Chaeronea the spelling ει is also found, indicating the further progress of the sound to ī (see 28a), e.g., αὔτεῖς = αὔτοις.

a. Late Cret. Πότιος (no. 120.24) = Πύτιος illustrates the confusion of οι and υ which later prevailed in the κοινή (hence, with still later change in sound to ι, their identity in Modern Greek).

αι, ει, οι before Vowels

31. In the case of αι, ει, οι, also υι, before vowels the omission of ι, consequent upon its consonantal pronunciation with the following vowel, is to be observed in various dialects, though the spelling is anything but constant, and it is impossible to make any general statement as to the conditions of the loss. Thus, as in Attic Ἀθηναία, later Ἀθηναία, Ἀθηναῖα, δωρεά beside earlier δωρεία, εὔνοα beside εὔνοια, υῖς beside υῖος, υῖς, so, e.g., Ion. ἀτελέη beside ἀτελείη, ποιήσαν = ποιήσαν, Lesb. δικάως = δικαίως, εὔνοαν = εὔνοιαν, Thess. Γεννάοι = Γενναίου, Arc. στροπάος = ἀστραπαῖος, El. ἔα beside εἶε = εἶη, μαστράα = *μαστρεῖα (12a), Cret. ἀγγελκοί = ἀγγελοῖ, Delph. φαωτός = *φαιωτός (φαιός). So especially in forms of ποιέω, as Att. ποεῖ, ποῖσω (but ποιῶν), Lesb. πόησαι, etc., Boeot. ἐπόεισε, Arc. ποέντω, El. ἐπι-ποέντων, Coan ναποῶν beside ναποιάς. Contraction, as in Ἀθηναῖα, in Lesb. Φώκαι = Φωκαῖαι.

a. Owing to the variation in forms like the above, the diphthongal spelling sometimes appears in words where it has no etymological justification, as late ὀδοῖς, ὀδοῖκοντα, βοιηθεῖω.

αυ, ευ, ου

32. In αυ, ευ, ου, the υ remained an u-sound, not becoming ū as it did in Attic when not part of a diphthong. This is shown not only by Ionic αο, εο (33), but by occasional varieties of spelling such as Corinth. Ἀχλλεούς, Corcyra. ἀφυτάν, Att. ἀφυτάρ, Ion. ἀφυτῶ, Cret. ἀμφύσασθαι, where F indicates the natural glide before the u-sound, and Locr. Νάφπακτίδων, Cret. σποφδδάν, etc.

33. αο, εο from αυ, ευ appear in East Ionic inscriptions (εο also in Amphipolis and Thasos) of the fourth century and later, e.g., αότος, ταῶτα, εἰνοια, εἰεργέτης, φεόγειν. This spelling is frequent even in κοινή inscriptions of this region.

a. Cretan inscriptions show several examples of ου beside usual ευ, as early Ἐλτυνοῦσαι, τιτοφτός, τιτοφθέσθ (from *τιτεύομαι 'impose a fine'), later ἐλούθερος, ἐπιτάδουμα, etc. For El. αυ from ευ after ρ, see 12a. Sporadic cases of αυ = ευ elsewhere, as late Delph. ἐλαύθερος, ἱερὰς, βουλαύντων, Arc. Αὐκλίαι (= Εὐκλίαι?), Ther. αὐνοίς, αὐεργέταν, Αὐήμερος, Pholeg. ψαυδῆ, late πέταυρον v.l. of πέτευρον (hence *petaurum* in Lucil., etc.).

34. ου became, in most dialects, a monophthong (first ō, later ū), though the spelling ου was generally retained and eventually extended in certain dialects to the secondary ō. In Corinthian this had taken place at the time of the earliest inscriptions. See 25d.

a. Occasionally words which contain genuine ου are found with the spelling Ο in early inscriptions when Ο for secondary ō was usual, e.g., ὄκ = οὐκ, βῶν = βούν (or = βῶν? See 37.1). In forms of οὔτος, which in general have genuine ου (e.g., Cret. τοῦτο etc.), this spelling is so frequent in early Attic, e.g., τῶτο, τῶτον (τῶτο also in Thasos; cf. also Orop. ἐντῶθα, i.e. ἐντοῦθα = ἐνταῦθα), as to point to some special cause. Possibly, as has been suggested, there existed beside the usual forms with genuine ου (e.g. τοῦτο from *το-υ-το), a gen. sg. τῶτο (τούτου), formed by doubling of τῶ (τού), which then influenced the other forms.

35. Certain words show a υ diphthong only, or mainly, in Lesbian. So αῶς = Dor. ἀφῶς (Arg. ποτ' ἀφῶ, Lac. ἀβῶρ Hesych.), ἄῶς, Hom. ἠῶς, Att. ἔως, from *αῶσῶς (cf. Lat. *aurora* from **ausōs-ā*); παρῶα = Dor. παρᾶ (implied by εὐπαρᾶς), Ion. παρή (implied by καλλιπάρης, παρήιον), Att. παρᾶ, from *παρ-αυσ-ᾶ (cf. Lat. *auris*); ναῦος = Dor. etc., νᾶ (F)ός (cf. Lac. ναῖον),

Hom. *νηός*, Att. *νεός*, probably from **νασός* (54d); *δεύω* (also Thess., no. 33.27 and Hom.), from **δεύσω* (?); *αὐάδης* (Sappho) = Att. *ἀηδής*, from **ἀ-σφᾶδής*. Cf. also Hom. *εὐάδε* from **εσφᾶδε*, and *αὐερώ* from **ἀσφᾶρώ*, **ἀν-φᾶρώ*.

a. In such forms *υ* comes from a combination containing *υ* or *φ*, not from simple intervocalic *φ*, which in Lesbian, as elsewhere, regularly drops out without affecting the preceding vowel. Forms like *αὐάτα* (Alcaeus, Pindar) = *ἀφάτα* (cf. 53), *ε[υ]δε* (Balbilla), etc. (several forms in glosses, presumably from the Lesbian poets; some also in Homer) are poetical only, and represent an artificial doubling or shift in syllabification, perhaps in imitation of cases like the above, coming from a combination. The consonant-doubling in hypocoristic proper names (89.5) accounts for the diphthong in Thess. *Κλεύας*, from **Κλέφας*, Calymn. *Κλεύαντος*, Cret. *Φαῦος*, *Νεύαντος*.

36. In words with regular antevocalic *ευ* the natural glide between *υ* and the following vowel is often expressed by *φ*, as Boeot. *Βακεύφαι*, Cypr. *κατεσκεύφασε*, Lac. *Εὐβάλλης* (*β* = *φ*, 51), Locr. *Εὐφάνδρος*.

In late inscriptions *υ* is sometimes omitted, especially in derivatives of *σκεῦος*, as Att. *παρεσκεασμένων*, Lesb. *ἐπισκεάσαντα*, Corcyr. *ἐπισκεάζειν*, *σκεοθήκας*, Delph. *κατασκεώσεται*.

Long Diphthongs

37. 1. The original long diphthongs *αῖ*, *αῦ*, *εῖ*, *εῦ*, *οῖ*, *οῦ*, except when final, were regularly shortened in prehistoric times to *αι*, *au*, *ει*, *eu*, *οι*, *ou*, or, in some cases, lost the second element. Hence such by-forms as *βοῦς* from **βῶς* (cf. Skt. *gāus*), acc. *βοῦν*, but Arg., Epid., Cret., Syrac. *βῶς*, *βῶν* (cf. Lat. *bōs*, Skt. acc. sg. *gām*), *Ζεύς* from **Ζηύς* (cf. Skt. *dyāus*) but acc. *Ζῆν* (cf. Lat. *diēs*), whence, with transfer to consonant declension, *Ζῆνα*, *Ζηνός*, etc., Cret. *Δῆνα*, *Τῆνα* (84).

2. The Greek long diphthongs may be original when final, but otherwise are of secondary origin. Most of the latter arose by loss of an intervening consonant, as *κλαῖς*, *κληῖς*, from **κλαφῖς* (cf. Lat. *clāvis*), and in the earlier period these were not diphthongs but were pronounced in two syllables. So *κληῖς*, *κηῖζω*, *πολεμήιος*, *πατρώιος*, etc., regularly in Homer, and often in the later Ionic poets. This pronunciation is also indicated by occasional

a. The loss of *ι* probably began in the article, which was proclitic.

b. The fluctuation between the historical and the phonetic spelling in late inscriptions introduced confusion in the spelling of forms with original *η*, *ω*; hence such spellings as nom. sg. *βουλή*, gen. sg. *τῷ δάμωι*, inv. *ἐχέτωι*. Such imperative forms in *-τωι* and *-σθωι*, where this spelling was favored by the subj. in *-ηι*, are especially frequent.

39. *ει* from *ηι*. The history of *ηι* differs in some dialects from that of *αι*, *ωι*,—especially in Attic, where it became *ει* (i.e., *ē*) some two centuries before *αι*, *ωι* became *αἰ*, *ωἰ*.

In the case of *ηι* of secondary origin (37.2) the spelling *ει* is frequent in the fourth century and from about 300 B.C. is almost universal, e.g., *κλείς* from *κληῖς*, *λειστής* from *ληιστής*, *λειτουργέω* from *ληιτουργέω*.

In inflectional endings *ει* is also frequent in the fourth century and predominates in the third and second, e.g., dat. sg. *βουλεῖ*, 3 sg. subj. *εἴπει*. But here, owing to the analogy of other forms with *η* of the same system, as *βουλῆς*, *βουλῆν*, *εἴπητε*, *ηι* was never given up and eventually was fully restored, so that the normal spelling in imperial times was *ηι* or *η* (38).

The spelling *ει* beside *ηι*, partly at least due to Attic influence, is also frequent in third- and second-century inscriptions of other dialects, or even earlier as in the Heracleian Tables, where we find 3 sg. subj. *νέμει*, *φέρει*, etc. (so usually, but twice *-ηι*, once *-η*).

a. The change of *ηι* to *ει* is also Euboean, where it was accompanied by a change of *ωι* to *οι*. In Eretrian this was effected about 400 B.C. Somewhat later *ει* occurs beside *ηι* at Amphipolis, and *οι* beside *ωι* at Olynthus. Dat. sg. *ει* is found also in an inscription from Naples.

NON-DIPHTHONGAL COMBINATIONS OF VOWELS (CONTRACTION, ETC.)

40. Owing to the proethnic loss of intervocalic *ι* and *σ*, a large number of new vowel combinations arose, and these were subsequently augmented by the dialectal loss of intervocalic *φ* (53). An exhaustive treatment of their history in the several dialects would require not merely that each of the numerous combinations should be considered by itself, but that further distinctions should be made according to the character of the consonant which was lost, that of the sound which preceded the combina-

spellings such as *Τήμιοι*, *Θωιήν*, *Ιερήμια*, *Χρημίζω*, in inscriptions. On the other hand the change of *ηι* to *ει* (39) or the loss of the *ι* (38) presupposes the diphthongal pronunciation; and where we find, e.g., *κηῖζω*, *ιερῆον*, and *κηῖζω*, *ιερῆιον*, side by side, the latter must be understood as *κηῖζω*, *ιερῆιον*. But in general it is impossible to determine just when the change from dissyllabic to diphthongal pronunciation took place, and hence it is often uncertain whether we should accent, e.g., *κληῖς* (*κληῖς*) or *κληῖς* (*κληῖς*), *κηῖζω* or *κηῖζω*, *οικῆιος*, *οικῆιου* or *οικῆιος*, *οικῆιου*, and editors of the same texts differ in their practice. We employ the accentuation which goes with the earlier pronunciation, though without the mark of diaeresis, for the early Ionic inscriptions; and likewise in general, simply as a matter of convention, in citing forms of this kind in the grammar.

38. *αι*, *ηι*, *ωι* from *αι*, *ηι*, *ωι*. In Attic the *ι* ceased to be pronounced in the second century B.C., and the spelling without *ι* (the *iota subscript* is a medieval device; in inscriptions *ι* is written like other letters or omitted entirely) became more and more frequent, and may be found in late inscriptions from all parts of Greece. But in some dialects this dates from an earlier period. East Ionic has occasional examples of dat. sg. *-η* = *-ηι* from the sixth century B.C. on, though *-ηι* is the usual spelling.

Lesbian has *τῷ Νικιαῖδι* in a fifth-century inscription (no. 24), the earliest loss of *ι* in the article. No. 25 (first half fourth century) and no. 26 (324 B.C.) have uniformly dat. sg. *-αι*, *-ωι* (3 sg. subj. *-ηι* in no. 25, *-η* in no. 26), while no. 27 (319/7) has 3 sg. subj. *-η*, dat. sg. *-ω*, but *-αι*, a difference observed in some other texts (also, though anachronistic, in some texts of the Lesbian poets; see pp. 342 f.). After the fourth century the forms in *-αι*, *-ω*, *-η* predominate.

Thessalian has from the fifth century dat. sg. *τάφροδίται τᾷ*, and *ταγᾷ* beside *ἀταγῆι* (in no. 35), and in inscriptions in the Ionic alphabet we find regularly dat. sg. *-ᾱ*, *-ου* (= *ω*, 23), 3 sg. subj. *-ει* (= *η*, 16).

Cyprian has dat. sg. *-ᾱ*, *-ῶ*, beside *-αι*, *-ῶι*, but in the Idalium bronze (no. 23) only in the case of the article when followed by *ι*, as *τᾷ ἰ(ν)*.

tion, the accent, the number of syllables in the word, etc. See 45. Only some of the most important facts can be stated here.

α or ᾱ + Vowel

41. 1. *α* + *ε*, *ᾱ* (secondary *ᾱ*), or *η*. Att.-Ionic *ᾱ*, but *η* in West Greek and Boeotian. Similarly *αι* or *ηι* from *α* + *ει*, *ηι*. Examples are forms of verbs in *-αω*, as Att.-Ion. *νικᾷ(αι)*, *νικᾷτε (αι)*, *νικᾶν (αι)*, etc., but *η* in West Greek and Boeotian, e.g., Cret., Arg. *νικῆν*, Lac. *ἐνικῆ*, Rhod. *θαινῆται*, Meg. *φουτῆτω*, Corcyr. *τιμῆν*, Locr. *συλῆν*, Delph. *συλῆν*, Boeot. *φουτῆτε (Αι)*, etc.

a. For Lesbian, Thessalian, and Arcado-Cyprian direct evidence is lacking but *η* is probable in view of the *η* in crasis (94.6). Lesb. *τίμαι*, *βόαι* (gram.; *βόα* text of Sappho), Thess. *ἐρουτᾷ*, probably belong to the *-ᾱω* type (159)?

2. *α* + *ο* or *ω*. When contracted, the result is *ω* in all dialects. So regularly in forms of verbs in *-αω*, as Att. *τιμῶ*, *τιμῶμεν*, Meg. (Selinus) *νικῶμεν*, *νικῶντι*, Locr. *σουλῶντα*, Boeot. *σουλῶντες*, Lac. *ἡβῶντι* (subj.), *ἐνῆβῶσαις* (ἡβῶσαις from *ἡβῶσαις*), but also, rarely, uncontracted as Boeot. *ιαόντος*. Cf. also Heracl. *τέτρωρον* 'group of four boundary-stones' from **τετρα-ορον*, *παμῶχος* (παμῶχῶ) from **παμα-οχος*. *αο* from *αφο* is uncontracted in Boeotian (as in Homer), but in most dialects yields *ω*, as *φῶς* from *φᾱος* (**φαφος*, cf. Hesych. *φαυοφόρος*), Boeot. *Καλλιφᾱών*, etc., *Ἀγλα-* from *ἀγλαο-* (**ἀγλαφο-*), Boeot. *Ἀγλαόδωρος*, etc. (*Ἀγλαο-* also Thess., Coan, etc.), *σῶς*, *σω-*, *Σω-*, from *σᾱφος* (cf. Cypr. *Σαφοκλέφης*). Boeot. *περίσας*, *Συκράτεις*, *Σαυγένης*, etc. Arc., *Σακράτης*, *Σάδαμος*, *Σακλῆς* (beside *Σαοκλῆς*), *Σάανδρος*, Boeot. *Σακράτης*, etc., are to be read *Σᾱ-*, this from *Σαο-*, or parallel to Meg. *Θέδωρος*, etc. (42.5f)?

3. *ᾱ* + *ε*. Attic-Ionic *η*, elsewhere *ᾱ*. Att.-Ion. *ἥλιος* (Hom. *ἥλιος*) from *ᾱφέλιος* (Cret. gloss *ἄβέλιος*), *ᾱέλιος* (Pind., etc., Arc.), Dor. *ἄλιος*, Lesb. *ἄλιος*.

4. *ᾱ* + *ο* or *ω*. Attic-Ionic *εω* or *ω*, elsewhere *ᾱ* or uncontracted. In Attic-Ionic first *ηο*, *ηω* (cf. 8), often preserved in Homer, whence *εω* (with shortening of the first vowel, and, in the case of *ηο*, lengthening of the second; cf. 43), which may be further contracted to *ω* (in Ionic mostly after vowels, cf. 45.2;

in Attic not so restricted, but the conditions are complicated and not wholly clear). In the other dialects the uncontracted forms are most general in Boeotian.

Gen. sg. masc. $\bar{\alpha}$ -stems, Ion. - $\epsilon\omega$, - ω (also - $\eta\omega$ in no. 6), from - $\bar{\alpha}\omega$ as in Homer (here Aeolic, beside Ion. - $\epsilon\omega$) and Boeotian (rare in Thessalian), Arc.-Cypr. - $\bar{\alpha}\omega$ (22), Lesb., Thess., West Greek - $\bar{\alpha}$.

Att.-Ion. $\epsilon\omega\varsigma$ (Hom. $\epsilon\iota\omega\varsigma$, i.e. $\eta\omega\varsigma$) from * $\bar{\alpha}\omega\varsigma$ (Skt. $\gamma\bar{a}\bar{u}\bar{v}\bar{a}\bar{t}$), Lesb. $\bar{\alpha}\varsigma$, Boeot., West Greek $\bar{\alpha}\varsigma$ (late Boeot. also hybrid $\bar{\alpha}\omega\varsigma$).

Att.-Ion. $\lambda\epsilon\omega\varsigma$, $\nu\epsilon\omega\varsigma$, $\xi\omega\varsigma$ (Hom. $\nu\eta\omega\varsigma$, $\eta\omega\varsigma$), $\lambda\eta\omega\varsigma$ (in Eub. 'Αγα-σιλέφω) from $\lambda\bar{\alpha}\bar{\omega}\varsigma$ (seen in personal names of several dialects), $\nu\bar{\alpha}\bar{\omega}\varsigma$, $\xi\bar{\omega}\varsigma$ (but see 35, 54d), in most dialects $\lambda\bar{\alpha}\omega\varsigma$, $\nu\bar{\alpha}\omega\varsigma$, $\xi\omega\varsigma$ but $\lambda\bar{\alpha}$ -, $\nu\bar{\alpha}$ -, in compounds as $\Lambda\bar{\alpha}\kappa\rho\acute{\iota}\nu\eta\varsigma$, $\nu\bar{\alpha}\kappa\acute{o}\rho\omega\varsigma$ $\nu\bar{\alpha}\pi\acute{o}\tau\alpha\iota$, also - $\lambda\bar{\alpha}\varsigma$ frequent for - $\lambda\alpha\omega\varsigma$, etc., in personal names, as the widespread 'Αρκεσίλας (Cyrene sixth century, etc.) beside the rare 'Αρκεσί- $\lambda\alpha\omega\varsigma$ (on an Apulian vase).

Gen. pl. $\bar{\alpha}$ -stems, Ion. - $\epsilon\omega\bar{\nu}$, - $\omega\bar{\nu}$ (also - $\eta\omega\bar{\nu}$ in no. 6), Att. - $\omega\bar{\nu}$, from - $\bar{\alpha}\omega\bar{\nu}$ (* $\bar{\alpha}\bar{s}\bar{o}\bar{m}$, Skt. $\bar{\alpha}\bar{s}\bar{a}\bar{m}$) as in Homer (Aeolic), Boeotian (but always $\tau\bar{\alpha}\bar{\nu}$, see 45.4), Thessalian ($\tau\bar{\alpha}\bar{\nu}$ $\kappa\omicron\iota\nu\acute{\alpha}\sigma\omega\bar{\nu}$, etc. at Crannon, but otherwise - $\bar{\alpha}\bar{\nu}$), Lesb. - $\bar{\alpha}\bar{\nu}$, Arc., West Greek - $\bar{\alpha}\bar{\nu}$.

Att.-Ion. $\theta\epsilon\omega\acute{\rho}\omega\varsigma$, Lesb. $\theta\epsilon\bar{\alpha}\rho\omega\varsigma$, West Greek $\theta\epsilon\bar{\alpha}\rho\omega\varsigma$, beside uncontracted Arc. $\theta\epsilon\bar{\alpha}\rho\omega\varsigma$, from * $\theta\epsilon\bar{\alpha}$ - $\phi\omega\acute{\rho}\omega\varsigma$ (or - $\hbar\phi\omega\acute{\rho}\omega\varsigma$, cf. $\phi\acute{\rho}\omega\rho\omega\varsigma$ from * $\phi\acute{\rho}\omega$ - $\hbar\phi\omega\acute{\rho}\omega\varsigma$; both from - $\hbar\phi\omega\acute{\rho}\omega\varsigma$). Boeot. $\theta\iota\alpha\omega\rho\acute{\iota}\alpha$ could be from a parallel form with ω -grade in the second part, but more likely is a hybrid, influenced by Att. $\theta\epsilon\omega\rho\acute{\iota}\alpha$.

Att. $\kappa\omicron\iota\nu\acute{\omega}\bar{\nu}$, $\xi\nu\nu\acute{\omega}\bar{\nu}$, Ion. $\xi\nu\nu\epsilon\acute{\omega}\bar{\nu}$ (Hes. $\xi\nu\nu\eta\gamma\omicron\nu\alpha\varsigma$) from * $\bar{\alpha}\bar{\omega}\bar{\nu}$, * $\bar{\alpha}\bar{\omega}\bar{\nu}\omega\varsigma$, $\xi\nu\nu\acute{\alpha}\omega\bar{\nu}\omega\varsigma$ Pindar, Arc., West Greek $\kappa\omicron\iota\nu\acute{\alpha}\bar{\nu}$. So Epid. $\kappa\upsilon\kappa\acute{\alpha}\bar{\nu}$ = $\kappa\upsilon\kappa\epsilon\acute{\omega}\bar{\nu}$.

Att. $\Pi\omicron\sigma\epsilon\iota\delta\acute{\omega}\bar{\nu}$, Ion. $\Pi\omicron\sigma\epsilon\iota\delta\acute{\epsilon}\omega\bar{\nu}$, Hom. $\Pi\omicron\sigma\epsilon\iota\delta\acute{\alpha}\omega\bar{\nu}$ (- $\bar{\alpha}\omega\bar{\nu}\omega\varsigma$), Corinth. $\Pi\omicron\tau\epsilon\delta\acute{\alpha}\bar{\omega}\bar{\nu}$, $\Pi\omicron\tau\epsilon\delta\acute{\alpha}\bar{\nu}$, $\Pi\omicron\tau\epsilon\delta\acute{\alpha}\bar{\nu}$, Boeot. $\Pi\omicron\tau\epsilon\iota\delta\acute{\alpha}\bar{\omega}\bar{\nu}$, Cret., Rhod., Delph. $\Pi\omicron\tau\epsilon\iota\delta\acute{\alpha}\bar{\nu}$ (- $\bar{\alpha}\bar{\nu}\omega\varsigma$), Lesb. $\Pi\omicron\sigma\epsilon\iota\delta\acute{\alpha}\bar{\nu}$, Arc. $\Pi\omicron\sigma\iota\delta\acute{\alpha}\bar{\nu}\omega\varsigma$, Lac. $\Pi\omicron\hbar\omicron\iota\delta\acute{\alpha}\bar{\nu}$ (- $\bar{\alpha}\bar{\nu}$).

Arc. $\Pi\acute{\alpha}\omega\bar{\nu}$ beside $\Pi\acute{\alpha}\bar{\nu}\omega\varsigma$, $\Pi\acute{\alpha}\bar{\nu}$. Here the native Arcadian form was adopted in Attic-Ionic.

a. In Ionic, beside usual $\epsilon\omega$, there are some examples of $\epsilon\omicron$ or $\epsilon\upsilon$ (cf. 33), as $\theta\epsilon\omega\acute{\rho}\omega\varsigma$, $\theta\epsilon\upsilon\acute{\rho}\omega\varsigma$ (Paros, Thasos), gen. sg. - $\epsilon\upsilon$ (Erythrae, etc.).

b. In Ionic some of the older forms with unshortened η , as in Homer, are employed also by later writers, as $\eta\omega\varsigma$, etc. So $\eta\omega\varsigma$ in Herodotus and in an inscription of Oropus (gen. sg. $\eta\delta\omega\varsigma$).

$\lambda\iota\pi\omicron\tau\epsilon\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\bar{\epsilon}\iota$ (but read - $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\epsilon}\iota$ by some, as belonging to type - $\eta\omega$, 159), Delph. $\acute{\alpha}\delta\iota\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\eta$, $\kappa\omicron\iota\acute{\epsilon}\eta$, Lesb. $\xi\eta$, Boeot. $\xi\epsilon\iota$, $\delta\omicron\kappa\iota\acute{\epsilon}\iota$ (9, 16), are rare. See 45.5. But forms like $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\eta\iota$, $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\eta\tau\alpha\iota$ (from $\epsilon\bar{\eta}\eta$, see 45.1) are usually uncontracted. Names in - $\kappa\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\eta\varsigma$ occur in some dialects, though most have only - $\kappa\lambda\eta\varsigma$. See 108.1a.

5. $\epsilon + \omicron$. The contraction to secondary δ ($\omicron\upsilon$), as in $\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ from * $\gamma\epsilon\nu\epsilon\sigma\omicron\varsigma$, $\phi\iota\lambda\omicron\upsilon\mu\epsilon\nu$ from * $\phi\iota\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\iota\omicron\mu\epsilon\nu$ (but $\pi\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\mu\epsilon\nu$, $\eta\delta\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\varsigma$, etc., see 45.1), is Attic only. Most dialects have $\epsilon\omicron$ or $\iota\omicron$ (9), as $\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$ (- $\iota\omicron\varsigma$), $\phi\iota\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\mu\epsilon\nu$ (- $\iota\omicron\mu\epsilon\nu$).

In Ionic $\epsilon\omicron$ often has the value of one syllable in poetry, and this diphthongal pronunciation came to be represented by $\epsilon\upsilon$ (cf. $\epsilon\omicron$ = original $\epsilon\upsilon$, 33). This spelling, though found in our texts of earlier authors (sometimes even in Homer, as $\mu\epsilon\upsilon$, $\phi\iota\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\bar{\nu}\tau\alpha\varsigma$), does not appear in Ionic inscriptions until the fourth century B.C. But it occurs also in Rhodes, Cos, Thera, Cyrene, Megara, Delphi, Corcyra, etc., mostly late but an exceptionally early example is Corinth. $\Theta\epsilon\upsilon\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\varsigma$ of the sixth century B.C.

Also from $\epsilon +$ secondary δ (Att. $\omicron\upsilon$) spelling $\epsilon\omicron$ or $\epsilon\upsilon$, Coan $\kappa\upsilon\epsilon\delta\omicron\sigma\alpha$, $\kappa\upsilon\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\alpha$, $\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\alpha$, $\pi\alpha\rho\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\alpha$.

a. Boeotian has some examples of $\iota\omega$, $\iota\omicron\upsilon$, beside $\iota\omicron$ (both original and from $\epsilon\omicron$), but mostly after dentals, where it was supported by the prevalence of the spelling $\iota\omega = \upsilon$ (24). Thus $\Nu\omicron\mu\epsilon\iota\bar{\nu}\iota\omega\varsigma$ and $\Nu\iota\mu\epsilon\iota\bar{\nu}\iota\omega\varsigma$, $\nu\iota\omicron\mu\epsilon\iota\bar{\nu}\iota\eta$, $\Theta\iota\omicron\upsilon\tau\iota\mu\upsilon$, $\Delta\iota\omicron\upsilon\kappa\lambda\epsilon\iota\varsigma$, but once also $\beta\iota\omicron\upsilon\tau\eta$.

b. Change to $\epsilon\omega$ in Cyren. $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\alpha\rho\epsilon\omega\mu\epsilon\bar{\nu}\omega\iota$, $\pi\alpha\rho\beta\epsilon\omega\bar{\nu}\tau\alpha\varsigma$ (with transfer from - $\alpha\omega$ to - $\epsilon\omega$ type, 161.2), and (with ι from ϵ , 9.8, 9) Lac. $\delta\omicron\mu\acute{\omega}\mu\epsilon\theta\alpha$, Heracl. $\acute{\epsilon}\mu\epsilon\tau\rho\acute{\iota}\omega\mu\epsilon\varsigma$, $\mu\epsilon\tau\rho\acute{\iota}\omega\mu\epsilon\bar{\nu}\alpha\iota$ (before single consonant, vs. $\iota\omega$ in $\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\gamma\epsilon\lambda\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu\tau\iota$, etc.). Cf. also Tarentine pron. gen. sg. (gram.) $\acute{\epsilon}\mu\acute{\iota}\omega(\varsigma)$, $\tau\acute{\iota}\omega(\varsigma)$ = $\acute{\epsilon}\mu\epsilon\omicron(\varsigma)$, $\tau\epsilon\omicron(\varsigma)$.

c. Contraction to ω in some towns of East and West Crete, mostly in open syllables, as $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\alpha\iota\nu\acute{\omega}\mu\epsilon\nu$, $\epsilon\upsilon\chi\alpha\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\omega}\mu\epsilon\varsigma$, $\acute{\omega}\nu\omega\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omega\varsigma$, etc., but also $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\kappa\alpha\lambda\acute{\omega}\nu\tau\iota$, $\delta\iota\alpha\tau\eta\rho\acute{\omega}\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$. Likewise $\acute{\epsilon}\xi\alpha\rho\acute{\omega}\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ in an inscription of Phaselis.

d. Change to $\omicron$ before $\nu\tau$ or final ν . East Cret. (especially Hierapytna; but some examples also in the west) $\kappa\omicron\sigma\mu\acute{\omicron}\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$, $\kappa\rho\alpha\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$, $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\omicron\rho\kappa\acute{\omicron}\nu\tau\iota$, $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\tau\omicron\nu$, etc., Arg. $\delta\iota\alpha\tau\epsilon\lambda\acute{\omicron}\nu\tau\iota$, $\kappa\omicron\iota\nu\alpha\bar{\nu}\acute{\omicron}\nu\tau\iota$, $\acute{\epsilon}\mu\phi\alpha\bar{\nu}\iota\acute{\omicron}\nu\tau\alpha\varsigma$, $\delta\alpha\mu\iota\omicron\rho\gamma\acute{\omicron}\nu\tau\omicron\nu$, $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\omega}\lambda\omicron\nu$, (here also probably Heracl. fut. $\kappa\omicron\phi\omicron\nu\tau\iota$, etc., but disputed; see 141b), Delph. $\theta\epsilon\alpha\rho\acute{\omicron}\nu\tau\omicron\nu$, $\kappa\omicron\iota\acute{\omicron}\nu\tau\alpha\bar{\nu}$ (beside $\kappa\omicron\iota\acute{\omicron}\nu\tau\alpha\bar{\nu}$ in the same inscription), Heracl. $\kappa\omicron\iota\acute{\omicron}\nu\tau\alpha\bar{\nu}\alpha\varsigma\iota$, $\acute{\epsilon}\xi\epsilon\kappa\omicron\iota\acute{\omicron}\nu$, Mess. $\kappa\omicron\iota\acute{\omicron}\nu\tau\iota$, Chian $\kappa\omicron\iota\acute{\omicron}\nu\tau\omicron\varsigma$. In these last examples, from $\kappa\omicron\iota\acute{\omicron}\nu\tau\alpha\bar{\nu}$, the fact that a vowel preceded the original $\epsilon\omicron$ is a special factor, and the similar loss of ϵ is seen in other forms of the same verb, as Delph. $\kappa\omicron\iota\acute{\omicron}\nu\tau\iota$, $\kappa\omicron\iota\acute{\omicron}\nu\tau\iota$, El. $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\kappa\omicron\iota\acute{\omicron}\nu\tau\iota$, $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\kappa\omicron\iota\acute{\omicron}\nu\tau\iota$ (beside $\acute{\epsilon}\xi\alpha\rho\acute{\omicron}\nu\tau\iota$, $\acute{\epsilon}\xi\alpha\rho\acute{\omicron}\nu\tau\iota$ in the same inscription), Troez. $\kappa\omicron\iota\acute{\omicron}\nu\tau\iota$.

c. Homer has the non-Ion. $\lambda\acute{\alpha}\omega\varsigma$, which also displaced $\lambda\epsilon\omega\varsigma$ in the $\kappa\omicron\iota\nu\acute{\eta}$ and Modern Greek. Similarly $\nu\acute{\alpha}\omega\varsigma$ instead of $\nu\epsilon\omega\varsigma$ in the $\kappa\omicron\iota\nu\acute{\eta}$ and Modern Greek.

d. In Thessalian there are some examples of δ , $\omicron\upsilon$ (from ω , 23), where we expect $\bar{\alpha}$, as gen. pl. $\pi\rho\omicron\zeta\epsilon\nu\iota\omega\bar{\nu}$, $\Gamma\omicron\mu\phi\iota\tau\omicron\upsilon\bar{\nu}$, $\theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon\rho\omega\varsigma$, $\Pi\omicron\tau\epsilon\iota\delta\omicron\upsilon\bar{\nu}$, $\hbar\upsilon\lambda\delta\acute{\omicron}\rho\epsilon\omicron\nu\tau\omicron\varsigma$ (cf. $\acute{\omicron}\lambda\eta\omega\acute{\rho}\omega\varsigma$, $\acute{\omicron}\lambda\omega\acute{\rho}\omega\varsigma$). But the first four are probably $\kappa\omicron\iota\nu\acute{\eta}$ forms with dialectal coloring (for such hybrids, see 280), and $\hbar\upsilon\lambda\delta\acute{\omicron}\rho\epsilon\omicron\nu\tau\omicron\varsigma$ is from $\acute{\omicron}\lambda\omicron$ - beside $\acute{\omicron}\lambda\bar{\alpha}$ - (see 167).

- $\epsilon +$ Vowel

42.1. $\epsilon + \alpha$. Uncontracted $\epsilon\alpha$ in most dialects, contracted η in some. Acc. pl. neut. of σ -stems, Arc., Locr., Lac. $\acute{\epsilon}\tau\epsilon\alpha$, Boeot. $\acute{\epsilon}\tau\epsilon\iota\alpha$, Pamph. $\acute{\epsilon}\tau\epsilon\iota\alpha$, Ion., Delph. $\acute{\epsilon}\tau\epsilon\alpha$, Cret. $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\tau\epsilon\alpha$, Lesb. $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\alpha$ —Heracl. $\acute{\epsilon}\tau\epsilon\eta$ (but $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\delta\rho\epsilon\alpha$), Att., Argol., Rhod. $\acute{\epsilon}\tau\eta$, Coan $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\rho\eta$, $\theta\acute{\upsilon}\eta$, etc., also Ion. $\theta\acute{\upsilon}\eta$ (no. 8), $\sigma\acute{\kappa}\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\eta$, etc. beside $\acute{\epsilon}\tau\epsilon\alpha$, etc. Acc. sg. masc. σ -stems, mostly $\epsilon\alpha$, but η in Attic, also Rhod. $\lambda\epsilon\iota\delta\eta\eta$ (no. 100, sixth century B.C.), Lac. $\Theta\iota\omicron\kappa\lambda\acute{\epsilon}$ (sixth century B.C.), Kleogénē, Ion. $\acute{\epsilon}\xi\acute{\omega}\lambda\eta$ (but earlier $\acute{\alpha}\phi\alpha\nu\acute{\epsilon}\alpha$, no. 4.11), Troez. $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\alpha\lambda\acute{\epsilon}$, Delph. $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\delta\omicron\gamma\epsilon\nu\eta$, 'Αγαθoκλῆ, etc. Acc. pl. masc. fem. - $\epsilon\alpha\varsigma$, but Cyren. $\tau\rho\acute{\iota}\eta\rho\eta\varsigma$. Cf. also Coan $\eta\acute{\upsilon}\tau\omega\bar{\nu}$ = $\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\upsilon\tau\omega\bar{\nu}$. Att.-Ion. $\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\rho$, gen. $\eta\rho\omega\varsigma$, but $\eta\rho$ in Alcman, Delph. $\eta\rho\acute{\iota}\omega\varsigma$.

Even $\epsilon\alpha$ from $\epsilon\bar{\epsilon}\alpha$, which is uncontracted in Attic, sometimes becomes η in West Greek, as Delph., Rhod., Coan, Cyren. $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\eta$ = $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\eta\epsilon\alpha$, Ther. $\eta\mu\acute{\iota}\sigma\eta$ = $\eta\mu\acute{\iota}\sigma\epsilon\alpha$, Κληγόρας = Κλεαγόρας, Rhod. 'Αγῆναξ = 'Αγεααξ, Dor. $\kappa\rho\eta\varsigma$ (Theocr., etc.) = $\kappa\rho\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\varsigma$, Sicil. (Acrae) $\phi\rho\eta\tau\iota\omega\bar{\nu}$ = $\phi\rho\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\tau\iota\omega\bar{\nu}$ (cf. $\phi\rho\eta\tau\iota$ Callim.). Dor. $\beta\lambda\eta\rho$ (Alcman) = Att. $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\alpha\rho$ (cf. dat. sg. $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\eta\tau\iota$ Hesych., $\delta\epsilon\lambda\eta\tau\iota\omega\bar{\nu}$ Sophron).

2. $\epsilon + \bar{\alpha}$. Personal names in - $\epsilon\alpha\varsigma$, as $\tau\iota\mu\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\varsigma$, $\delta\eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\varsigma$, usually remain uncontracted in Attic ('Ερμῆς is the Ionic form) and most dialects, though in late times partly replaced by - $\bar{\alpha}\varsigma$, as $\delta\eta\mu\bar{\alpha}\varsigma$, $\delta\alpha\mu\bar{\alpha}\varsigma$. But - $\eta\varsigma$ regularly in Ionic (from - $\acute{\epsilon}\eta\varsigma$), as $\delta\eta\mu\bar{\eta}\varsigma$, $\alpha\pi\epsilon\lambda\bar{\eta}\varsigma$, and sometimes elsewhere, as Rhod. 'Αριστῆς, Ther. $\kappa\upsilon\delta\rho\eta\varsigma$, $\Theta\alpha\rho\eta\varsigma$ (archaic). Cf. Rhod. $\chi\alpha\lambda\kappa\eta$ from $\chi\alpha\lambda\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\alpha$.

3. $\epsilon + \epsilon$. Regularly contracted to $\bar{\epsilon}$ ($\epsilon\iota$) or η (see 25), as Att. $\tau\rho\epsilon\iota\varsigma$, Ther. $\tau\rho\eta\varsigma$, from * $\tau\rho\acute{\epsilon}\eta\varsigma$ (Skt. $\tau\rho\acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\varsigma$). But uncontracted forms also occur, as Cret. $\tau\rho\acute{\epsilon}\epsilon\varsigma$, $\delta\rho\omicron\mu\acute{\epsilon}\epsilon\varsigma$, Arg. $\gamma\rho\omicron\phi\acute{\epsilon}\epsilon\varsigma$, Boeot. $\acute{\epsilon}\iota\alpha\tau\iota\bar{\epsilon}\tau\iota\epsilon\varsigma$. See 45.5.

4. $\epsilon + \epsilon\iota$, $\eta\iota$, or η . Regularly contracted to $\epsilon\iota$, $\eta\iota$, η , as $\phi\iota\lambda\epsilon\iota$, $\phi\iota\lambda\eta\iota$, $\phi\iota\lambda\eta\tau\alpha\iota$. Uncontracted forms, like Locr. $\delta\omicron\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\bar{\epsilon}\iota$, $\acute{\alpha}\nu\hbar\delta\rho\acute{\epsilon}\bar{\epsilon}\iota$,

e. Change to ϵ before $\nu\tau$ in Cyren. $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\tau\iota\mu\alpha\sigma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\iota$ (3 pl. Dor. fut.), $\delta\alpha\mu\iota\epsilon\rho\gamma\acute{\omicron}\nu\tau\omega\bar{\nu}$, $\acute{\Lambda}\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\iota\chi\omega\varsigma$, $\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\sigma\phi\omicron\rho\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$, etc. (thus showing that the old view of $\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\sigma\phi\omicron\rho\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ as an unthematic form was mistaken).

f. Personal names compounded of $\theta\epsilon\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ show forms in $\Theta\epsilon$ - and $\Theta\omicron$ -. Though found elsewhere, these are most common in Megarian and nearly always with $\theta\epsilon$ - before a simple consonant, $\Theta\omicron$ - before two, as $\Theta\acute{\epsilon}\delta\omega\rho\omega\varsigma$, $\Theta\acute{\epsilon}\tau\iota\mu\omega\varsigma$, but $\Theta\omicron\kappa\rho\acute{\iota}\nu\eta\varsigma$, $\Theta\omicron\kappa\lambda\epsilon\iota\delta\alpha\varsigma$. Cf. also Ion. $\Theta\acute{\omicron}\kappa\lambda\omega\varsigma$, $\kappa\lambda\acute{\omicron}\delta\epsilon\iota\omega\varsigma$, $\delta\rho\tau\eta$ = $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\sigma\tau\eta$, $\nu\omicron\sigma\sigma\iota\acute{\eta}$, late Att. $\nu\omicron\sigma\sigma\iota\acute{\alpha}$, etc. for earlier $\nu\omicron\sigma\tau\iota\acute{\alpha}$, etc.

g. More isolated is Arc. $\pi\lambda\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ from * $\pi\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\varsigma$ = $\pi\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\nu$ (113.2).

6. $\epsilon + \omega$ or $\omicron\iota$. In Attic regularly contracted, as $\phi\iota\lambda\acute{\omega}$, $\phi\iota\lambda\omicron\iota$, but $\pi\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omega$, $\eta\delta\acute{\epsilon}\omega\bar{\nu}$, etc., see 45.1). In other dialects regularly uncontracted $\epsilon\omega$, $\epsilon\omicron\iota$, or $\iota\omega$, $\iota\omicron\iota$ (9), but sometimes ω , $\omicron\iota$, mostly after a vowel (see 45.2). Ion. $\acute{\epsilon}\iota\delta\acute{\epsilon}\omega\bar{\nu}$ but $\kappa\omicron\iota\omega\bar{\nu}$, $\acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\omega\epsilon\acute{\omicron}\eta$ but $\kappa\omicron\iota\omega\iota$, Lesb. $\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\tau\epsilon\theta\acute{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma$, Delph. $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\kappa\alpha\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omega\iota$, $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\delta\omicron\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\omega\bar{\nu}\tau\iota$ but $\kappa\omicron\iota\omega\bar{\nu}\tau\iota$, Locr. $\acute{\epsilon}\omega\bar{\nu}\tau\iota$, $\pi\rho\omicron\zeta\epsilon\nu\epsilon\acute{\omicron}\iota$. El. $\acute{\epsilon}\xi\alpha\rho\acute{\omicron}\nu\tau\iota$, $\delta\omicron\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\omega\iota$ but $\kappa\omicron\iota\omega\bar{\nu}$, $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\kappa\omicron\iota\omega\iota$, $\kappa\omicron\iota\omega\iota\tau\omicron$ (also $\kappa\omicron\iota\omega\iota\tau\omicron$), Heracl. $\acute{\alpha}\delta\iota\kappa\acute{\iota}\omega\bar{\nu}$, $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\hbar\eta\lambda\eta\theta\acute{\iota}\omega\bar{\nu}\tau\iota$, but $\kappa\omicron\iota\omega\bar{\nu}$, $\kappa\omicron\iota\omega\bar{\nu}\tau\iota$, Cret. $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\theta\acute{\iota}\omega\mu\epsilon\nu$, $\pi\acute{\omicron}\nu\acute{\iota}\omega\iota$ ($\phi\omega\bar{\nu}\acute{\epsilon}\omega\iota$), Arg. (early) $\delta\alpha\mu\iota\omicron\rho\gamma\acute{\omicron}\nu\tau\iota$, $\acute{\alpha}\phi\iota\kappa\iota\omega\iota\tau\omicron$.

$\eta +$ Vowel

43. In the declension of nouns in - $\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$ the η of the stem is retained, as in Homer, in the Aeolic dialects, Arcado-Cyprian, and Elean, but shortened in most West Greek dialects and Attic-Ionic; in Attic this is accompanied by lengthening of the second vowel, if $\omicron$ or α ($\beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma$, $\beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\bar{\alpha}$). See 111. This "quantitative metathesis" seen in Attic is in many other words Ionic also (as usually from $\eta\omicron$ = $\bar{\alpha}\omicron$, 41.4), e.g., $\hbar\lambda\epsilon\omega\varsigma$ (Herodas—Hdt. $\hbar\lambda\epsilon\omega\varsigma$ or $\hbar\lambda\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$?) from $\hbar\lambda\eta\omega\varsigma$ (49.5), $\pi\acute{\omicron}\lambda\epsilon\omega\varsigma$ (109.2), Mil. $\acute{\iota}\epsilon\rho\epsilon\omega\varsigma$ (111.5), also $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\omega\varsigma$ (Herodas, and, borrowed from Ionic, in Coan) = Cret. $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\eta\omega\varsigma$, though the usual Ionic form is $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\iota\omega\varsigma$, $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$.

Cret., Arc. $\chi\rho\eta\omega\varsigma$ (Hom. $\chi\rho\epsilon\iota\omega\varsigma$), Att. $\chi\rho\acute{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma$ and $\chi\rho\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\varsigma$; $\chi\rho\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\varsigma$ in most dialects (for verbal forms, see 162.13).

Cf. also the subjunctives with η retained in Hom. $\theta\eta\omicron\mu\epsilon\nu$ ($\theta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omicron\mu\epsilon\nu$), Boeot. $\kappa\omicron\upsilon\rho\omicron\upsilon\theta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$, etc., but shortened in most dialects, as Ion. $\theta\acute{\epsilon}\omega\mu\epsilon\nu$ (Att. $\theta\acute{\omega}\mu\epsilon\nu$), Cret. $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\theta\acute{\iota}\omega\mu\epsilon\nu$, etc. See 151.2.

Contraction of $\eta\alpha$ to η (but probably through $\epsilon\alpha$, cf. 42.1) is seen in Eub. 3 pl. $\acute{\epsilon}\iota\rho\eta\tau\alpha\iota$ from * $\acute{\epsilon}\iota\rho\acute{\eta}\tau\alpha\iota$ (cf. Hom. $\beta\epsilon\beta\lambda\eta\tau\alpha\iota$), $\acute{\epsilon}\iota\rho\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\tau\alpha\iota$ (Hdt.), and in $\beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\eta$, etc. of Delphian and most Doric dialects (111.3).

o + Vowel

44. 1. o + α. When contracted, the result is ω in all dialects (cf. ω from α + o, 41.2), e.g., Att. ἡδῖω, Heracl. μείω from -ο(σ)α, Τιμῶναξ, Ἰππῶναξ, etc. in West as well as East Greek dialects, from -ο(σ)α (for Rhod. Τιμῶναξ, see 167). Cf. also ω in crasis, as Corinth. τῶγαθόν = τὸ ἀγαθόν, etc. (94).

a. The older view that o + α gives Dor. ᾱ rests on a false derivation of Dor. πᾱτος (see 114.1a).

2. o + ᾱ. Usually uncontracted (Att. οη), but in Ionic regularly ω, in other dialects sometimes ᾱ, e.g., Rhod. βοᾷθέω, Cret. βοᾷθῖω, Aetol. βοᾷθῶ, Att. βοηθέω, but Ion. βωθέω, Lesb. βᾱθεῶ, Att. βοηδρομίων, but Coan, Rhod. Βᾱδρόμιος, Att. dat. sg. ὀγδόη, Coan, Rhod. ὀγδαῖ. For Ionic ω from οη, no matter whether η is from ᾱ or original η, cf. also ὀγδῶι (once) = ὀγδόη, and ὀγδῶκοντα from ὀγδοήκοντα (with original η), and Hdt. βῶσαι, νῶσαι, ἀλλογνώσας.

3. o + o. Regularly contracted to secondary ὀ(ου) or ω (see 25), as gen. sg. -ου or -ω from -οιο (106.1).

4. o + ε. When contracted, the result is the same as from o + o (3), e.g., Att. ἐλάττους (nom. pl., from -ο(σ)ες), but Lac. ἐλάσσας, Att. λουτρόν (Hom. λωστρόν), Arg., Heracl. λωτήριον, Cyren. λωσάμενος. So Heracl. πρῶγγυος from *προέγγυος. Cf. also the crasis in Att. τοῦτος, Lesb. ὠνίαντος, etc. (94.2). But we also find uncontracted οε, mainly from οφε, and, before two consonants, sometimes ο, e.g., Lesb. ὁμονόεντες, λωεσσάμενος, Μαλόνεντι, Arc. Σινόνεντι, Locr. Ὀπόνεντι and in the same inscription Ὀποντίους, Meg. Σελινόνεντι but Σελινόντιοι, Cret. Βολόνεντα, Βολοντίων, later Ὀλόντι, Ὀλοντίους, all from -ο-φεντ- (164.2). For δαμιοργός, δαμιεργός, etc., see 167.

45. Notes to 41-44. Besides the so-called "hyphaeresis" in ε or ο from εο (42.5d, e, f, g), ο from οε (44.4), and ε from εε as in the widespread gen. sg. -κλέος in proper names, there are also scattered examples of ο from οο. So late Cret. βοᾷθῶς, Att.-Ion. βοηθῶς (Hdt., Thuc.) beside -θῶος (Hom.), as in several dialects βοᾷθῶ instead of βοᾷθῶ. Arc. βουσός 'cattle-run' from *βουσός like μᾶλοσός, μῆλοσός 'sheep-run' (Hesych.). Here apparently gen. sg. Cyren. λεχός, etc. (111.5a) from -οος. Some of the

factors which help to account for divergence in the development of the same combination of vowels are the following.

1. A combination which arises by the loss of F, being of later origin than that arising from the loss of ι or σ, may remain uncontracted, or be contracted only later. So Att. πλέομεν, ἡδέος, ἡδέα, ἡδέων, in contrast to φιλοῦμεν, γένους, γένη, γενῶν, Locr. Ὀπόνεντι, later Ὀποῦντι.

2. A combination which is otherwise uncontracted may be contracted after a vowel, Att. βασιλέως but ἀλιῶς, Ion. Μεγαβάτεω but Παναμύω (-ω sometimes after consonants also, but not usually), ἀνωθεοῖη but ποιῶι, El. δοκέοι but ποιῶιτο, etc. (see 42.6).

3. A combination which is otherwise contracted may remain uncontracted in dissyllabic words. Att. πέος, θεός, ζέω, and likewise, though belonging also under 1, Att. νέος and νεός, λεός, Dor. νᾱός, λᾱός. Such words may be contracted in compounds, as Att. Θούτιμος, νουμηνία, Dor. νᾱκόρος, Λᾱκρίνης, Ἀρκεσίλας. Cf. also Meg. Θέδωρος, Θοκρίνης (42.5f).

4. The article, as proclitic, is often the first form to show contraction. Cf. Boet. τᾶν μωσάων, Thess. τᾶν κοινάων (Crannon; elsewhere -ᾶν in nouns also), Eub. τᾶν δραχμῶν.

5. The analogical influence of grammatically related forms in which the vowel, either of stem or ending, is not subject to contraction often counteracts the normal phonetic development. So Cret. τρέες, etc., with -ες after forms like πόδες, Ion. βασιλέος, etc. (not -εως), after ποδός etc., Locr. δοκέει, etc., after δοκέομεν etc.

6. A late contraction of ιο to ι is indicated by the frequent spelling ι or ει in Hellenistic times, e.g., in proper names Διονύσις, etc. = -ιος, nom.-acc. sg. neut. ἀργύριον, παιδεῖν, etc. = -ιον (hence modern παιδί, etc.). So late Lac. κασσηρατόριον beside -τοριον, likewise (for ιο from εο) Σίδαμος = Θεόδαμος, acc. sg. θίν = θεόν, gen. sg. Καλλικράτης, Ἀριστοτέλης.

Assimilation and Dissimilation of Vowels

46. 1. The assimilation of vowels is comparatively rare in Greek, and not characteristic of any particular dialect. Here may be mentioned Ὀρχομενός from Ἐρχομενός, the regular

native form of the name of both the Boeotian and the Arcadian town, Τροφώνιος from Τρεφώνιος, name of the Boeotian local hero, Chian Ἐρμῶνοσσα = -ασσα, Thess. Φεκέδαμος = Boeot. Φεκάδαμος, Delph. Φανατεύς beside Φανοτεύς. Cyren. βᾶβᾶλος = usual Dor. βέβαλος, Att. βέβηλος, late Cret. θαρπεύσαντες, Ἀπταραῖος, etc. For examples of ι and υ, see 20. For Boeot. τρέπεδδα, see 18. For Ποσειδάν, Ἀπόλλων, ὀβολός, in which assimilation is a possible but not necessary assumption, see 49.1, 3.

2. Prehistoric dissimilation of Φευ- to Φει- in εἶπον, εἴφειπον (cf. Cret. Φεῖπει) from *Φευπον (= Skt. *avocam*) and probably (though disputed) in ἀ(φ)εῖδω. Dissimilation of -αια to -εια is generally assumed for Mess. αὔλεια = αὐλαία, Heracl. προτερεια = Att. προτεραια (ἡμέρα), Att. ῥήνεια beside ῥηναιεύς, Thess. Μελίτεια beside Μελιταιεύς, Arc. Αὐκλεια (if = *Εὐκλεια). But possibly these are cases of suffix-interchange rather than phonetic change.

Epenthetic Vowels

47. Lesb. γέλαιμι, etc. quoted by grammarians, are of doubtful authenticity. (3 sg. φαῖσι, Sappho, may be due to 3 pl. φαῖσι, 77.3). For epenthesis in the case of original νι, ρι, λι, see 74a, b.

Anaptyctic Vowels

48. ἔβδομος and ἔβδεμος (114.7) from *ἔβδμο-, *ἔπτμο-. Other examples are of only exceptional occurrence, as Att. Ἐρεμῆς = Ἐρμῆς, El. Σαλαμῶν = Σαλμώνη, Thess. Ἀσκαλαπίος = Ἀσκαλαπίος, Delph. Τολοφώνιος = Τολφώνιος. The widely attested πέλεθρον = πλέθρον (Cret., Delph., Thess., etc., as in Homer) is perhaps an inherited by-form.

Vowel-Gradation

49. In the system of inherited vowel-gradation (or "ablaut," to use the widely adopted German term) the dialects generally agree in the grade shown by corresponding forms, e.g., λείπω, λέλοιπα, ἔλιπον, in all dialects alike. But there are some examples of dialectal differences, of which the following may be mentioned.²

² Some cases where the variation is quite possibly not inherited, but which fall into the same system, are included for convenience.

1. Series, ει, οι, ι (λείπω, λέλοιπα, ἔλιπον). Cret. δίκνυμι (προδίκνυμι) = Att. δέικνυμι (cf. δίκη, etc.). Ion. δέκνυμι is perhaps due to a blend of δεικ- and δικ-. Lesb. δείγω (*δφειγ-) = Att. οἶγω (*δφιγ-). ἡνεια and ἡνικα in various dialects (144a). Ποσειδῶν, Ποτειδάν, etc. (41.4) with ει (Ποτιδάν very rare), but usually ι in derivatives, as Att. Ποσίδειος, Ion. Ποσιδήιος, Carpath. Ποτίδαιον (but the famous Potidaea was Ποτειδαία), also οι (assimilation?) in Arc. Ποσειδᾶν, Lac. Ποηιδᾶν, Ποηοῖδα, and Πιοτοιδᾶν of uncertain dialect (Schwyzer 642).

2. Series ερ, ορ, αρ or ρα (δέρομαι, δέδορκα, ἔδρακον). τέσσερες, τέτορες, τέτταρες, etc. (114.4). Ion. (Hdt.), Lesb., Cret., Mess., Epid., Coan, Cyren., El. ἔρσην, but Ion. (Miletus, Thasos) ἄρσην (also in the κοινή and hence in late Arcadian, Thera), Lac. ἄρσης, Att. ἄρρη, Arc. ἄρρέντερος, etc. (80). θέρσος = θάρσος in Aeolic (gram.); Lesb. θέρσει in Theocritus, and in proper names most frequently in Lesbian, Thessalian, Boeotian, and Arcadian, as Lesb. Θέρσιππος, Thess. Θερίτας, Θέρσου, Boeot. Θεράνδριχος, Arc. Θερίας, etc. κρέτος = κράτος in Lesbian (poet.), and in proper names also frequent in Arcado-Cyprian, as Τιμοκρέτης, Σωκρέτης, etc. Ion. κρέσσων (in κρείσσων, κρείττων, the ει is not original), but Cret. κάρτων (cf. καρτερός, κρατερός), Cret. τράπω = τρέπω, as sometimes in Herodotus, Cret., Meg. τράφω = τρέφω, as in Pindar, etc., Delph. ἀποστράψαι = ἀποστρέψαι. East Ionic ἀγερσις 'assembly' (ἀγείρω, ἀγρό), West Ion. ἀγαρρις (Naples), Arc. πανάγορσις (see 5) = πανήγυρις (with obscure υ). Beside usual γράφω, etc., also (like -τροφος beside τρέφω, τράφω) Mel. γρόφῃδον, γρόφῃδον 'carving,' Arg., Mycen., Epid., Sicyon., Cyren., El. γροφεύς, in Argolis also γροφά, γροφίς, γροφεύω, ἀγγροφά, ἐγγροφά, σῆγγροφος (the last also Delph.), Heracl. ἀνέπυροφος, Cret. ἀντίγροφον, ἐγγροφος. Here probably Delph. σταρέστω, from aor. of στέρομαι (rather than pres. with α from ε).

a. The weak grade varies between αρ and ρα, as in Hom. κράτος and κάρτος, κρατερός and καρτερός, etc. So Cret. κάρτος, καρταῖος, καρτερός, κάρτων, likewise σταρτός = στρατός, Arc., Cyp., Boeot., Corcyr., El. δαρχμά, Cret. δαρκνά = δαρχμή, Epid. φάρμα, φάρξ = φράγμα, *φράξ, Boeot. πέτρατος (Hom. τέτρατος) = τέτρατος, Lesb. ἀμβρό[δ]ην (5) = ἄμπερην. This variation is in part due to transposition, and clearly so in Cretan, which has αρ uniformly, as it also has πορτί = πορτί. See 70.1.

*ένφατος	Ion. είνατος, Arg., Cyren., Cret. ήνατος	ένατος
*ένφεκα, *μόνφος	Ion. είνεκα, μούνος	ένεκα, μόνος
Arc., Corinth. κόρφα	Ion. κούρη, Cret. κώρα	κόρα (κώρη)
Corcyr. δρφος, Arc. εύθυορφία	Ion. ούρος, Arg., Cret. ώρος, Ther. ούρος	δρος
Arc. κάταρφος	Ion. άρή	άρά
Boeot. καλφός	Ion. καλός	καλός
*δλφος	Ion. ούλος	δλος
Boeot., Arc., Cret., Sicyon. φίσφος	Ion. ίσος	ίσος
Arc. δέρφα	Ion. δειρή	δέρα (δέρη)
*δδφός	Ion. ούδός, Cyren. ώδός	δδός

a. To the lengthening in East Ionic there are possibly some local exceptions, but, in general, forms like ζένος, and especially πρόζενος, are due to Attic influence. Similarly in Rhodian, etc., where ζένος has survived only in proper names, and in late Cretan where πρόζενος is far more common than πρόζηνος. In Central Ionic the lengthening is attested for Paros and Thasos, but it is uncertain how far west this extended. From many of the islands, both Ionic and Doric, decisive material is lacking.

b. Lesb. ζένος, έννεκα, in grammarians and late inscriptions (έννεκα also codd. Alcaeus, Theocr.), are probably hyper-Aeolic, due to the frequency of *w* from *vi*, *sv*, etc. (74, 76, 77.1). Cf. also Ισοθεοί in an inscription of A.D. 2-14. For Thess. προζενιού see 19.3.

c. In Arcadian there is fluctuation in the same inscription, e.g., no. 18 κάταρφος but ζένος, no. 20 δέρφα, εύθυορφία, but δριον, ώρισαν, δίωρος (this last with *ω* by composition lengthening, 167a).

d. In Cretan the *F* of *σF* survives longer than that of *νF*, etc. So in the Law-Code *Φισφόμορον* beside *κσένιδ* and *καλός*. This is a secondary *σF* (*φίσφος* probably from **φισφος* cognate with *είδος* 'form'). The development of original *σF*, somewhat similar to that of *σλ*, etc. (76), is seen in Lesb. *ναός*, Dor. *νᾶ(φ)ός*, Ion. *νήός*, probably from **νασφός*, also *τός* 'arrow' from **ισφός* (cf. Skt. *isu-* 'arrow').

e. Different from *δρφος*, etc., is Corinth. *Πύρφος* (cf. Argol. *Πυρφίας*, *Πυρφαλίδων*), probably for **Πύρρφος* (from **Πυρσφος* with assimilation of *ρσ* before *F*), whence the *Πύρρος* of most dialects.

f. Preservation of *F* after a stop is rare. There are a few examples of *δF* in archaic inscriptions, as Corinth. *ΔFΕνιά* = *Δενίου* (cf. the indirect evidence of Hom. *ἔδδεισεν*, etc.), Aetol. *Χελιδφόν* (IG IX².i.86.1). But *τF* was changed in prehistoric times, becoming *σσ* or *ττ* (see 81). Likewise *κF* (IE *kʷ*), becoming *ππ*, as in *ἱππος* (Skt. *asvas*).

55. *F* before consonants. Corresponding to Att. *ρήτρα*, *ἐρρήθην*,

etc. (from *Frη-* beside *Fep-* in *ἐρέω*, cf. Lat. *verbum*), we have El. *φράτρα* (15), Cypr. *φρέτα* (70.3) with its denominative *φρετάω* (*ἐφρετάσαστυ*, also spelled *εὐφρετάσαστυ*, indicating an anticipation of the *F*. Cf. *a* and 35. So also *κενευφόν* from *κενεφόν*), Arg. *φεφρεμένα*, *ἀφρέτευε*, later *ἀρήτευε* 'was spokesman, presided', Arc. *φρήσις*. El. *ἀφλανέος* 'wholly' (cf. Hesych. *ἀλανέως*· *όλοσχερῶς*, also *ἀλλανής*· *ἀσφαλής* and *ἀλανές*· *ἀληθές*), is from *ἀ-φλα-*, and related to *ἀελλής* (*ἀ-φελ-*), *ἀολλής* (*ἀ-φαλ-* with Aeolic *o*, cf. 5), *ἀλής*, Dor., Delph. *ἀλία* 'assembly', Ion. (Hdt.) *ἀλίη* (also from *ἀφαλ-*, with Ion. *ᾱ* from *αFα* as in *ᾱτη*, *ἀνᾱλίσκω*), Cleon. *φρέξαντα* (= Att. *ρέξαντα*, *ἐρξαντα*, cf. Cret. *φέρκσαι*, etc.).

Fr appears as *βρ*, indicating a pronunciation *vr*, in Lesbian words quoted by grammarians and in our texts of the Lesbian poets (*βρή-ωρ*, *βρόδον*, etc.), though this has become simply *ρ* at the time of our earliest inscriptions. Cf. also Boeot. *βρανίδας* beside *φάρων*.

In most dialects *F* was lost before the time of our earliest inscriptions, and we find, as in Attic, *ρ*, medial *ρρ* or *ρ*. See *a*.

a. In the case of medial *Fr*, the *F* unites with the preceding vowel to form a diphthong in Lesb. *εὐράγη*, *αὐρηκτος* (Herodian) from **ε-φράγη*, **α-φρηκτος* (Att. *ἐρράγη*, *ἄρηκτος*), Hom. *ταλαύρινος*, *καλαύροφ*, *ἀπούρας*, from **ταλά-φρινος*, etc. But generally the syllabification of the simplex (or form without augment or reduplication) was retained (i.e., *Fr* with the following vowel), and later this *Fr* became *ρρ* or sometimes *ρ*, e.g., Arg. *φεφρεμένα*, *ἀφρέτευε*, later *ἀρήτευε*. In Attic and most dialects augmented and reduplicated forms have *ρρ*, as Att. *ἐρρήθην* (*εἶρηκα* is formed after the analogy of forms like *εἰληφα*, 76), *ἐρράγη*, *ἐρρωγα*, Heracl. *ἐρρηγα*, while compounds also usually have *ρρ* but sometimes *ρ* under the continued influence of the simplex, as Att. *ἀναρρηθείς* but also *ἀναρθεῖς*, Delph. *ἡμυρρήνιον* (from **ἡμί-φρην*, like *ἡμί-ονος*, cf. Hom. *πολύ-ρρην*). Cf. *ρρ* and *ρ* from *σρ*, 76. For medial *Fl*, cf. El. *ἀφλανέος* (above), but diphthongization in *αῖλαξ* (from **ἀφλακ-* beside **ἀφολκ-*, **ἀφλοκ-* in Hom. *ὠλε*, Att. *ὠλεξ*), Dor. *αῖληρα* (Epich.; *ἄβληρα* Hesych.).

b. The much discussed Arg. *ἀφρέτευε*, *ἀρήτευε* is best taken as from a compound of *ἀν-* = *ἀνα-* (perhaps first in an agent noun **αν-φρέτας*) with assimilation of *νF* and further simplification, as in Arc. *σφουκία* = *συνουκία* (see 96.5). Cf. also Hom. *αὐερώ* from **αFφερώ*, **αν-φερώ*. The view that *α* stands for the augment (no present forms occur) cannot be made plausible by reference to the cases of *αυ* = *ευ*, which are all only sporadic spellings and none of them Argive (33a), whereas in this

word the *α* is constant (examples, including the abbreviations *αρ*, *α*, very numerous) vs. the regular *ε* in *ἐφεργάσαστο*, etc.

Consonantal ι (ι)

56. Original consonantal ι (IE *y* with the value of *y* in Eng. *yet*; for Greek we use the symbol *ι*) almost wholly disappeared from Greek in prehistoric times, giving 'or, rarely, ζ initially, as in *δς* (Skt. *yas*), *ἡπαρ* (Lat. *iecur*), *ζυγόν* (Skt. *yugam*), etc., yielding various results in combinations with a preceding consonant (74, 81, 82, 84), and being dropped between vowels, as in *τρεῖς* from **τρέιες* (Skt. *trayas*), etc. But between ι and a following vowel, as in *ἱππος*, it always existed as a natural glide in pronunciation, and in a few dialects this is expressed in the spelling. So, by the repetition of ι, in Pamphylian, as *διᾱά*, *ἡμαροῖσι*, etc., frequently in early Argive as *Πολυᾱάδι*, *Σικελᾱας*, *Θυᾱόν*, *δαμιοργοῖ*, and occasionally elsewhere, as Ion. (Priene) *Διοφᾱνης*, Sicyon. *Σεφᾱφόνιος*. Cf. also Ion. *Τῆμιοι*, etc. (37.2), Arg. *Ἀθανᾱίτας*, *Καρνεᾱίας*, *Ἐράτᾱιος*. In Cyprian a special character, which we transcribe *j*, is generally employed, though not uniformly, as in the Idalion bronze (no. 23) regularly before *α*, but not before *ε* or *ο*, e.g. *ἰᾱτῆραν* but *ἰερῆῖᾱν*, *ῖεπιᾱ* but *θιδόν*.

The Spiritus Asper. Psilosis

57. The spiritus asper generally represents an IE initial *s* (59) or *y* (56), but in some words is of secondary, and sometimes obscure, origin, e.g., *ἱππος* (cf. Lat. *equus*; *ἱππος* regularly as the second part of compounds, **Ἀλκιππος*, **Ἀντιππος*, etc., rarely **Ἀνθιππος*), *ἡμεῖς*, *ἄμές* (cf. Skt. *asmān*) with ' after the analogy of *ὅμεῖς* (with ' from *y*). The sound was denoted by *h* (earlier *θ*) until the introduction of the Ionic *η* = *η*, after which it was generally left undesignated.³ But see 4.7.

³ In quoting forms from inscriptions, wherever the sign for the spiritus asper appears in the original it is transcribed *h*, to be distinguished from ' which is supplied as a purely diacritical sign, like accent marks, and the employment of which is, in many special cases, of doubtful propriety. That is, the evidence is often insufficient to determine whether the omission of the sign of the asper is merely graphic, in which case we should transcribe the form with ' or due to an actual loss of the sound, in which case we should transcribe with *h*. As a working rule we employ the lenis

Psilosis, or the loss of the spiritus asper, is characteristic of East Ionic (whence the sign was left free for use as *η*; see 4.6), Lesbian, Elean, Cyprian, and Cretan.

a. Psilosis is shown, not only by the absence of *h* = *h*, but by the presence of phrases and compounds in which a preceding stop is not changed to the aspirate, e.g., East Ion. *ἀπ' ἐκάστου*, *ἀπ' οὐ*, *κατάπερ*, El. *κατιστάει*, Cret. *κατιστάμεν*. But psilosis is no bar to the retention of aspirated stops in phrases and compounds which were formed prior to the loss of the asper. For they would be affected, if at all, only by the analogical influence of the simplex, as Cret. *κατιστάμεν* by *ιστάμεν*. Hence East. Ion. *κάθοδος*, El. *ποθελόμενος*, etc. Cf. Mod. Grk. *καθίσταμαι* (of the written puristic language), *ἀποῦ*, etc., in spite of the loss of the spiritus asper.

b. The denial, by some, of Cretan psilosis is unwarranted, certainly for Central Cretan. In the early inscriptions the letter *θ*, *h* is used only for a vowel, never also = *h* as was the case at Rhodes, Thera, and Melos. Examples of aspiration, as *χρήνηα*, *ἀφ' ἄς* are late and may be due to external influence, which is evident in other matters. The late inscriptions of Hierapytna and Drerus (as nos. 119, 120) are generally edited with supplied (*οἱ*, *εἰ*, etc.).

c. Even in Central and West Ionic, where *θ*, *h* for the spiritus asper is frequent in archaic inscriptions, it ceased to be so used at an early period. So in no. 7 (Andros) only once (*ἡελέσθῃ*) vs. 26 cases of omission in no. 8 (Ceos) not at all, in no. 14 (Oropus) only once *h* = *h* vs. over 30 cases of omission. Even the archaic *Βύβων* inscription at Olympia (Ditt. Syll. 1071), which the combined evidence of forms and script shows to be based on a West-Ionic dialect (cf. also Eub. names *Βύβα*, *Βύσαλκος*), has psilosis, and in the case of *τέτρεῖ* with the attendant crasis it is impossible to attribute this to an Elean engraver.

58. Even in those dialects which generally preserve the spiritus asper, and which, in distinction from those with psilosis, we may call the *h*-dialects, there are many irregularities, partly in special words, where by-forms evidently existed, partly due to the weak pronunciation of the sound in general (cf. the variations in Latin spelling).

a. In several dialects the forms of the article, *δ*, *ᾱ* etc., appear regularly or frequently without *h*, showing that in these proclitic forms it was either wholly lost or more weakly sounded than elsewhere. So in Locrian (nos. 57-59) always *δ*, never *ho* (cf. also *κ' δ*), also *δδε*, fem. twice *ᾱ*, once *ha*; in Delphian (no. 52) *δ* as article (A 30, 38, C 19), but demonstrative *ho* (B 53); Thess. *κοι* = *καὶ οἱ*; *δ* likewise in some early inscriptions of

in quoting forms without *h* from inscriptions which have the character or are of a period when it was certainly in common use.

Boeotia, Pamphylia, Syracuse, Metapontum, and Sybaris. Cf. also Boeot. $\delta\varsigma$ = $\delta\varsigma$ (no. 38.5) and Delph. $\delta\varsigma$ (no. 52 A 28) beside usual $\delta\delta$, $\delta\delta\sigma\tau\iota\varsigma$, etc.

b. Other forms which regularly have the spiritus asper, but for which by-forms with the lenis are to be recognized, are: $\eta\mu\epsilon\rho\alpha$, but even in Attic inscriptions frequently $\epsilon\mu\epsilon\rho\alpha$, and Argol., Lac., Mess., Ther. $\epsilon\mu\epsilon\rho\alpha$, Delph., Locr. $\epsilon\mu\epsilon\rho\alpha$. $\iota\epsilon\rho\delta\varsigma$ ($\eta\iota\epsilon\rho\delta\varsigma$, $\eta\iota\alpha\rho\delta\varsigma$, in numerous dialects), but with lenis in Rhodian and Argolic, as Rhod. $\epsilon\pi'$ $\iota\epsilon\rho\epsilon\omega\varsigma$, Arg. $\iota\alpha\rho\mu\epsilon\nu\alpha\mu\epsilon\nu\epsilon\varsigma$ (nos. 81, 82, with $\eta\omega$, etc.), Epid. $\iota\alpha\rho\mu\epsilon\nu\alpha\mu\epsilon\nu\epsilon\varsigma$ (no. 89, with $\eta\omega\nu\alpha\iota\varsigma$, etc.), Aegin. $\iota\alpha\rho\epsilon\omega\varsigma$ (beside $\eta\omega\iota\kappa\omega\varsigma$ = $\delta\omega\iota\kappa\omega\varsigma$, $\chi\delta$ = $\kappa\alpha\iota\delta$). So $\epsilon\pi'$ $\iota\alpha\rho\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$ in the Megarian inscription no. 99, in contrast to $\eta\iota\alpha\rho\epsilon\nu$ at Selinus, is probably due to the Epidaurian engraver. $\eta\mu\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ (see 57), in Doric dialects $\epsilon\mu\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ (Lac. $\mu\theta'$ $\epsilon\mu\epsilon\iota$, Heracl. $\eta\mu\epsilon\iota\varsigma$), but also $\epsilon\mu\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ (Coan $\mu\epsilon\tau'$ $\epsilon\mu\epsilon\iota\omega\nu$, etc.), Att. $\epsilon\sigma\tau\eta\kappa\alpha$, but also Thess. $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\sigma\tau\alpha\kappa\epsilon\nu\alpha$, Mess. $\kappa\alpha\tau\epsilon\sigma\tau\alpha\kappa\epsilon\nu\alpha$.

c. Conversely, several words which regularly have the lenis show secondary forms with the asper in various dialects. Thus $\epsilon\tau\omega\varsigma$ (from $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\omega\varsigma$), but Heracl. $\pi\epsilon\nu\tau\alpha$ - $\eta\epsilon\tau\eta\rho\iota\delta\alpha$ (beside $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\omega\varsigma$), Aetol. $\eta\tau\epsilon\omega\nu$ = $\eta\epsilon\tau\epsilon\omega\nu$, Epid. $\pi\epsilon\nu\theta'$ $\epsilon\tau\eta$, and frequently $\kappa\alpha\theta'$ $\epsilon\tau\omega\varsigma$, etc., in the *κοινή* (cf. Mod. Grk. $\epsilon\phi\epsilon\tau\omega\varsigma$). $\iota\sigma\omega\varsigma$ (from $\epsilon\iota\sigma\omega\varsigma$), but Heracl. $\eta\iota\sigma\omega\varsigma$ beside $\iota\sigma\omega\varsigma$, and $\epsilon\phi'$ $\iota\sigma\eta\varsigma$ in the *κοινή*. Locr. $\epsilon\tau\eta$ (cf. $\epsilon\sigma\tau\eta$), but Delph. $\eta\epsilon\nu\tau\epsilon$. Heracl. $\eta\epsilon\nu\tau\alpha$, $\eta\epsilon\nu\tau\alpha\kappa\alpha\iota\tau\omega\iota$, $\eta\epsilon\nu\tau\alpha$, Delph. Ther. $\eta\epsilon\nu\tau\omega\varsigma$, all after $\epsilon\pi\tau\alpha$. Ther. $\eta\epsilon\kappa\alpha\delta\iota$ = $\epsilon\iota\kappa\alpha\delta\iota$. $\epsilon\kappa\omega\varsigma$, but Corcyr. $\kappa\alpha\theta'$ $\epsilon\kappa\omega\nu$, Heracl. $\eta\epsilon\kappa\omega\sigma\kappa\iota\rho\iota\alpha\varsigma$. Boeot. $\eta\epsilon\rho\alpha\nu\alpha$, late Cret. $\chi\iota\rho\eta\nu\alpha$ vs. usual $\iota\rho\alpha\nu\alpha$, $\epsilon\iota\rho\eta\nu\alpha$. Epid. $\epsilon\gamma\kappa\alpha\theta\iota\delta\omega\nu$ with θ from present $\kappa\alpha\theta\iota\delta\omega$. Delph., Locr. $\epsilon\phi\iota\omega\rho\epsilon\omega\varsigma$, occurring also in *κοινή* inscriptions, with ϕ by anticipation of the asper in $\delta\rho\kappa\omega\varsigma$, like $\phi\rho\upsilon\rho\delta\varsigma$ from $*\phi\rho\upsilon\text{-}\delta\omega\rho\delta\varsigma$ (or blend of $\epsilon\pi\iota\omega\rho\epsilon\omega\varsigma$ and $*\epsilon\phi\omega\rho\epsilon\omega\varsigma$). In Att. $\delta\rho\omega\varsigma$ ($\eta\delta\rho\omega\varsigma$ very frequent) the asper is probably secondary vs. Corcyr. $\delta\rho\phi\omega\varsigma$ (so, not $\eta\delta\rho\phi\omega\varsigma$; see IG IX.ii.695), Heracl. $\delta\rho\omega\varsigma$, Arg. $\delta\rho\omega\iota$ (no. 85.26), $\delta\rho\omega\varsigma$. In Delph. $\epsilon\phi\alpha\kappa\epsilon\iota\sigma\theta\omega\nu$, Arg. $\epsilon\phi\alpha\kappa\epsilon\iota\sigma\theta\delta$ vs. Att. $\epsilon\phi\omega\varsigma$, $\epsilon\phi\omega\kappa\epsilon\iota\sigma\theta\omega\iota$ the asper is, by a probable etymology, original. So also in Arg. $\eta\iota\delta\iota\omega\varsigma$ (from $*\eta\iota\delta\iota\omega\varsigma$; cf. Arg. $\eta\epsilon\delta\iota\epsilon\sigma\tau\alpha\varsigma$ = $\eta\iota\delta\iota\omega\tau\eta\varsigma$), Thess. $\kappa\alpha\theta'$ $\eta\delta\iota\omega\nu$ (similar forms in late inscriptions of several dialects, even Attic) vs. usual $\epsilon\iota\delta\iota\omega\varsigma$, $\eta\delta\iota\omega\varsigma$. In Thess. $\epsilon\lambda\gamma\gamma\epsilon\omega$ ($\epsilon\lambda\gamma\gamma\epsilon\nu\epsilon\theta\epsilon\iota\nu$) = Lesb. $\epsilon\lambda\gamma\gamma\epsilon\omega$, etc. (162.2) the asper, as well as the ν , is probably due to a blend with some other word.

d. Besides such special cases as have been noted above, there are in some dialects irregularities which seem to be due to confusion in spelling consequent upon the asper being weakly sounded or on the verge of disappearance. This is especially noticeable in Arcadian and Locrian, to some extent in Heraclian and Argolic.—In Arcadian the early no. 16 has no h , and no. 17 only once (and this unetymological if $\eta\epsilon\sigma\kappa\lambda\alpha\rho\omega\varsigma$ = $*\epsilon\kappa\kappa\lambda\eta\rho\omega\varsigma$), but $\iota\epsilon\rho\iota$, $\delta\sigma\epsilon\iota$, $\delta\lambda\omega\nu$. The somewhat later no. 18 has h uniformly in $\eta\epsilon\rho\alpha$, $\eta\epsilon\rho\epsilon\nu$, etc., $\eta\epsilon\beta\delta\delta\omega\mu\alpha\iota$, $\eta\epsilon\kappa\omega\tau\omega\nu$, $\eta\iota\kappa\omega\nu\tau\alpha$, $\pi\alpha\rho\eta\tau\alpha\lambda\alpha\mu\epsilon\nu\omega\varsigma$, but $\epsilon\mu\iota\sigma\upsilon$ three times without h vs. once $\eta\epsilon\mu\iota\sigma\upsilon$, $\upsilon\sigma\tau\epsilon\rho\omega\varsigma$, $\delta\tau\iota$, $\epsilon\nu$ = $\epsilon\nu$ = $\delta\epsilon\nu$, and conversely $\eta\epsilon\nu$ = $\epsilon\nu$.—The early Locrian inscriptions nos. 57-59 have usually $\eta\delta\tau\iota$, $\eta\delta\sigma\tau\iota\varsigma$, $\eta\delta\iota\tau\iota\varsigma$, $\eta\delta\omega\delta$, $\eta\delta\omega\delta\varsigma$, (but in no. 59 $\delta\iota\tau\iota\nu$ beside $\eta\delta\tau\iota$, $\eta\delta\sigma\tau\iota\varsigma$), $\eta\upsilon\pi\delta$, $\eta\upsilon\pi\kappa\omega\kappa\alpha\mu\iota\delta\iota\omega\varsigma$, (but in no. 59 $\upsilon\pi\alpha\pi\rho\sigma\sigma\iota\delta\iota\omega\varsigma$),

$\eta\delta\rho\kappa\omega\nu$, $\eta\delta\rho\kappa\omega\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\varsigma$, but $\pi\epsilon\nu\tau\omega\rho\kappa\iota\omega\nu$, $\eta\iota\alpha\rho\delta\varsigma$, $\iota\alpha\rho\delta\varsigma$ (both in no. 58), $\eta\epsilon\kappa\alpha\tau\omega\nu$ (no. 57) but $\kappa\epsilon\kappa\alpha\tau\omega\nu$ (no. 59); further without h (beside ϵ , $\delta\delta\epsilon$, $\epsilon\mu\epsilon\rho\alpha$, for which see above, a, b) $\epsilon\mu\iota\sigma\omega\nu$ (no. 59), $\upsilon\delta\rho\iota\alpha$ (vs. $\eta\upsilon\pi\delta$), $\iota\sigma\tau\iota\alpha$, $\kappa\alpha\tau\iota\gamma\delta\omega\mu\epsilon\nu\omega\nu$; unetymological h in $\eta\delta\gamma\epsilon\nu$, $\epsilon\phi\alpha\gamma\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ (vs. $\delta\pi\alpha\gamma\delta\omega\nu$), $\eta\omega\pi\omega\nu\tau\iota\delta\omega\nu$ vs. usual $\eta\omega\pi\omega\nu\tau\iota\omega\varsigma$, etc.—The Heraclian Tables have more examples of h than any other single inscription, and most of them correct. But (besides the cases mentioned above, c) unetymological h in $\eta\omega\iota\sigma\omega\nu\tau\iota$, $\eta\epsilon\rho\eta\eta\sigma\iota\varsigma$.—Argolic has h regularly in $\eta\omega$, $\eta\alpha$, $\eta\alpha\iota$, $\eta\iota$, $\eta\omega\iota\varsigma$ (= $\omega\iota\varsigma$), $\eta\delta\omega\iota$, $\eta\delta\omega\iota\varsigma$, $\eta\delta\omega\iota\omega\varsigma$, $\eta\epsilon\mu\iota\sigma\alpha$, $\eta\epsilon\tau\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ (all these in no. 85), etc., but also (besides $\iota\alpha\rho\mu\epsilon\nu\alpha\mu\epsilon\nu\epsilon\varsigma$, above, b) $\iota\epsilon\tau\alpha\varsigma$ (no. 80), $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\rho\omega\nu$ (no. 89, four times beside words with h), $\epsilon\lambda\omega\iota\epsilon\nu$ beside $\eta\epsilon\lambda\delta\omega\mu\epsilon\varsigma$ (no. 85), and conversely unetymological h in $\eta\epsilon$ = η 'or' and $\eta\alpha\iota\omega\sigma\iota\lambda\alpha\pi\tau\iota\epsilon\iota$.

σ. Loss of Intervocalic σ

59. Original initial s became the spiritus asper in proethnic Greek, as in $\epsilon\delta\omega\varsigma$ (Lat. *sedeo*, Skt. *sad-*), $\epsilon\pi\omega\mu\alpha\iota$ (Lat. *sequor*, Skt. *sac-*), etc. At the same time intervocalic s was changed in the same way and then lost, as in $\gamma\epsilon\nu\epsilon\omega\varsigma$ (Skt. *janasas*, Lat. *generis*), etc. Nevertheless there are many Greek words with intervocalic σ , either retained by analogy as in the aorist, or of secondary origin as σ from τ (61).

This Greek intervocalic σ was subjected to a similar process, namely, became h and was later lost, in Laconian, Argolic, Elean, and Cyprian.

1. Laconian. Early $\epsilon\pi\omega\iota\epsilon\theta\epsilon$, $\nu\iota\kappa\acute{\alpha}\eta\alpha\varsigma$, $\epsilon\nu\eta\epsilon\beta\delta\eta\alpha\iota\varsigma$, $\Pi\omega\eta\iota\delta\alpha\nu$, $\Lambda\upsilon\eta\iota\pi\pi\omega\nu$, $\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\theta\eta\nu\iota\alpha$, etc.; later $\Pi\alpha\chi\iota\phi\alpha\iota$, $\pi\rho\omega\beta\epsilon\iota\pi\acute{\alpha}\eta\alpha\varsigma$, $\pi\acute{\alpha}\eta\iota\nu$, $\nu\iota\kappa\acute{\alpha}\eta\alpha\varsigma$, $\epsilon\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\eta\varsigma$ ('*Ονασι*'), $\Pi\epsilon\iota\kappa\lambda\epsilon\iota\delta\alpha$ (*Πεισι*), $\beta\alpha\iota\lambda\epsilon\omega\varsigma$ (*Βασιλέως*), etc. Cf. also 97.5a. In Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* occurs similar forms with omission of σ ($\mu\omega\alpha$, $\pi\acute{\alpha}\alpha$, etc.), also $\gamma\epsilon\rho\omega\chi\iota\alpha$ representing $\gamma\epsilon\rho\omega\chi\iota\alpha$, which, though not as yet quotable, is the correct native form for which the Attic writers substitute $\gamma\epsilon\rho\omega\sigma\iota\alpha$ or $\gamma\epsilon\rho\omega\nu\tau\iota\alpha$ (Xen.). This was a characteristic of Laconian speech from the earliest known period, and is faithfully represented in the spelling of most of the early inscriptions. But it was felt as a provincialism and ignored in the spelling of some of the early and the majority of the later inscriptions.

2. Argolic. Mycen. $\Phi\rho\alpha\chi\iota\alpha\rho\iota\delta\alpha\varsigma$, Arg. $\epsilon\pi\omega\iota\epsilon\theta\epsilon$, $\epsilon\pi\omega\iota\epsilon\theta\epsilon$, $\epsilon\pi\omega\iota\epsilon\theta\epsilon$, etc. Later, mostly in Arg. inscriptions of the third century B.C., numerous examples of total loss (sometimes with σ -forms in

the same inscription), e.g., $\theta\eta\alpha\upsilon\rho\delta\varsigma$ (= $\theta\eta\sigma\alpha\upsilon\rho\delta\varsigma$), $\chi\rho\eta\iota\varsigma$ (= $\chi\rho\eta\text{-}\sigma\iota\varsigma$), $\epsilon\mu\pi\alpha\iota\varsigma$ (= $\epsilon\mu\pi\alpha\sigma\iota\varsigma$), $\epsilon\mu\epsilon\tau\rho\eta\epsilon$ (= $\eta\sigma\epsilon$), $\sigma\tau\epsilon\phi\alpha\nu\omega\iota$ (= $\omega\sigma\alpha\iota$), etc. But several early Arg. inscriptions (as nos. 81, 83, 84, 85, 86) show only σ -forms, as $\theta\epsilon\sigma\alpha\upsilon\rho\delta\varsigma$, etc., and so many of the later ones.

a. The explanation of the fluctuation is the same as that given for Laconian. See above, 1 and 275. Significant of this is the contemporaneous appearance of $\kappa\omega\delta\iota\omega\varsigma$ and $\kappa\omega\delta\iota\omega\nu$ in different drafts of the same document (see no. 85 with note).

On present evidence this change of intervocalic σ seems to belong only to Argos and the vicinity, in contrast to the towns of the Acte, where we find only σ from the earliest times ($\mu\epsilon\theta\alpha\nu\alpha$ Methana, sixth century B.C.). The only apparent exceptions, $\nu\iota\kappa\alpha\lambda\alpha\rho\iota\sigma\tau\alpha$ and $\kappa\tau\epsilon\eta\delta\alpha\varsigma$ in dedications found at Epidaurus, may be names of Argives, like the $\epsilon\pi\alpha\rho\chi\iota\delta\alpha\varsigma$ 'Αργείοι of the same source (IG IV².i.137, 138, 140).

3. Elean. In no. 65 (middle of fourth century) $\alpha\delta\epsilon\alpha\lambda\tau\omega\lambda\alpha\iota\epsilon$, $\phi\upsilon\gamma\alpha\delta\epsilon\upsilon\alpha\nu\tau\iota$ (aor. subj.), beside $\delta\alpha\mu\omega\sigma\iota\omega\mu\epsilon\nu$, $\delta\alpha\mu\omega\sigma\iota\omega\iota\alpha$. In no. 66 $\mu\omega\iota\eta\alpha\sigma\sigma\alpha\iota$ ($\mu\omega\iota\eta\sigma\alpha\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$), $\mu\omega\iota\eta\alpha\tau\alpha\iota$ (aor. subj.), beside $\alpha\nu\alpha\theta\epsilon\sigma\iota\omega\rho$, etc. In all the earlier inscriptions intervocalic σ is unchanged.

4. Cyprian. $\phi\rho\omega\nu\epsilon\delta\iota$ ($\phi\rho\omega\nu\epsilon\omega\sigma\iota$), $\mu\omega\sigma\chi\omega\mu\epsilon\nu\omega\nu$ ($\mu\omega\sigma\text{-}\epsilon\chi\omega\mu\epsilon\nu\omega\nu$), also in sentence combination (cf. 97a), as $\kappa\alpha\delta\iota$ ($\nu\iota$) $\tau\iota$ ($\kappa\alpha\delta\iota$ $\alpha\nu\tau\iota$), $\tau\alpha\upsilon\chi\epsilon\rho\omega\nu$ ($\tau\alpha\varsigma$ $\upsilon\chi\epsilon\rho\omega\nu$). But generally σ is written in the inscriptions. Several glosses in Hesychius show loss of intervocalic (and also initial) σ .

a. In Arcadian the unique $\mu\omega\sigma\tau\iota$ (no. 22.12) for $\mu\omega\sigma\tau\epsilon\sigma\tau\iota$ is probably a special case of dissimilatory loss of the first σ .

Rhotacism

60. Rhotacism, or change of σ to ρ , is found in Elean, late Laconian, and Eretrian, rarely elsewhere.

1. Elean. Final ς appears uniformly as ρ in the later inscriptions, nos. 65, 66, e.g. $\tau\iota\rho$, $\alpha\iota\mu\alpha\tau\omega\rho$, $\delta\pi\omega\rho$, $\mu\omega\lambda\iota\omega\rho$. Most of the earlier inscriptions show $\text{-}\varsigma$ and $\text{-}\rho$ side by side without any apparent system. Rhotacism of intervocalic σ is unknown (cf. 59.3).

a. In the earlier inscriptions ρ is relatively most frequent in forms of the article and the indefinite or the relative pronoun, e.g., $\tau\omega\rho$, $\tau\iota\rho$, $\delta\rho$, and possibly the rhotacism began in such enclitic and proclitic forms. But even here there is great fluctuation in the spelling.

2. Laconian. Rhotacism of final ς is seen in very late inscriptions, e.g., $\nu\iota\kappa\alpha\rho$, $\beta\omega\sigma\alpha\gamma\delta\rho$, etc. (nos. 75-78), confirmed by numerous glosses, and in the spurious Timotheus decree.

3. Eretrian. Rhotacism of intervocalic σ is frequent in inscriptions of Eretria and Oropus, e.g., Eretr. $\epsilon\chi\omega\rho\iota\nu$, $\theta\omega\rho\iota\nu$, $\epsilon\pi\iota\delta\eta\mu\epsilon\omega\rho\iota\nu$, $\sigma\upsilon\nu\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\theta\epsilon\rho\omega\rho\alpha\nu\tau\iota$, $\mu\omega\iota\rho\iota\nu$, $\sigma\iota\tau\eta\rho\iota\nu$, $\epsilon\pi\iota\delta\eta\mu\epsilon\omega\rho\iota\nu$. But there are many exceptions, and the use of ρ is gradually given up under Attic influence. Although Plato, Cratylus 434 C, remarks that the Eretrians say $\sigma\kappa\lambda\eta\rho\delta\tau\eta\rho$ for $\sigma\kappa\lambda\eta\rho\delta\tau\eta\varsigma$, there is no inscriptional example of ρ for final ς except once $\delta\tau\omega\rho$ $\epsilon\nu$, for which see 97a.

4. Rhotacism of σ before a voiced consonant is seen in Eretr. $\mu\iota\rho\gamma\omega\varsigma$ = $\mu\iota\sigma\gamma\omega\varsigma$, late Cretan (Gortyn) $\kappa\omega\rho\mu\omega\iota$ = $\kappa\omega\sigma\mu\omega\iota$, Thess. $\Theta\epsilon\omega\rho\delta\delta\tau\epsilon\iota\omega\varsigma$, Lac. $\Theta\iota\omega\kappa\omega\rho\mu\epsilon\delta\alpha\varsigma$. In most dialects σ in this position was pronounced as a voiced sound (z), and in late times often indicated by ζ , as $\psi\eta\phi\iota\zeta\mu\alpha$.

Change of τ to σ

61. τ is changed to σ very frequently before ι , and sometimes before υ . The more precise conditions are uncertain, and the change is in part independent of dialectal variation, τ being retained in some words in all dialects, e.g., $\epsilon\nu\tau\iota$, and in some words becoming σ in all dialects, e.g., most words like $\beta\acute{\alpha}\sigma\iota\varsigma$ (Skt. *ga-ti-s*), $\sigma\acute{\alpha}\tau\iota\varsigma$, etc.

But in a considerable class of words there is a distinct dialectal distribution of the τ - and σ -forms, the retention of τ being a notable characteristic of the West Greek dialects, in which Boeotian, Thessalian, and Pamphylian also share.

1. Verb forms with the endings $\text{-}\tau\iota$, $\text{-}\nu\tau\iota$, as $\delta\iota\delta\omega\tau\iota$, $\phi\epsilon\rho\omega\nu\tau\iota$ = $\delta\iota\delta\omega\sigma\iota$, $\phi\epsilon\rho\omega\sigma\iota$ (Arc. $\phi\epsilon\rho\omega\sigma\iota$, Lesb. $\phi\epsilon\rho\omega\sigma\iota$). Examples are plentiful in all the West Greek dialects and Boeotian ($\text{-}\tau\iota$, $\text{-}\nu\theta\iota$), and for Thessalian and Pamphylian (in which no 3 sg. $\mu\iota$ -forms are yet quotable) the third plural forms are attested. See 138.2, 4.

2. The numerals for 20 and the hundreds, ($\epsilon\iota\kappa\alpha\tau\iota$ = $\epsilon\iota\kappa\omega\sigma\iota$, $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\tau\iota\omega\iota$ = $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\sigma\iota\omega\iota$ (Arc. $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\sigma\iota\omega\iota$). See 116, 117.2.

3. Some nouns and adjectives in $\text{-}\tau\iota\varsigma$, $\text{-}\tau\iota\omega\varsigma$, etc. Att.-Ion. $\text{-}\sigma\iota\varsigma$,

etc. Boeot. Εὐτρητις (shown by Εὐτρητιδεῖες and Εὐτρητίφαντος; see no. 38.5), the native name of the town vs. Εὐτρησις in Homer. Delph., Coan ἐνιαύτιος = ἐνιαύσιος. Arg. ῥύτιον (no. 86.41; cf. Troez. ῥυτιάζω), Boeot. πλατίος, lit. Dor. (Epich.), Epid. πλατίον = πλεσίος, πλεσίον. Ἀρταμίτιος, Ἀφροδίτιος in many West Greek dialects. Rhod., Thess. ἐναράτιον = ἐνηρόσιον.

4. Corinth. ΠοτΕδᾶφονι, ΠοτΕδᾶνι Ποτειδᾶν with similar τ-forms in Cretan, Rhodian, Coan, Delphian, Boeotian, and Thessalian, also Ποτοιδᾶνι of uncertain dialect (Schwyzer 642), all = Hom. Ποσειδᾶων, Ion. Ποσειδέων, Att. Ποσειδῶν, Lesb. Ποσειδᾶν, Arc. Ποσειδᾶν (49.1). Lac. Ποιοιδᾶν (cf. also Ποιοιδᾶια) is plainly from the pre-Doric form represented by Arc. Ποσειδᾶν. So perhaps from another pre-Doric σ-form the Ποσειδᾶν occurring in Argolic (Argos, no. 86.15; later at Mycenae, Calauria, Epidaurus) and in later inscriptions of various dialects, as Arcadian (no. 22.57), Cretan, Rhodian, etc. But one suspects that in some of the late occurrences it may be merely a hybrid, influenced by the familiar Ποσειδῶν, as conversely Thess. Ποτειδοῦνι with native τ but -ουνι from Att. -ῶνι.

a. The distribution of West Greek ποτί, ποτί vs. Att.-Ion., Lesb. πός, Arc.-Cyp. πός is like that in 1-4 above, except that Homer has ποτί, ποτί beside πός. But here there are no forms in -σι, and it is a question whether the -ς of πός, πός comes from -σι by elision and apocope or is a different ending, original -ς.

5. Lit. Dor. τύ, Boeot. τού = Att.-Ion., Lesb. σύ. Cret. ἡμιτυς (in ἡμιτυέκτῳ; cf. also Epid. ἡμίτεια) = Att.-Ion., Arc. ἡμισυς, Lesb. αἰμισυς, with suffix -τυ- beside -τφο- in ἡμισσον, etc. (81).

β, δ, γ

62. In general β, δ, γ remained simple mediae, but in some dialects there are indications of their pronunciation as spirants, which eventually prevailed even in Attic (cf. Mod. Grk. β = Eng. v, δ = Eng. th in then, γ guttural spirant). Such are:

1. The use of β for F in later Laconian, etc. 51.
2. The occasional representation of δ by ζ, as in three of the very earliest Elean inscriptions, e.g., ζέ, ζέκα, ζικαία, ζιφυιον, ζαμιοργία, Φειζός, also early Rhod. τόζ' = τόδε (no. 100), early Arg. Φιζείε (for σζ see 89.1) = εἰδείη, and Phlias. ζέκα =

δέκα (SEG II.275).—Cret. ρ from ρδ (86.6). Cret. ἀντρήιον (= usual ἀνδρήιον) with τ indicating retention of stop after a nasal (as in Mod. Grk. ἀντρας pronounced *andras*), perhaps Cret. σποφδδᾶν (89.4).

3. The occasional omission of γ or substitution of ι, as in Boeot. ἰώ, ἰών (Ar., Corinna) = ἐγώ, Pamph. μπειάλαν, μπειάλετι, etc. (μεγάλος), Arc. ἐπιθιάνε (ἐπιθιγγάνη), Mess., Arc. Φιάλεια beside Φιγάλεια, and ὀλλίος (ὀλλίος) in late inscriptions of various places. The occasional representation of γ by ζ in Cyprian, as ζᾱ (γᾱ), ἀζαθός (ἀγαθός).

φ, θ, χ

63. In general, φ, θ, χ remained true aspirated stops, and in the earliest type of the alphabet, which had a sign for θ but none for φ or χ, these two were represented by πh and κh, as at Thera, or, where a sign for h was not in use, simply by π and κ, as in the Gortyn Law Code (e.g., κρόνος = χρόνος, πυλά = φυλή). Spellings like γέγραφα, δεδόχθαι are mostly late, an exceptionally early example being Delph. λεκχοῖ (no. 52 D 13; dat. sg. of λεχώ).

But the pronunciation as spirants (Eng. f, th in thin, Germ. ch), which eventually prevailed even in Attic, existed at a much earlier period in some dialects. Such a pronunciation of θ is certainly presupposed by Lac. σ = θ (64), probably by El. σσ = σθ (85.2), late Cret. θθ = σσ (Fέτεθθι), Thess. φεῶν, φύοντες (68.5), and possibly by some other spellings which, however, may be variously interpreted.

64. Laconian σ = θ. The use of σ by Aristophanes in the Lysistrata to indicate the sound of the Laconian θ (and there is no good reason to doubt that this belongs to the original text) shows that it had become a spirant which would strike the Athenian ear as σ, even if not yet fully identical with it. The Laconians themselves retained the spelling θ in all the earlier inscriptions, but ἀνέσθηκε (ἀνέθηκε) and πῶ (θεοῦ) occur in a fourth century inscription, and in very late inscriptions ἀνέσθηκε, Βωρεά (Φορθία), κασσηρατόριν beside καθθηρατόριν, etc.

Interchange of Voiceless and Voiced Stops and Aspirates

65. Dissimilation and assimilation of aspirates, or transposi-

tion of the aspiration. The dissimilation seen in τίθημι from *θίθημι, τρέχω from *θρέχω (cf. θρέξομαι), etc., belongs to the protoethnic period. But there are some examples of later, dialectal assimilation. So Cret. θιθέμενος = τιθέμενος, θύκα (i.e., θύκα) = τύχη, West Ion. (Cumae) θυφλός = τυφλός, Arc. (also early Att. inscr.) φαρθένος = παρθένος, Thess. Φερσεφόννα = Περσεφόννη, Boeot. φεφύλαχο = πεφύλαξο, Lac., Epid., Thess. θεθμός, Locr. θέθμιον = τεθμός, τέθμιον, Att. θεσμός, θέσμιον (164.4), Att. (inscr.) ἐνθαῦθα = usual Att. ἐνταῦθα. Ion. ἐνθαῦτα is the more original form (from ἐνθα), whence Att. ἐνταῦθα through transposition of the aspiration and influence of ταῦτα. Cf. also Eub. ἐντοῦθα like τοῦτα (124), El. ἐνταῦτα, Argol. ἐντάδε = ἐνθάδε, influenced by ταῦτα, τάδε (but cf. also 66). Regular dissimilation in Arc. μεσακόθεν vs. Att. πανταχόθεν, etc., and in Arc. ἐσκεθῆν, Lesb. ὑποσκέθην vs. Hom. σχεθέειν, etc. For transposition cf. also Ion. ἀχαντος = ἀκανθος, Cret. καυχός = χαλκός, Thess. Πετθαλός from Φετθαλός (68.2).

66. There are scattered examples of variation between stop and aspirate and between voiceless and voiced stops, especially before a nasal. Locr. τέκνα = τέχνη, Cret. τνατός, τενακός = θνητός, τεθνηκός (also ἀντρώπος, Pamph. ἀτρώπος), Heracl. διακνόντων beside διαγνόντων, Eretr. ἀποδείγνυσθαι, Ther. ἐνδειγνύμενος to δεικνύμι, Aetol. ἀχνηκός beside ἀγνηκός (ἀγνέω = ἄγω). Ion. πρήγμα = πρήγμα, μέλιγμα = μελίγμα, Epid. φάργμα = φράγμα, πάρδειγμα = παράδειγμα, Arg. ῥήγμος = ῥηγμός (-σμα, -σμος). Cf. τέχνη from *τέκονα. (So perhaps Delph., Locr., Arg. ἐχθός from *ἐχτός, this from *ἐκσ-τός. Cf. early Att. ἐδοχε, etc.)

In Pamphylian ντ became regularly νδ (influenced by languages of Asia Minor in which the change of nt to nd is widely attested), with ν not written (69.2), as πέδε = πέντε, ἐξάγοντι = ἐξάγοντι. Cret. ἀβλοπία, καταβλάπεται = ἀβλαβία, etc., Mess. κεκλεβός (κλέπτω), Arg. γεγράφανται = γεγράφεται, are examples of analogical interchange in roots ending in a labial, owing to common forms in ψ. So also Coan στέπτω = στέψω. Locr. φρίν = πρίν and Arc., Cret., Pamph. Πύτιος = Πύθιος, are obscure.

El. πάσχω = πάσχω is probably due to the influence of other verbs in -σχω (but possibly like στ = σθ, cf. 85.1). For Att.-Ion.

δέχομαι other dialects (and Ionic in part) have the original δέκομαι (cf. Att. δωροδόκος), οὐδείς, μηδείς are replaced by οὐθείς, μηθείς, with θ from δ + the spiritus asper of εἷς, in later Attic and elsewhere.

a. Very late inscriptions show numerous examples of confusion, not confined to any special conditions, as ἀδελπός = ἀδελφός, φρεσβύτερος = πρεσβύτερος, Lesb. ὑπάρκοισαν = ὑπάρχουσιν, Delph. βρυτανεῖον (also Cretan), βρυτανεῖα = πρυτανεῖον, etc., and Βαλλάντιον = Παλλάντιον. Some such forms as these last, reflecting occasional colloquial pronunciation, presumably underlie the too sweeping statement of Plutarch (Mor. 292E) that the Delphians used β in place of π.

Interchange of π and πτ

67. Of the Homeric by-forms of πόλις and πόλεμος, πτόλις is found also in Cyprian, and in Thess. οἱ πτολίαρχοι, ἀρχιπτολίαρχέντος (ττ from πτ, 86.2) and Arc. Πτόλις (place name), Cret. Πτολίκοις; πτόλεμος is found in Cyprian (gloss) and in proper names like the Maced. Πτολεμαῖος and others from various places.

Interchange of Labials, Dentals, and Gutturals

68. 1. Those sounds of the parent speech which are called labiovelars and are here designated as k, g, g^h, appear in Greek regularly as (1) labials before the back vowels α, ο, ω and before consonants, (2) dentals before the front vowels ε, ι, η, (3) gutturals before and after υ. Thus ποῦ, πόθεν (Lat. *quod*, cf. Osc. *pod*), ὁποῖος, but τίς (Lat. *quis*), τε (Lat. *que*), Cret. δτεῖος, — πεμπάς, πέμπτος, but πέντε (Lat. *quinque*), — λύκος (Eng. *wolf*), γυνή (Eng. *queen*) beside Boeot. βανά. But before ι usually β, φ, e.g. βίος (Lat. *vinus*), with δ only in Heracl. ἐνδεδιωκότα = ἐμβεβιωκότα. Many exceptions are due to leveling between related forms, e.g., βέλος after βάλλω, etc. Instead of πρέσβυς, with analogical β, several dialects have forms with γ, which is regular before υ, e.g., Cret. πρεῖγυς, Boeot. πρισγίεις, etc. (see 86.3). Examples of the normal relation are Arc. δέλλω = βάλλω, West Greek δήλομαι, δειλομαι (75) = βούλομαι, West Greek and Arc. δδελός = ὀβολός (but if from the rare early Att. ὀβελός, β is analogical, as in ὀβελίσκος. Boeot. ὀβελός, Thess. ὀβελός may belong under 2, below), Dor. βλῆρ = δέλεαρ.

2. But it is a notable characteristic of the Aeolic dialects that they very frequently show a labial even before a front vowel, where the dental is regular elsewhere. Thus Lesb., Thess. πέμπε = πέντε. Lesb. πέσσυρες (Hesych., cf. Hom. πίσυρες), Boeot. πέτταρες, πέττατος, πετραμείνιον, Thess. πετροετήρις = τέτταρες, etc. Thess. πείσαι, άππεισάτου, Boeot. ποταποπισάτω = τείσαι, etc., Lesb. πήλυι (Sappho), Boeot. Πειλε-στροτίδας το τήλε. Thess. βέλλομαι, Boeot. βείλομαι = West Greek δήλομαι, δειλομαι. Lesb. Βέλφοι (gloss), Boeot. Βελφοί = Δελφοί, Thess. Βέλφαιον = *Δέλφαιον. Boeot. βέφυρα = Cret. δέφυρα, Att. γέφυρα (for γ see 88), Lesb. φήρ (gloss), Thess. πεφειράκοντες = θήρ, τεθηρακότες (though this is a case of original *ghw* not *g'h*). Boeot. Φετταλός, whence Thess. Πετθαλός with transposition of the aspiration (65) = Att. Θετταλός, Ion. Θεσσαλός. Yet some words always have the dental, e.g., τε, τις, τιμά, the reason for this being obscure.

a. An apparently similar case is Lesb. στέλλω = στέλλω (fut. κασπολέω Sappho 42 Diehl; Hesych. κασπέλη· σπορνύει, σπελλάμεναι· σπελλάμεναι, σπολείσα· σταλείσα), with Thess. σπόλος 'stake.' But στέλλω is almost certainly from a root *stel- with original dental (seen also in Lesb. σάλλω), and we have to do with two parallel roots στελ- and σπελ-.

b. Cyp. πείσαι = τείσαι is in striking agreement with the Aeolic forms quoted above. But if it is the result of the same phonetic change (and not with π by analogy of πινά, etc.), and so to be reckoned as an Aeolic element in Arcado-Cyprian, it is quite isolated in this development in contrast to that seen in Arc. άπυτεισάτω, δέλλω, Cyp. Τέλεφάνδ and in Arc. σς, Cyp. σς, etc. (below, 3).

3. In Arcado-Cyprian there is evidence of a sibilant pronunciation before a front vowel. Cyp. σς = τις (no. 23), σί = τί (Hesych.). Arc. δζς = δτις (no. 16), and in no. 17 (written with a special letter, 4.4) σς = τις, εΐσε = εΐτε, όσεί = ότεω. Further, τετρακάτιαι = τετρακάτιαι in no. 70, due to the Arcadian engraver. Cf. also the gloss ζέλλω (Hesych.) beside inscriptional δέλλω = βάλλω, and ζέρεθρον (Strabo) = δέρεθρον, βάραθρον.

a. The σ occurs also for an original dental in άπυτεισάτω = άπτεισάτω. But this is probably a special case of dissimilation like that in 'Αρκασιδης = 'Αρκαδιδης. Otherwise the dentals appear without change in the same inscription, e.g., δέ, τότε, etc. The

sibilant development is definitely linked with labiovelar origin, and this goes well with the preservation of the old labiovelar voiceless stop in the pre-Arcado-Cyprian of Cretan script (p. 8, footnote). The fact that in Arcadian the sibilant appears only in early inscriptions is like the case of El. ζ = δ only in the earliest inscriptions, then replaced by the usual (see 275).

4. There are some pronominal forms with κ in place of the usual π or τ. Thus Ion. κώς = πώς, κότερος, etc. (in texts of Ionic authors; in inscriptions only once δοῦτα, otherwise π), Thess. κίς, διέ κί, πὸκ κί = τίς, etc.

a. Thess., Cyp. δαύχνα in συνδαυχναφόροι, Δαυχναφόριος (cf. δαυχμός in Nicand., Hesych.) is from *δαυκωνά (cf. 66) belonging with δαυκος, δαυκον, a plant much like the δάφνη (cf. δαυκον δαφνοειδές, Theophr.). The form δαύχνα then served as the equivalent of the similar though unrelated δάφνη.

5. A change of θ to φ, that is, doubtless, of spirant *th* to *f*, is seen in φεών, φύοντες = θεών, θύοντες, of an inscription found at Dodona.

Nasals and Liquids

69. Nasal before consonant. The nasal was always assimilated to the character of the following consonant, but was less distinctly sounded than in the intervocalic position. With this are connected the following facts.

1. The letter ν is freely used for the guttural and the labial nasal, as well as for the dental, e.g., 'Ολύμπιος, άνφί, λαυγάνω.

2. The nasal is omitted in the spelling, occasionally in all dialects, and regularly in Cyprian and Pamphylian, as Cyp. άτί = άντί, Pamph. πέδε = πέντε.

3. Complete assimilation to a following stop, though not regular in any dialect, sometimes occurred in careless pronunciation, as shown by occasional, and mostly late, spellings, e.g., Att. ξυββάλλεσθαι, Boeot. 'Ολυππίχην (late κοινή inscription), Delph. 'Αθαββος, σύββονον, λαββόνοντες. From Crete, where in general consonant assimilation is most extensive (86), there are several examples, as πομπάν = πομπάν, άφφάνω = άμφάνω, and the assimilated form was usual in the name of the town Lappa, whose coins show Λαππαίων. In some cases the dissimilative influence of a preceding or following nasal was probably a factor, e.g., Delph.

άνεκλήτως = άνεγκλήτως, επάνακκον (papyr.) = επάνακχον, Locr. εκκλημα = εγκλημα, άνακκάζη = άναγκάζη, Thess. έξεξανκάδεν = έξαναγκάζειν.

4. A special case is Boeot. εππασις (uniformly so spelled) = εμπασις. This is from *εμ-ππασις as also Boeot. άππασάμενος (Corinna) from *άν-ππ-. So also Boeot. τὰ ππάματα. See 162.12.

a. Assimilation of a nasal to the character of the preceding stop is perhaps to be seen in Coan 'Αρίσταυχος = 'Αρίσταυχος, and, Cret. δαρκνά = δαρχμά, δαρχμή. Cf. Mod. Grk. Πάτνος from Πάτιμος, λαχνός from λαχμός.

70. Transposition of a liquid, or loss by dissimilation.

1. Transposition within the same syllable. Cret. πορτί = προτί, 'Αφορδίτα = 'Αφροδίτη, also κάρτος, σαρτός, etc., for which see 49.2a. Pamph. περτ', 'Αφορδίσιως, Πρείας = Περγαίας, Ther. Καρτι-, Σαρτο-.

2. Transposition between different syllables. Heracl. τράφος, Amorg. τράφη = τάφρος, τάφρη, Syrac. δρίφος = δίφρος (Hesych.).

3. Loss by dissimilation. Cyp. φρέτα = ρήτρα, El. φράτρα, Epid. ρόπτον = ρόπτρον, φατρία or φάτρα in various dialects = φρατρία, Hom. φρήτη, conversely φρήταρχος at Naples.

71. Cretan υ from λ. In Cretan the λ was a deep guttural l closely resembling u (cf. French *autre* from Lat. *alter*, etc.), and the spelling υ is fairly common. So άδευπιαί = άδελφείαι (once in Law-Code beside usual άδελπός, etc.), Φευμένας = Φελμένας, καυχός = καλχός, αυφίτων = αλφίτων, έπευθών, πορτήυθον = επελθών, προσήλθον (further examples in Hesychius).

a. Cret., Epid. μαίτυρες (hence nom. Cret. μαίτυρς, μαίτυς) = μάρτυρες, with Sicil. μαιτυρήση (SEG 4.31, with p. 141) are apparently to be explained as due to dissimilation of the two ρ's with palatalization of the first.

b. A palatalized λ is indicated by the spelling λε, which is frequent in Cos, and occurs also in Melos, Thasos, and Cnidus. Thus Coan ξύλα, ξύλων = ξύλα, ξύλων, κοτύλαι = κοτύλαι, Παμφύλων beside Πάμφυλοι. Φιλεωνίδας, etc., Thas. Φιλεωνίδας, Mel. Φίλων, etc.

c. The change of λ to ρ before a consonant, regular in popular Mod. Grk. (άδερφός = άδελφός, etc.) appears in occasional forms from the second century A.D. on, e.g., Delph. Δερφοί, Att. άδερφοί.

72. ντ, νθ from λτ, λθ. Several examples occur in West Greek and Arcadian. Φίντων (Φίλων) or Φιντίας in many West Greek

dialects and Arcadian. Arg. Μίντων (Μίλων), κέντο (κέλτο) in Alcman, φίντατος (φίλτατος) in Epicharmus, βέντιστος (βέλτιστος) in Theocritus. Cyp. τένται from *τέλται = τέλειται = έσεται. ένθειν (έλθειν) is most widespread, occurring in Doric writers and in Corcyrean, Cyrenaean, Arcadian, late Delphian, late Cretan. Meg. ένπίδες = έλπίδες stands alone.

Double Liquids and Nasals in Lesbian and Thessalian

73. The combinations discussed in 74-76, also 77.1, 79, have in part a common history, since they all become double liquids and nasals in Lesbian and Thessalian, but in other dialects a single liquid or nasal accompanied by lengthening of the preceding vowel.

a. This doubling is observed regularly only in Lesbian and Thessalian, and is one of the most distinctive Aeolic characteristics, one that is familiar in Lesbian poetry and in some Homeric forms (έμμε, έμμεν, etc.). But there are scattered examples elsewhere, which are relics of an Aeolic element. Thus from the once Aeolic Chian region (cf. 184) Πελινναίον, 'Αργεννον, Φαννόθεμις, Lac. Φάβεννος, Φαβέννα, Arc. (Orchomenos) όφέλλω (vs. όφήλω Tegea), εκριννα; Ther. έλλύτα = Boeot. ελύτα 'a kind of cake' (from ελδω 'roll').

74. ρ, ν, + λ, when preceded by any other vowel than α or ο. From *φθέρω, Lesb. φθέρρω (gram.), Att. etc. φθείρω, Arc. φθήρω. From *κρίνω, Lesb. κρίνω (gram.), Thess. κρένω (18), Att., etc., κρένω. From *κτένω, Lesb. κτένω (gram.), Att., etc. κτείνω.

a. But if α or ο precedes, epenthesis takes place, the result being the same in all dialects, e.g., χείρω from *χαριω, μοῖρα from *μόρα, βάλω from *βάνω.

b. λ gives λλ in nearly all dialects, e.g., έλλος (Lat. *alius*), στέλλω from *στέλω. But Cyprian has αλλος (beside αλ(λ)ά) and 'Απειδών = 'Απόλλων, and Elean once αλδτρια (beside έλλα, στέλλω).

75. λν or/and λσ. Lesb., Thess. στάλλα, Dor. στάλα, Att.-Ion. στήλη, Lesb. βόλλομαι, βόλλα, Thess. βέλλομαι, Att.-Ion. βούλη, βούλομαι, Boeot. βωλά, βείλομαι, West-Grk. βωλά, βουλά, δήλομαι, δειλομαι, Lesb. άπέλλω (gloss), Ion. εἰλω, εἰλέω, Delph. εἰλέσθω, El. άποφέλοι, -έοιαν, Heracl. έγφληθίωντι (in these forms the meaning is 'shut out' or 'prevent'; cf. also Att. δίκη έξούλης 'action of ejectment.' Cret. Φευμένας = Φελμένας and καταΦελμένον are

perf. pass. participles, like Hom. ἐελέμενος but meaning 'assembled' (cf. ἀολλής, etc. 55), Lesb., Hom. ὀφέλλω 'owe' (also Arc., 73a), Att. ὀφέλω, Arg., Cret., Arc. ὀφίλω.

a. The dialectal relations are clear, but whether the original consonant group was λν or λσ has been a matter of dispute. From the point of view of word formation a ν-suffix is distinctly the most probable in most cases, e.g., στέλλω, etc., from *σταλ-νῶ, εἶλω from *φέλ-νω. The conflicting λλ of Att. ἄλλωμι may be explained as a later treatment of a restored *δλῶμι, parallel to that in Att. ἐνῶμι vs. Ion. εἰνῶμι with the normal development of σν. (Some other cases of λλ, apparently from λν, are not so easy.)

But the group βούλωμαι, etc. (also Hom., Eretr., Arc.-Cypr. βόλωμαι without suffix), is now generally believed to be based on an λσ (perhaps an aor. subj.) form, with the same development as in Lesb. ἐστελλα, Att. ἐστελλα, etc. (79).

76. i. Medial σ + liquid or nasal. From *χέσλοι (cf. Skt. *hasra-*), Lesb., Thess. χέλλιοι, Ion. etc., χείλιοι, Lac. χήλιοι (Att. χίλιοι, see 25e). From *χέσρ- (cf. Hitt. *kessar* and *kessras* 'hand'), Lesb. χέρρας (Alc., Theocr.), elsewhere χείρ or χήρ. From *έσμι (Skt. *asmi*), Lesb. έμμι, Thess. έμμί, elsewhere εἰμί or ήμί (25). From *άσμε (cf. Skt. *asmān*), Lesb. άμμε, Thess. άμμέ, elsewhere άμέ, Att.-Ion. ήμέας. From *σελάσνᾱ (σέλας), Lesb. σελάσνᾱ, elsewhere σελάσνᾱ, Att.-Ion. σελήνη.

a. Initial σλ, etc., became ηλ, etc., later simple λ, etc. The earlier stage is represented by occasional early spellings with λη, etc. (cf. Fh, 51b, c), e.g., Aegin. ληβών (cf. εἰληφα, Hom. Ελλαβε, below), Corcyr. ρηφαῖσι (cf. Skt. *stava* = Eng. *stream*). But also where there is no trace of an initial s in cognates (some assume an initial 'laryngeal'), Corcyr. Μηεῖος, Meg. Μηεγαρέος, Pamph. μηεάλαν, Att. μηεγάλῳ in an early inscription.

2. Compounds and augmented or reduplicated forms of such words only rarely show the development proper to intervocalic σλ, etc., as Att. εἰληφα from *σέσλᾱφα. Usually this was checked by the analogical influence of the simplex, and the subsequent development was to λλ, etc., later (under the continued influence of the simplex and of words with original initial λ, etc.) simply λ, etc., e.g., Hom. έλλαβε, άλληλκτος, έρρεον, έννεον, φιλο-μμειδής, later έλαβε, etc. Locr., Delph., Cret. άμφιλέγω, Arc. άμφιλλογος, from άμφις-λ-, whence Meg. άμφέλλεγον as if from άμφιλλέγω. But ρρ usually remained, e.g., Att. έρρύην beside έλαβε, Dor. -ερρύᾱ, though here there is considerable variation, especial-

ly in compounds (Att. παραρύματα and παραρρύματα, etc.). Cf. ρρ from Fp, 55a.

νς

77. i. Original intervocalic νσ. From *μηνός (cf. Lat. *mēnsis*), Lesb. μήννος (also μήνος), Thess. μεινός (also μεινός), Att. etc. μηνός (in this word the vowel was already long). From *έκριννα, Lesb. έκριννα, Att., etc., έκρίνα. From *έμεννα, Thess. έμεννα, Att., etc. έμεινα. From *έφαννα, Dor., etc., έφᾱνα, Att.-Ion. έφηνᾱ. Similarly μσ, as, from *ένεμνα, Lesb. ένεμνα (gram.), Att., etc., ένειμα.

a. The dat. pl. of ν-stems, as ποιμέσι, δαίμοσι, is not formed from -ενσι, -ονσι, but from -ασι (cf. φρασί Pindar) with substitution of the vowel of the other cases. But in Arc. *hieromnāmonsi* the ν also is introduced from the other cases, and this secondary νσ is retained (cf. 3).

2. νσ + consonant lost its ν in proethnic Greek without effect on the preceding vowel, e.g., κεντός from *κενστός (cf. κεντέω), συσκευάζω, etc., from συν-. So also later in Thess. όστροφά from *όνστροφά = άναστροφή. But ν might be restored by analogy, with resulting treatment of νσ as in 3. Att. έσπενσται from *έσπενσται, Lesb. εἰκοιστος, etc. (116 with a), Arg. ποιγραψάνσθω, etc. (140.3b).

3. Secondary intervocalic νσ, in which σ comes from τκ, dental + σ, or τ before ι, had an entirely different history from that of original νσ, which was changed before the new νσ came into existence. This νσ is retained in Cretan (i.e., Central Cretan, cf. 273), Argolic (mainly Argive, cf. 251), Thessalian, and Arcadian, while in other dialects it loses the ν with lengthening, in Lesbian and Cyrenaean with diphthongization, of the preceding vowel. Thus from *πάντκ, Cret., Arg., Thess., Arc. πάσσα, Att., etc., πᾱσα, Lesb., Ther., Cyren. παῖσα. From *μόντκ, *μόνσα (not yet quotable), Lesb. μοῖσα, elsewhere μοῦσα or μῶσα. From nom. sg. fem. pres. part. -ντ-κ, Cret. έχονσα, άγονσα, έβιονσα, etc. (but ύπάρχωνσα, etc., in East and West Cretan), Thess. ένσα, λειτορεύσανσα, άπελευθερεσθένσα, Arc. μίνονσα, etc., Arg. άντι-τύχονσα, etc., Lesb. έχουσα, άρμόζουσα, δάμεισα, etc., Cyren. έκοῖσα, καθάραισα, etc., elsewhere -ουσα or -ωσα, -ᾱσα, -εισα. From dat. pl. of the ντ-stems, Cret. έπιβάλλονσι, έλόνσι, νικάσανσι, etc., Arg.

θύονσι, άπανσι, Arc. πάνσι, πολιτεύονσι, Cyren. έμμένονσι, πλέονσι, etc., elsewhere -ουσι, -ωσι, -ᾱσι, etc. From aor. *έσπενδσα, Cret. έσπενσα, Att., etc. έσπεισα. From 3 pl. -ντι (West Greek φέροντι, etc.), Arc. κρίνωνσι, ποίενσι, etc., Lesb. έχουσι, γράφουσι, τίθεισι, etc. (so also Chian λάβωσιν, πρήξουσιν, cf. 184), Att., etc., φέρουσι. Observe that 3 pl. -νσι is exclusively Arcadian, since this is the only dialect which belongs both to the νσ and the σι from τι (61) groups.

a. In derivatives in -σις from verbs in -νω, νσ is kept in all dialects, e.g., not only Cret. άνπανσις = άνάφανσις, Epid. έλινσις, but Att. πρόφανσις, θρανσις, etc., owing to the influence of the verbs.

78. Final νς. Since νσ + consonant lost its ν in proethnic Greek (77.2), the same would be true of final νς in close combination with a following word beginning with a consonant. Hence there arose doublets such as (1) before vowel τόνς, τάνς, (2) before consonants τός, τάς. Such doublets are found in Cretan, the Gortyn Law-Code still adhering very closely to the original distribution in the case of the article, e.g., τόνς έλευθέρονς, but τός καδεστάνς. But elsewhere the use of one or the other set of forms has ceased to depend at all upon the initial of the following word.

Accusatives in -ος, -ας are the regular forms in Thessalian, Arcadian (so probably Cyprian -ος not -ός), Theran, Cyrenaean, Coan, and are occasionally found in other Doric dialects and in literary Doric (e.g., frequent in Theocritus). Other dialects have -ονς, -ανς, or forms coming therefrom by the same development as that seen in the case of secondary intervocalic νσ (πάνσα, etc., 77.3), e.g., Argol. -ονς, -ανς, -ινς (less commonly -ός), Lesb. -ός, -áis, in most dialects -ούς or -ώς (25), -ᾱς. Only Elean, though medially it has πᾱσα not παῖσα, has here a development similar to the Lesbian, namely, -αις (and presumably -οις, but no o-stem acc. pl. forms occur in the inscriptions which have -αις), and later -αιρ, -οιρ. But there are also early forms in -Ας, -Ος, later -Ορ, of which the proper transcription and relation to the preceding are uncertain (short-vowel forms parallel to Cret. -ος beside -ονς?).

Similarly the preposition ένς, whence ές or εις. Cret., Argol. ένς and ές. ές in most Doric dialects (Lac., Heracl., Rhod., Coan,

Ther., Cyren., but also εις in some, mostly from the κοινή). Ion., Att.-Ion. ές and εις (both in Homer; Ion. mostly ές, Att. mostly εις), Lesb. εις (but here with genuine diphthong like τοίς).

Cf. also the treatment of final νς from -ντ-ς, e.g., nom. sg. part. Cret. νικάσανς, καταθένς, Argol. ποιτέσανς, Heracl. καταλυμα-κωθής, Att., etc., τιθείς, Lesb. στοιχείς, Thess. εύεργετές, Arc. *hierothutēs*, Ther. αἰρεθές, Cyren. κοιμαθές, πωληθές.

λσ, ρσ

79. From *έστελσα, Lesb., Thess. έστελλα, Att., etc., έστελλα, Cret. έστηλα. Cf. also Lesb. βόλλομαι, Att. βούλωμαι (75 with a). From *έφθερσα, Att., etc., έφθειρα.

80. But in another set of words λσ and ρσ did not have this development, but remained unchanged in most dialects, while in several this ρσ was assimilated to ρρ. Cf. Hom. κέλσαι, έκερσεν, ώρσε, άρσην, θάρσος, the widespread έρσην (49.2), and θάρσος or θέρσος in most dialects (partly in proper names only).

The assimilation to ρρ is Attic as άρρην, θάρρος, etc. (so in the earliest inscriptions; ρσ in early Attic writers is Ionic), West Ionic as άρρενικός (Cumae), άγαρρις (Naples), Θαρριπίδης, etc., Arcadian as φθέραι (for φθέρραι corresponding to φθέρσαι, like φθέρσαντες in Lycophron, not to φθειραι, which would be φθῆραι in Arcadian), άρρέντερος, Elean as θάρρος, θαρρῆν (ερσ in later έρσενάιτερος is due to κοινή influence), Theran as ([ά]ρενα dubious), Θαρῆς, Θαράρμαφος, etc. (all archaic; in later άρσην, θάρσων, ρσ is due to κοινή influence). Proper names with ρρ = ρσ occur also in several other dialects, e.g., Delph. Θαρρίκων, Θάρρανδρος, Amphiss. Θάρρως, Boeot. Θάρροφ, Meg. Χερρίας, *Θορριππος, Corinth. Δαμοθέρρης. Cf. also κάρρων from *κάρσων (Cret. κάρτων, 81), in Alcman, Epicharmus, Sophron, Plut. Lyc., etc.

a. Even in dialects which regularly have ρρ, ρσ may be retained by analogy, e.g., Att. θηραί after other datives in -σι, κάθαρσις etc. after other nouns in -σις. So Arc. πανάγορσις. But even in these words there is sometimes assimilation, as Att. δέρρις, West Ion. άγαρρις.

σσ, ττ

81. Att. ττ = Ion. σσ comes from κκ, χχ, and in the following categories also from ττ or θθ (but see 82a). So in presents like

φυλάττω, φυλάσσω (κ₂), κορύττω, κορύσσω (θ₂), in feminines like γλῶττα, γλῶσσα (χ₁), μέλιττα, μέλισσα (τ₂), and in comparatives like ἥττων, ἥσσων (κ₁), κρείττων, κρέσσων (τ₂). τ₂ gives the same result. So τέτταρες, τέσσερες (cf. Lat. *quattuor*, Skt. *catvāras*; see 114.4), and ἥμισσον (also ἥμισον, 89.6) in many dialects (Arc., Locr., Delph., Arg., Meg., etc.), Boeot. ἡμίττα, εἰμίττον (nos. 39 and 42), from *ἥμι-τ₂ο- beside ἥμι-τ₁ο- in a Cret. compound and Att.-Ion. ἥμισυς (61.5). Inscriptions show that Attic had ττ from the earliest times, the σσ of earlier writers being due to Ionic influence. But in the later κοινή, σσ is more common than ττ. Most of the dialects agree with Ionic, but ττ, as in Attic, is also Boeotian (φυλάττω, θάλαττα, πέτταρες, ἡμίττα), Cretan (ἱάττα = Arg. ἑάσσα, κάρτων from *κάρττων), and Euboean, at least in Styra, Eretria, Oropus (ἐλάττων, πρήττω, Κιττιής).

a. Late Cret. σσ in πράσσω, θάλασσα, ἥμισσον, also in ὄσος, δασσάσθωσαν belonging under 82, is due to (Attic-Ionic or Doric) κοινή.

b. Late Cret. θθ in words of this class, as θάλαθθα, ἱαθθα, also in ὑθθαίνω, Ἀρκάθθι belonging under 82, and even for original σσ in Φέτεθθι. For θθ it is earlier and more frequent (83).

c. Although the Thessalian inscriptions usually have σσ, there is some evidence that the dialect had ττ originally, or at least in certain localities. Aside from θάλαττα, πίττα, which are quoted as Thessalian, cf. the proper names Κόντυρος, Φαύττιος, etc., and especially Πετθαλός from Φετταλός (65).

σ, σσ, ττ

82. τ₁ and θ₂ give Att. σ not ττ, and Ion. σ (early σσ often in poetry, but never in inscriptions) in ὄσος, ὀπόσος (τ₂), μέσος (*μέθιος, cf. Skt. *madhyas*). A dental + σ gives precisely the same result, e.g., ἐκόμισα, ἐδίκασα, etc. In all such cases most dialects have σσ (but σ, as Att.-Ion., in Arcadian, as μέσος, ὄσος, ἐδικάσαμεν, δάσασθαι, elsewhere late), e.g., ὄσος, τόσος, Lesb. μέσος, ἐδίκασσαν, Heracl. μέσος, ἐδασσάμεθα, Arg. ἡργάσσαντο, ἐδίκασσαν, ἡσασατο, ἐσσάμενοι, Cyren. ἰσσαντα, ἰσάμενος. But Boeotian and Cretan have ττ, e.g., Boeot. μέττος, ὀπόττος, ἐφαίττα-τατο, ἀπολογίτταστη, Cret. μέττος, ὀττος, ὀπόττος, δάτταθθαι. In some very early Cretan inscriptions we find ζ, as ὄζος, ἀν-δάζαθαι.

a. This is to be recognized as the normal development of τ₁ and θ₂. The different result seen in the classes of words mentioned in 81 is due to the influence of the forms containing gutturals. After a consonant τ₁ gives σ in all dialects; e.g., πάνσα, πᾶσα, from *πάντσα.

b. Forms of Dor. ἰσᾶμι (162.9) regularly show single σ. Only late Cret. ἰθᾶντες, ἰθᾶντι seem to point to σσ (unless Hom. ἰσᾶσι beside ἰσᾶσι stands for ἰσᾶσι), and these are not to be taken too seriously.

Original σσ

83. Original σσ, which becomes σ in Attic (ἐτέλεσα, γένεσι), is retained, as in Homer, etc., in most dialects (cf. ὄσος, etc., 82), e.g., Lesb. ἑσσονται, Thess. ἑσσεσθαι, Heracl. ἐσσηται, Ther. ἐσσεῖται, dat. pl. -εσσι in numerous dialects, Heracl. -ασσι (107.3). For late Cret. Φέτεθθι see 81b.

ζ, δδ

84. Attic-Ionic ζ, the early pronunciation of which was zd and which comes from zd (δζος, cf. Germ. *Ast*; Ἀθήναζε from -α(ν)ς-δε) or, more often, from γζ (μείζων, μέζων) or δζ (πεζός), is also ζ in the majority of other dialects. Lesb. σδ, found in our literary texts and in a few late inscriptions, is only another spelling of the same sound, adopted perhaps because ζ was used with the value of z in ζά = διά, etc. (19.1).

But assimilation to δδ, initial δ, is Boeotian, Thessalian, Elean, Cretan, Laconian, and Megarian (?). Boeot. γραμματίδδω, φαφίδδω, δοκιμάδδω, ἱαρειάδδω, τρέπεδδα, δῶω (ζῶω), Δεύς, δύγα-στρον, μέδδονος (= μέζονος), Thess. ἐξῆσανακᾶδεν (no. 35; the only example, so possibly δδ only in Thessalitis, but there is no evidence against its being general Thessalian). El. δικάδω, χραίδω, Cret. δικάδδω, φαφίδδω, ἐργάδδωμαι, φροντιδδω, δῶω, δῶος, δυγόν, Δῆνα (Ζῆνα), Lac. γυμνάδδωμαι, etc. in Ar. Lys., μικκιχιδ-δόμενος, ὀπιδό[μενος], Δεύς in inscriptions. Δεύς occurs also on a vase from Rhodes, and is perhaps genuine Rhodian. Cf. the occasional assimilation of σδ in external combination in Rhodian (97.4). Meg. δδ is doubtful (Ar. Ach. μᾶδδα, χρήδδω, but only ζ in inscriptions).

In Cretan and Elean the spelling ττ is also found, as Cret. φροντίττω, ἐσπρεμίττω (ἐκπρεμνίζω), ἀπολογίττω (but see also

below, a), Ττῆνα, Τῆνα (Ζῆνα), El. νοστίττω (νοστίζω), ἀττάμιος (ἀττήμιος).

a. There is some interchange between presents in -σσω or -ττω and those in -ζω or -δδω, owing to the identity of their future and aorist forms. Thus Att. σφάττω = Ion. σφάζω, Boeot. σφάδδω, Boeot. φράττω (Corinna) = Att. φράζω, Thess. ἐμφανίσσω = Att. ἐμφανίζω, and, conversely, Cret. πράδδω, συνεσάδδω = Att. πράττω, -σάττω, Cret. ἀλλάδδω, Locr. ἀλάζω (regular from γλ, cf. ἀλλαγή) = Att. ἀλλάττω, Ion. ἀλλάσσω.

σθ

85. 1. στ = σθ. The use of στ for σθ is mainly characteristic of Northwest Greek. It is the regular spelling in Locrian, as ἡλέσται, ἡρέσται, and early Elean, as χρῆσται, λυσάσθω, and occurs with some frequency in Phocian, as Delph. πρόστα, ἡλαξάσθω, later γινέστω, etc., Stir. θέστων, ἀποπολιτεύσασθαι. It occurs also in Boeotian, in late inscriptions of Orchomenus (ἀπολογίτταστη, etc.), where it is perhaps due to Aetolian influence, and rarely in Thessalian (πεπείσται, ἐλέσται, πρόσται). But there are some early examples in other dialects, as Cret. μιστός, Lac. ἀποστρυθῆσται, χρῆσται, Arc. (probably) [ἀφάε]σται, and in late times it is found in many parts of Greece, even at Athens.

2. σσ = σθ. This is found in late Elean, as ἀποδόσσαι (no. 65), ποιήσσαι (no. 66).

3. θθ = σθ. This is regular in Central Crete, e.g., πρόθθα, ἀποφειπάθθω, πράδεθθα, δατέθθα, etc. (numerous examples in Law-Code, always θθ or θ), also rarely τθ as δέκεθθα, χρῆθθα (no. 118), ἀπολογιττέθω. But σθ occurs in some of the earliest inscriptions, and also (here probably from the κοινή) in the late inscriptions from other parts of Crete.

Assimilation, Dissimilation, and Transposition of Consonants

86. Assimilation in consonant groups. Many of the changes belonging under this head have been given already, e.g., under 55a, 69.3, 74-76, 77.1, 80, 84, 85.2, 3. See also under external combination 96-100. No notice is taken of assimilation which is common to all dialects and presumably proethnic, as δλ to λλ, etc.; nor of the partial assimilation involved in the familiar

shift of voiced to voiceless before voiceless or conversely (but ζμ, ζβ, ζγ, ζδ, for σμ, etc., though widespread, are mostly late).

This class of phenomena is one in which the difference between colloquial and careful speech is most noticeable, as may readily be observed in English. While some assimilations are so uniformly effected that the unassimilated form is completely displaced and forgotten, others remain colloquial only, the unassimilated form being still preferred in careful speech and writing. This accounts for much of the lack of uniformity in the evidence as regards some of the changes mentioned in this and the other sections. In some cases the spelling varies greatly even in the dialects where the change is best attested. Sometimes the assimilation is uniform in certain dialects, but evidently existed colloquially in others also and only sporadically made its appearance in the spelling. Assimilation is most extensive in Cretan.

1. κτ > ττ in Cretan. νυτί = νυκτί, ἐσπράτται = ἐκπράτται, Λύττος = Λύκτος.

2. πτ > ττ in Cretan and Thessalian. Cret. ἐγρατται = γέ-γραπται, ἐττά = ἐπτά, πέντος (also Amorg., but here special case) = πέμπος, Thess. Λεπτίνας (Λεπτινάιος), οἱ πτολίαρχοι, ἀρχιτολιάρχεντος (πτόλις, 67), also ἄτ τᾶς, etc. in external combination (99.2). Cf. also Thess. Ἀθόνειτος = Ἀφθόνιος.

3. σγ > γγ or γ (with graphic or actual simplification). Cret. πρεῖδον, πρεῖστος (both in Law Code), πρεῖγος, πρεῖγῆα, πρεῖγευ-τάς, πρεῖγευσάντων, Locr. πρεῖγα (no. 59.10), all from πρεῖσ-γ- seen in Boeot. (i from εἰ, 29) πρεῖσγες, πρεῖσγεις (no. 40), πρεῖσγού-τερος (Ἀρχ. Δελτ. 14, πίναξ 4a, l. 48), beside πρεῖσ-β- in Thess. πρεῖσβεία and πρεῖσ-γ-, πρεῖσ-β- in Arg. πρεῖσγέα (no. 85.39), later πρεῖσβῆα (hybrid form), Att.-Ion. πρεῖσβος, etc.

a. The form πρεῖσ- is not from πρεῖσ-, but an independent parallel form (cf. Lat. *preiscus*, *priscus*, and *pris-* in Lat. *primus*, Pael. *prismu*). For the interchange of γ and β, see 68.1. Late Cret. πρεῖσγευτάς and πρεῖσγευτάς in inscriptions of Teos are hybrid forms. In late Cret. πρήγιστος and late Coan πρήγιστεύω the η is due to the late confusion of εἰ and η.

b. A parallel change of σκ to κκ is attested for late Laconian by glosses like ἀκκόρ · ἀκός. Λάκωνες (Hesych.), in this case confirmed by the modern Tsakonian form.

4. στ > ττ. Examples in several dialects, beside usual spelling στ. Cret. μεττ' ἐς beside μέστα, Lac. βεττόν 'dress' (Etym. M.)

= **φαστόν*, Boeot. *ἐπτε* = *εστε*, *ἔτω* (Ar., Plato) = *ἔτω*.

5. *ρν* > *νν*. Cret. *ἀννίσιτο* = *ἀρνέσιτο*, *δννιθα* = *δρνιθα*, *Ἐλευθενναίος* = *Ἐλευθερναίος*.

6. *ρδ* (through *ρρ*) > *ρ* with lengthening of the preceding vowel. Cret. *Ἐρροντι*, *Ἐρρόντων* (Gortyn) beside *Ἐρρῆτι* (Lato), *πῆριξ*, *πέρδιξ* Hesych.

7. *μν* > *μμ*. Cret. *ἐσπρεμμίτω* = *ἐκπρεμνίζω*.

8. *νμ* > *μμ*. Att. (inscriptions) *ὑφάμμα*, Cypen. *ποπιπίαμμα*, Troez. *πεπεμμένος* (from *πένομαι*). But usually replaced by analogical *σμ*, as *ὑφάσμα*, etc.

9. *γμ* > *μμ*. Cret. *ψάφιμμα* = *ψάφιγμα* (142a).

10. *γν* > *ν*. *γίνομαι* appears as *γίνουμαι* in most dialects except Attic (here also, but late), or as *γίνουμαι* (Thess., Boeot.). *γινώσκω* = *γινώσκω* occurs in Lesbian and in Ionic prose writers (Att. *γινώσκω* very late), and in some late Doric inscriptions. This is not really assimilation, but loss of *γ* by dissimilation from the initial *γ*, supported, in the case of *γίνουμαι*, by the *γεν* of other tenses.

87. Transposition in consonant groups. As *τίκτω* from **τίτκω*, so probably *δάκτυλος* from **δάτκυλος*, to which points Boeot. *δακκύλιος* (*κκ* from *τκ* as in Thess. *πὸκ κί* from *πὸτ κί*, whereas *κκ* from *κτ* would be contrary to all analogy, cf. 86.1). But most examples are of colloquial and transitory character, more or less frequently repeated slips of the tongue, or sometimes, without doubt, only graphic. Thus from Attic inscriptions *σχυναρχόντων* = *χουν-* (*ξυν-*), *εὐσχάμενος* = *εὐχσάμενος*, *σφυχή* = *ψυχή*, *ἐγρασφεν* (often on vases) = usual *ἐγραφσεν*, *μεσόμνη* = *μεσόδμη* (*δμ* first to *νμ* by assimilation); Arg. *ξύλλεσθαι* = *σκύλλεσθαι*; Syrac., Cret. *ψέ*, *ψίν* (Cret. *ψέ αὐτόν*, *πὸν αὐτοῖς*) = *σφέ*, *σφίν*.

88. Assimilation, dissimilation, and transposition, between non-contiguous consonants. Except for the regular dissimilation of aspirates in proethnic Greek (65), these phenomena are of the same occasional character as the preceding (87). They are most frequently observable in the case of aspirates, or of liquids, for which see 65, 70. A nasal may interchange with an oral stop of its own class, by assimilation or dissimilation with another nasal, e.g., Cret. *νόναμαι* = *δύναμαι* (cf. Mod. Grk. *Μεντέλη* beside *Πεντέλη*, name of Mt. Pentelicus), or, conversely, Att.

τέρβινθος beside *τέρμινθος*, Att. *κυβερνάω* from **κυμερνάω* beside Cyp. *κυμερῆναι* and *βάρναμαι* = *μάρναμαι*, which occurs in certain inscriptions in epic style from Athens, Corcyra, etc. (nos. 94, 95). But Arg. *στάδιον* = *στάδιον* is perhaps the earlier form, the Att. *στ* due to influence of *στάδιος*. Dissimilatory loss of the labial element in the labiovelars (68), as in *ἀρτοκόπος* from *-πόπος*, Att. *γέφυρα* (68.2), Dor. *γλέπω*, *γλέφαρον* = *βλέπω*, *βλέφαρον*, Ion. *γλήχων*, Dor., Boeot. *γλάχων* = Att. *βλήχων*. Transposition, e.g., Ion. *ἀριθμέω* = *ἀριθμέω*, Arg. *φάλυρον* = *λάφυρον*, Delph., Epid. *βόλιμος* = *μόλιμος* (Att. usually *μόλυβδος*, *βόλυβδος*), also with assimilation Rhod. *βόλιβος* in *περιβολιβώσαι*, Cret. *νεμονήια*, *Νεμονήιος* = *νεομηνία*, *Νεομήνιος*.

a. Among the examples of haplogy or syllabic loss by dissimilation (Att. *ἀμφορεύς* vs. Hom. *ἀμφορεῦς*) some are dialectal. Epid. *ἡμιδιμνον* from *ἡμι(μέ)διμνον*, as Att. *ἡμιδιμνον* from *ἡ(μι)μέδιμνον*. Cret. *νεότας* 'body of young men,' gen. *νεότας* from *νεότα(το)ς*, acc. *νεότα* from *νεότατα*, Lac. *Σαφάναξ* from *Σα(φο)φάναξ*.

b. There are other cases of syllabic loss which do not come under the head of haplogy. Many Thess. proper names in *Ἄστο-* = *Ἄριστο-*, as *Ἀστοκράτης*, *Ἀστοδάμος*, etc., Thess. *Λασαίος* (no. 32.19), *Λασαίοι* (gen. sg.), also *Λάσαν* *τὴν Λάρισσαν* Hesych., beside usual *Λαρίσατος*, etc. (or later *σσ*).

Doubling of Consonants, Simplification of Double Consonants, and Other Losses of Consonants

89. A single consonant is often written double, this indicating a syllabic division by which it was heard at the end of one syllable and the beginning of the next. But not all the examples below can be understood in this way.

1. *σσ*, *σσι*, *σς*, *ξς*, *ξξ*, etc. Such spellings as *Ἄριστο-*, *δσστις*, *Ἀσκληπιός*, *κόσμος*, *γράφμα* are frequent and not confined to particular dialects. Similarly *σζ* (= *zzd*) in Arg. *δικάσζω* (no. 84, early), Delph. *δουλίσζω*, etc.; *ξσ* (= *κσσ*) in Corinth. *φώραξς*, Rhod. *κύλιςς*, *Πραξιούδω* (no. 101), Ion. *ξξς* (no. 4.5), Boeot. *ἀργυροτόξσοι*, Naxian *Ναξισό*, *Φηράξσο*, *ἔξσοχος* (probably; see no. 6); *ξξ* in Thess. *ἔξξοι*, *ἔξξανακάδεν*, Locr. *ψάφιξξιν*, *δξξξαι*, *ἔξξόλλειαν*, *ἔξξιομάχως*, Arc. *Πολυξξένα*, etc. Cf. also Locr. *ἐκκπᾶξξαι*, Lesb. *ἐκκτός*, Ion. (Ephesus) *ἐκττη*, *ὀκττώ*, *ἡμιεκττα* (also *ἐκ τῶν*, etc.).

2. *μνν*, *ττρ*. Epid. *μέδιμνον*, *ἡμιδιμνον*, *ἱερομνήμενες* (no. 89), Arg. *γυμνικός*, *πέττρινον*, Cret. *ἀλλόττριος*.

3. Doubling before consonantal *ι* in Thessalian. See 19.3.

4. Doubling between vowels (besides *ξξ*, for which see above, 1), mainly of nasals or liquids. Thess. *μναμμεῖον*, *Δαμμάττειος*, *ὀβελλός*, *δούρραντα*, Lesb. *πραγρημμένω*, *φίλημμι*, *δίννητες*, *διννάεις*, *ἀρότρωμμεν*, etc., Rhod. *εἴμμειν*, Dodon. *ἄμμεινον*, Boeot. *θάλλατταν*, Delph. *ἐλλευθερία*. Likewise in external combination (101.1). But also El. *ἀνταποδιδῶσσα*, Cret. *σποφδδάν* (spirant *δ*?).

a. The frequency of such forms in Lesbian and Thessalian was promoted by the numerous cases of regular *μμ*, etc., from combinations (74-76).

b. Single *σ* is the correct early spelling of Cret. *Κνωός* (single *σ* also confirmed by Arg. *Κνώηιοι* = *Κνώσιοι*), and the Thessalian and Argive *Λάρισα*. The forms with *σσ* are late.

5. Doubling in hypocoristic proper names, where it originates in the vocative and is due to the emphatic utterance in calling. Examples, though found elsewhere, are by far most frequent in Boeotian, e.g., *Ἀγαθῶ*, *Βίωττος*, *Μένναι*, etc.

a. Similar to this "expressive" doubling in hypocoristic names is that in nursery words like *πάππα*, *ἄττα*, etc., and in some colloquial words like *γόννης* (from *γυνή*), Lat. *gibbus*, *lipfus*, etc. Here lies the probable explanation of the widespread *μικρός* (Dor., Boeot., etc.; proper names *Μίκκος*, *Μικκιῶδης*) formed from the *μικ-* of *μικρός*. Hence also with diminutive suffixes *μικκύλος* and Lac. **μικκιχός* implied by *μικκιχιδδόμενος* (cf. nos. 75-78, note).

6. The simplification of double consonants is in part only graphic. For the writing of single for double consonants is common in early inscriptions, with varying degrees of frequency. Thus in the earliest Attic inscriptions it is the usual practice. In the Gortyn Law-Code, in case of the infinitives from *-σθαι* the proportion of *-θαι* to *-θθαι* is roughly 3 : 1, while in external combination the double consonants resulting from assimilation are so written in the majority of cases (97.3, 4, 5; 98). Graphic simplification is of course to be assumed in all cases of *θάλασσα* = *θάλασσα*, feminine adjectives in *εσσα* = *-εσσα* (for *στονόφεσαν*, no. 94, there is the added metrical evidence), and many others. So for early examples of *ἡμισον* = usual *ἡμισσον* (e.g., Locr. no.

59.17, Arg. no. 85.7), in spite of the frequency in later times of *ἡμισον*, which was probably influenced by Att. *ἡμισους*.

7. But actual simplification occurs in Att.-Ion., Arc. *σ* from *σσ* in forms like *μέσος*, aor. *ἐδίκασα*, dat. pl. *γένεσι*, etc. (82, 83), more exceptionally in Arc. *φθέραι*, Boeot. *Θάροψ*, etc. (80). It is also probable in external combination and composition in the numerous cases like *κά τόν*, *πὸ τόν* from *κάτ τόν*, *πὸτ τόν*, El. *καδαλέοιτο*, *καθυτάς*, Arc. *κακρίνῃ*, *κακρίθῃ*, *κακειμέναι*, *ἰνητάν*, *ἰμέσουν*, *ἰμέσος*, (= *ιν- μ-*), *τὰ Φάδω* (= *τὰν Φάδω*), *συφουκία*, *κὰ Φοικίας τὰ δέ*, (96.5, 97.2), Lac. *τὰ σῶ* (= *τὰς σῶ*), Locr. *ἔ τὰς*, *ἔ δάμω*, *ἔ λιμένος*, etc., from assimilated *ἐκ* (100), Locr. also *αἶ τι*, *ἀνάτω*, *ἀδίκω* = *αἶ τις*, *ἀνάτως*, *ἀδίκως*, all before *συνδῖ*, etc.

a. In many editions of texts it is the practice to expand the spellings, e.g., *θάλα(σ)σα*, *πὸ(τ) τόν*, etc. But in this book, with occasional exceptions to save comment, the simple consonants are left as in the original.

8. The loss of a consonant in groups of three is mainly prehistoric and general Greek, as in *γεγράφθαι* from **γεγράφθαι*. But there are some cases of loss in a secondary group of special dialectal forms. Att.-Ion., Delph., Epid. *παστάς* from **παρστάς*, *παρσάτας*, Thess. *πεστάντες* from **περστάντες* (= *περι-*), Arc. *θύσθεν* from **θυρσθεν* (133.1), Lesb. *ἔσλος*, Ion. (Chios), lit. Dor. (Pindar) *ἔσλος*, also *ἡεσλός* (Olympia, dialect uncertain) = *ἔσθλος*, Lesb. *μάσλης* = *μάσθλης*.

9. The loss of final *ν*, frequent in inscriptions and papyri of Hellenistic times, is also seen in Pamph. *πόλι* beside *πόλιν*, *ι* = *ιν*. Some alleged early anticipations of this tendency are of uncertain significance, in part perhaps only graphic errors, e.g., Arg. *τελαμῶ* (no. 82) = *τελαμών*, and Arg. gen. dual *τοῖ Φανάκοι* (the *τοῖ* could be from *τοιν* by assimilation and simplification, like that in Arc. *τὰ Φάδω*, *συφουκία*, 96.5).

CHANGES IN EXTERNAL COMBINATION⁴

90. The phenomena of external combination, or sentence phonetics, such as elision, crasis, consonant assimilation, etc., are found in all dialects. But in Greek, as in most other languages,

⁴ Some matters which strictly belong under this head have been discussed elsewhere, as the rhotacism of final *ς*, treatment of final *νς*, etc.

there is a tendency to limit more and more the scope of such changes, and to prefer, in formal speech and its written form, the uncombined forms. The inscriptions, Attic as well as those of other dialects, differ greatly in this respect according to their time and character. The following general observations may be made.

1. The changes occur mainly between words standing in close logical relation. Thus oftenest in prepositional phrases, or between the article, adjective, or particle and the noun with which it agrees; frequently between particles like *καί*, *δέ*, *μέν*, etc., and the preceding or following word; less often between the subject or object and the following verb; and very rarely in looser combinations.

2. While the less radical changes, such as the elision of a short vowel or the simpler forms of consonant assimilation, are least restricted in scope and survive the longest, the more violent forms of crasis and of consonant assimilation are the most infrequent and the soonest given up. Thus, in the matter of consonant assimilation, the partial assimilation of a nasal to a following stop, especially a labial, as in *τὰμ πόλιν*, is very common in all dialects down to a late period and sometimes observed even in loose combinations (cf. 96.1), but examples like *τὸλ λόγον*, *τοὺν νόμους*, etc., are comparatively infrequent and practically restricted to early inscriptions.

3. Although the dialects differ in the extent to which they exhibit these phenomena and in some details (e.g., Cretan shows the most extensive and radical series of consonant assimilations), the differences depend more upon the time and character of the inscription, the degree to which the language has been formalized.

4. There is no consistency in the spelling, even as regards the milder changes, combined and uncombined forms often standing side by side in the same inscription.

Elision

91. Elision is common to all dialects, but, as in Attic, subject to great inconsistency as regards the written form, which even in metrical inscriptions is very often not in accord with the

demands of the meter. In general, elision is most frequent in the conjunctions and particles such as *δέ* (*δέε*, *οὐδέ*, etc.), *τε*, *κα*, *ἀλλά*, etc., the prepositions, and, among case-forms, in stereotyped phrases like *πὸλλ' ἀγαθὰ*, etc. The elision of a diphthong, e.g., Locr. *δείλ' ἀνχῶρεῖν*, is comparatively rare. For elision in place of usual crasis, see 94.

a. Elision in *περί* (Attic only before *ι*), as in Doric poetry, in Cypr. *περ' Ἐδάλιον*, and in compounds Delph., Lesb., Boeot. (also in Pindar) *πέροδος*, Locr. *Περόχθεος*, Boeot. *περαγέας* (Corinna). Cf. *πέρ* by apocope (95).

Aphaeresis

92. Examples of aphaeresis occur in various dialects. Ion. *ῆ'ς, μὴ' λᾶσσονες* (Chios, no. 4), Locr. *ῆ' δελφίων, ῆ' χεπάμδν*, *μῆ' ποστᾶμεν, ῆ' ν πόλι, ῆ' ν ἀποκλῆσαι*, El. *μῆ' νπῶι, μῆ' πιποεόντδν*, *μῆ' πιθεῖαν*, Lesb. *σ[τάλλ]α' πῖ*, Cret. *ῆ' ν, ῆ' πῖ*.

Shortening of a Final Long Vowel

93. The shortening of a final long vowel before an initial vowel, so well known in poetry, may occasionally show itself in the spelling of inscriptions, e.g., Cret. *μῆ' ἐκνη* (*μῆ' ἐχη*), *μῆ' ἐνδικον*, etc., Meg. *ἐπειδὲ Ἰκέσιος*.

Crasis

94. Crasis, mostly of *καί* or forms of the article with the following word, is found in the early inscriptions of all dialects, though the uncombined forms are more frequent. As between the "phonetic principle", where the result of crasis is in accordance with the regular laws of contraction, and the "etymological principle", with lengthening of the vowel as in Att. *ἀνὴρ* = *ὁ ἀνὴρ*, the former is almost, if not wholly, predominant outside of Attic.

1. *ο*, secondary *ῶ* (*ου*), *ω*, + *α* (cf. 44.1). Ion. *ὦνῆρ, τῶγῶνος* (*τοῦ ἀγῶνος*), with the regular contraction to *ω*, where Attic has *ἀνὴρ, τᾶγῶνος*. Similarly Lesb. (lit.) *ὦνῆρ*, Arc. *κᾶ τῶρρέντερον* (*κατὰ τὸ ἀρρέντερον*), Delph. *τῶπελλαίου* (*τοῦ Ἀπελλαίου*), *τῶπόλλωνι* (*τῶι Ἀπόλλωνι*), Boeot. *τῶπόλλδνι* (*τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνι*), Corinth. *τῶπέλλδνι* (*τῶι Ἀπέλλωνι*), *τῶγαθόν* (*τὸ ἀγαθόν*), Meg. *ὄρχεδαμε* (*ὁ*

Ἀρχέδαμε), and so regularly in literary Doric. Elision, rather than crasis, according to the "etymological principle", is probably to be assumed in Arc. *τᾶπόλλωνι* (*τοῦ Ἀπ-*), Corinth. *τᾶριστερὸν* (*τὸ ἀριστέρων*), Arg. *τᾶργεῖοι* (*τοῖ Ἀργεῖοι*), *τᾶργεῖδ* (*τοῦ Ἀργεῖου*), Locr. *τᾶπόλογοι* (*τοῖ ἀπόλογοι*).

2. *ο* + *ο*, *ε* or *η* (cf. 44.2, 3, 4). Att.-Ion. *τοῦνομα*, Lesb. *ὠνίαυτος* (*ὁ ἐνίαυτος*), Locr. *δᾶγῶν* (*ὁ ἐπάγων*). Ion. *τῶμισυ* (*τὸ ἥμισυ*).

3. *α* + *ο* (cf. 41.2). Att., Dor. *χῶ* (*καὶ ὁ*), Ion., Cret. *κῶ* (*καὶ ὁ*), Lesb. (lit.) *κῶττι* (*καὶ ὅττι*), El. *κῶπόταροι* (*καὶ ὁπόταροι*). Cf. Aegin. *χῶλέφας* (*καὶ ὁ ἐλέφας*) with double crasis, like *χῶκ* (*καὶ ὁ ἐκ*) in Theocritus.

4. *α* + *ο* (cf. 41.4). Meg. *ᾶλυντιάς* (*ᾶ Ὀλυντιάς*).

5. *α* + *ε* (cf. 41.3). Locr. *ἡπιφοικία* (*ᾶ ἐπιφοικία*).

6. *α* + *ε* (cf. 41.1). Att.-Ion. *κᾶγῶ* (*καὶ ἐγῶ*), *καπί* (*καὶ ἐπί*), *τᾶν* (*τὰ ἐν*), etc., West Greek *κῆν*, *κῆκ*, *κῆπί* (*καὶ ἐν*, *καὶ ἐκ*, *καὶ ἐπί*), Boeot. *κῆπιχάριτται* (Ar.), etc. So also in Thessalian (no. 35) *κῆν* and *τῆς* (*τὰ ἐς*). Lesbian has *κῆμέ* (*καὶ ἐμέ*) in an early inscription, while the texts of the Aeolic poets vary between *α* and *η* (see p. 343); and Arcadian has *κῆπί*. Elision before *ε* plus two consonants, Cret. *κῆρσενος*, Epid. *κῆνκαύσιος*, etc.

7. With words beginning with a diphthong. Delph. *κηῦκλεια* (*καὶ Εὐκλεια*), *κηῦυτε* (*καὶ οὔτε*), Rhod. *δῶδάμδ* (*ὁ Εὐδάμου*), Ion. *ῶισυμνήτης* (*ὁ αἰσυμνήτης*), like lit. *ῶνός* (*ὁ αὐτός*) in Homer, etc., *κῶυδέν* (*καὶ οὐδέν*) in Epicharmus, *ῶπόλος* (*ὁ αἰπόλος*), *τῶυβούλοιο* (*τῶ Εὐβ-*) in Theocritus. But also with diphthong unchanged, that is, with what is really elision, as commonly in lit. Attic and Ionic (*κοῦ, κοῦτε, χοί* = *καὶ οἱ, κεῦ* = *καὶ εὐ*), Thess. *κοῖ* (*καὶ οἱ*), Ion. *τοῖκόπεδον* (*τὸ οἰκό-*), *κοῖνοπίδης* (*καὶ Οἶνο-*), Arc. *κεῦορ-κέντι* (*καὶ εὐ-*). The proper transcription of forms in the pre-Ionic alphabet is sometimes uncertain, but, in general, crasis is most common in early inscriptions, and it is probable that we should transcribe Thess. *κῶυφεργέταν* (no. 35), Boeot. *τεῦτρῆτι-φάντῶ* (no. 38.5), and Aegin. *ῆῶικος* (*ὁ οἶκος*).

⁶ We continue, as a matter of convention, to transcribe in the form of crasis when the combination belongs to those which commonly suffer crasis, even in cases where we believe the phenomenon is elision. For it is impossible to draw the line between crasis and elision with certainty. See also here under 7, 8, 9.

8. With words beginning with *ι* or *υ*. Cret. *κυῖεες* (*καὶ υῖεες*), El. *κῦπαδικοί* (*καὶ ὑπα-*), Delph. *κιδῶται* (*καὶ ιδῶται*).

In such cases there is of course no evidence as to whether the *υ* or *ι* was lengthened, as usually in Attic-Ionic, but probably we have here simply elision.

9. In Elean in the forms of the article the final vowel or diphthong disappears, sometimes even the vowel with final consonant. Thus *τιάρὸν* (*τὸ ιαρόν*), *τιάρῶ* (*τῶ ιαρόν*), *τιάρῶι* (*τοῖ ιαρόν*), *τέπιάρῶι* (*τοῖ ἐπιάρῶι*), and even *τῶρ ιαρομάορ τῶλυνπῖαι* (*τῶρ Ὀλυνπῖαι*). This is clearly not crasis proper, but an extension of the principle of elision. Cf. *θυῖῶι* (*τῶι υῖῶι*) in an Attic inscription and Locr. (Halae) *τῶαροῖ* = *τοῖ ιαροῖ*.

Apocope

95. Apocope of prepositions, while very rare in Attic-Ionic prose, is common in other dialects, with differences in frequency, chronology, and especially in the range of prepositions affected. Most widespread are *ἐν* (or *ὄν*, *ὕν*, 6, 22) and *πάρ*. — *κάτ* and (in the ποτί-dialects) *πότ* are common; in the West Greek dialects mostly before a dental (in Heracleian only so), and frequently with simplification of the double consonants (89.6), *κᾶκ τόν*, *πῶ τόν*, etc. But also before other consonants (like Hom. *κᾶκ κεφαλῆς*, *κᾶγ γόνυ*, *κᾶν νόμον*, etc.), as Boeot. *κᾶγ γᾶν*, *πῶκ κατόπτας*, Thess. *κᾶπ παντός*, *πῶκ κί*, Lac. *καββαλικός*, *Καβάτα*, Lesb. *κᾶλλιπεν*, etc. Regularly *κᾶ*, *κα-* in the early Arcadian and Elean inscriptions, as Arc. *κᾶ μῆνα*, *κακρίνε*, El. *καδαλέοιτο*, *καθυτάς*, etc.—Arc. also *πέ* from *πεδά* in *πέ τοῖς Φουιάταις*. — *πέρ* from *περί* occurs in Delphian, Elean (*πάρ*), Thessalian, lit. Lesbian, and in proper names in Locrian (*Περγοθαριᾶν*), Laco-nian, Messenian and Cretan. — *ᾶπ*, *ἐπ*, *ὑπ* are (except for a few cases in compounds before a labial, as Hom. *ᾶππέμψει*, *ὑββάλλειν*, Lesb. *ᾶπ πατέρων* (Alcaeus) only Thessalian, which in general has more extensive apocope than any other dialect, namely *ᾶν*, *πάρ*, *πέρ*, *κάτ*, *πότ*, *ᾶπ* (*ᾶτ τᾶς*), *ἐπ* (*ἐτ τᾶ*, *ἐτ τοῖ*), *ὑπ* (*ὑπρό*). Cf. also Thess. gen. sg. *-οι* from *-οιο*, doubtless first in the proclitic article.

a. There is an unimportant difference of practice in regard to the apocopated forms beginning with a vowel. In some editions of literary texts and inscriptions they are given without accent, on the analogy of *ἐκ*, *ἐν*,

etc., e.g., Lesb. ἀπ πατέρων, Thess. ἀτ τὰς. But consistently with the prevailing reading of Hom. ἀμ παδίων, etc., we read ἀτ τὰς, etc.

Consonant Assimilation

(in part with further simplification of the double consonants. 89.6)

96. Assimilation of final ν.

1. To the class of a following labial or guttural. Cases like τῆμ πόλιν, τὸν κήρυκα, νῦμ μὲν, are frequent in Attic inscriptions, and likewise in the other dialects. So also between object and verb as Delph. τόκιον φερέτω, Arc. πόσοδοι ποέντω, and in looser combinations as Att. ἐστὶμ περὶ, Arc. ἐν ἐπὶκρισιγ κατὰπερ, Arg. ποιοῖεγ κατὰ.

2. To σ. Att. ἐς Σάμωι, ἐὰ Σαλαμίνι (= ἐὰν Σ-), Ion. τῶς συμ-πάντων, Epid. τὸς σακόν. Cf. Ion. πασσυδῖνι beside πανσυδῖνι, and Lesb. πασσυδιάσαντος.

Before σ + consonant. Att. ἐς στήλην but oftener ἐ στήλην, also τὲ στέλῃν. So Rhod., Cret. ἐ στάλαι, El. τὰ στάλαν. These do not arise by assimilation but by regular loss of ν. See 77.2, 78.

3. To λ. Att. ἐλ λίμναις, τὸλ λόγον, Ion. ἐλ Λαρυσσῶι, Delph. τὼλ Λαβυαδῶν, Lac. ἐλ Λακεδαίμονι, Epid. τὸλ λίθον, τὼλ λίθων. Cf. συλλέγω, ἀλλύω = ἀναλύω, etc.

4. To ρ. Att. ἐρ Ῥόδοι, τὸρ Ῥόδιον. Cf. συρρίπτω, etc.

5. To φ. Arc. συφουκία, τὰ φάδω = τὰν φάδω.

a. In Cyprian, where ν before a consonant is always omitted in the interior of a word, it is also frequently omitted in sentence combination as τὰ(ν) πτόλιν.

97. Assimilation of final ζ.

1. To ν. Delph. τὸν νόμους. Cf. Πελοπόννησος (Πέλοπος νῆσος), Arc. ταῖνυ, ταιννί (ταῖς-νυ, -νί), ταννί (τασ-νί, acc. pl.), τανί (gen. sg.).

2. To μ and φ. Cyp. φέπο μέγα = φέπος μέγα, τὰ φανάσας = τὰς φανάσας. In the same way arose κά = κάς (καί) in Cyp. κα μέν, Arc. κα Φοικίας.

3. To λ. Att. τὸλ λίθος, Cret. τὸλ λείονσι, τὸλ λῆι, Lac. ἐλ Λακεδαίμονα (ἐλ = ἐς), τοῖ Λακεδαιμονίους, Cyp. ἐλ Λιβύαν, Arg. κῆλ Λευκόπορον (καὶ ἐλ Λ-).

4. To δ. So regularly in Cretan, e.g., τὰδ δαίσιος, τὰδ δέ, ἐδ δικαστέριον, πατρὸδ δόντος τὰ δίκας, τὸδ δ' ὀδελόνς. Rarely else-

where, but cf. Rhod. Ζεὺ δέ (no. 100), ματρὸ δέ, τὰ δευτέρως, Arc. τὰ δέ = τὰς δέ. Assimilation in the opposite direction is seen in Arg. βωλῶς σευτέρως (no. 86). Partial assimilation in early Arg. τοῖζ δε. Cf. late Arg. πρεζευτῶν, etc.

5. To θ. Cretan only, as τὰθ θυγατέρως. Cf. Cret. θθ = σθ medially (85.3).

a. Before a word beginning with a vowel final ζ may be treated as intervocalic, e.g., Lac. Διοικέτα, Διολευθερίω = Διὸς ἱκέτου, Διὸς ἐλευθερίου (cf. 59.1), Cyp. κα ἀ(ν)τί, τὰ ὕχρον (59.4), Eretr. δωρ ἀν (60.3).

98. Assimilation of final ρ to δ. So regularly in Cretan, e.g., ἀνὲδ δδῖ, πατὲδ δδῖ, and πατὲ δδῖ. Cf. Cnid. πα Δάματρα = παρὰ Δ-.

99. Assimilation of a final stop.

1. Final τ. The apocopated forms of κατὰ and ποτί, so far as they occur otherwise than before τ (cf. 95), are generally assimilated (sometimes with further simplification; see 89.7), e.g., Thess. κάπ παντός, πόκ κί (πότ κί = πρὸς τί), Boeot. πὸδ Δάφνη, πόκ κατόπτας, Lesb. κάκ κεφάλας (Alcaeus), κάμ μὲν (Sappho), etc. So in compounds, e.g., El. καθαλείοτο, καθυτάς, Lesb. κάββαλλε (Alcaeus), καλλύοντος, Arc. κακειμέναν, κακρίνη, Lac. Καβάτα (Καταβάτου), καβαίνων (Alcman), etc. But -τ θ- is often unasimilated.

2. Final π. Thess. ἀπ, ἐπ = ἀπό, ἐπί are assimilated in ἀτ τὰς, ἐτ τοῖ. Cf. 86.2.

3. Final κ. See 100.

100. ἐξ. In most dialects, as in Attic, ἐξ becomes ἐκ before a consonant, thus appearing often as ἐχ before an aspirate, and ἐγ before voiced stops and λ, μ, ν, φ, until late times, when ἐκ is usual before all consonants. The general rule is, then, ἐξ before vowels, and ἐκ (ἐχ, ἐγ) before consonants. But the antevocalic form ἐξ occasionally appears before consonants in various dialects (so regularly in Cyprian, as ἐξ τῶι, etc.).

In Locrian it is fully assimilated to all consonants, whence, with the simplification of double consonants, it appears simply as ἐ, e.g., ἐ τὰς, ἐ δάμδ, ἐ Φοινάνων, ἐ θαλάσας, ἐ λιμένος, ἐ Ναυπάκτῳ. Cf. also Mess. ἐ Φαλαίρας.

In Thessalian, Boeotian, Arcadian, and Cretan the regular form before consonants is ἐς, e.g., Thess. ἐς τὰν, ἐσδόμεν, Boeot. ἐς τῶν, ἐσλήνω (cf. also ἐσκηδεκάτη from ἐξ), Arc. ἐς τοῖ, ἐσδέλλοντες,

ἐσπερᾶσαι, Cret. ἐς τὸν, ἐσκλησία, Thess., Boeot., Cret. ἐσγονος = ἐκγονος. All these dialects have ἐξ before vowels except Boeotian, where ἐχς appears in an early inscription, but usually ἐςς, as ἐςς ἐφείβων, ἐσσειμεν. This is probably a transfer or the antecoronal form in an intermediate stage of its development (ἐξ, ἐςς, ἐς).

a. There are some traces of ἐς in other dialects which generally have ἐκ or ἐξ, e.g. Cyp. ἐς πόθ' ἔρπες· πόθεν ἦκαίς (Hesych.), Arg. ἐ Σικελίας, ἐς πόλιος, Rhag. ἐσκλητος (no. 107, note), Delph. ἐς τοῦ δρόμου (no. 50), ἐσγονος (no. 52 C 45).

Consonant Doubling

101. 1. Before vowels. Cret. τὰν ἐμίναν, συνν-ῆι, Boeot., Corinth. ἀνν-έθηκε, Att. ξυνν-όντι, lit. Lesb. ὀνν-ώρινε, ἀσύννετος, Delph. ἐλευθέρων εἶμεν.

2. With ὄσσις etc. (89.1), compare Att. εἰς τήν, Epid. ἐςς τό, etc., or Epid. τὸ σσκέλος, Coan τοῦ σσεφάνου. Ion. ἐξς (no. 4) like φάφίξις, Ion. ἐκ ττῶν like ὀκττώ (89.1), ἐκκ τοῦ in Attic inscriptions, etc.

ν Movable

102. The ν movable in the dative plural in -σι(ν) and in the verb forms in -σι(ν) and ε(ν) is a marked characteristic of Attic-Ionic, where it appears from the earliest inscriptions on with increasing frequency and before both vowels and consonants. (In Attic its use becomes gradually more and more uniform before vowels, and it is also somewhat more common before a pause in the sense than elsewhere.) In verb forms it is wholly unknown in the older inscriptions of other dialects, and where found is a sure sign of κοινή influence. But in the dative plural (where the ν is due to the analogy of pronominal datives like Att. ἡμῖν, Dor. ἀμῖν, Lesb. ἄμμιν beside ἄμμι in which the ν is inherited) it appears outside of Attic-Ionic at an early period. Thus Thess. χρεῖμασιν (no. 35), Locr. ἀνδράσιν, γονεῦσιν, παμάτεσιν (no. 59), Sicyon. φέρουσιν, Φοικεύουσιν (no. 96); and so the later Lac. πᾶσιν, Heracl. ἔντασιν, etc., Arc. χρήμασιν, ἀναλώμασιν, need not necessarily be charged to the κοινή.

ACCENT

103. Of the dialects outside of Attic-Ionic, Lesbian is the only one of whose accentual peculiarities we have any adequate knowledge. This was characterized by the recessive accent, e.g., πόταμος, σόφος, βασιλεὺς, λεῦκος.

The Doric accent is said by the grammarians to be processive in certain classes of forms, e.g., ἐλάβον, στάσαι, αἴγες = Att. ἔλαβον, στήσαι, αἴγες. But the statements are too meager to admit of generalization as to the system as a whole, nor is it known whether all Doric dialects had these peculiarities. Hence the practice now frequently adopted, and followed in this book, of giving Doric forms with the ordinary Attic accent, except in a few well-established forms like Ποτιδάμ. In general our accentuation of dialect forms can be little more than a matter of convenience.*

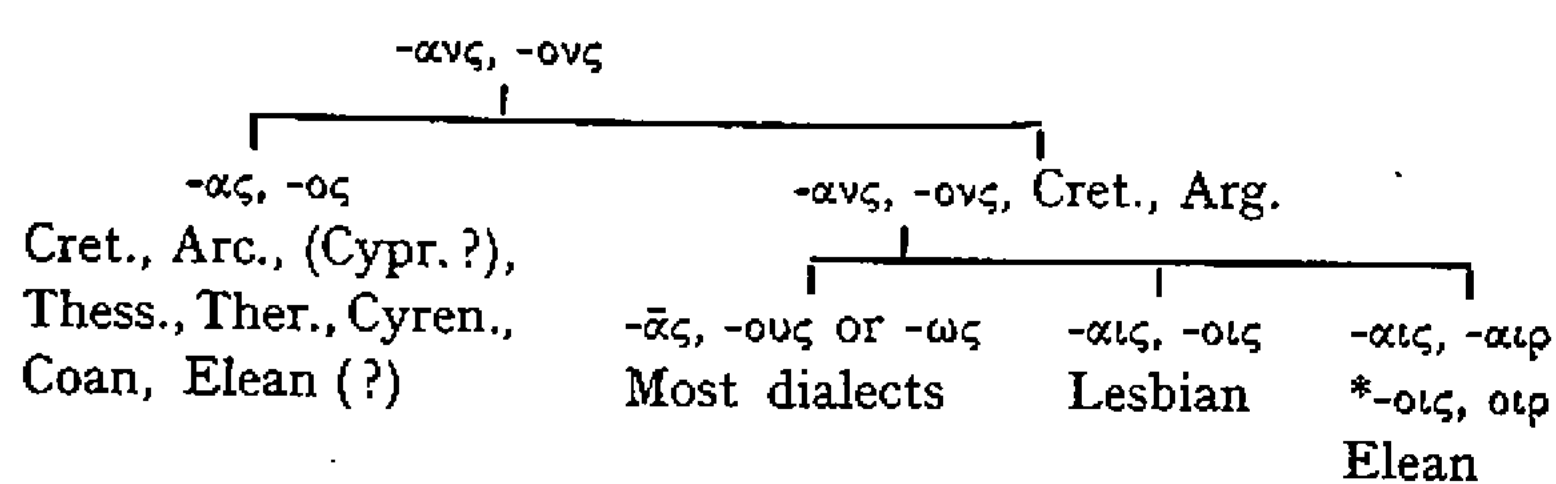
a. A question of detail, touching which there is considerable difference of practice among editors of dialect texts, is whether, in the case of inflectional forms which differ in their quantitative relations from the corresponding Attic forms, to adopt the actual accent of the Attic forms or to change the accent to accord with the Attic system, e.g., infin. κρίνεν like κρίνειν, or κρίνεν, acc. pl. φερομένους like φερόμενους, or φερόμενους, Cret. κάρτοναν, στατήραν like κρείττονας, στατήρας, or καρτόναν, στατήραν. The question of the true accentuation is a complicated one, differing in each class of forms, and impossible of any certain answer. But practical convenience favors the use of the Attic accent in some cases, as in the accusative plural to distinguish it from the nominative, and we adopt this alternative in all the cases mentioned.

b. The pronominal adverbs in -ει, -σι, and -ω we accent as periphrases, following here what the grammarians laid down as the Doric accent, since this affords a convenient working rule, and serves to distinguish, e.g., τούτω from gen. τούτω. But it is far from certain that the accent was uniform, and that we should write, e.g., ἀλλεῖ, ἀλλῶι, παντῶι, as we do, and not, with some, ἀλλεῖ like Att. οἷκε, and ἀλλῶι, πάντῶι like Att. ἀλλῇ, πάντῃ. And as between ὅπει and ὅποι, etc., about which the grammarians were in doubt, we definitely prefer ὅπει, ὅποι, ὅπη, ὅπω (cf. Att. ὅπου beside ποῦ, in spite of αὐτοῦ, etc.). We accent ἐνδοῖ, ἐξοῖ, ἤχοι, etc., like οἷκοι, though ἐνδοῖ etc. (cf. ἐνταυθοῖ) may also be defended.

* It has been urged that dialect forms and texts should be printed without accents. But, our ignorance being once for all admitted, the current practice is justified by its greater convenience for the reader,

Feminine $\bar{\alpha}$ -Stems

104. 1. NOM. SG. $\bar{\alpha}$, Att.-Ion. $-\eta$.
 2. GEN. SG. $\bar{\alpha}\varsigma$, Att.-Ion. $-\eta\varsigma$.—Arc. $\bar{\alpha}\nu$ after the masculine, as $\sigma\acute{\iota}\kappa\iota\alpha\nu$, $\zeta\alpha\mu\acute{\iota}\lambda\alpha\nu$, but only at Tegea, and here $\bar{\alpha}\varsigma$ beside $\bar{\alpha}\nu$ in early inscriptions, and always $\tau\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$.
 3. DAT. SG. $\bar{\alpha}\iota$, Att.-Ion. $-\eta\iota$, whence also $\bar{\alpha}$, $-\eta$, $-\epsilon\iota$. See 38, 39.—Boeot. $-\alpha\iota$ ($-\alpha\epsilon$, $-\eta$, 26), and this is to be assumed in the other dialects which have $-\alpha\iota$ (106.2).
 4. ACC. SG. $\bar{\alpha}\nu$, Att.-Ion. $-\eta\nu$.
 5. NOM. PL. $-\alpha\iota$ (Boeot. $-\alpha\epsilon$, $-\eta$, 26).
 6. GEN. PL. $\bar{\alpha}\omega\nu$, $\bar{\epsilon}\omega\nu$, $\bar{\omega}\nu$, $\bar{\alpha}\nu$. See 41.4.
 7. DAT. PL. In early Attic $\bar{\alpha}\sigma\iota(\nu)$, $-\eta\sigma\iota(\nu)$, sometimes $\bar{\alpha}\iota\sigma\iota(\nu)$, $-\eta\iota\sigma\iota(\nu)$, after 420 B.C. $-\alpha\iota\varsigma$.—In Ionic usually $-\eta\iota\sigma\iota(\nu)$, rarely $-\eta\varsigma$, $-\eta\sigma\iota(\nu)$, also $-\alpha\iota\varsigma$.— $\bar{\alpha}\sigma\iota$ rarely elsewhere, as early Troez. $\Theta\acute{\epsilon}\beta\alpha\sigma\sigma\iota$, Cret. (Drius) $\pi\acute{\upsilon}\lambda\alpha\sigma\iota$, $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\alpha\sigma\iota$ (BCH 70.590, 597).— $\bar{\alpha}\iota\sigma\iota$ or $-\alpha\iota\sigma\iota$ in Lesbian (but $\tau\alpha\acute{\iota}\varsigma$), Pamphylian also Corcyrean ($\rho\eta\sigma\alpha\acute{\iota}\sigma\iota$ poet.), and rarely in Cretan (beside rare $\bar{\alpha}\sigma\iota$ and usual $-\alpha\iota\varsigma$). The majority of dialects have $-\alpha\iota\varsigma$ from the earliest times.
 8. ACC. PL. $-\alpha\nu\varsigma$, with the same development as has $-\alpha\nu\varsigma$ from α -stems, namely (see also 78):



9. NOM.-ACC. DUAL. Att. $\bar{\alpha}$ formed on the analogy of $-\omega$ in α -stems, but in pronouns usually $\tau\acute{\omega}$, etc., with α -stem form used

also for feminine. Examples in other dialects are rare, but Corinth. $\pi\acute{\upsilon}\kappa\tau\bar{\alpha}$, and Boeot. $\delta\alpha\rho\chi\mu\acute{\alpha}\omega$ $\delta\acute{\upsilon}\omega$, a blend of the two types.

10. GEN.-DAT. DUAL. Att. $-\alpha\iota\nu$, examples in other dialects rare. Locr. $\tau\acute{\omicron}\iota\nu$ $\kappa\acute{\omicron}\rho\alpha\iota\nu$ (with α -stem in the article, as in Attic), Arc. $\tau\acute{\omicron}\iota\varsigma$ $\kappa\rho\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\iota\nu$ (with pl. α -stem in article), and (AJA 1939, 196) $\tau\upsilon\delta\alpha\rho\iota\delta\iota\alpha\iota\nu$. Cf. Arc. $-\alpha\iota\nu$, 106.7.

11. The dual in general. The dual, which in Attic disappeared in the course of the fourth century B.C., and eventually everywhere, was lost at a still earlier period in some dialects. It is lacking in Ionic and Cretan inscriptions (cf. Cret. $\delta\acute{\upsilon}\omega$ $\sigma\tau\alpha\tau\bar{\epsilon}\rho\alpha\nu\varsigma$). But dual forms are quotable from several dialects, as Arc. $-\omega$, $-\alpha\iota\nu$, $-\alpha\iota\nu$ (no. 20), Boeot. $\phi\alpha\gamma\acute{\alpha}\nu\omega$, $\delta\rho\alpha\chi\mu\acute{\alpha}\omega$, $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\beta\bar{\epsilon}\tau\epsilon$, all reinforced by $\delta\acute{\upsilon}\omega$ (no. 39), Locr. $\tau\acute{\omicron}\iota\nu$ $\kappa\acute{\omicron}\rho\alpha\iota\nu$ (no. 60), El. $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\sigma\tau\alpha\tau\bar{\alpha}$, $\delta\upsilon\alpha\iota\alpha\iota\varsigma$, $\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\omicron}\iota\alpha\iota\varsigma$ (also dual verbal forms), Delph. $\delta\acute{\upsilon}\omega$ $\delta\delta\epsilon\lambda\acute{\omega}$, $\phi\rho\upsilon\kappa\tau\acute{\omega}$ (no. 53; but $\delta\acute{\upsilon}$ $\delta\delta\epsilon\lambda\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ in the earlier no. 51), Lac. $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\alpha}\kappa\omega$, $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\alpha}\kappa\omega\varsigma$ (nos. 72, 73), Corinth. $\pi\acute{\upsilon}\kappa\tau\bar{\alpha}$, Arg. $\lambda\acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\omega$, Coan $\sigma\acute{\iota}\epsilon$ $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\omega$.

Masculine $\bar{\alpha}$ -Stems

105. 1. NOM. SG. $\bar{\alpha}\varsigma$ (with secondary ς , after the analogy of $-\alpha\varsigma$), Att.-Ion. $-\eta\varsigma$.

a. Forms without ς also occur, several in Boeotian, as $\kappa\alpha\lambda\lambda\acute{\iota}\alpha$, $\mu\omicron\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\alpha$, etc., and a few from other parts of Northwest Greece, as $\Sigma\gamma\acute{\omicron}\pi\alpha$ (Halae), $\Phi\iota\lambda\omicron\kappa\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\delta\alpha$ (Dodona), etc. El. $\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}$ is a form in $-\tau\acute{\alpha}$ like Hom. $\iota\pi\pi\acute{\omicron}\tau\alpha$.

2. GEN. SG. $\bar{\alpha}\omega$ (with α , in place of ς , after that of α -stems), whence Arc.-Cypr. $\bar{\alpha}\nu$ (22), elsewhere $\bar{\alpha}$, Ion. $-\epsilon\omega$, $-\omega$. See 41.4. Att. $-\alpha\omega$ is not from $\bar{\alpha}\omega$, but the α -stem form taken over as a whole.

a. There are a few Cypr. examples of $\bar{\alpha}$, beside usual $\bar{\alpha}\nu$, as $\text{'Αμηνί}\bar{\alpha}$ no. 23.19 vs. 'Ονασιγόραν 11.1/2, 22.

b. $\bar{\alpha}\omega$, in $\text{Τλασσία}\bar{\omega}$, $\text{Πασιάδα}\bar{\omega}$, of two metrical inscriptions from Corcyra and Gela (nos. 93, 105), is a reminiscence of the epic $\bar{\alpha}\omega$ (the spoken form was already $\bar{\alpha}$, which appears in other equally early inscriptions, as 'Αρνιάδα no. 94, Δφένια no. 91) with the introduction of a non-etymological $\bar{\omega}$, either representing a glide sound before the following α (cf. ἀφυσάν , no. 94; see 32), or due to a false extension from forms with etymological $\bar{\omega}$, as $\lambda\acute{\alpha}\phi\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ = Hom. $\lambda\acute{\alpha}\phi\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ (cf. Ion. $\text{'Αγασιλέ}\bar{\omega}$, no. 9).

c. Forms in $-\bar{\alpha}\varsigma$, with the old ending unchanged and belonging with the nominatives in $\bar{\alpha}$ (above, 1a) occur in scattered examples in Megarian as $\Phi\acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\varsigma$, etc. (no. 99) and from various parts of Northwest Greece, as $\text{Προκλείδα}\varsigma$ (no. 95).

d. Att.-Ion. proper names in $-\eta\varsigma$, from the fourth century on, frequently form the genitive after the analogy of α -stems, e.g., Att. $\kappa\alpha\lambda\lambda\acute{\iota}\alpha\delta\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ (after Δημοσθένους , etc.), Ion. Λεάδεος , 'Αριστείδεος . This type spreads to other dialects, e.g., Rhod. Μυωνίδεος .

 α -Stems

106. 1. GEN. SG. $-\alpha\iota\alpha$ (from $*-\alpha\sigma\iota\alpha$, cf. Skt. $-\alpha\sigma\iota\alpha$) as in Homer, whence, with apocope, Thess. (Pelasgiotis) $-\alpha\iota$, as $\tau\acute{\omicron}\iota$, $\chi\rho\acute{\omicron}\nu\alpha\iota$, etc. Elsewhere, with loss of ι and contraction, $-\alpha\upsilon$ or $-\omega$ (25).—In Cyprian $-\alpha\upsilon$ beside $-\alpha$ (at Idalium $\mu\iota\sigma\theta\acute{\omicron}\nu$, $\acute{\alpha}\rho\gamma\acute{\upsilon}\rho\acute{\omicron}\nu$, $\Phi\iota\lambda\omicron\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\rho\acute{\omicron}\nu$, etc.), and so usually $-\alpha\upsilon$ in nouns, whether vowel or consonant follows; but also $\acute{\alpha}\rho\gamma\acute{\upsilon}\rho\acute{\omicron}$, $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\phi\acute{\omicron}$, before a consonant, and always $\tau\acute{\omicron}$.

a. $-\alpha\iota\alpha$ is often employed in metrical inscriptions, in imitation of the epic, e.g., nos. 93, 94. But in Thessalian it also occurs in a few prose inscriptions, and the grammarians often refer to the Thessalian genitive in $-\alpha\iota\alpha$. This, together with the fact that apocope is more extensive in Thessalian than in any other dialect (see 95), makes obvious the derivation of the usual Thess. $-\alpha\iota$ from $-\alpha\iota\alpha$, probably starting in the article, which was of course proclitic like the prepositions. For the added ν in Cyprian no explanation that has been offered is adequate.

2. DAT. SG. $-\alpha\iota$ in most dialects, whence also $-\alpha$ (38; Thess. $\alpha\upsilon$, 23).— $-\alpha\iota$ in Arcadian (usually, but in no. 20 $\tau\acute{\omicron}\iota$, $\tau\omega\iota\acute{\nu}\iota$, $\tau\acute{\omega}\iota\nu$ beside $\beta\omicron\upsilon\sigma\omicron\iota$, etc.), Elean, Boeotian ($-\alpha\epsilon$, $-\alpha$, $-\epsilon\iota$, 30), and in later inscriptions from various parts of Northern Greece (Delphi, Aetolia, Acarnania, Epirus, Cierium in Thessaly, Euboea).

a. In Euboea $-\alpha\iota$ replaces earlier $-\alpha\iota$ and may be derived from it, like $-\alpha\iota$ from $-\eta\iota$ (see 39). But in general $-\alpha\iota$ is rather the original locative (cf. $\sigma\acute{\iota}\kappa\alpha\iota$) in use as the dative. In some dialects the history of the dative is obscure, owing to the lack of early material or the ambiguity of $-\alpha\iota$ in the pre-Ionic alphabets.

3. NOM. PL. $-\alpha\iota$ (Boeot. $-\alpha\epsilon$, $-\alpha$, 30).

4. DAT. PL. $-\alpha\iota\sigma\iota(\nu)$, as in Homer, in early Attic, Ionic, where it lasts somewhat longer than in Attic (but some early examples of $-\alpha\iota\varsigma$, especially in West Ionic), Lesbian (but here always $\tau\acute{\omicron}\iota\varsigma$), Pamphylian, and sometimes Cretan (but rare vs. $-\alpha\iota\varsigma$), Argive (only early), and Syracusan.—Elsewhere only $-\alpha\iota\varsigma$ (Boeot. $-\alpha\upsilon\varsigma$, $-\epsilon\iota\varsigma$, Elean $-\alpha\iota\varsigma$).

5. ACC. PL. $-\alpha\nu\varsigma$, with the same development as $-\alpha\nu\varsigma$. See 78, 104.8.

6. NOM.-ACC. DUAL. $-\omega$. This is by far the most frequently attested dual form.

7. GEN.-DAT. DUAL. $-\alpha\iota\nu$ as in Homer, whence $-\alpha\iota\nu$ in most dialects in which the form occurs. But El. $-\alpha\iota\alpha\iota\varsigma$, $-\alpha\iota\alpha\iota\varsigma$. Arc. (no. 20) $\iota\mu\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\sigma\alpha\nu$ $\tau\acute{\omicron}\iota\varsigma$ $\Delta\iota\delta\acute{\upsilon}\mu\omega\nu$ (cf. the preceding $\tau\acute{\omega}$ $\Delta\iota\delta\acute{\upsilon}\mu\omega$), like the $-\alpha\iota\nu$ in $\bar{\alpha}$ -stems (104.10).

a. The unique Arcadian forms seem to contain an inherited α connected with the α -diphthong to which the Sanskrit and Slavic dual forms point (Skt. layas , ChSl. $\text{toj}\bar{\alpha}$), but the detailed analysis is highly uncertain.

Consonant Stems in General

107. 1. ACC. SG. $-\alpha\nu$ in place of the usual $-\alpha$, with ν added after the analogy of vowel stems, occurs in Cypr. $\iota\lambda\alpha\tau\bar{\epsilon}\rho\alpha\nu$, $\acute{\alpha}(\nu)\delta\rho\iota\acute{\alpha}(\nu)\tau\alpha\nu$, Thess. $\kappa\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu$, El. $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\lambda\mu\alpha\tau\omicron\phi\acute{\omega}\rho\alpha\nu$ (but possibly $-\phi\acute{\omega}\rho\alpha\nu$ from nom. $-\phi\acute{\omega}\rho\alpha\varsigma$), and among late inscriptions of various dialects.

2. NOM. PL. $-\epsilon\nu$ for usual $-\epsilon\varsigma$ occurs in late Cretan, having originated in pronominal forms. See 119.2a.

3. DAT. PL. $-\epsilon\sigma\sigma\iota$, as in Hom. $\pi\acute{\omicron}\delta\epsilon\sigma\sigma\iota$ (either based on the $-\epsilon\sigma\sigma\iota$ of σ stems or, as many prefer, formed to nom. pl. $-\epsilon\varsigma$ after the analogy of $-\alpha\iota\sigma\iota$, $-\alpha\iota\sigma\iota$ to $-\alpha\iota$, $-\alpha\iota$) is characteristic of the Aeolic dialects, Lesbian, Thessalian (but also $\chi\rho\acute{\epsilon}\mu\alpha\sigma\iota\nu$, $\acute{\upsilon}\pi\acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\omicron\nu\sigma\iota$), and Boeotian, also Pamphylian, Delphian, Locrian (no. 59 $\pi\alpha\mu\acute{\alpha}\tau\epsilon\sigma\iota\nu$ beside $\acute{\alpha}\nu\delta\rho\acute{\alpha}\sigma\iota\nu$, etc.; East Locr. $\chi\rho\eta\mu\acute{\alpha}\tau\epsilon\sigma\sigma\iota$, etc.; but $-\alpha\iota\varsigma$ in nos. 57, 58, 60), Elean ($\phi\upsilon\gamma\acute{\alpha}\delta\epsilon\sigma\sigma\iota$ no. 65; elsewhere $-\alpha\iota\varsigma$), with occasional forms in Cyrenaean (Εὐσεπερίδεσσι), and Corinthian colonies.—Heraclea has $-\alpha\sigma\sigma\iota$ in pres. pple. $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\alpha\sigma\sigma\iota\nu$ (a blend of $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\bar{\alpha}$ with $\acute{\alpha}\sigma\sigma\iota$ = Skt. satsu , see 163.8), $\pi\rho\alpha\sigma\sigma\acute{\omicron}\nu\tau\alpha\sigma\sigma\iota$, etc.— $-\alpha\iota\varsigma$, as $\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\alpha\iota\varsigma$, etc., after the analogy of α -stems, is characteristic of Locrian (otherwise no. 59, see above), Elean, and the Northwest Greek $\kappa\omicron\iota\nu\acute{\eta}$, whence it finds its way into various dialects in later times. So in late inscriptions of Messenia, Laconia, Crete, and Tauromenium.

4. ACC. PL. $-\epsilon\varsigma$ in place of $-\alpha\varsigma$, i.e., the nom. for the acc., perhaps first used in the numeral $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\tau\omicron\rho\epsilon\varsigma$ owing to the influence

of the indeclinable πέντε, etc., is seen in Delph. δεκατέτορες, τέτορες, Δελφίδες (nos. 49, 51), and regularly in Elean ([τέτορες], sixth century, πλείονερ, χάριτερ, no. 66, etc.) and Achaean (ἐλάσσονες, δαμοσιοφύλακες, etc.), also in the very late inscriptions of various dialects, even Attic.

Cret. -ανς beside -ας, e.g. θυγατέρανς, δρομέανς, κύνανς, after the analogy of -ανς, -ας from $\bar{\alpha}$ -stems (104.8).

σ-Stems

108. 1. All dialects except Attic have the uncontracted forms. Gen. sg. in most dialects -εος, whence -ιος in Boeotian, Cretan, etc. (9), -εως in later Ionic, Rhodian, etc. (42.5). Acc. sg. masc. and acc. pl. neut. -εα, or contracted η (42.1). Acc. pl. masc. fem. -εας in most dialects (Cyren. τριήρης, 42.1), Att. -εις (nom. used as acc.), also late in other dialects.

a. Proper names in -κλέης, -κλῆς, Cypr. -κλέφες, whence -κλέης in Attic (beside -κλῆς), Boeotian (-κλέες, -κλέης) till about 400 B.C., and regularly in Euboean (gen. -κλέω, 2), but in the other dialects regularly -κλῆς. Gen. sg. Cypr. -κλέφες, Boeot. -κλεῖος (= Hom. -κλῆος, cf. 16), Att. -κλέους, but in most dialects -κλέος.

For names in -κλέας instead of -κλέης, see 166.1.

2. Proper names often have forms which are modeled after the analogy of the masc. $\bar{\alpha}$ -stems, and this not only in Attic-Ionic (e.g., Att. Σωκράτην, Σωκράτου, Eretr. gen. Εὐκράτω, Τιμοκλέω), where the agreement in the nom. -ης was especially favorable to this, but also in other dialects. Thus acc. sg. in -ην (-ην: -ης = -ᾱν: -ᾱς), e.g., Boeot. Δαμοτέλειν, Arc. Ἐπιτέλην, and even in appellatives, e.g., Lesb. δαμοτέλην, Cypr. ἀτελέν.—Dat. sg. in -ηι, Lesb. Καλλίεληι, Cret. Δαμοκούδηι.—Gen. sg. in -η (like -ᾱ) in Lesb. Θεογένη, Thess. Φιλόκληι, Cret. Ἀλκιμένη, etc.; also, perhaps, -ης (like -ᾱς, 105.2b) in Thess. Ἰπποκράτεις, Φερεκράτης (no. 35; or Φερεκράτης(ος)?).—Voc. sg. in -η (like -ᾱ) in Arc. Ἀτέλη, etc., Delph. Πολυκράτη; in -ε (like -ᾱ in Δίκα) in Lesb. μελλιχόμειδε.

The numerous Boeotian hypocoristic names in -ει as Μέννει, Φίλλει, Θάλλει, Ξέννει, are also best understood as vocatives of this type used as nominatives. They correspond to names in -ης,

-ητος, in other dialects, but in Boeotian follow the analogy of σ -stems (gen. sg. -ιος, acc. sg. -ειν).

ι-Stems

109. 1. In all dialects except Attic-Ionic, and, for the most part, in Ionic too, the regular type of declension is that with ι throughout, namely, -ις, -ιος, -ι, -ιν, -ιες, -ίων, -ισι, -ις (Arg. Cret. -ινς) or -ιας (rare).

2. The type in -ις, -εως (from -ηος, as in Homer), -ει, pl. -εις, etc., is almost exclusively Attic. In Ionic πόλεως occurs in early inscriptions of Chios (no. 4) and Thasos, and Δυνάμει in Teos (no. 3). But otherwise in Ionic, and always in other dialects, forms of this type are late and to be attributed to Attic influence. In general, the Attic datives, -ει and -εσι, are the first to be adopted, next the nom.-acc. pl. -εις, and lastly the gen. sg. -εως. Thus in the later inscriptions of many dialects it is common to find gen. sg. -ιος, but dat. sg. -ει.

The nom. pl., originally -εῖς whence Att. -εις, in other dialects only in the numeral Cret. τρέες, Ther. τρής, etc.

A gen. sg. πόλεος is found in the κοινή and in later inscriptions of various dialects.

3. Lesbian has a nom. pl. -ῖς (πόλις, no. 25), perhaps the accusative used as nominative.

4. Cyprian has such forms as gen. sg. Τιμοχάριφος, dat. sg. πτόλιφι. The ϕ is certainly not original here, and is perhaps due to the analogy of υ - and $\eta\upsilon$ -stems (gen. -υφος, -εφος).

5. A transfer to the type -ις, -ιδος, as frequently in Attic, is characteristic of Euboean proper names in -ις, as Δημοχάριδος.

υ-Stems

110. Nearly all the inscriptional forms occurring are the usual ones of the type -ῦς, -υος. Boeot. [F]ύστιος (ι from ϵ , 9) agrees with the $\bar{\alpha}$ -stems of non-Attic literature. For υῖος see 112.2.

Nouns in -εως

111. The stem is $\eta\upsilon$, $\eta\phi$ throughout, nom. sg. -εως (from -ηυς, 37.1), gen. sg. -ηφος, etc.

1. The original forms in -ηφος, -ηφι, etc., are preserved, with or without the ϕ , in Cyprian (βασιλέφος, Ἐδαλιῆφι, Ἐδαλιῆφες), Lesbian (βασιλῆος, etc.), Boeotian (Πιδιῆφι, γραμματεῖος, etc.), Thessalian (βασιλεῖος, etc.), and Elean (βασιλᾶες), as also in Homer.

2. Attic only are βασιλέως, βασιλέα, with quantitative metathesis. But from the beginning of κοινή influence, βασιλέως is one of the Attic forms most widely adopted by other dialects.

3. Most dialects, namely, Ionic and the West Greek dialects except Elean, have βασιλέος, βασιλεῖ, etc., with shortening of the η . Generally these are the forms of even the earliest inscriptions (Cret. Φουκέος, etc.), but we find Coan ἱερῆι, Πολιῆι, etc. (no. 108; later always ἱερεῖ, etc.), and once Rhod. Ἰδαμενῆος (cf. Ποντωρηῖδος). Beside -εος sometimes -εως (cf. 42.5), as Meg. ἱαρεῦς, but owing to the confusion with the nominative, this spelling is far less common than in the genitive of σ -stems.

Acc. SG. -έα in Ionic, Locrian, Cretan. But in Delphian and most of the Doric dialects -ῆ is the regular form, e.g., Delph. ἱερῆ, βασιλῆ, Lac. βασιλῆ, Mess. ἱερῆ, Meg. ἱερῆ, Mycen. Περσῆ (no. 81, fifth century B.C.), Arg. βασιλῆ, Rhod. βασιλῆ, γραμματῆ, Coan βασιλῆ, etc. In these dialects -εα is of later occurrence, and due to κοινή influence.

Nom. PL. -έες in Cretan (e.g., δρομέες) and elsewhere, but usually contracted to -εῖς. Also -ῆς (in part at least directly from -ῆες) in early Attic, Coan (τεταρτῆς), Laconian (Μεγαρεῖς, etc., no. 69), and Arcadian (Μαντινῆς). At Cyrene occurs nom. and acc. pl. ἱαρεῖς, and dat. pl. Μεγαρεῖσσι, etc. (cf. δρομέσι Callim.).

Acc. PL. -έας in Ionic and Doric (Cret. δρομέανς, cf. 107.4), when not replaced by -εῖς of the κοινή.

4. Arcadian has nom. sg. in -ῆς, as ἱερῆς, γραφῆς, φονές (Cyprian also once ἱερεῖς, but usually -εῖς), acc. sg. ἱιερέν (cf. 108.2), nom. pl. Μαντινῆς, gen. pl. Τορθυνῶν, Μετιδριῶν. Some proper names in -ῆς = -εῖς are also found elsewhere.

5. In Miletus and colonies occurs nom. sg. ἱερεως, gen. sg. ἱερω, likewise at Ephesus gen. sg. Φλέω belonging to Φλεύς.

a. The feminine OI -stems, most widely attested in proper names. Nom. sg. mostly -ω, but also -ωι, as Cyren. λεχώι, Corinth. Σοφῶι, Φιδῶι, etc. (OI regularly on old Corinthian vases; -φ beside -ω in grammarians).

Gen. sg. -οος, -ους, -ως (Cret. Λατῶς), but Cyren. λεχῶς (no. 115.109), Rhod. Φιλότος (IG XII.1.719), Delph. Λατῶς (so probably, not Λατῶς, Schwyzler 325.8). Dat. sg. Delph. λεχῶι, Cret. Λατοῖ, Λατῶι. Acc. sg. -οα, -ώ. Also inflection with ω throughout, parallel to $\bar{\alpha}$ -stems, as Boeot. Cret. -ώ, -ῶς, -ῶι, -ῶν.

Some Irregular Nouns

112. 1. Ζεύς. Ζεύς or Δεύς (84). Δι(φ)ός, Δι(φ)ί, Δί(φ)α in most dialects. An old dative Διεί (cf. Oscan *Divinei*) occurs alone, but rarely, and in Att. Διειτρέφης, Cypr. Διφειθεμῖς, Διφειφίλος (Hom. διέφιλος). Also in various dialects (attested for East Ion., Coan, Ther., Cret., El.), as in Homer, Ζηνός, Ζηνί, Ζῆνα (Cret. Δῆνα, Τῆνα, etc., 84). See 37.1. There are some unexplained forms with α (or $\bar{\alpha}$?), as Ion. Ζάς, gen. Ζανός.

2. υῖός, υῖός. Aside from the σ -stem forms, the inscriptional occurrences are as follows, mostly from a stem υῖν-:

NOM. SG. υῖός Cret., Lac., Att. (Att. also υῖός, υῖς).

GEN. SG. υῖέος Cret., Att.; Thess. ηυῖος (no. 35).

DAT. SG. υῖεῖ Argol., Phoc., Att.

ACC. SG. υῖόν Arc., Cret., Locr., etc.

NOM. PL. υῖέες Cret. (as in Hom.); Att. υῖεῖς.

DAT. PL. υῖάσι Cret. (as in Hom.), after analogy of πατράσι, etc.

ACC. PL. υῖόνς Arg., Cret.; Att. υῖεῖς.

3. μήν. Stem *μηνσ- (cf. Lat. *mēnsis*), whence (77.1) Lesb. μῆννος, Thess. μειννός, Att. etc. μῆνός. The nom. *μῆνς became *μῆνς (vowel-shortening before ν + cons., but later than the assimilation of medial ν), whence regularly (78) Ion., Corcyr., Meg. μείς, Epid., Heracl. μής. In Attic, μείς was replaced by μῆν formed after the analogy of original ν -stems in -ην, -ηνος. Elean μεῖς is perhaps due to the analogy of Ζεύς, Ζηνός (above, 1).

4. λάς, Hom. λάας. Originally a neuter σ -stem τὸ λάας, becoming ὁ λάας, ὁ λάς, after the analogy of ὁ λίθος etc. Hence in genitive beside λάος also Att. λάου (Soph.), Cret. λάῶ.

5. Cret. Ἰῆμα nom.-acc. sg. = εἶμα, but gen. sg. τᾶς Ἰῆμας from a stem in -μα. So also Cret. *ἀμφίδημα 'ornament' (cf. διάδημα), but gen. sg. ἀμπιδήμας.

6. χοῦς, which in Attic is declined as a consonant stem (gen. sg. χοός), is properly a contracted σ -stem (from χόφο-) like πλοῦς,

and remains so in Ionic, e.g., acc. sg. χοῦν, gen. pl. χῶν.
7. χεῖρ, χήρ. See 25, 76.

Comparison of Adjectives

113. 1. Beside μεῖζων and κρείττων, both with anomalous εἰ, we find the normal μέζων (from *μέγιων) in Ionic and Arcadian, and κρέσσων (from *κρέτιων) in Ionic. For Dor. κάρρων, Cret. κάρτων (both from *κάρτιων) see 49.2 with a, 80, 81.

2. Beside πλέων, pl. πλέονες, σ-stem forms, like Hom. πλέες, πλέας, occur in Lesbian (πλέας no. 25) and Cretan (e.g., Gortyn. πλίες, πλίανς, πλία, beside πλίονος, πλίονα, πλίον. πλίασιν, Dregus, is in origin a ν-stem form, cf. 77.1a). Cf. also Arc. πλός (from *πλέος, 42.5g) adv. = πλέον.

Heracl. πόλιστος = πλεῖστος is formed directly from πολός.

The rare μεῖστος, superlative of μείων and parallel to πλεῖστος, is now confirmed by the Locr. adv. μεῖστον (no. 59.9).

3. El., Lac. ἄσιστα (ἄσσιστα also in Aesch.) = ἄγχιστα, is formed from the compar. ἄσσον (this regularly from *ἄγχιον).

NUMERALS

Cardinals and Ordinals

114.1-10. 1. Nom. sg. masc. Att., etc. εἷς, Heracl. ἡῖς (cf. Lac. οὐδές), Cret. ἔνς (ἐνδ δ- = ἔνς δ-, Law-Code IX.50; see 97.4), from *ένς. Cf. 78.—Fem. μία, but, of other origin, Lesb., Thess., Boeot. ἰα, as in Homer (so Lesb. μηδεῖα = μηδεμία). Also ἰός in Hom. dat. sg. neut. ἰῶ and Mess. (probable reading) τόν γ' ἰὸν ἐνιαυτόν 'the one (= same) year,' and in Cretan, but here with pronominal force 'that one' = ἐκεῖνος.

Att.-Ion., Arc.-Cypr., Lesb. πρώτος, Thess. προῦτος, West Greek and Boeot. πρῶτος. Cf. also Att.-Ion. πρώτιστος, Cret., Coan, Ther., Cyren. πρᾶτιστος.

a. The still frequently stated derivation from a *πρόταος or *πρόφατος is untenable. Apart from the fact that such uncontracted forms do not exist, the supposed contraction of ο + α > Dor. ᾱ is contrary to the other evidence (44.1). πρῶτος and πρᾶτος are parallel forms from πρω- and πρᾱ-, the latter probably a weak grade, such as is seen in Skt. *pṛ̥n̥vas* and Lith. *pirmas*. For such parallel forms, cf. Lat. *primus*, Pael. *prismu* vs. Umbr. *promom*, from *pris-* and *pro-* respectively.

2. δύο in most dialects, δῶ beside δύο in Homer, etc. Chalcid. δῶφο (with glide, 53b). Boeot. δύο, δοῦο, and διού (24) attested before consonant as well as before vowel. Eretr., Aetol. δῶφε, Lac. δῶε, with the third declension ending. Gen.-dat. Att.-Ion. δῶσιν, late Att. δῶσιν, El. δῶλοισι. Plural forms in various dialects, as Ion. (Hdt. and Chios), Cret., Heracl. δῶν, Thess. δῶας, Cret. δῶσις, late Att. δῶσι(ν).

δεύτερος in all dialects so far as known, and quotable in many.

3. τρεῖς, Cret. τρέες, Ther. τρῆς (also Lesb., gram.), from *τρέες. See 25, 45.5.—Acc. τρεῖς, Cret. τρίνς (for τρίνς with ε introduced anew from τριῶν, etc.). Under the influence of the indeclinable numerals, the nominative or the accusative is used for both cases in some dialects, namely, nom. τρεῖς in Attic and elsewhere, and acc. τρεῖς in Heraclian, Delphian, and Troezenian.

τρίτος, Lesb. τέρτος (18a).

4. Att. τέτταρες, Ion., Arc. τέσσερες (also τέσσαρες in Ionic and κοινή), Boeot. πέτταρες, Lesb. πέσσυρες (Hom. πίσυρες), Thess. πετροετηρίς = τετρο-, West Greek τέτορες. From *k^uetwer-* (cf. Lat. *quattuor*, Skt. *catvāras*), the differences being due to inherited variations in the second syllable (*twer*, *twor*, *tur*, *twr*), and to the divergent development of *k^u* (68) and *tiw* (54f, 81).

τέταρτος, Hom. τέτρατος, Boeot. πέτρατος, Arc. τέτορτος (49.2a, 5).

5. πέντε, Lesb., Thess. πέμπε (68.3), Pamph. πέδε (66, 69.2). πέμπτος, Cret., Amorg. πέντος (86.2). Arc. πέμποτος after δέκοτος.

6. ἑξ, Cret., Delph., Heracl. ἑξ. See 52b. Boeot. ἐσκηδέκατος, like ἐς from ἑξ (100).

ἑκτος, Cret. once ἑέκτος.

7. ἑπτά, Cret. once ἐπτά (86.2).

Att.-Ion. ἑβδομος, West Greek ἑβδεμος (attested directly in Delph., Cyren., Aetol., by derivatives in Heracl., Epid.).

8. ὀκτώ, Lesb. ἑκτο, Boeot. ὀκτό (like δύο), Heracl. ἡοκτώ (58c), El. ὀπτό (with π from ἐπτά).

ὄγδοος, from ὄγδοφος now attested in Aetol. [ὄγ]δῶφα (IG IX². i.152).

9. ἐννέα, Delph., Rhod., Coan, Cyren. ἐννῆ (42.1), Heracl. ἡεννέα (58c).

Att. ἑνατος, Ion. εἵνατος, Arg., Cret., Cyren. ἦνατος, from *ένφατος (54), Delph., Ther. ἡένατος (58c), Lesb. ἑνοτος (6, 116a).

10. δέκα, Arc. δέκο.

δέκατος, Arc., Lesb. δέκοτος (6, 116a).

115.11-19. ἑνδεκα, rarely δέκα εἷς (e.g., Heracl. δέκα ἡέν).—Att. and Hom. δώδεκα, but in most dialects δωδέκα, rarely δυόδεκα (e.g., Boeot. δυοδέκατος), Delph., Heracl. δέκα δύο (also late Attic).—τρεῖς καὶ δέκα, also indecl. τρεῖσκαίδεκα (Attic after 300 B.C.) and τρισκαίδεκα (Boeotian, etc.; cf. 114.3); also δέκα τρεῖς, especially when the substantive precedes (so Attic even in fifth century).—Similar variations for 14-19.

ἐνδέκατος, δωδέκατος, δυωδέκατος, δυοδέκατος (see above—13th-19th, Att. τρίτος καὶ δέκατος, etc., but τρεῖσκαίδεκατος or τρισκαίδεκατος, etc., in East Ionic, Boeotian, and Lesbian (-δέκοτος).

116.20-90. εἴκοσι (from *ε-ἑλκοσι) in Attic, Ionic, Lesbian, Arcadian (no occurrence in Cyprian), but ἑκατι, ἑκατι (cf. Ther. ἡκάδι, Thess. ἡκάδι) in West Greek, Boeotian, Thessalian and Pamphylian (φίκατι), with ε not εἰ, and τ retained (61.2). The εἰ of Heracl. ἑκατι beside ἑκατι is due to the influence of Att. εἴκοσι.—Att. etc. τριάκοντα, Ion. τριήκοντα.—τετταράκοντα, τεσσαράκοντα, πετταράκοντα (see 114.4), Sicil. West Ion. τετράφοντα (SEG 4.64), Dor., Delph. τετρώκοντα (so doubtless in all West Greek dialects previous to Attic influence).—πεντήκοντα, ἐξήκοντα (ἑξήκοντα), etc., with η in all dialects (Ion. ὀγδώκοντα, 44.2).—Delph., Heracl. ἑβδεμήκοντα, Heracl. ἡογδοήκοντα, ἡεννήκοντα. See 114.7-9.—Gen. τεσσ[ε]ρακόντων, πεντηκόντων, etc. in Chios, where the use of such inflected genitives (also δέκων) is one of the Aeolic features of the dialect (cf. πέμπων, δέκων in Alcaeus, also τριηκόντων in Hesiod).

Att., Ion. εἰκοστός etc., Boeot. ἑκαστός (-καστός doubtless in all West Greek dialects also; but Thess. ἰκοστός), Lesb. εἰκοιστος, τριακοιστος, ἐξήκοιστος.

a. The earliest form of the ordinals is that in -κατος (from *k^umt-to-*, cf. Skt. *trīṇīśat-tama-*, etc.). Under the influence of the cardinals in -κοντα

this became -κοτος in Attic, etc. Under the same influence also *κονάτος, the probable source of Lesb. -κοιστος, with the regular Lesbian development of secondary *va* (77.3, 78). For a different view of the Lesbian forms, see 20a. To the same analogy is due the ο of εἴκοσι, and of the hundreds in -κόσιοι (e.g., τριακόσιοι after τριάκοντα), instead of the more original α in *ἑκατι* (Skt. *vinṣati-*, Lat. *viginī*), -κάτιοι, -κάσιοι (cf. ἑκατόν, Skt. *śatam*, Lat. *centum*). It is possible that a still further extension of this analogical ο is to be assumed in explanation of Arc. ἡεκοτόν, Arc., Lesb. δέκοτος, Arc. δέκο, Lesb. ἑνοτος.

117. 1. 100. Att. etc. ἑκατόν, Arc. ἡεκοτόν, See 6, 116a.

2. 200-900. Att.-Ion., Lesb. -κόσιοι, West Greek, Boeot., Thess. -κάτιοι (Thess. ἐξεκαττίοι, SEG 2.264), Arc. -κάσιοι (with East Greek σ, but West Greek α). See 61.2, 116a.

The α of τριακόσιοι (Ion. τριηκόσιοι) is extended to διακόσιοι (Ion. διηκόσιοι), and the α of τετρακόσιοι, πετακόσιοι, ἑκακόσιοι to πεντακόσιοι, ἑξακόσιοι, ὀκτακόσιοι. But Thess. ἐξεκαττίοι with (ει=) η as in ἐξήκοντα. Lesb. ὀκτωκόσιοι.

3. 1000. Att. χίλιοι (25e), Ion. χεῖλιοι, Lac., Cyren. χήλιοι, Lesb., Thess. χέλλιοι, from *χέσλιοι. See 76.1.

PRONOUNS

Personal Pronouns¹

118. SINGULAR. 1. The stems, except in the nominative, begin with: 1. ἐμ- or μ-. 2. Original *tu-*, whence East Greek σ-, West Greek τ- (τέος, τίν, τέ). But enclitic τοι is from a form without *tu* (cf. Skt. *te*), and occurs also in Ionic (Hom., Hdt., etc.). Hom. τεοῖο and τεῖν are from the possessive stem **teino-* (120.2).—3. Original *su-*, whence *F-* in some dialects (ἴεος, Φοι, Φῖν), otherwise.

2. NOM. ἐγώ, ἐγών (Boeot. ἰώ, ἰών, 62.3).—Att.-Ion., Lesb., Arc. σύ, Dor. σύ, Boeot. τοῦ. See 61.5.

3. GEN. α. -εἰο (Hom. ἐμεῖο, etc., like τοῖο), whence -εο, later Ion. -εῖο, Att. -ου.—β. -εος in West Greek, as lit. Dor. ἐμέος, τέος, Locr. ἴεος.—γ. -θεν in lit. Lesb. ἐμεθεν, σέθεν, ἴεθεν, Hom. ἐμέθεν, σέθεν, ἴεθεν, Epid. ἴεθεν, Syrac. μεθέν (Sophron).

¹ As the personal pronouns, especially in the singular, are of comparatively rare occurrence in inscriptions, some forms are added which are quotable only from literary sources, but only a few out of the great variety, for which see Kühner-Blass I, pp. 580 ff.

4. DAT. *a.* -οι, as ἐμοί, μοί, σοί, σοί (lit. Dor. τοί, τοί, lit. Ion. τοί), οἱ, οἱ (Arg., Cret., Delph., Cypr., Lesb. φοί).—*b.* -iv in West Greek (where also -οι, but mostly in the enclitic forms, as μοι, never ἐμοί, φοί, οἱ, and τοί, though also τοί), as Cret., Calymn., Rhod., Delph., and lit. Dor. ἐμίν, lit. Dor. τίν, Cret. φίν.

5. ACC. I. ἐμέ, με.—2. Att.-Ion., Lesb. σέ, lit. Dor. τέ (Cret. τῆ, written τρέ, in Hesych.); also lit. Dor. and Epid. τό (nom. used as acc.)—3. ἐ (Fé); also lit. Dor. and Epid. νίν.

119. PLURAL. I. The forms of the first and second persons contain, apart from the endings, ἀσμ- (cf. Skt. *asmān*, etc.) and ὕμ- (cf. Skt. *yusmān*, etc.), whence Lesb., Thess. ἀμμ-, Lesb. ὕμμ-, elsewhere ἄμ- (Att.-Ion. ἡμ-) or ἄμ-, ὕμ-. See 76.1, and, for the spiritus asper or lenis in the first person, 57, 58b.

2. NOM. -ες in all dialects except Attic-Ionic, where it was replaced by -εις. Lesb. ἀμμες, ὕμμες, Dor. etc. ἀμές, ὕμές.

a. In late Cretan ἀμές was frequently replaced by ἀμέν under the influence of 1 pl. verbal forms in which Dor. -μες was often replaced by the κοινή -μεν. That is, ἀμέν for ἀμές after φέρομεν for φέρομες. From ἀμέν, -εν was extended to other pronouns and to participles, as ὕμέν, τινέν, ἀκούσαντες, etc.

3. GEN. -ειων (Hom. ἡμείων), whence -εων, -ιων (9), -ῶν. Lesb. ἀμμέων, Thess. ἀμμέουν, El. ἀμέων, Dor. ἀμέων, ἀμίων (Cret.), later ἀμῶν.

4. DAT. -iv, Lesb. ἀμμιν, ἀμμι, etc., Dor. ἀμίν, ὕμιν, Att.-Ion. ἡμῖν, ὕμῖν. So Dor. σφιν, σφι, Cret., Syrac. φιν (87), but Att.-Ion. σφισι, Arc. σφεις, the latter not satisfactorily explained.

5. ACC. -ε in all dialects except Attic-Ionic, where it was replaced by -εας, -ᾶς. Lesb. ἀμμε, ὕμμε, Thess. ἀμμέ, Dor., etc. ἀμέ, ὕμέ, Dor., etc. σφέ, Cret., Syrac. ψέ (87).

Possessives

120. I. ἐμός.—Pl. Dor., etc., ἀμός (Lesb. ἀμμος) and ἀμέτερος (Lesb. ἀμμέτερος, Att.-Ion. ἡμέτερος).

2. *a.* τῷ, Att., etc., σός. *b.* *τῷ, Dor., Lesb. τός, Boeot. τός (all in literature only). Both forms in Homer.—Pl. ὅμός and ὅμέτερος.

3. *a.* *σῷ, Att., etc., ὅς, Cret. φός. *b.* *σῷ, Dor. (lit.), Thess. έός. Both forms in Homer.—Pl. σφός and σφέτερος.

Reflexive Pronouns

121. Aside from the reflexive use of the forms of the personal pronouns as given in 118, 119, especially that of the third person, which is itself a reflexive in origin, various forms of expression are employed, as follows:

1. Combinations of the personal pronouns with αὐτός, each keeping its own inflection, as in Homer (σοὶ αὐτόν, etc.). So Epid. αὐτοῦ ἔθεν, Cret. φιν αὐτοῖ, ψέ αὐτόν, πσιν αὐτοῖς. Cf. also, with the possessive, Cret. τὰ φὰ αὐτᾶς = τὰ ἐαυτῆς.

2. Compounds of the same elements, with only the second part declined. Att. ἐμαυτοῦ, σεαυτοῦ or σαυτοῦ, ἐαυτοῦ or αὐτοῦ (also late ἐατοῦ, ἀτῶν, with α from αῦ); Coan ἡτῶν with η from εα; Thess. εὐτοῖ, εὐτοῦ, εὐτάς; Cret. φιαυτῶ; Ion. (lit.) ἐμσαυτοῦ etc. The forms found in Ionic inscriptions are like the Attic.

3. αὐτός alone, as sometimes in Homer. Thus Delph. αὐτοῦ = ἐμαυτοῦ, El. αὐτᾶρ = ἐαυτῆς (no. 66.17), Lac. αὐτῶ = ἐαυτοῦ (no. 71.7, 16 ff.), Corinth. περὶ τᾶς αὐτοῦ γᾶς (no. 95), Thess. αὐτᾶ = ἐαυτῆ, Boeot. αὐτάν = ἐαυτήν.

4. αὐτός αὐτός, either with each declined separately, or, oftener merged into compounds of somewhat varying form.

This combination is comparatively late, replacing the earlier types mentioned under 1-3. It is most frequent in Delphian and Boeotian, but is found in several of the other West Greek dialects, and probably even in Attic (Kühner-Blass I, p. 600, anm. 5).

a. αὐτὸς αὐτός. Delph. αὐτοὶ ποτὶ αὐτούς, Boeot. κατ' αὐτὸ (= αὐτοὶ) αὐτῶν.

b. αὐτοσαυτός. Delph. αὐτοσαυτοῦ, etc., Boeot. ὑπὲρ αὐτοσαυτῶ, Heracl. μετ' αὐτοσαυτῶν, Cret. αὐτοσαυτοῖς, etc., Corcyr. αὐτοσαυτόν.

c. αὐσαυτός. Delph. αὐσαυτοῦ, etc., Cret., Argol. (Calauria) αὐσαυτᾶς, Arc. ὑπὲρ αὐσαυτόν.

d. ἀσαυτός. Boeot. ἀσαυτῶ.

e. αὐσώτός. Delph. αὐσώτᾶς, etc.

f. αὐταντός. Heracl. αὐταντᾶς (as in Sophron and Epicharmus), Aegin. αὐταντόν.

g. Sicil. gen. sg. αὐτοῦτα (Segesta), gen. pl. αὐτῶντα (Thermae). Probably from αὐτατοῦ, αὐτατῶν (cf. late ἐατοῦ, above, 2), with transposition of the last two syllables.

Demonstrative Pronouns

122. The article. Nom. pl. τοί, ταί, as in Homer, in the West Greek dialects except Cretan, and in Boeotian. Att. etc. οἱ, αἱ, after the analogy of δ, ἡ. For δ, ἡ in some dialects which in general have τ, see 58a. Thess. οἱ, but τοί at Pharsalus (Schwyzer 566).

Forms with added ι, used like ὅδε, are found in Elean (το-ι, τα-ι) and Boeotian (ταν-ι; τοι-ι, τυ-ι).

For the relative use, see 126.

a. Just as in Homer the use as article is less frequent than the demonstrative and the article is often lacking where it is obligatory or usual in later times, so (apart from certain categories in which the absence of the article is usual) in inscriptions of some dialects. So frequently in headings, like that of no. 67, Συνθήκη καὶ Συμμαχία (but El. δ φράτρα nos. 61-63, etc.). With names of official bodies or officials, e.g., Cret. δδ' ἔφαδε πόλι (no. 116), Arg. (no. 85) βδλὰ ἐπαγέτῳ, δ (φρετσε) βδλᾶς, δλιαλαί εδοξε, ἐπὶ κόσμος, Epid. εδοξε βουλᾷ καὶ δάμωι, κατάλογος βουλᾶς, Locr. (no. 59.10/11) ἐν πρεΐγαι ἐν πόλι ε' ἡ ἀποκλῆσαι. (In Att. fifth century inscriptions there are a few examples of βδλᾶ without article, but much more commonly with the article).

123. Thess. δ-νε, Arc. δ-νί, Arc.-Cypr. δ-νυ = ὅδε. Thess. τόνε, τάνε, and, with both parts inflected (cf. Hom. τοῖσδεσι), gen. sg. τοῖνεος, gen. pl. τοῖνεουν.—Arc. τωνί (gen. sg.), τωινί, ταινί (dat. pl. fem.), ταννί, τανί (gen. sg., gen. pl., and acc. pl. fem.). Cf. also Boeot. προτηνί (136.1).—Cypr. δνυ, τόνυ, Arc. τάνυ (acc. pl. neut.), τῶνυ (gen. pl.), τῶνυ (11 times in no. 20 vs. once τωινί), also by an alien engraver τάννυ, τόννυ. Cf. Hom., Boeot., Cypr. νυ.

From ὅδε, cf. also Arg. τῶνδεῶν, ταδέν with addition of emphatic -ην (ἦν, Lat. *en*).

124. οὗτος. Nom. pl. τοῦτοι, ταῦται, like τοί, ταί, in West Greek (examples from Cos, Delphi, Rhodes, Selinus). Att. etc. οὔτοι, αὗται, after οὗτος, etc. Boeotian, with τ replaced by θ throughout, οὔτον, οὔτων, etc.—Interchange of ου and ου. Att. gen. pl. fem. τούτων after masc.-neut.; conversely El. neut. ταῦτων, due to influence of ταῦτα. ου throughout is Boeotian (οὔτο, οὔτα) and Euboean (τοῦτα, τούτῃ, also ἐντοῦθα = ἐν-ταῦθα), also οὔτα = ταῦτα in Sophron. So also Delph. τοῦτα, τούτας (but also ταῦται). For the spelling with O instead of OV, see 34a.

125. I. ἐκεῖνος. Ion. κεῖνος, Lesb., Cret., Rhod., Coan κῆνος, both from *κε-ενος. Cf. 25.—τῆνος, of different origin (cf. Hom. τῆ), in Delphian, Heracleian, Argolic (Aegina), Megarian, as well as in Sicilian Doric writers (Theocr., Sophron, Epicharmus).

2. αὐτός. Neut. αὐτόν in Cretan, as sometimes in Attic inscriptions.

Relative, Interrogative, and Indefinite Pronouns

126. The relative δς occurs in all dialects. But the relative use of forms of the article, frequent in Homer and Herodotus, is usual in Lesbian (so always in the earlier inscriptions and nearly always in Alcaeus and Sappho; δς in later inscriptions is due to κοινή influence, as shown by the spiritus asper, καθ' ὃν, etc.), Thessalian (τά, καττάπερ; ἐν τοῦ 'in which', no. 33.27, but also δς in an early metrical inscription), and Arcado-Cyprian (Arc. ὅπερ, ταί, τοῖς, etc., Cypr. δ, τόν, etc., but also Arc. ἄν, Cypr. δι, οἷ). So also in Boeotian in a fourth-century inscription (no. 40), but later only δς (cf. Lesbian). It is also Heracleian (τόν, τά, etc.; so often in Epitharmus), and Cyrenaean (δ, τό, τά), but in most West Greek dialects it occurs, if at all, only in later inscriptions (so in late Delphian, Elean, and Cretan, never in the earlier period).

For the demonstrative use of δς, cf. Heracl. ἡἱ μὲν... ἡἱ δὲ (no. 79.82).

127. Cret. ὅτερος 'which of two' is the true relative correlative of πότερος (cf. Skt. *yataras* beside *kataras*), and so related to the usual ὁπότερος as οἶος to ὁπόιος, ὅτε to ὁπότε.

128. τίς, τις. Cypr. σις, Arc. σις, δςις, see 68.3. Thess. κίς, κίς, κινες, see 68.4. The inflection with ν, gen. sg. τινός, etc., presumably based on the original acc. sg. *τίν, is widespread. But forms of the earlier type, without ν, like Hom. τεο, ὅττεο, τεφ, ὁτέοισιν, Att. του, τω, ὅτοις, are seen also in Lesb. τίωι, τίωσι (9.2), Arc. ὁσέοι (68.3), gen. sg. Lesb. ὅττω, Boeot. ὅττω, Meg. σά (from *τια), Att.-Ion. ἄττα, ἄσσα (from *άτια), Cret. dat. sg. τιμι in δτιμι, from *τι-σμι with the same pronominal *sm* as in Skt. *hasmīn*, Umbr. *pusme*, etc.

129. The indefinite relative ὅστις, ὅτις.

1. *δοτις*, with both parts declined, Att.-Ion., also in various dialects, e.g., Locr. *δοτινες*, Cret. *οἷτινες*, Boeot. *δοτινας*.

2. *δοτις*, with only the second part declined, Att.-Ion., also in various dialects, e.g., Arc. *δοτις*, *δοζις*, *δοσει* (68.3), Cret. *δοτιμι* (128), Delph. *δοτινος*, *δοτινι*.—Further, with *τι* spread from the neut. *δοτι* (**δοδ-τι*), Lesb. *δοτις*, *δοτινας*, *δοτω*, etc. (cf. also *δοπα*, *δοπως*, etc.), Boeot. *δοτω*, Arg. *δοτινες*.

a. Locr. *δοτι* (no. 58.6), at variance with all other evidence, is almost certainly an error for *δοτι* (so nos. 57, 59, as in other dialects).

3. Neuter forms in *-τι*, with only the first part declined, in Cretan, e.g., *δοτι* = *δοτινα*, *δοτι* = *δοτινος*.

130. Cret. *δοτειος* = *δοποιος*, but used like adjectival *δοτις*, as *δοτειος δε κα κόσμος μη βέρδην*, *γυνὰ δοτεια κρέματα με έχει*, *δοτεια δε (sc. γυναικί) πρόθ' ἔδδκε*. Here also Boeot. dat. sg. fern. *μηδοτή* (= *μηδοτεια*). For the form (also Hesych. *τεῖον* · *ποῖον*, Κρήτες), cf. Hom. *τέο*, *τέω*, etc., and Lesb. (lit.) *τέουτος τοιούτος* (with loss of *ι* 31).

131. Interrogative pronouns used as indefinite relatives. So regularly in Thessalian, e.g., *κίς κε γινύεται* = *δοτις ἀν γίγνηται*, *διὲ κί* (in form *διὰ τί*) = *δοτι*, *πόκ κί* (in form *πὸς τί*) = *δοτι*, *φυλάς ποίας κε βέλλεται* = *φυλῆς οποίας (ἡστινος) ἀν βούληται*. Elsewhere the use of *τίς* = *δοτις* is, with some rare exceptions in literature, found only in late Greek.

ADVERBS AND CONJUNCTIONS

Pronominal Adverbs and Conjunctions of Place, Time, and Manner

132. 1. *-ου*. Place 'where.' Att.-Ion. *ποῦ*, *δπου*, *αὐτοῦ*, *όμοῦ*, etc. These are of genitive origin, and are specifically Attic-Ionic.

2. *-ει*. Place 'where.' These are the usual equivalents of Att.-Ion. *-ου*, occurring in West Greek dialects and Boeotian, e.g., *εἰ*, *πεῖ*, *πει* (Cret. *αἰ* *πει* = Att. *εἰ* *που*), *δπει*, *τεῖδε*, *τουτεῖ*, *τηνεῖ*, *αὐτεῖ* (Boeot. *αὐτῖ*), *ἀλλεῖ*, *ἀμεῖ*, *μηδαμεῖ*. Here also Arg. *ἡ*, *ἰ* (25c) 'where' and 'when.' By analogy, Locr. *παντεῖ* 'everywhere,' Heracl., Arg. *ποτσεῖ* = *προσεχῶς*, Delph. *ἐπεχεῖ* = *ἐφεξῆς* (beside Arg. *ἐπεχές*, Ach. *ποτεχές*, etc.), Cret., Heracl. *διπλαῖ* 'doubly.'

3. *-οι*. Place 'where' and (so usually in Attic) 'whither.' *οἷ*,

ποῖ, *δοποι* in many dialects, and with *-ς*, Delph. *οἷς*. Cf. Lesb. *αἰ* *ποι* = Att. *εἰ* *που*. By analogy Lesb. *ὕποι* or *ἰποι* (cf. *ὕψι*), Orop. *ἡχοι* (from *ἡχι*, below, 6), also (133.3-5) *ἐνδοι*, *ἐχθοι*, *ἐξοι*.

4. *-υι*. Place 'where' and 'whither.' Cret. *υῖ* 'where' (Hierapytna, e.g., no. 119.16, 22), Cret. *δπου*, Arg., Cyren. *δπου* (Arg. 'for whatever purpose'); in *-υις* or *-υς*, Rhod. *υῖς* 'as far as' (no. 104.3), Arg. *υς* (IG IV.498.4 'whither', 'to whom'), Rhod. *δπους*, lit. Dor. (Syrac.) *υς*, *πυς*. Cf. also Cret. *πάλυ* (to *πλίε*, 113.2), lit. Lesb. *τυῖδε*, *ἄλλυ*, *πῆλυ*.

5. *-αι* (Att.-Ion. *-ηι*). Place 'where' or (mostly Delph.) 'whither,' and especially manner. Thus *ἄι*, *δπαι* in many West Greek dialects and Boeotian (*δπη*). In Cretan used also as final, and (*ἄι*) temporal conjunctions. Cret., Corcyr. *ἄλλαι* 'otherwise,' Heracl. *πανταῖ* 'in all directions,' Lesb. *πάνται*. The indefinite *παι* (cf. Corcyr. *ἄλλαι* *παι* 'in any other way') is used in Cyprian as a strengthening particle (*κας παι* 'and indeed,' *ἰδέ παι* 'then indeed,' no. 23.4, 12).

6. *-α* (Att.-Ion. *-η*). Uses as in the preceding. Delph., Cyren. *ἄδε*, Cret. *ἄδε* (no. 116) 'in this way,' Lac. *ταυτᾶ ἡτ'* 'in such a way as,' *ἡμαῖ* 'likewise,' Locr. *ταυτᾶ* 'in the same way.' Locr., Cyren. *ἄ κα* 'in case that' (nos. 60.19; 115.93), lit. Dor. *ἄχι* = Hom. *ἡχι* 'where.' Lesb. *δππα* 'where,' *ἄλλα* 'elsewhere' (no. 27.49 beside dat. sg. *-αι*, and so better here than under 5, above).

7. *-η*. Place 'where,' time 'when,' etc. Cret. *ἦ*, Heracl., Cyren. *ἦ* (this accent preferred here, vs. *ἦ* 'or, than' but practice varies), 'when' (so Heracl., Cyren., Cret.; Cret. also 'where,' 'in case that') Cret. *δπη*, Cyren. *δπη* 'where,' Lac. *ἡόπῃ* 'in such a way as,' Thess. *δπει* (*ει=η*) 'when' (no. 33.26; cf. *δπειδεί*, *ibid.* l. 12, in form a blend of *δπει* and *ἐπειδεί*, in sense = *ἐπειδή*). Lac. *πέποκα* = *πώποτε*. El., Meg., Ther., Eretr. *τῆδε* 'here,' El. *ταύτῃ* 'here.' Meg. *ἄ(λ)λῃ*, Cyren. *ἄλλῃ πῇ* 'elsewhere,' Cret. *ἑκατέρῃ* 'in each place.'

8. *-ω*. Place 'whence.' Lit. Dor. *ὧ*, *πῶ*, *δπω*, Cret. *ὧ*, *δπῶ*, Locr. *ἡῶ*, *ἡόπῶ*, Cret. *τῶδε*, Cret., Coan *τουτῶ*. Syrac. *τηνῶ*, *τηνῶθε*, Meg. *τηνῶθεν*. Similarly Delph. *φοῖκω* 'from the house.'

a. These adverbs are not to be confounded with another class, mostly from prepositions, meaning place 'where' or 'whither' and occurring in Attic-Ionic also, as *ἐνῶ*, *κάτω*, *ἐξῶ*, etc. Here belong Delph. *ἐνῶ* 'within,' Coan *ἐκατέρω* 'on each side of.'

9. *-θεν*. Place 'whence.' Att.-Ion. *δθεν*, *πόθεν*, etc. This *-θεν*,

which though formally related must be distinguished from the *-(σ)θεν*, *-(σ)θε* of adverbs like *ἐνῶθε(ν)*, *πρόσθε(ν)* without the 'whence' sense (133.1), is mainly Attic-Ionic in pronominal adverbs (such forms in Doric, in place of the usual *-ω*, are rare). But in adverbs derived from place names it is also West Greek, as *γορινόθεν*, *κνωσόθεν*, *μυκανέθεν*, *θήραθεν*, *γορτύναθεν*, *φλει-φόνταθεν*.

10. *-ως*. Manner. *ὡς*, *πῶς*, *δπως*, etc. in all dialects. *ὡς* also 'when' and in some dialects 'where.'

a. *ὡς* and *δπως* are also the most widespread final conjunctions. The final use of *ἵνα*, originally 'where,' developed in Attic-Ionic, but spread to other dialects (appearing mostly in late inscriptions; in the early Rhod. no. 100 clearly due to epic influence. Early Cretan had none of these, but only *δοποι* or *δοι* in final sense (above, 5).

11. *-τε*, *-τα*, *-κα*. Temporal, *δτε*, *τότε*, *πότε* in Attic-Ionic and Arcado-Cyprian (Arc. *τότε*, *όπότε*, *οὔποτε*, Cyp. *δτε* *μέποτε*) but Att. *εἴτα*, *ἐπειτα*, Ion. *εἴτεν*, *ἐπειτε*, *ἐπειτεν*.—*δτα*, *πότα*, *ἄλλοτα* in Lesbian.—*δκα*, etc., in West Greek and Boeotian, as Boeot. *πόκα*, Cret. *δκα*, *τόκα*, *ποκα*, Cyren. *δκα*, *τόκα*, *όπόκα*, Rhod. *δκα*, Lac. *πέποκα*, El. *τόκα*, Delph. *δκα*, *οὔδέποκα*, *μηδέποκα*. The form *δκα* (from *δκα κα*) occurs in Laconian, Megarian, Rhodian, Coan, and literary Doric.

12. Other temporal conjunctions. Besides *δτε*, etc. (above, 11), *ἐπεῖ*, and the occasional temporal use of forms in *-ει*, *-αι*, *-η*, *-ως* (above 2, 5, 6, 8), there are various words for 'so long as, while,' and 'until' (conjunction and preposition). *ἕως*, *ἕς* (41.4)—*ἕστε*, Boeot. *ἕττε*, Locr. *ἐντε*, Delph. *ἡέντε* (135.4)—*μέχρι*, *ἄχρι*—Cret., Cyren. *μέστα* (Cret. also *μέττ'* *ἕς*), Arc. *[μέ]στε* (probable, *-τε* as in *δτε*, etc.), *μέστ'*, Thess. *μέσποδι*, Hom. *μέσφα*, all having in common *μές* now attested in Thess. preposition *μές* (no. 33.6)—*εἰς(ἕς)* *δ*—Boeot. *ἐν τάν* (sc. *ἀμέραν*), 136.1.

Prepositional and Other Adverbs

133. 1. *-(σ)θεν*, *-(σ)θε*, *-(σ)θα*. Att.-Ion. *ἐνῶθεν*, *ἐνῶθε*, *ὑπερθεν*, *ὑπερθε*, etc., Arc. *μεσακόθεν* (65), Heracl. *ἐνῶθα*. With *-σθεν*, etc. Att.-Ion. *πρόσθεν*, *πρόσθε*, Lesb. *πρόσθε* (so in inscriptions, in lyric also *πρόσθεν*), Thess. *πρόσθεν* (85.1), Dor. *πρόσθα* (gram.), Heracl., Arg. *ἐμπροσθα* (but also Troez. *ἐμπροσθε*, *δοπσθε*, and

once Meg. *πρόσθε*, Cret. *πρόσθα* (85.3), Delph. *πρόστα* (85.1), Arc. *προσθαγενῆς*. Arc. *θύσθεν* 'outside of' from **θυρ-σθεν* (cf. *θύρδα*, 2).

a. Also *-θι*, as in Hom., etc. So Arc. *δοι*, *όπόθι*, *μηδεπόθι*, *ισόθι*, *αἰθι*.

2. *-δε* (*-ζε*), *-δα*. Arc. *-δα* is seen in *θύρδα-ἕξω* = Hom. *θύραζε*.

3. For Delph., Locr., Arg. *ἐχθός* = *ἐκτός*, see 66. Hence, after the analogy of other adverbs in *-ω* (132.8) and *-οι* (132.3), Delph., Epid. *ἐχθω*, Epid. *ἐχθοι*.

4. From *ἐνδον* are formed—besides Att.-Ion. *ἐνδοθεν*, *ἐνδοθι*, Ion. *ἐνδόσε* (Ceos)—Cret., Delph., Meg., Syrac., *ἐνδός* (after *ἐντός*), Delph. *ἐνδω*, Lesb., Epid., Syrac., Cyren. *ἐνδοι*.

5. Beside *ἕξω* (132.8a) are formed, after the analogy of other adverbs, Lac. *ἕξει*, Thess., Cret., Syrac., Cyren. *ἕξοι*, Dor., Delph. *ἕξος* (after *ἐκτός*, etc., cf. *ἐνδός*).

6. *-ις*, *-ιν*, *-ι*. Forms with adverbial *-ς* or *-ν* sometimes interchange with each other and with forms without either *-ς* or *-ν*, as the numeral adverbs in *-ις*, *-ιν*, *-ι*. Thus in most dialects *-ις*, sometimes *-ι*, but *-ιν* in Lac. *τετράκιν*, *ἐπτάκιν*, *ὀκτάκιν*, Cret. *ὀθθάκιν* = *ὀσάκιν*. Likewise *-ιν* in other adverbs of time (cf. Att. *πάλιν*), as Cret. *αὐτιν*, Rhag. *αὐθιν* = Ion., Arc. *αὐτις*, Att. *αὐθις*. Cret. *αὐταμέριν* = Att. *αὐθαμερόν*, Lesb., Coan *αὐταμερόν*, Locr. *αὐταμαρόν* (accents uncertain), El. *ὑσταριν* = *ὑστερον*. Here also Thess. *ἀν*, Arc. *ἀν*, Lesb. *ἄν* (also *αἴν* Hdn.), Ion. *αἴν* (also *αἴδασμος* 'under perpetual lease') = usual *αἴές*, *αἰεί*, *αἰέν* (all from **αἰφί*, **αἰφίν*, **αἰφέας*, etc., cf. Cyp. *Phoc. αἰφέι*), while a corresponding form in *-ις* is to be seen in Cyp. *ὕφαίς* 'forever,' a combination like Att. *εἰς αἰεί*, containing *ὕ* = *ἐπεί* and *αἰς* from **αἰφίς* (omission of *φ* peculiar, but cf. *παῖς*, 53).

Cf. also Epid. *ἀνευ*, El. *ἀνευς* = *ἀνευ* (Meg. *ἀνις*, also at Tauro-menium, and in late poets, is formed after *χωρίς*), Dor. *ἐμπᾶν* (Pindar) beside *ἐμπᾶς* = *ἐμπης*, Coan, Rhod., Ther. *ἐξᾶν* = *ἐξῆς*.

7. A combination of *-ιν* with *-δην*, *-δᾶν* (cf. *-δα*, *-δον*, etc.). Att. *ἀριστίνδην*, *πλουτίνδην*, *ἀγχιστίδην*, Locr. *ἀριστίνδαν*, *πλουτίνδαν*, but *ἀγχιστέδαν*, formed from the stem *ἀγχιστι-* of *ἀγχιστεύς*.

134. 1. The conditional conjunction. *εἰ* in Attic-Ionic and Arcadian; *αἰ* in Lesbian, Thessalian, Boeotian (*ἦ*), and all the West Greek dialects; *ἦ* (*ἦ*) in Cyprian.

2. *ἄν*, *κε*, *κα*. *ἄν* is only Attic-Ionic and Arcadian. In all other

dialects the unrelated $\kappa\epsilon$, $\kappa\alpha$ is used— $\kappa\epsilon$ in Lesbian (also $\kappa\epsilon\nu$), Thessalian, and Cyprian, $\kappa\alpha$ in the West Greek dialects and Boeotian.

a. Arcadian once had $\kappa\epsilon$, like Cyprian, and a relic of this is to be seen in the κ which appears, where there would otherwise be hiatus, between $\epsilon\iota$ and a following $\delta\nu$, which had regularly replaced $\kappa\epsilon$ as a significant element (probably through prehistoric Ionic influence, cf. p. 4). Thus regularly $\epsilon\iota \kappa' \delta\nu$, or better $\epsilon\iota\kappa \delta\nu$, since $\epsilon\iota\kappa$ has become a mere by-form of $\epsilon\iota$ (like $\sigma\iota\kappa$ beside $\sigma\iota$), but $\epsilon\iota \delta' \delta\nu$. Once, without $\delta\nu$, $\epsilon\iota\kappa$ $\epsilon\pi\iota$ $\delta\delta\mu\alpha$ $\pi\upsilon\rho$ $\epsilon\pi\iota\sigma\epsilon$, where some assume a significant κ' , in place of usual $\delta\nu$, but best classed with the subjunctive clauses without $\delta\nu$ (174).

b. In Attic-Ionic, $\epsilon\iota$ combines with $\delta\nu$ —in Attic to $\epsilon\delta\nu$ or $\epsilon\delta\nu$, in Ionic to $\eta\nu$.

c. The substitution of $\epsilon\iota$ for $\alpha\iota$ belongs to the earliest stage of Attic ($\kappa\iota\nu\eta$) influence in the West Greek dialects, but that of $\delta\nu$ for $\kappa\alpha$ only to the latest, being rarely found except where the dialect is almost wholly $\kappa\iota\nu\eta$. Hence the hybrid combination $\epsilon\iota \kappa\alpha$ is the rule in the later inscriptions of most West Greek dialects.

3. $\kappa\alpha\iota$. Arc.-Cypr. $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ (also $\kappa\acute{\alpha}$, for which see 97.2), the relation of which to $\kappa\alpha\iota$ is obscure (antevocalic $\kappa\alpha(\iota) + \varsigma$?). In Arcadian this occurs only in the early Mantinean inscription, no. 17, elsewhere $\kappa\alpha\iota$. See 275.

4. $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$. Thessalian uses $\mu\acute{\alpha}$, related to $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$, for $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$, e.g. $\tau\omicron \mu\acute{\alpha}$ $\psi\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\sigma\mu\alpha$, $\tau\acute{\alpha}\mu \mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu \iota\alpha\nu$. . . $\tau\acute{\alpha}\mu \mu\acute{\alpha} \acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\alpha\nu$ (no. 32.22; $\tau\acute{\alpha}\nu \delta\acute{\epsilon} \acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\alpha\nu$ l. 45 is due to $\kappa\iota\nu\eta$ influence).

5. $\nu\upsilon$, identical with $-\nu\upsilon$ in Arc.-Cypr. $\delta\nu\upsilon = \delta\delta\epsilon$ (123), and with Hom. $\nu\upsilon\nu$, $\nu\upsilon$ occurs as an independent particle in Cyprian and Boeotian, e.g., Cypr. $\delta\upsilon\phi\acute{\alpha}\nu\omicron\iota \nu\upsilon$, $\delta\acute{\omicron}\kappa\omicron\iota \nu\upsilon$, Boeot. $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\omicron\upsilon\rho\acute{\upsilon} \nu\upsilon$ $\xi\nu\theta\omega$.

Cf. $\nu\iota$ in Arc. $\tau\omega\nu\iota$, etc. (123), Boeot. $\pi\rho\omicron\tau\eta\nu\iota$ (136.1), Pamph. $\kappa\alpha\iota \nu\iota$.

6. $\iota\delta\acute{\epsilon}$, in form = Hom. $\iota\delta\acute{\epsilon}$, occurs in Cyprian introducing the conclusion of a condition ($\iota\delta\acute{\epsilon} \kappa\alpha\iota$ 'then indeed,' $\iota\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ 'then,' no. 23.12, 25), or a new sentence ($\iota\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ 'and' no. 23.26).

7. $\nu\alpha\iota$, $\nu\eta$. Arc. $\nu\epsilon\iota$ ($\nu\epsilon\iota \tau\omicron\nu \Delta\iota\alpha$). Cf. $\epsilon\iota$, $\alpha\iota$, η , above, 1.

PREPOSITIONS

Peculiarities in Form

135. 1. For apocope of the final vowel, see 95.

2. For assimilation of final consonants, see 96, 97, 99.— $\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma =$

$\acute{\epsilon}\kappa$, 100. For $\delta\nu = \acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\alpha}$, see 6.— $\iota\nu = \acute{\epsilon}\nu$, 10.— $\acute{\alpha}\pi\upsilon = \acute{\alpha}\pi\acute{\omicron}$, 22.— $\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\upsilon} = \kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha}$, 22.

3. $\acute{\upsilon}\pi\acute{\alpha}$, $\acute{\upsilon}\pi\acute{\alpha} = \acute{\upsilon}\pi\acute{\omicron}$, formed after the analogy of $\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha}$, in Lesbian, Boeotian, and (quotable examples only compounds) Locrian ($\acute{\upsilon}\pi\alpha\pi\rho\sigma\theta\iota\delta\iota\delta\omicron\nu$ no. 59 vs. $\text{H}\upsilon\pi\omicron\kappa\eta\mu\iota\delta\iota\delta\omicron\nu$ no. 57) and Elean ($\acute{\upsilon}\pi\alpha\delta\upsilon\gamma\iota\omicron\varsigma$, $\acute{\upsilon}\pi\alpha\delta\upsilon\kappa\iota\omicron\iota\omicron\varsigma$).

4. $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$, $\acute{\epsilon}\iota\varsigma$. The inherited use of $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ with the accusative (cf. the use of Lat. *in*) is retained in the Northwest Greek dialects (and in the Northwest Greek $\kappa\iota\nu\eta$, 279) together with Boeotian and Thessalian, and in Arcado-Cyprian ($\iota\nu$). Elsewhere this was replaced by an extended form $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\text{-}\varsigma$, whence $\acute{\epsilon}\iota\varsigma$, $\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma$ or (from $\ast\iota\nu\text{-}\varsigma$) $\iota\varsigma$ in Pamphylian and at Vaxus. See 78.

Similarly $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\epsilon = \acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\epsilon$ in Locrian, Delphian ($\acute{\eta}\nu\tau\epsilon$, 58c) and the Northwest Greek $\kappa\iota\nu\eta$. But Boeotian, in spite of $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$, has $\acute{\epsilon}\tau\tau\epsilon = \acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\epsilon$.

5. $\mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}$, $\mu\epsilon\delta\acute{\alpha}$. $\mu\epsilon\delta\acute{\alpha}$, unrelated to $\mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}$ in origin, is used in its place in Lesbian, Boeotian (probably in Thessalian too, though not yet quotable), Arcadian ($\mu\acute{\epsilon}$, 95), Argolic, Cretan, and Thera. (Most of these dialects show also $\mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}$, but at a time when $\kappa\iota\nu\eta$ influence is probable.) So also in compounds, as Lesb., Cret., Cyren. $\mu\epsilon\delta\acute{\epsilon}\chi\omega$, Arg. $\mu\epsilon\delta\acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\gamma\omicron\nu$, $\mu\epsilon\delta\acute{\alpha}\phi\omicron\iota\kappa\omicron\iota = \mu\acute{\epsilon}\tau\omicron\iota\kappa\omicron\iota$, Epid. $\mu\epsilon\delta\alpha\phi\omicron\rho\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$, and proper names, as Boeot. $\mu\epsilon\delta\acute{\alpha}\kappa\omega\nu$, Arg. $\mu\epsilon\delta\acute{\alpha}\chi\iota\tau\omicron\varsigma$. The name of the month $\mu\epsilon\delta\alpha\gamma\epsilon\iota\tau\upsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$ or (by blend with $\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha$) $\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\gamma\epsilon\iota\tau\upsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$ (or $-\iota\omicron\varsigma$) = Att. $\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\gamma\epsilon\iota\tau\upsilon\nu\omicron\iota\omega\nu$ occurs in Rhodes, Cos, Calymna, Megara, Sicily, and Magna Graecia, where $\mu\epsilon\delta\acute{\alpha}$ alone is not attested.

a. The same blend of $\mu\epsilon\delta\alpha$ - and $\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha$ - as in the month-name is also to be recognized in Del., Orop. $\mu\epsilon\tau\epsilon\upsilon\rho\omicron\nu$ 'notice-board, tablet' (so $\mu\epsilon\tau\epsilon\upsilon\rho\omicron\nu$ at Erythrae), elsewhere (with v.l. $\mu\epsilon\tau\epsilon\upsilon\rho\omicron\nu$) 'roosting-perch, springboard,' etc., cpd. like Lesb. $\mu\epsilon\delta\acute{\alpha}\phi\omicron\rho\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$, Att. $\mu\epsilon\tau\epsilon\upsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma$ (su as in Thas. $\theta\epsilon\upsilon\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma = \theta\epsilon\omega\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$, 41.4a).

6. $\pi\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$. There are two independent series of forms, one with and one without the ρ , each with variation between final $-\varsigma$ and $-\tau\iota$ (61.4a)—1. $\pi\rho\omicron\tau\iota$ (= Skt. *prati*) in Homer (beside $\pi\omicron\tau\iota$ and usual $\pi\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$), quoted as Doric (Apoll. Dysc.), restored in Alcman, and almost certainly attested for Argive ($\pi\rho\delta\tau'$ Schwyzer 84.3) Cret. $\pi\rho\rho\tau\iota$ (70.1), Pamph. $\pi\rho\rho\tau'$ —Att.-Ion., Lesb. $\pi\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$.

2. $\pi\omicron\tau\iota$ (= Avest. *pa'ti*) with $\pi\delta\tau$, $\pi\delta$ (95) in the West Greek dialects with Thessalian and Boeotian.—Arc.-Cypr. $\pi\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$.

Still another form, $\pi\omicron\iota$, occurring mostly, though not exclusively, before dentals (hence possibly to be explained as coming from $\pi\omicron\tau\iota$ by dissimilatory loss of τ) is frequent in Argive and Delphian, with scattered examples in Locrian (no. 58.14) and elsewhere. Numerous examples before dentals, as $\pi\omicron\iota \tau\omicron\nu$, etc. But also Arg. $\pi\omicron\iota\gamma\rho\alpha\psi\acute{\alpha}\nu\sigma\theta\omicron$, Epid. $\pi\omicron\iota \rho\acute{\omicron}\pi\tau\omicron\nu$, Delph. $\pi\omicron\iota\kappa\epsilon\phi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\alpha\iota\omicron\nu$, $\pi\omicron\iota \gamma\acute{\alpha}\nu$, and a few others before non-dentals.

a. $\pi\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ occurs also several times in inscriptions of Phrygia and Pamphylia, where it has been plausibly explained as introduced from Pamphylia (though a Pamph. $\pi\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ is not actually attested) and so ultimately belonging with the Arc.-Cypr. $\pi\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$.

7. $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\nu$, $\xi\acute{\upsilon}\nu$. $\xi\acute{\upsilon}\nu$, as in Homer, in early Attic, elsewhere $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\nu$. But Ion. $\xi\acute{\upsilon}\nu\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ from $\ast\xi\upsilon\nu\text{-}\iota\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$. Cypr. $\xi\gamma\gamma\epsilon\mu\omicron\varsigma$. $\sigma\upsilon\lambda\lambda\alpha\beta\acute{\eta}$ (Hesych.).

8. Cypr. $\acute{\upsilon} = \acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota$, e.g., $\acute{\upsilon} \tau\acute{\upsilon}\chi\alpha = \acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota \tau\acute{\upsilon}\chi\eta$, $\acute{\upsilon}\chi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omicron\nu = \acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\chi\epsilon\iota\rho\omicron\nu$. Probably cognate with Skt. *ud*, Eng. *out* (cf. $\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\text{-}\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma =$ Skt. *uttaras*). There are traces of the same prefix in a few Rhodian and Boeotian proper names.

Peculiarities in Meaning and Construction

136. 1. Dative instead of the usual genitive construction in Arcado-Cyprian. (1) $\acute{\alpha}\pi\upsilon$. Arc. $\acute{\alpha}\pi\upsilon \tau\acute{\alpha}\iota$ (sc. $\acute{\alpha}\mu\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha\iota$). Cypr. $\acute{\alpha}\pi\upsilon \tau\acute{\alpha}\iota \zeta\acute{\alpha}\iota$.—(2) $\acute{\epsilon}\xi$. Arc. $\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma \tau\omicron\iota \acute{\epsilon}\rho\gamma\omicron\iota$, Cypr. $\acute{\epsilon}\xi \tau\acute{\alpha}\iota \zeta\acute{\alpha}\iota$.—(3) $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota$. Arc. $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota \tau\omicron\iota\text{-}\nu\iota$, Cypr. $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota \kappa\alpha\iota\delta\iota$.—(4) $\acute{\upsilon}\pi\acute{\epsilon}\rho$. Arc. $\acute{\upsilon}\pi\acute{\epsilon}\rho \tau\acute{\alpha}\iota \tau\acute{\alpha}\varsigma \pi\acute{\omicron}\lambda\iota\omicron\varsigma \acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\theta\epsilon\rho\iota\alpha\iota$.—(5) $\acute{\upsilon}\pi\acute{\omicron}$. Arc. $\acute{\upsilon}\pi\acute{\omicron} \pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\omega\nu \tau\omega\nu \gamma\epsilon\gamma\omicron\nu\omicron\tau\omega\nu \acute{\upsilon}\pi\acute{\omicron} \tau\acute{\alpha}\iota \pi\acute{\omicron}\lambda\iota$.—(6) $\pi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}$. Arc. $\pi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha} \tau\acute{\alpha}\iota \iota\delta\iota\alpha\iota \pi\acute{\omicron}\lambda\iota$ 'from their own city'.—(7) $\mu\epsilon\delta\acute{\alpha}$. Arc. $\mu\epsilon\delta\acute{\alpha} \tau\omicron\iota\varsigma \phi\omicron\iota\kappa\iota\acute{\alpha}\tau\alpha\iota$ [c].—(8) $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota$. Arc. $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota \iota\epsilon[\rho\omicron\mu\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\mu\omicron\sigma\iota \tau\omicron]\iota\varsigma$.

$\acute{\epsilon}\xi$ with dative occurs also in Pamph. $\acute{\epsilon}\xi \delta\acute{\epsilon} \phi\upsilon\sigma\epsilon\lambda\alpha\iota$; $\pi\rho\acute{\omicron}$ with dative in Boeot. $\pi\rho\omicron\tau\eta\nu\iota$ 'formerly,' i.e., $\pi\rho\acute{\omicron} \tau\alpha\iota\text{-}\nu\iota$ (sc. $\acute{\alpha}\mu\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha\iota$). Cf. Thess. $\acute{\upsilon}\pi\pi\rho\acute{\omicron} \tau\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ (sc. $\acute{\alpha}\mu\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha\varsigma$) 'just previously,' and Boeot. $\acute{\epsilon}\nu \tau\acute{\alpha}\nu$ (sc. $\acute{\alpha}\mu\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha\nu$) 'until,' no. 43.49).

a. This growth, at the expense of the genitive, of the dative (locative) construction, which in the case of most of the above-mentioned prepositions was also an inherited one (cf. $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota$, $\acute{\upsilon}\pi\acute{\omicron}$, etc., with dative), and its extension even to $\acute{\alpha}\pi\upsilon$ and $\acute{\epsilon}\xi$, was probably furthered by the influence of the most frequent locative construction, that with $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ ($\iota\nu$).

2. $\pi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}$ 'at, with,' with accusative instead of dative. Though

occasional even in Attic writers and elsewhere, this is especially common in the Northwest Greek dialects, including Thessalian and Boeotian, e.g., Thess. $\tau\omicron\iota \kappa\alpha\rho' \acute{\alpha}\mu\mu\acute{\epsilon} \mu\omicron\iota\tau\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$ (no. 32; corresponding to $\tau\omicron\upsilon \kappa\alpha\rho' \acute{\omicron}\mu\iota\nu \mu\omicron\iota\tau\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$ of Philip's letter in the $\kappa\iota\nu\eta$), Boeot. $\acute{\alpha} \sigma\omicron\upsilon\gamma\gamma\rho\alpha\phi\omicron\varsigma \kappa\alpha\rho' \phi\iota\phi\iota\acute{\alpha}\delta\alpha\nu$, Delph. $\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\mu\epsilon\iota\nu\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega \delta\acute{\epsilon} \text{N}\iota\chi\acute{\omega} \kappa\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha} \text{M}\nu\alpha\sigma\iota\acute{\xi}\epsilon\nu\omicron\nu$, El. $\mu\epsilon\mu\omicron\iota\tau\epsilon\upsilon\kappa\acute{\omega}\rho \kappa\alpha\rho' \acute{\alpha}\mu\acute{\epsilon}$.

a. Much later, and rarely seen in dialect inscriptions, is the more general confusion between the dative with verbs of rest and the accusative with verbs of motion, and the final supremacy of the accusative construction, as $\acute{\epsilon}\mu\epsilon\iota\nu\alpha\nu \acute{\epsilon}\iota\varsigma \tau\omicron\nu \omicron\iota\kappa\omicron\nu$.

3. $\pi\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ 'by, in the sight of,' with accusative instead of genitive, in Elean $\pi\acute{\omicron}$ (= $\pi\omicron\tau\iota$). $\acute{\omicron}\mu\acute{\omicron}\sigma\alpha\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma \pi\acute{\omicron} \tau\omicron\nu \theta\epsilon\acute{\omicron}\nu \tau\omicron\nu \text{O}\acute{\lambda}\acute{\upsilon}\mu\pi\iota\omicron\nu$,— $\delta\tau\iota \delta\omicron\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\iota \kappa\alpha\lambda\iota\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omicron\varsigma \acute{\epsilon}\chi\acute{\epsilon}\nu \pi\acute{\omicron} \tau\omicron\nu \theta\epsilon\acute{\omicron}\nu$,— $\phi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\epsilon\nu \acute{\alpha}\upsilon\tau\omicron\nu \pi\acute{\omicron} \tau\omicron\nu \Delta\iota\alpha$ 'he shall be judged guilty in the eyes of Zeus.' In a later Elean inscription (no. 65) the same idea is expressed by $\phi\epsilon\nu\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\tau\omega \pi\acute{\omicron}\tau \tau\acute{\omega} \Delta\iota\omicron\rho \tau\acute{\omega}\lambda\upsilon\mu\pi\iota\omega \acute{\alpha}\iota\mu\alpha\tau\omicron\rho$ where both the genitive construction and the use of $\phi\epsilon\nu\gamma\omega$ instead of the genuine Elean $\phi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\rho\omega$ are concessions to Attic usage. This Elean use is only a step removed from that of $\pi\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ 'in relation to' with accusative.

4. El. $\acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma = \acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\upsilon$, with accusative instead of genitive, as $\acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma \beta\omicron\lambda\acute{\alpha}\nu$.

5. $\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha}$ 'according to' with genitive instead of accusative, in Locrian. $\kappa\alpha\theta' \acute{\omicron}\nu = \kappa\alpha\theta' \acute{\alpha}$,— $\kappa\acute{\alpha} \tau\acute{\omicron}\nu\delta\epsilon = \kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha} \tau\acute{\alpha}\delta\epsilon$,— $\kappa\acute{\alpha} \tau\acute{\alpha} \sigma\upsilon\nu\beta\omicron\lambda\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$, $\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha} \xi\epsilon\nu\iota\alpha\varsigma$.

6. $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota$ with the dative of the deceased person, in epitaphs. This occurs in a few early epitaphs in Lesbian, Phocian, and Locrian, but is especially common in Boeotian, e.g., $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota \text{F}\eta\sigma\kappa\alpha\delta\acute{\alpha}\mu\omicron\varsigma \acute{\epsilon}\mu\iota$, $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota \text{O}\acute{\iota}\beta\alpha\epsilon$. In most dialects the name of the deceased appears in the nominative.

7. $\acute{\alpha}\mu\phi\iota$. In most dialects $\acute{\alpha}\mu\phi\iota$ is obsolete. In the phrase $\acute{\alpha}\mu\phi\iota \tau\iota\nu\alpha$, which survives also in Attic prose, it occurs in Argive and Rhodian; in Argive also once in purely local force. In Cretan it is used freely in the meaning 'about, concerning' (as in Homer), with dative or accusative, e.g., $\alpha\iota \delta\acute{\epsilon} \kappa' \acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\iota \delta\acute{\omicron}\lambda\delta\iota \mu\omicron\delta\lambda\iota\delta\omicron\nu\tau\iota$ 'if they contend about a slave.'— $\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\iota \tau\acute{\alpha}\nu \delta\alpha\iota\sigma\iota\nu$ 'about the division.'

8. $\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\iota$. The original local meaning 'in the face of, in front of, before' (cf. Lat. *ante*) is preserved in Cret. $\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\iota \mu\alpha\iota\tau\acute{\omicron}\rho\omicron\nu$ 'before witnesses', Locr. $\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\iota \tau\acute{\omicron} \acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\acute{\omicron}$ 'before the magistrate' (no. 59.19),

Att. ἀντὶ τοῦ Μινωταύρου, and a few other Att. examples. Hence the sense 'in return for' and the early and usual 'instead of.' This is sometimes weakened to denote mere equivalence ('in place of' = 'as, for'), e.g., Hom. ἀντὶ . . . ἱκετάο 'as a suppliant'. From 'in return for' arose a freer distributive use seen in Arc. τρεῖς ὁδελὸς ὁφλὲν ἀντὶ Φεκάστου 'shall pay a fine of three obols for each (wagon)'. Further, Delph. ἀντὶ Φέτεος (no. 52 A 45), Arc. ἀντὶ ἐνιαυτοῦ (IG V.ii.266), Boeot. ἀντὶ ἐνιαυτῷ (cf. BCH 60.183), all meaning 'by the year, yearly,' and even Coan ἀντὶ νυκτός 'by night' (no. 108.42). Cf. Hesych. ἀντέτους· τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἔτους. Λάκωνες, ἀντὶ μῆνα· κατὰ μῆνα, and ἀνθ' ἡμέρας· δι' ὅλης τῆς ἡμέρας.

9. ἔξ. An extension of the regular use of ἔξ (or ἀπό) with the genitive to denote material and source, is seen in certain expressions of amount or value, e.g., Att. στεφάνωι ἀπὸ χιλίων δραχμῶν 'with a crown worth 1000 drachmas'.—Ion. στεφανῶσαι Μαύσωλον μὲν ἐκ δαρεικῶν πεντήκοντα, Ἀρτεμισίην δὲ ἐκ τριήκοντα δαρεικῶν 'crown Maussolus with a crown worth fifty darics, Artemisia with one worth thirty'.—Att. κριθῶν . . . πρᾶθεισῶν ἐκ τριῶν δραχμῶν τὸν μέδιμνον ἕκαστον 'barley purchased at three drachmas a medimnus,' and even more freely Ther. πυρῶν ἐγ' μεδίμνου καὶ κριθῶν ἐγ' δύο μεδίμνων 'a medimnus of wheat and two of barley'.

10. ὑπέρ 'in behalf of' with accusative instead of genitive, in late Locrian, Delphian, Epidaurian, Arcadian, Rhodian, e.g., Delph. ὑπὲρ τὰν πόλιν. Cf. above, 2 with α.

11. ὑπό instead of usual ἐπί with genitive in expressions of dating occurs with genitive in Elean (no. 66.2), and with accusative in Laconian (no. 71.66).

12. Noteworthy combinations are Thess. ὑπὲρ 'just before', and Arc. ἐπὲς from ἐπί and ἐς = ἔξ (cf. ὑπὲκ, διέκ, παρέκ), meaning 'for and on occasion of, with reference to.'

VERBS

Augment and Reduplication

137. Most peculiarities are such as are due to divergence in the form of contraction where a consonant has been lost (εἶλον or

ἔχον, cf. 25), or in the treatment of consonant groups, as Att. εἶλον, Phoc. εἶλάφει, from *σέσλαφα (76.2), but Ion., Epid., Arc. λελάβηκα after λέλοιπα, etc., with original initial λ, Arg. FeFpēμένα, but Att.-Ion. εἶρηκα after forms like εἶλῃφα (55a), Cret., El. ἔγραμμαι = γέγραμμαι, like Ion. ἔκτημαι = Att. κέκτημαι, ἔγνωκα in all dialects. Note also Cret. ἔγραμμαι, with which compare ἔβελον, ἔβουλόμην.

Active Personal Endings

138. 1. Second singular. The original primary ending -σι (Skt. -si) is preserved in Hom., Syrac. ἐσσί, also in Epid. συντίθησι, and so perhaps regularly in West Greek dialects (inscriptional examples of the second singular are, naturally, very rare), the retention of intervocalic σ being due to the analogy of ἐσσί. But in the East Greek dialects, where 3 sg. τίθητι became τίθησι (61.1), τίθης, etc., with secondary ending, were employed.

Thematic primary -εις (with genuine ει) in nearly all dialects, but Cypr. ἔρπες, etc. (Hesych.), Dor. συρίσδες, etc. (Theocr.). Also -σθα, starting from οἶσθα, ἦσθα, with the original perfect ending -θα, is widely used in literary Lesbian and Doric, as in Homer (τίθησθα, βάλοισθα, etc.).

a. Occasional examples of -ης (also -ης) in literary Lesbian and Doric texts, beside the normal -εις, are almost certainly corruptions, due to the grammarians' false extension of η = secondary ει.

2. Third singular. The original primary ending -τι (Skt. -ti) is preserved in West Greek, Boeot. τίθητι, δίδωτι, etc., whence East Greek τίθησι, δίδωσι. See 61.1. Thematic primary -ει (with genuine ει), secondary -ε in all dialects.

a. Herodian quotes as Aeolic τίθη, δίδω, ζεύγω, that is, with secondary ending as in ἐτίθη, etc. There is some confirmation of such forms, e.g., δεικνῶ in Hesiod, δάμνα (correction of the impossible δάμνησι) in Alcæus.

3. First plural. West Greek -μες (cf. Skt. -mas, Lat. -mus from -mos), originally the primary ending,—East Greek -μεν, originally the secondary ending. See 223a.

4. Third plural, primary. West Greek -ντι (Skt. -nti), East Greek -(ν)σι. Thus, in thematic verbs, West Greek φέροντι, Pamph. ἐξάγῳδι (= ἐξάγωντι, see 66), Arc. φέρονσι, Lesb. (and Chian) φέροισι, Att.-Ion. φέρουσι. See 61.1, 77.3.

So also in μι-verbs, West Greek ἐντί, φαντί, τίθεντι, δίδοντι, whence Att.-Ion. εἰσί, φᾶσί, Ion. (with the accent of contract forms, see 160) τιθεῖσι, διδοῦσι. But Att. τιθέσσι, διδόσσι, etc., represent a later formation, with -αντι (-ᾶσι) added to the final vowel of the stem, as also in Boeot. perf. δεδόσθην. Cf. Boeot. ἔθεναν, etc., below, 5.

In the perfect the earliest type is that in -ᾶτι (-ῃτι, Skt. -ati in redupl. pres. *dadhati*), whence also -ᾶσι. Thus Phoc. ιερητεύκατι, Delph. καθεστάκατι, Aetol. γεγόνατι, Rhod. ἀνατεθήκατι, Hom. πεφύκασι, Arc. [F]φλέασι, ἐσλελοίπασι. But this is commonly replaced by -αντι, as Dor. κεχάναντι (Sophron), Phoc. ἀνατεθέκατι, Delph. ἐπιτετελέκατι, Arg. ἐπιμεμηνάκατι, Rhod. ἀπεστάλλακατι, etc., Att.-Ion. -ᾶσι. Late inscriptions of various dialects have also the secondary -αν, as Cret. ἔσταλκαν.

Boeotian and Thessalian have -νθι, as Boeot. οἰσονθι, ζωνθι, δῶνθι, ἀποδεδόανθι, etc., Thess. ὑπάρχονθι, κατοικεῖονθι (but also -ουντι at Phalanna). Similarly imv. -νθω in Boeot. ἐνθω, δαμιώνθω, etc., and θ in middle endings (139.2). Two different explanations have been suggested, (1) that the type started with a *ἐνθί derived from *ἐντί (163.2) by transposition of the aspiration, (2) that the θ started in the middle endings under the influence of -μεθα, -σθε.

5. Third plural, secondary. -ν (from -ντι) in ἔφερον, etc. So also in the μι-forms, as ἔθεν, ἔδον, which are retained in most dialects, as in Homer. Likewise pass. ἐλύθεν, ἐλέγεν (from -ηντ, with regular shortening), but also sometimes -ην (with η from the other persons), as Hom. μῖανθην, Cret., Epir. διελέγην, Corcyr. ἐστεφανώθην, Delph. ἀπελύθην.

But Attic-Ionic has ἔθεσαν, ἔδοσαν, ἐλύθησαν, etc., with -σαν taken over from the σ-aorist, as also ἔσαν, where most dialects have ἔν (163.3, 4). Similarly -ν is replaced by -αν (also, mainly after aorist forms like ἔλυσαν or ἔνικαν) in Boeot. ἀνέθεσαν, ἀνέθειαν, ἀνέθιαν (9.4), παρεῖαν, Locr. ἀνέθεαν, Arc. συνέθεαν, Cypr. κατέθηαν (9.6); and in Thessalian by -εν (an inherited ending seen in Hom. ἔην, or perhaps from -αν, cf. 7, 27), as ἐδόουκαεν (ἔδωκαν), ὄνεθεικαεν (beside ὄνεθεικαν), and, with diphthongal α from αε, ἐτάζαν (similarly ἐδῶκαν, probably due to Thessalian

influence, in a Delphian inscription), also once even in a thematic form, ἐνεφανίσσασεν = ἐνεφάνισον.

a. In the κοινή the ending -σαν spread even to thematic forms and to the optative, and such forms occur in late inscriptions of various dialects, e.g., Delph. ἐλέγσαν, ἔχοισαν, etc. Similar forms in LXX and NT.

6. Third dual, secondary. Att.-Ion. -την, elsewhere -τᾶν, e.g., Arc., Boeot., Epid. ἀνέθεταν, El. λεοίταν. Similarly 1 sg. mid. Att.-Ion. -μην, elsewhere -μᾶν.

Middle Personal Endings

139. 1. Third singular. Primary -ται, Boeot. -τη (26), Thess. -τει (27). Arcadian has -τοι (perhaps also Cyprian, but not quotable), due to the influence of the secondary -το (before its change to -τυ), e.g., γένητοι, δέατοι, βόλῃτοι. Cf. also 2 sg. κεῖται, and 3 pl. διαδικάσωντο.

Secondary -το, Arc.-Cypr. -τυ.

2. Third plural. Usually -νται, -ντο (Arc. -ντυ). But also -αται, -ατο, mostly in the perfect and pluperfect after a consonant (e.g., γεγράφαται), but also after a vowel in Boeotian (-αθη, see below); and so regularly in Ionic in the perfect (e.g., Hom. βεβλήαται, later εἰρέαται, contracted εἰρήαται), pluperfect, and optative, and even in unthematic presents and imperfects, e.g., τιθέαται and also δυνέαται, κινέαται, το δύνημι, κίρνημι (with suffix νᾶ, weak νᾶ), after the analogy of τιθέαται to τίθημι. Arg. γεγράφανται has -ανται for -αται like -αντι for -ατι (138.4).

Boeotian and Thessalian have θ in these, as in the active, endings. Boeot. ἀδικίωσθι (-νται), ἐστρωτεύσθι, μεμισθώσθι (-αται), ἐποιεῖσθην, ἀπεγράψανθην, etc. Thess. ἔλκωνθαι, ἐπαγγέλουσθαι (subj.), ἐγένονθην, εἶλονθην, also ἐφάγγρενθην = ἐφαίρουσθαι, βέλλουνθην = βούλωνται, with ει from αι (27) and an added ν (perhaps the active secondary ending; cf. the double pluralization in the imv. -ντων).

Imperative Active and Middle

140. In the third plural the dialects exhibit the following types.
1. The same form as the third singular. Rare, and only in the

middle. Corcyr. κρινέσθω, ἐκδανειζέσθω, Calymn. ἐπισαμινέσθω, Coan αἰρείσθω, Thas. θέσθω, Rhod. ἐπιμελέσθω.

2. *a.* -των, formed from the third singular by the addition of the secondary ending -ν. ἔστων, as in Homer, in Ionic only. A corresponding thematic φερέτων is unknown.

b. -σθων, similarly formed from the third singular. φερέσθων, τιθέσθων, etc., the usual form in most dialects.

3. *a.* -ντω, formed after the analogy of 3 pl. indic. -ντι. φερόντω, τιθέντω, etc., in Arcadian, Boeotian (-νθω, 139.2), Locrian, and the Doric dialects except Cretan, Thera, Cyrenaean.

Later Doric inscriptions often show the Att. -ντων beside -ντω. Conversely the later Delphian inscriptions often have the general Doric -ντω beside -ντων, which is the form of the earliest Delphian (likewise later Cret. -ντω vs. earlier -ντων.)

b. -νσθων, formed to act. -ντω and with the treatment of secondary νσ (77.2). Arg. ποιγραψάνσθω, χρόνσθω, Corcyr. ἐκλογιζούσθω, and so to be read with long vowel Epid. φερόσθω, Lac. ἀνελδόςθω, Heracl. ἐπελάσθω (159) (-ᾱ-όνσθω). Similarly -σθων in type 4*b*.

4. *a.* -ντων, with double pluralization, a combination of types 2 and 3. φερόντων, τιθέντων, as in Homer, in Attic-Ionic, Delphian, Cretan, Thera, Cyrenaean.

b. -(ν)σθων, formed to act. -ντων. Early Att. ἐπιμελόςθων, χρόσθων, etc., Locr. δαμευόςθων, El. τιμδόςθων.

c. The coexistence of act. -ντω, but mid. -σθων (where the pluralizing final ν was more essential) is found in several dialects (Arc., Locr., Aetol., Meg., Coan, Rhod.).

5. -ντον, -σθον. This is the regular type in Lesbian, e.g., φέροντον, κάλεντον, ἐπιμέλεσθον, and Pamphylian (e.g., ὄδω = ὄντον), and also appears, probably through Pamphylian influence, in an inscription of Phaselis which is otherwise in the Rhodian dialect, and in a Rhodian decree at Seleucia in Cilicia.

6. -τωσαν, -σθωσαν, with -ν replaced by -σαν (cf. 138.5). Att. ἔστωσαν, φερέτωσαν (more rarely φερόντωσαν), ἐπιμελέσθωσαν, etc., after about 300 B.C., hence in later inscriptions of various dialects.

Future and Aorist

141. "Doric future" in -σεω. Except for a few middle forms in Attic-Ionic (Hom. ἔσσειται, Att. πλευσσοῦμαι, etc.), this type is confined to the West Greek dialects (examples in most of the Doric dialects and in Delphian; in Locrian and Elean no futures occur). Thus, from the very numerous examples, Delph. ταγευσέω, κλεψέω, Cret. σπυσιώ (ι from ε, 9), πραξίωμεν, βοαθησίοντι, τεισῆται, πραξήται, Epid. βλαψείσθαι, Coan, Cnid. ποιησεῖται, Rhod. ἀποδωσειντι, Cyren. δισῆται, παισεῖται, ἐκτιμασέντι (42.5*e*). Ther. θησέοντι, πραξοῦντι (with Att. ου, as often in the Doric κοινή, see 278), Arg. ἐμφανιζόντας (cf. 42.5*d*).

a. The 3 sg. forms in -σει, though in themselves ambiguous, are rightly assumed to belong here and accented -σεῖ in dialects which show unambiguous forms of this type.

b. Heraclian shows the -σεω type unmistakably in ἐργαζήται, καρπευσήται, ἐσῆται, etc., and so presumably the 3 sg. act. κοψεῖ, etc., is to be so accented. But the 3 pl. forms are act. κοψοντι, hoisonτι, etc., mid. ἐργαζονται, ἐσσονται, etc. According to the current view, these belong to the -σω future and are accented κόψοντι, ἐσσονται, etc. But co-existence of the two types (barring the frequent intrusion of κοινή forms) with such a precise distribution is unknown elsewhere, and is difficult to credit. It now seems preferable to revert to the older view (Ahrens, Meister, IG XIV. 645) and assume that, despite the ιο for εο after liquids (ἀνανγε-λίσοντι, etc.), we have here the same change of εο to ο before ντ that was formerly known only in parts of Crete but is now so well attested by Arg. κοινανόντι, etc., including the fut. pple. ἐμφανιζόντας (42.5*d*).

142. ξ in the future and aorist of verbs in -ζω. The extension of ξ, which is regular in the case of guttural stems, to other verbs in -ζω, which regularly have σσ, σ (δικάσω, ἐδικάσα), is seen in some isolated examples even in Homer (πολεμίζομεν, as, conversely, ἥρπασε beside ἥρπαξε) and Hesiod (φημιξέωσι). But as a general phenomenon it is characteristic of the West Greek dialects, together with Thessalian and (in part) Boeotian, and Arcado-Cyprian. Thus, from the countless examples, Cret. δικάσσει, Rhod. διωρίζαντο, Coan ἐργάξασθαι, Ther. δειπνίξεν, Meg. ἐτερμόνιξαν, Corcyr. ἀπολογίξασθαι, Heracl. ἐτέρμαξαν (ξ in forms of 12 verbs, but also κατεσώσαμεν, probably influenced by ἔσωσα from σώω), El. ποταρμόξαιτο, (Locr. ψάφιξις, see below, *a*),

Delph. ἀγωνίξατο, Thess. ψαφίξασθαι, ἐργάξατο, Arg. παρετάξωνσι, ποινίξασθαι, Cypr. ἐξορύξῃ.

But in Argolic the ξ formation is avoided when a guttural preceded, e.g., Arg. ἐδικάσσαν, ἐργάσσαντο, Epid. ἐργάσασθαι, ἀνσχίσσαι, beside ἀγωνίξασθαι, προσεφάνιξε, ἐμφανιζόντας. Similarly Arg. ἐδικάσαμεν, δικάσασθαι, ἀναγκάσαι (but also ὠρισαν) beside παρετάξωνσι, etc.

Boeotian has, from different localities, both ξ and ττ (= Att. σ, 82), e.g., ἐκομιξάμεθα, ἐπεσκεύαξε, ἐμέριξε, ἱερειάξασα, and κομιττάμενοι, κατασκευάττη, ἐψαφίττατο, ἀπολογίτταστη, καταδουλίτταστη.

a. A similar extension of guttural stems is sometimes seen in other forms, e.g., Heracl. ποτικαλίγω = προσκλείω, Argol., Mess. κλάιξ (as in Theocr.), κλαικτός, Lac. κλέξ = κέλης, Dor. ὄρνιξ, gen. ὄρνιχος (lit. Dor., Coan, Cyren.) = ὄρνις, ὄρνιθος, Cret. ψάφιγμα (also ψάφιμμα) = ψήφισμα, Lesb. ψάφιγγι = ψηφίδι, and especially the frequent abstracts in -ξίς = -σις, as Aetol. ψάφιξις, Locr. ψάφιξις (89.1), Corcyr. χερίξις, Cret. ἀπολάγαξις, χρημάτιξις.

143. σσ in the future and aorist of verb stems ending in a short vowel. The Homeric extension of σσ from ἐτέλεσ-σα to ἐκάλε-σσα is an Aeolic characteristic. Lesb. [καλέ]σσάτωσαν, ὁμόσσαντες, Boeot. συνκαλέσσαντες. Other dialects may have σσ from stems ending in σ or a dental, as ἐτέλεσσα or ἐδικάσσα (Boeot. ττ), ἐδασσάμην (Cret. ττ), later with one σ (82, 83), but always ἐκάλεσα, ὥμοσα.

144. Aorist in -α. εἶπα and ἤνεγκα, ἤνεικα, or ἤνικα in various dialects. Arc. pple. ἀπυδόας = ἀποδούς, Lesb. ἔχευα, elsewhere ἔχεα (e.g., Ion. συγγέαι, no. 2). In late times this type is extended to many other verbs, e.g., ἦλθα, γενάμενος.

a. ἤνεικα or ἤνικα, not ἤνεγκα, is the form of most dialects except Attic, e.g., Ion. ἤνεικα (Hom., Hdt.), ἐνεικάντων (Chios), also ἐξενιχθῆι (Ceos); Lesb., Delph., Argol., Calymn. ἤνικα, Boeot. ἐνευχθῆι (probably original, not = εἰ) and 3 pl. ἐνιξαν, the latter a blend with the σ-aorist.

b. Aorist in -ᾱ (beside the familiar ἔδρᾱν, etc.). Epid. ἐξεργῶ, Lac. ἀπασσοῦ, 3 sg. subj. Calymn. ἐγρουῖ, Cyren. μιῖ, ἰοῖ.

c. Aorist of ἔω. Corcyr. ἵσατο, Arg. ἴσατο, Cyren. ἴσαντα, ἴσάμενος vs. Hom. καθίστα, ἐφέστα, Arg. ἥσαντο, ἐσάμενος, from ἔω.

d. σ-aorist forms with thematic vowel instead of the usual α by extension. Like Hom. ἐβήσετο, etc., are Pamph. ἐβόλασσετο and 3 pl. imv. κατε-φερξόδω.

145. Future passive with active endings. Rhod. ἐπιμεληθη-σέοντι, ἀποσταλησεῖ, σταθησεῖ, Ther. συναχθησοῦντι, Cret., Carpath. ἀναγραφησ[εῖ], Astyp. ἐπιμεληθησεῖ, and φανησεῖν, δευχθη-σοῦντι in Archimedes. Although the inscriptional examples are, as yet, confined to the Doric islands, it is not improbable that this was a general Doric or West Greek characteristic. Forms with middle endings, like Ther. ἀνατεθησεῦνται, are from the κοινή with local coloring.

Perfect

146. *i.* κ-perfect. This is usual for vowel stems in all dialects. But there are some few forms without κ, outside the indicative singular, like Hom. βεβάσαι beside βέβηκας, κεκμηώς beside κέκμη-κας, etc., e.g., Boeot. ἀποδεδοάνθι, καταβεβάνων, δεδῶσῃ = δεδω-κυῖαι, Feφυκονομειόντων = ὥκονομηκότων, πεπιτευνόντεσσι, πεποι-όντεσσι, καταβεβλειώσας, ἀπειλθειόντες, Arc. [Fφ]φλέασι (but pple. Fφφλέκασι).

The gradual extension of the κ-type to other than original vowel stems is by no means confined to Attic (cf., e.g., Arc. ἐφθορκώς; Att. ἐφθορκα but also ἐφθορα), and some verbs which usually have the strong perfect show dialect forms with a vowel stem and κ. So ἀνδάνω, λαμβάνω, with usual ἔαδα, εἴληφα (εἴλαφα), but Locr. FεFαδῆκῶτα, Ion. ᾤδηκε (Hippon.), Arc., Ion., Epid. λελάβηκα, from the vowel stem which is present in many verbs in -άνω (cf. τετύχηκα, μεμάθηκα, etc.). Usual ἐλήλυθα, but ἦλθηκα in Boeot. διεσεσείλθεικε (pple. ἀπειλθειόντες without κ, see above), Arc. κατηνθηκότι. Similarly from a secondary ᾱ-stem, Lesb. ὠπαδεδρόμακε (Sappho), Arg. ἐπιμεμνηνάκωντι (η from aor.; cf. μεμνηνός Archim., Att. μεμνήκα). For secondary forms in -ωκα, see 162.3.

2. Aspirated perfect. This is mainly an Attic-Ionic development. But there are some examples of aspirated forms of the κ-perfect, which even in Attic are only late (εἴρηκα, etc., in papyri), Syrac. ἐκατερέρχηκες (Sophron), Arg. δέδωχε, Arc. ἐρίτευχε.

3. Dialectal variations in the grade of the root (49) are not infrequent, as Cret. ἀμπεληλεύθεν, Cyren. κατεληλευθία (vs.

Hom. εὐλήλουθα, εὐλήλουθώς), Heracl. ἐρρηγεῖα = Att. ἐρρωγυῖα, Dor. ἔωκα = Att. εἰκα from ἔημι (cf. ἐρρωγα from ῥήγνυμι), also in the middle, Heracl. ἀνθεώσθαι, Arc. ἀφεώσθω (so ἀνέωνται Hdt., ἀφέωνται NT).

4. For the reduplication, see 137; for the 3 pl. ending, see 138.4.

5. Heracl. γεγράφεται (no. 79.121) and subj. μεμισθωσῶνται (no. 79.106) have generally been taken as perfect forms, with difficult explanation. But they are rather future perfect forms, suitable to the context and much easier to explain. γεγράφεται has simply taken over the ending of the perfect γεγράφεται. μεμισθωσῶνται is precisely the form to be expected as subj. of 3 pl. indic. fut. perf. μεμισθωσόνται (on the accent, which would be the same as in the future, see 141b). To be sure, our grammars give an optative but no subjunctive for the future perfect, but both were given in the old τύπτω paradigm (cf. Uhlig, Dionysius Thrax, p. 125 ff., where the 3 pl. mid. fut. perf. subj. τετύφωνται is (apart our assumption of -σέω type and consequent accentuation) just what we assume for μεμισθωσῶνται).

147. Thematic forms in the perfect. Aside from the subjunctive, optative, and imperative, which regularly have thematic inflection, we find:

1. Indicative. Forms inflected like presents are often employed by the Sicilian Doric writers, e.g., Theocr. δεδοίκα, πεπόνθει, πεφύκει, Epich. γεγάθει, Archim. τετιμάκει, and occur in some inscriptions of Rhodes, Cnidus, and Carpathus, e.g., τετιμάκει, γεγόνει, ἐστάκει, and occasionally elsewhere, as Phoc. εἰλάφει.

2. Infinitive. Forms in -ειν (-εν, -ην) instead of -εσαι (-εμεν, etc.) are found in Lesbian and in some West Greek dialects, e.g., Lesb. τεθνάκην, τεθεωρήκην, Delph. ἀποτετείκην, Cret. ἀμπεληλεύθεν, Calymn., Nisyr. δεδώκεν, Rhod. γεγόνειν, Epid. λελαβήκειν. So Pindar κεχλάδειν, Theocr. δεδύκειν.

Cf. also Heracl. πεφυτευκῆμεν, etc., from -ε-εμεν instead of simply -εμεν.

3. Participle. The thematic inflection is regular in the Aeolic dialects, e.g., Lesb. κατεγλήθοντος, κατεστακόντων, Thess. πεφειράκοντες, ἐπεστάκοντα, Boeot. φεφυκονομειόντων, δεδώσση (146.1). Cf. Hom. κεκλήγοντες.

a. There are some feminine forms in -ουσα in later Delphian (e.g., δεδωκούσα), and elsewhere, but these represent a more restricted phenomenon, quite independent of the preceding. Cf. also Ion. ἐστῶσα, Att. ἐστῶσα.

148. The participle in its regular (unthematic) form usually has the feminine in -υῖα. But forms in -εῖα are found in late Attic and elsewhere, e.g., Heracl. ἐρρηγεῖα, Ther. ἐστακεῖα.

Subjunctive

149. The subjunctive of thematic forms. The mood sign is η/ω, to which the personal endings were added directly. So originally the second and third singular in -ης, -η, but replaced in the majority of dialects by -ης, -ηι on the analogy of the indicative -εις, -ει. Thus 3 sg. -ηι from the earliest times in Attic-Ionic, Phocian (φάρει, ἄρηι, etc.), Locrian (ἀποθάνει, etc.), Cretan (πάθει, φέρηι, etc.) and so generally in the Doric dialects (or later -ει).

But the earlier type with 3 sg. -η prevails in Arcadian (Cyprian examples lacking) and is also attested elsewhere. Thus Arc. λέγει, νέμει, ἔχη, etc. (so uniformly), Thess. θέλει, Boeot. πίει (and so later Thess., Boeot. -ει probably = η, 16, though could also = ηι), El. ἐκπέμπει (α = η, 15), Lac. ζῶει (no. 70, due to the Arcadian engraver? cf. ἀποθάνει in the same inscription and usual Lac. -ηι). Other scattered examples of -η, beside usual -ηι or -ει, may be merely graphic variants of the latter and are dubious representatives of the early type. Thus Lesb. ἐμμένη (no. 26, but -ηι in the earlier no. 25), Heracl. ἀμμισθωθῆ (once beside -ηι or usual -ει), Mess. ἐξάγη (beside χρήζηι in the same inscription), Corcyr. λίπη, Epid. πέτη, Coan λάθη, and many others.

Arc. 1 sg. ἀψευδῆων (no. 21) is unique and variously explained. Probably -ω with addition of secondary ending, like Hom. subj. ἐθέλωμι, etc., with addition of the primary ending.

150. The subjunctive of the σ-aorist. As in the case of other unthematic formations (cf. Hom. ἵμεν to indic. ἵμεν), this was originally a short-vowel subjunctive in ε/ο, and only later came to follow the more common long-vowel type in η/ω. Besides Hom. βήσομεν (cf. βάζομεν Pindar), etc., the old short-vowel forms are widely attested for the σ-aorist and occur also in the α-aorist.

East Ion. ποιήσει, κατάρξει, ἐκκόψει (no. 3, Teos), ἀποκρύψει, ἐξομόσει, ἐπάρει, κατείπει, κατακτείνῃσιν (that is, -ουσιν, not -ωσιν), Chian πρήξοισιν (no. 4; with Lesb. οἰσ from ονσ, 77.3). Lesb. ἀποτείσει, καλύσει, ἀποπεράσσει, χαλάσσομεν, and (with extension to the thematic aorist) τέκοισι. Cret. δείξει, ἀδικήσει, etc. (hence the forms of the Law-Code are to be transcribed -ει, not -εἰ), ἐκσαννῆσεται, ὁμόσοντι, etc., Coan ὑποκόψει, Astyp. δόξει. Cyren. ἄρξεσται, καταγγήλει, ἐνίξει.

a. Heracl. ἀρτύσει, πράξει, etc., do not belong here, but have -ει from -ηι as in the thematic forms ἀποθάνει, λάβει (with pres. subj. φέρει, νέμει, etc.). The long-vowel type is shown clearly in 3 pl. ἀρτύσωντι, etc.

b. The early Locr. forms ἀποτείσει, διαφθείσει, φυτεύσει, though ambiguous, may well belong here, being much earlier than the Delph. forms, which show only the long-vowel type, ἀποτείσει, καλύσωντι, etc.

c. A still earlier type, with the ending added directly to the short vowel without the secondary ι of the usual forms (and so agreeing with the type Skt. -sas, -sat) is seen in Cyren. 2 sg. ποιήσας and [ἐ]ρεῖσας (nos. 115.9, 119). In view of this positive evidence we should probably transcribe Aegin. στασῆς (IG IV.177) as σταῖσας (for Argol. -ης would be anomalous). But Cypr. φείσας (Schwyzer 685), is more probable than φείσας (cf. meter, and Arc. -στάση, etc.). There is no similar evidence of a corresponding 3 sg. -σε (parallel to Skt. -sat). It is only a possibility that the Cypr. forms which are usually transcribed λύσας, ἐξορύξας, and the early Arc. forms with E, should be read with ε, in spite of the later Arc. -στάσης, -βλάψης, etc.

151. The subjunctive of unthematic vowel stems. There are two distinct types.

1. The endings are added directly to the long vowel of the stem. This type is found mostly in those forms of which the corresponding indicative has the short vowel. So especially in the middle, e.g., Cret. δύνᾳμαι, νύνᾳται, νύνᾳνται, Lesb., Cyren. δύνᾳται beside indic. δύνᾳμαι, Arc. ἐπισυνίσταται beside indic. ἰσῳᾳται, δᾳᾳτοι (cf. Hon. δᾳᾳτο). But also, when the indicative also has a long vowel, Cret. πέπᾳται, ἐστετέκνῳται, Ther. πέπᾳται. Further, in the active, Mess. τίθηντι beside indic. τίθεντι (hence also, beside ἐντί, Mess. ῥήνται = ῥῶσι, Delph. ῥήνται = ῥῆ), γράφηντι beside indic. ἔγραφεν, Cret. ἰσᾳντι, Cyren. ἰσᾳι, also (beside indic. α) Cyren. μιᾳι, Calymn. ἐγρυᾳι (cf. 144b).

After the relation of ἰσῳᾳται to ἰσῳᾳται there arose also an aor.

subj. σᾳ beside indic. σᾳ, e.g., Cret. παρθύσᾳται, Arc. βωλεύσᾳνται, likewise in Elean, with loss of σ (59.3), φυγαδεύᾳντι (no. 65), ποιῳᾳται (no. 66).

2. The usual type is that in which the long vowel of the stem was followed by the short vowel subjunctive sign ε/ο, this being generally replaced by the more usual η/ω (cf. 150). Further change is due to the shortening, in the majority of dialects, of the long stem vowel before the following vowel (43). Hom. θήομεν (θείομεν), θήης, δώομεν, δώη, Boeot. καθιστάει, ἀποδώει, Delph. δώη, ἀντιπράττει, Heracl. φᾳντι (from *φᾳντι), Thess. δυνᾳται, but with shortening Ion. θέωμεν, Att. θῶμεν, Cret. ἐνθῶμεν (ι from ε), etc. Similarly in the aorist passive, Hom. δαμήης, μύγῃης, Boeot. κούρωθει, ἐπιμελειθεί, κατασκευασθεί, ἐνερχθεί, Arc. κακρήθει, but with shortening Ion. λυθέωμεν, Att. λυθῶμεν, Cret. πειθῶντι (cf. ἐνθῶμεν), Heracl. ἐγφῆληθῶντι, Rhod. ἐργασθῶντι, etc.

3. Subjunctive of εἶμι. Att.-Ion. ἴω, etc., with weak grade of the root. But Cret. εἶει, ἐνσ-εἶει, Cyren. ἐπείη, Syrac. εἴω (Sophron).

Optative

152. 1. Arc. 1 sg. ἐξελαύνωια represents a form long since assumed by comparative grammar (*-oi-η, whence -οια with ι retained under the influence of -οις, etc.), but generally replaced by -οιμι.

2. In the third plural *-οιαν (cf. 1) was replaced by -οιεν (after εἶεν, etc.), for which sometimes late -οιν, e.g., Delphian θέλοιν.

3. Unthematic type in contract verbs. See 157b.

4. σ-aorist. Most dialects show the secondary type with αι (α spread from the indicative). But the old unthematic mood sign seen in present εἶην, etc., appears in Cret. 3 sg. κοσμησῖε, δικασσῖε, 3 pl. φέρκσιεν. The type -εας, -ειε (perhaps starting in a 1 sg. -εια parallel to Arc. ἐξελαύνωια), more common than the αι-forms in Homer and early Attic writers, is also attested in Tean ἀ[ποκ]τενεῖ[ε] (no. 3.10, probable reading), Lesb. [δ]ιαδέξειε (IG XII.ii.527-57), El. κατιαράσειε, ἀδεαλῶσαιε. Arc. διακωλύσει (no. 19.6/7) and ὑνιερόσει (no. 16) would be variants of this type.

Infinitive

153. The infinitive of thematic forms.

1. -ειν or -ην, according as the dialect has ει or η from ε + ε (25). So Att.-Ion., Thess. (Thessaliois), Locr., Corinth., Meg., Rhod. -ειν, but Lesb., El., Lac. -ην.

2. -εν. So in Arcadian (but -ην at Lycosura, Orchomenos) Cyprian (or -εν?), Delphian, and many of the Doric dialects (Heracl., Argol., Cret., Ther., Cyren., Coan, etc.), also once in a late East Locr. inscription (IG IX.i.267).

3. Some of these dialects have -εν even from verbs in -εω, e.g., Ther. διοικέν, Cyren. πλέν, εὐτυχέν (cf. also mid. δωρέσθαι, ὠνέσθαι), Coan δειπνέν, Calymn. μαρτυρέν, Arg. πωλέν, Delph. ψαφοφορέν, ἐνοικέν (but usually -εῖν).

154. The infinitive of unthematic forms.

1. -ναι. So in Attic-Ionic and Arcado-Cyprian, e.g., Att.-Ion. εἶναι, δοῦναι, Cyp. δολέγειν (-φεναι, like -μεναι; or δολέ-εναί going with δολέων, 162.5?), κυμερέναι, Arc. ἦναι.

2. -μεναι. So in Lesbian, as in Homer, e.g., ἔμμεναι, θέμεναι, δόμεναι. But see 155.2, 3.

3. -μεν. εἶμεν, etc., in Thessalian, Boeotian, and most of the West Greek dialects.

4. -μην. Cret. ἦμην, etc.

5. -μειν. εἶμειν, etc. in Rhodes and vicinity (Carpthus, Telos) and the Rhodian colonies (Phaselis in Pamphylia; Gela and Agrigentum in Sicily; also at Tauromenium, Rhegium, Croton, and in Epicharmus).

a. Cret. -μην, Rhod. -μειν are probably formed from -μεν with the vowel influenced by the thematic type, Cret. *-ην (before it was replaced by -εν), Rhod. -ειν.

155. Interchange of thematic and unthematic types of infinitive.

1. -μεν is extended to thematic forms in Boeotian and Thessalian (Pelagiotis), as sometimes in Homer (cf. εἰπέμεν, and εἰπέμεναι), e.g., Boeot. φερέμεν, Thess. ὑπαρχέμεν. Cf. also Cret. προφειπέμεν in an early inscription of Lyttus.

2. The aorist passive infinitive, which is regularly unthematic (Att. γραφῆναι, Dor. γραφῆμεν), follows the thematic type in

Lesbian, e.g., ἐπιμελήθην, ὀντέθην, etc. This belongs with the following.

3. In Lesbian the present infinitive of unthematic vowel stems, as well as of the contract verbs, which otherwise follow the unthematic type (157), ends in -ν, not -μεναι, e.g., δίδων, κέρναι, δμύν, κάλην, στεφάνων, κατείρων (καθιερούων). Once also aor. infin. πρόσταν (but usually -μεναι, as θέμεναι, δόμεναι).

4. For thematic forms of the perfect infinitive in various dialects see 147.2.

5. For Euboean τιθεῖν, etc., and even εἶν beside εἶναι, see 160.

156. The infinitives in -σαι and -σθαι. Thessalian (Larissa) has ὀνγράψαι, δεδόσθαι, ἔσσεσθαι, πεπεῖσθαι, ἐλέσθαι, etc., with -ει from -αι (27), and ν added after the analogy of other infinitives. Boeot. -σθῃ, -σθῃ with η from αι (26), and στ = σθ (85.1).

Unthematic Inflection of Contract Verbs

157. The μ-inflection of contract verbs, sometimes known as the Aeolic inflection, is characteristic of Lesbian, Thessalian, and Arcado-Cyprian, e.g., Lesb. κάλημι, φίλημι, κάλετον, κατάρρετον, εὐεργετέεσσι, [δ]μονόετες, προσμέτρεις, στοίχεις (78), Thess. ἐφάνγρενθαι = ἐφαιρούνται, εὐεργετές (78), ττραταγέ-τος, Arc. ποίεσι, ποέντω, ἀδικέντα, κύνεσαν, ἱεροθυτές (78), ζαμιόντω, καταφρονῆναι, Cyp. κυμερέναι. μi-forms are also quoted as Boeotian by the grammarians, but the inscriptions show only the usual type (στραταγίοντος, etc.).

a. The stem ends in a long vowel, which is regularly shortened before ντ (though also, with analogical η, Lesb. κατοικῆνται in contrast to usual εὐεργετέεσσι, etc., and προνόνηται, διασάφνηται, δύννητες, like Att. διζήνται, in contrast to Thess. ἐφάνγρενθαι), but is otherwise retained throughout, e.g., Lesb. αἰτῆται, κάλησθαι, ἐπιμελήσθαι, ζαμιώσθαι, ποιήμενος, προ-αγγρημέων, Thess. ἀπελευθερούσθαι, διασφαίμενος, Arc. ἀδικήμενος, ζα-μιώσθαι. This type, then, follows the analogy of that seen in ἐβλην, βλήτο, βλήμενος, διζήμεναι, etc., rather than that of τίθημι, τίθεμεν, τίθεμενος, with vowel-gradation. But even the latter sometimes shows an extension of the long vowel from the singular active, e.g., Lesb. [προστί]θησ[θον], διδωσθαι, like Hom. τιθήμεναι, τιθήμενος.

b. But also thematic forms. Thess. ἐρουτάι, ἡλυδρέοντος (no. 35), Lesb. ποτέονται, ὀγκάλεοντες, 2 sg. ὀπταις, χαύνοις, 3 sg. ἄγρει, τίμαι, βόαι (also γέλαι, νίκαι gram.).

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c. The more limited extension of the μ-inflection to the optative of contract verbs, as in Att. φιλοῖην, μισθοῖην, etc., is occasionally found elsewhere. Ion. ἀνωθεοῖη beside ποιοῖ, El. συλαίει, δημοσιόια (= -οῖη) beside δοκέοι, ποιεοῖ, ἐνδοῖ, Arg. οὐκείη. Cf. also the infinitives El. δημοσιώ-μεν, Cret. δαμιόμεν.

Middle Participle in -ειμενος

158. The middle participle in -ειμενος (or -ημενος) from verbs in -εω, as if from -ε-ειμενος instead of -ε-ομενος, is characteristic of the Northwest Greek dialects and Boeotian, e.g., Locr. ἐνκα-λείμενος, Delph. καλείμενος, ποιείμενος, χρεείμενος, etc., Boeot. δειόμενος (and so under Boeotian influence ἀφικνεμένων at Oropus), El. καδάλειμενος. But also Cret. χρήμενος, Cyren. χρεείμενος (no 115.8; or here the Delph. form?). This is due to the analogy of forms which regularly had ει (or η) from ε-ε, as the infinitive καλεῖσθαι. Cf. Phoc. ποιεῖνται = ποιοῦνται, formed after ποιεῖσθε, Delph. συντελείντω.

a. Lesb. καλήμενος, Arc. ἀδικήμενος, Thess. διασφαίμενος probably do not belong here, but among the other μi-forms of these dialects. See 157a.

Type -ήω, -ώω, also -ᾶω

159. Forms in -ήω, -ώω, with the long-vowel stem of the other tenses extended to the present, are found in various dialects. Lesb. ἀδικήει, ποθήω, Arc. ἀψευδήων, Thess. κατοικεῖονθι (3 pl. subj.), Delph. στεφανώετω, δουλώη, ποιήουσα, Phoc. κλαρώειν, Boeot. δαμιώμεν, δαμιώντες, στεφανώμεν (only in late inscriptions, and perhaps due to Aetolian influence).

A parallel type in -ᾶω is to be recognized in certain forms with ᾶ from ᾰ or ᾱ (vs. Dor. ω or η from the -αω type). Syrac. ὀπτάντες (Epich.), ἐπεγγυάμενοι (Sophron), γελᾶντι, παρελᾶντα (Theocr.), and so to be read with ᾶ Epid. διεγᾶλᾶ, καταγᾶλᾶμενος, and (ἐλᾶω vs. Hom. ἐλάω = ἐλαύνω) Coan ἐλᾶντι, ἐλᾶντω, Arg. ποτελᾶτῳ, Locr. ἀπελᾶδνται, Heracl. ἐπελᾶσθω. Here also τιμᾶντι (dat. sg. pple.) in an inscription of Dodona, and probably Thess. ἐρουτάι, Lesb. τίμαι, βόαι.

a. Further probable, though less certain, examples of the -αω type are Coan καρπῶντι, ἱερῶσθω, Calymn. ἐξορκῶντω, ἀξίῳ, Astyp. στεφανῶ, στεφανῶν (στεφανῶν also at Gela and Thera), since in these dialects the contraction of ο + ο or ε usually appears as ου (cf., e.g., Coan ἀξιοῦντι,

ζαμιόοντω). Heracl. πρῶι (subj.) may belong here, but there is nothing against its derivation from -οει or -οη (cf. ω from ο + ε in λωτήριον, 44.4). The forms attributed above to γελᾶω, ἐλᾶω are taken by some as formed directly from unthematic stems γελα-, ἐλα-, in that case to be read with short α.

Transfer of μi-Verbs to the Type of Contract Verbs

160. The transfer of certain forms of μi-verbs to the inflection of contract verbs is found in various dialects, as Att. ἐτίθει, ἐδίδου, Delph. ἀποκαθιστάοντες, διδέουσα, but is most widespread in Ionic. With τιθεῖ, etc. in Homer and Herodotus, compare διδοῖ (Miletus) and the Euboean infinitives τιθεῖν, διδοῦν, καθιστᾶν, and even εἶν beside εἶναι. εἶν is also Chian. Cyren. καττιθέν, διδῶν, beside θέμεν, δόμεν.

Some Other Interchanges in the Present System

161. 1. Verbs in -εω form their present in -εω in Elean, as φυγαδεῖν = φυγαδεύειν, beside aor. φυγαδεύαντι, also (with α after ρ, 12a) καταραῖων = καθιερεύων, beside aor. καταράσσει, and λατραι[όμενοι], λατρεῖόμενοι = λατρεύόμενοι. So also μαστεῖει = μαστεύει, in an inscription of Dodona. This represents the normal phonetic development from -εφῖω, the usual -εω being due to the influence of the other tenses.

2. Verbs in -αω show forms in -εω in various dialects, but, with few exceptions, only where the ε is followed by an ο-vowel, e.g., aside from literary examples (as Hom. μενοίνεον, Alcman. ὀρέων, Theocr. ὀρεῦσα), Delph. συλῆοι, συλῆοντες (but συλῆν, συλῆτω), ἐπιτιμέοντες, θωεόντων (Att. θῶν, Locr. θῶεσθῳ), Aetol. νικεόντοις, Rhod. τιμοῦντες and also τιμεῖν (Agrig.), Boeot. τιμῶσα, El. ἐνέβειοι, Cret. (with ι from ε, 9.7) ἐβῖον, ἐπαριόμενοι, μοικῖον (μοιχῶν). Cyren. παρβεῶντας, ἐπαρεῶμενοι (cf. 42.5 b), σιγῆν. According to many, this rests upon an actual phonetic change of αο to εο, the αο (ω) in Attic and elsewhere being a restoration due to leveling with the αε forms. But we may have to do simply with a transfer to the -εω type, which was mainly favored where it offered uncontracted forms (in most dialects εο was uncontracted until late, but εε contracted; in all forms like Rhod. τιμοῦντες the ου is an Attic substitution for εο).

a. Conversely -αω = usual -εω. πονᾶω in Sappho, Pind., Theocr., πτοᾶω in Sappho, etc., φωνᾶω in Pind. Thess. δουρραντα from *δωράω =

δωρέω. Pamph. 3 sg. aor. ἐδωλόσεν, from δωλόμαι, denominative of δωλό, but pres. ppl. δωλέμενος, like Cret. χρήμενος (158).

3. Spread of -ω type, especially in non-present forms. Boeot. ἐπίθωσεν = ἐπεισε (Boeot. pres. not quotable; πίθω = πείθω, or πιθόω?), Heracl. 3 sg. subj. πρίωι, fut. πρίωσει (cf. πεπριωμένος Hippoc., πρίωμα Hesych.) vs. usual πρίω, El. τετίμδνται, τιμδστδν, Att. ἡτίμωσα, Ion. δοκιμῶσαι, Lesb. δοκίμωμι, δοκίμοι (= usual δοκιμάζω), Meg., Cret. ἐπεσκεύωσαν, Delph. κατεσκευάται, Ther. κατεσκευάωκε, etc. (such forms, as if from σκευόω = σκευάζω, are widespread), Cyren. ἐφορευωκότων, ἱαριτευωκότων, from usual -εω presents.

4. -ίζω = -ω, especially in West Greek. Boeot., Phoc. δουρίζω (Delph. δουλόω intrans. = Att. δουλεύω), Delph., Thess. ἀπελευθερίζω, Delph., Rhod., Mess., Cret. ὀρκίζω (but also Ionic and Attic sometimes), Dor. στεφανίζω (ἐστεφανίζα Ar.). Cf. also -ίζω = usual -εύω in late Mess. γραμματίζω, Boeot. γραμματίζδω beside Ach., Boeot., Delph., Epir. γραμματιστάς (also -τής Hdt.) = usual γραμματεύς.

5. -αω = -ω. Lesb. ἀξιάω (ἀξιάσει), Thess., Dor. κοινάω, Heracl. ἀράω (ἀράσσοντι) = ἀρώ. Cf. Cret. ἀρατρον = ἀροτρον.

162. Other more individual peculiarities in form or use (others in Glossary).

1. ἀγνέω = ἄγω in perfect forms. Aetol. ἀγνηκώς, ἀγνηκόςτας (66), Lac. ἀγνηκε (Hesych. emend.), διεξαγνηκέναι. Cf. also ἀγνεῖν ἄγειν. Κρήτες, Hesych.

2. Lesb., El. ἀγρέω, Thess. ἀνγρέω (58c) = αἰρέω. Cf. also Lesb. ἀγρεσις, Thess. ἀνγρεσις, Coan ἀγρεταί, Hom. ἀγρει, αὐτάγρετος, etc. Pamph. ἀναγλέσθδ (blend with a form like Cret. αἰλέω?).

3. ἀνδάνω = δοκέω 'be approved, voted.' Cret. ἔφαδε, Ion. ἔαδε, Locr. φαδεκόςτας. Cf. Ion. ἄδος 'decree,' and Hesych. ἄδμα, ἄδμημα, ἄδισμα defined by ψήφισμα, δόγμα, also φάδιξις (γάδι-ξίς), Tarent. ἄδιξις. ὁμολογία (cf. ψάφιξις, 142a).

4. Boeot., Thess. γίνυμαι = γίνομαι.

5. Cypr. δυδάνω (cf. Lat. *duim*) and δώκω (from ἔδωκα, cf. στήκω in NT) = δίδωμι.

6. ἔρω 'go, come' (as sometimes in Att. poetry) in many dialects, Arc., Cypr. (Hesych.), Epid., Cret., etc.

7. El. φάρω, φέρω, Locr. φέρω (Att.-Ion. ἔρω; cf. ἔρρε 'begone!') used as a legal term like Att. φεύγω. Cf. the similar use of Arg. τρέω (no. 85.5).

8. For Att. ζῶ, 3 sg. ζῇ (from *ζῆι) most dialects have ζώω (Boeot., Cret. δῶω), as in Homer.

9. Dor. ἰσᾶμι = οἶδα and formed from its 3 pl. ἰσάντι, Hom. ἰσᾶσι (this with σ from forms like ἴστε). Attested in Cret. Φισάμην, ἰσάντι (subj.), ἰθθάντες (82b), Cyren. ἰσᾶι (subj.), and in literary Doric (Pind., Epich., Theocr.).

10. Compounds of λαίνω, λαιαίνω, or λειόω 'make smooth' (from λείος 'smooth') used as financial terms. Boeot. ἀπο-, δια-, ἐσ-λῆνω, act. 'cancel,' mid. 'have cancelled,' Arc. ἀπολιώναι probably 'discharge, settle' (no. 22.20). Cf. ἀπολειόω 'erase'.

11. West Grk. λείω, λέω = θέλω. Cret. λείοι, λείοντι, etc., also λείοι, subj. λῆι, Cyren. λέων, subj. λῆι, El. 3 dual. opt. λειόταν. Contracted forms λῶ, λῶμες, subj. λῆι, λῶντι, etc., attested in most Doric dialects and in Doric writers (Epich., Theocr., etc.).

12. πάομαι in sense = κτάομαι, aor. ἐπάσάμην, perf. πέπαμαι. Verb forms or derivatives in many West Greek dialects, also Arcadian, Lesbian, Boeotian, and probably common to all non-Att.-Ion. dialects (in Attic poetical, rarely in prose). Cret. perf. subj. πέπαται, aor. subj. πάσεται, πάμα = κτήμα (also Arg., Boeot., Arc.), πάστας 'owner,' Heracl. πάμωχεῖ, Locr. ἐχεπάμδν, πάματοφαγεῖσται 'be confiscated' (cpd. with the root of ἐφαγον, originally 'share in,' whence 'partake of, eat'), El. πεπάστδ, Delph. πεπάσθαι, Arg. ἐνπιπάσκομαι 'acquire,' Lesb. (in Homer) πολυπάμων, Delph., Meg. ἐμπάσις, Arc. ἱμπάσις, Boeot. ἐππάσις. Root πᾶ- from ππᾶ- (this probably from an IE *kwa-* with ππ from *kwa* as in ἵππος), seen in Boeot. τὰ ππάματα, Τυνό-ππάστος, Θιό-ππάστος, ἐππάσις, from *ἐμ-ππάσις, ἀππάσάμενος (Corinna) from *ἀν-ππάσάμενος.

a. The ἐγκτησις which occurs in late inscriptions of Crete, Sparta, etc., is from the κοινή. Late Corcyr., Epir., Troez. ἐγκτασις, Thess. ἐντασις is probably to be read with ᾱ (not α as weak grade of η) and explained as a blend of ἐγκτησις with native ἐμπάσις.

13. χρεόμαι, forms of Chalcid. χρεῖσθω, El. χρῆσται, Boeot. χρεῖσθῃ, Arc. χρεῖσθαι, Att.-Ion., Heracl. χρῆσθαι, Cret. χρῆσθαι (85.3), Locr. χρῆσθδ, χρῆσται, Lac. χρῆσται, Arg. χρόνσδ (140.3b).

Ion. χρεώμενος, Att. χρώμενος, Dodon. χρεόμενος, Cret. χρήμενος, Delph., Cyren. χρεῖμενος (158).

14. χρεῖζω, χρήζω, χρήζω (37.2) often simply 'wish' = θέλω or βούλομαι, so even in Attic (10' ὅποι χρεῖζεις Ar., etc.) and in inscriptions of Delphi (no. 52 A 38), Argos (no. 86.24), Troezen, Rhodes, Cos, Cnidus, Nisyros, Thera, etc.

15. Το πεύθομαι, ὠνέομαι, ἐλεύσομαι Cretan has the active forms πεύθω 'inform,' ὠνέω (ὠνῆν, ὠνίον) 'sell,' ἐπελευσεῖ 'will bring' (cf. Hesych. ἐλευσίω·οἶσω), aor. ἐπελεῦσαι, etc.

The Verb εἰμί

163. 1. First singular present indicative. *ἐσμί, whence Lesb. ἐμμι, Thess. ἐμμί, elsewhere εἰμί or ἡμί. See 76.

2. Third plural present indicative. *ἐντί (cf. Skt. *santi*, Osc.-Umbr. *sent*), whence, with substitution of εἰ after the analogy of the other forms, West Greek ἐντί, Att.-Ion. εἰσί. See 61.1, 77.3.

3. Third singular imperfect. ἦς (from *ἦσ-τ, cf. Ved. Skt. *ās*) is attested for various West Greek dialects (Acarn., Corcyr., Delph., Epid., lit. Doric), Boeotian, Lesbian, Arcadian, and Cyprian, and is probably the form in all dialects (for Locr. ἔν, see no. 57.9, note) except Attic-Ionic, where it was replaced by ἦν (Hom. ἦεν), the old third plural (from *ἦσεν, cf. Skt. *āsan*).

4. Third plural imperfect. Most dialects had ἦν (see above, 3), examples of which are found in literary Doric, Delphian, and Locrian. For Boeot. παρείαν, Att.-Ion. ἦσαν, see 138.5.

5. Third singular imperative. ἔστω in most dialects. But late ἦτω, with ἦ of ἦν etc. after the analogy of, e.g., στήτω to ἔστην. El. ἦστω, also with analogical ἦ but with retention of σ.

6. Third plural imperative. Arg. ἐντδ, Boeot. ἐνθω (138.4), Cret. ἐντων, formed from 3 pl. indic. ἐντί. Also thematic ἐόντω, ἐόντων, e.g., in Delphian. Ion. ἔστων, Attic ὄντων, and late ἔστωσαν.

7. Present infinitive. The difference in the form of the ending (154) and also in the development of σ + nasal (76) explains the great variety of forms, Attic-Ionic εἶναι (also Eub. εἶν, 160), Arc. ἦναι, Lesb. ἐμμεναι, Thess. ἐμμεν, West Greek and Boeotian εἶμεν or ἦμεν (25), Rhod. ἦμεν, Cret. ἦμην.

8. Present participle. ἐών in most dialects, Att. ὄν. But also unthematic forms. Heracl. ἐντες, dat. pl. ἐντασσιν (blend with *ἄσαι = Skt. *satsu*), Arg., Lac. (Alcman) παρέντων, Thess. ἐνσα (*ἐντα, 77.3), all with ἐντ- for ἐντ- as in ἐντί (above, 2). Lesb., Epid., Troez. ἔσσα (also in some Doric writers; cf. ἐσσία = οὐσία Plato, Crat. 401 C), Arc., Mess. ἔασσα, Cret. ἱαττα, ἱαθθα, all from *ἄττα = Skt. *satī*, with the substitution or prefixing of ε after the analogy of the other forms.

a. Other similar unthematic feminine forms are ἔσσα (Hesych.), ἱασσα in Ἐπίασσα, Cyren. κατίασσα = ἰούσα, and Cyren. ἑκασσα (beside ἐκούσα) = ἐκούσα, and in Hesych. ἀέκασσα, γέκαθα, the last presumably for a Cret. *ἑκαθθα*.

9. Middle forms, as imperf. ἦμην etc., are late. Cf. 3 sg. subj. ἦται at Delphi, 3 pl. subj. ἦνται at Andania, ἦμην in the κοινή, ἦμεθα in NT.

a. The middle inflection spread until, in Modern Greek, all the present and imperfect forms are of this type, except 3 sg. pl. pres. εἶναι, which is from ἐνι = ἐνεσσι, with vowels after the other forms.

10. Confusion between third singular and third plural present (favored by expressions corresponding to Eng. *there are*, Fr. *il y a*). ἐντι as third singular in Rhodian (no. 103.10) and later Doric inscriptions and literature (frequent in Archimedes). ἐσσι as third plural in late Lesbian, as ἐτοιμοὶ ἐσσι, ἐψαφίσμενοι ἐσσι (cf. also διαδεδίκασται αἱ δίκαι).

164. I. -εἰος, -ήιος. The Att. adjectives in -εἰος, -ήιος and the nouns in -εἶον, -εἶον, and -εἶα are in many cases from earlier -ήιος (three syllables, also written -ήιος, but later sometimes -ήος; see 37.2), etc., these again in part from -ήφιος, etc. (cf. Boeot. *Καρυκεῖος*, Cypr. *Ιερφεῖον*). The earlier forms with η, besides the many in Homer, etc., are widely attested, e.g., *Ιερήιον*, *Ιαρήιον* in many dialects, Ion., Lesb., Cret. *πρυτανήιον*, Ion. *βασιλήιος*, *φοινικήια*, Delph. *παιδῆια*, *ἐντοφήια*, Cret. *οὐκῆιος*, *ἀνδρήιον*, *ἀρχήια*, *πρεϊγήια*, *νυμφήιον*, *ἀγνήια*, *πολιτήια*. Forms with ι lost, e.g., Ion. *Ιερήον*, Delph. *ἀνδρῆος*, Cyren. *ἐταιρήια*, Arg. *μαντήιον*, *μαντήια*, *στρατήια*, *πρεσγῆια*, *πρεσβῆια*.

2. Adjectives of the type *χαρίεις* are from -*φεντ*- (Skt. -*vant*-). The feminine was originally -*φαια* (like Skt. -*vati*, from the weak stem -*van-*; cf. *ἑσσαι* 163.8), whence, with the substitution of ε for α from the analogy of the forms in -*φεντ*-, arose -*φαια*, this yielding -(*φ*)*εσσα* or -(*φ*)*εττα* (81). Cf. Boeot. *χαρίφειταν*, Corcyr. *στονόφε(σ)σαν*, Pamph. *τιμάφε(σ)σα* (for *φ* cf. also *Φλειφόν-τᾶθεν*). The genuine Attic forms have ττ, as *μελιτοῦττα* (Ar.), *Μυρρινοῦττα* (inscr.), those with σσ being poetical and in origin Ionic. Most adjectives of this type are poetical only, except in substantive use, especially the numerous place-names in -*δεις*, for which see also 44.4.

3. -τις, -σις. See 61.3. For -ξίς see 142a. We find -σις instead of usual -σις in Arg. *ἀλιάσιος*, Epid. *στεγάσιος*, Troez. *ἐρμάσιος*, Boeot. *ἀγόρασιν*. Probably *-*ασ-τις*, normal from dental stems (cf. *πίστις*), became -*ασ-σις*, with -σις after the analogy of the common type. Similarly Troez. *ἱμασσία*.

4. -σμος, -σμα. In most words σ has replaced, by analogy, an earlier dental, which is sometimes preserved, as in Hom. *ὄσμῃ* = Att. *ὄσμή*. So for Att. *θεσμός*, *θέσμιος* we find West Greek *τεθμός*,

Locr. also *τεθμός*, Lac., Epid., Thess. *θεθμός*, El. *θεθμός*, Boeot. *τέθμιον*, Locr. *θέθμιον* (65). Locr., Sicil., Naxian *δαιθμός* (from *δαίω*) = usual *δασμός* (from *δατέομαι*). Other variations of -μα forms, partly unexplained, are Lesb. *δῖππα* (Sappho) = *δῖμμα*, γρόππα (Balbilla) = γράμμα. Also θμ in *ἔθμα* (Aeolic in Hesych.; also in Call. and Nic.) = *δῖμμα*, *στέθμα* (Hesych.) = *στέμμα*, Arg. γράθμα but also γράσμα (after ψάφισμα) = γράμμα. For Cret. ψάφιγμα, ψάφιμμα = ψάφισμα see 86.9, 142a.

Also from v-stems usually -σμα, as *ὑφασμα*, *μίαςμα*, *πίασμα*. But Att. also (inscriptions) *ὑφαμμα*, Cyren. *ποτιπίαμμα*. Analogical -σμος in Arc. *ἀπυδοσμός* = *ἀπόδοσις*.

5. -τηρ = -της(-τᾶς). As a productive suffix of nouns of agency the older -τηρ has been very largely displaced by -της(-τᾶς), but most fully in Attic prose. As forms with -τηρ = usual -της(-τᾶς) are not infrequent in poetry, e.g., Hom. *ἐθελοντήρ*, Hes. *αὐλητήρ*, so they occur also frequently in the dialects, e.g., Locr., Delph., Pamph. *δικαστήρ*, Argol. *κριτήρ*, *τελεστήρ*, *ἐγδοτήρ*, Lac. *ἐγδοτήρ*, Arc. *ἐσδοτήρ*, Locr., Delph., Aetol. *βεβαιωτήρ*, Corcyr. *διορθωτήρ*, Cyren. *οἰκιστήρ*, *τιματήρ*. Cf. also Cypr. *ἰατήρ* like Hom. *ἰητήρ* = usual *ἰατρός*. But Cretan has -τᾶς from the earliest period, as *δικαστᾶς*, *πάστᾶς*, *τίτᾶς*, etc., the few examples of -τηρ (*κοσμητήρ*, *νικατήρ*) being late.

6. -ιος = -εος. In adjectives of material Lesbian and Thessalian have -ιος (phonetic change supported by parallel suffix; cf. 9.2), as Lesb. *χρύσιος*, *χάλκιος*, *ἀργύριος*, Thess. *λίθιος* (cf. Hom. *λίθεος*, in most dialects *λίθινος*; conversely Boeot. *λίνινος* = *λίνεος*).

7. -ήν = -ων. Personal names in -ήν (short names, hypocoristic in origin) instead of usual -ων, e.g., *Ἀρχήν*, *Τιμήν* vs. usual *Ἀρχων*, *Τίμων*, occur occasionally in Delphi, Megara, Epidaurus, Corinth, etc., but are conspicuously frequent in the Corinthian colonies of Apollonia and Epidamnus.

8. -ώνδας, -όνδας. Beside the usual (originally patronymic) personal names in -ίδης etc., forms in -ώνδας, or less commonly -όνδας, are most frequent in Boeotian, like the familiar *Ἐπαμεινώνδας*, but occur also in Thessalian, Phocian, Megarian, and (-ώνδης) Euboean, rarely elsewhere.

9. The diminutive -ιχος, as in *ὀρεσίλιχος*, *ῥοσσίχος* and names

like *Σίμμιχος*, is to be recognized in Lac. *παιδικός* beside usual *παιδικός*, *δαριχίς*, and *μικχικός* implied by *μικχιχιδόμενος*.

10. Individual cases of dialectal variation in suffix are of course frequent. So, for example, Thess. *λίθιος* = *λίθινος* (cf. above, 6), Ion. *νόμμιος*, Locr. *νόμιος* = *νόμιμος*, Thess. *ὀνάλα* (but also *ὀνάλωμα*) = *ἀνάλωμα* (cf. also Boeot. *ἄλωμα*), Boeot., Epir. *ποθόδωμα* (after *ἀνάλωμα*) = *πρόσδοδος*, Delph., Mess. *κεφάλωμα* = *κεφαλαῖον*, Heracl. *ἐπιζαμίωμα* beside *ἐπιζάμιον*, Thess. *συνκλείς* (stem -*κλη-τ*-, cf. *προβλής*, etc.) = *σύνκλητος* *ἐκκλησία*, Cret. *ἡμίνα* (also Cypr. gloss) = *τὸ ἡμισυ* (also Sicil. *ἡμίνα*, used, like Epid. *ἡμίτεια*, in the sense of *ἡμικτον*), Cret. *θῖνος* (from **θί-ινος* formed from *θίος* after the analogy of *ἀνθρώπ-ινος*), *ἐνθῖνος* = *θεῖος*, *ἐνθεος*, Att. *ἀδελφός* but *ἀδελφεός* in other dialects, Delph. *γάμελα* (cf. *γαμέτης*) = *γαμήλια*, Arg. *γνῶσια*, *τιμασία*, *παναγορία* = *γνώσις*, etc.

11. Nouns in -ιος, -ιον appear frequently as -ις, -ιν in late inscriptions. See 45.6.

165. I. -τερος. Noteworthy examples of the use of this suffix to denote contrasted relations (not merely those of degree as in the comparatives), as in *δεξιτερός*, *ἀριστερός*, are Arg. *ἀρρέντερος*, El. *ἐρσεναιτέρος* (for *αι* cf. *γεραίτερος*, *παλαίτερος*), *θηλύτερος*.

2. -ιδιος forming adjectives from adverbs or adverbial phrases, as *αἰδῖος*, *ἐπιθαλασσίδιος*. So El. *προσθίδιος* (*προστυζίδιν*), Locr. *ὑπαπροσθίδιος*, Cret. *ἐνδοθίδιος* (*ἐνδοθιδίαν δόλαν* 'household slave'), Epid. *ἐνδοσθίδιος* (*ἐνδοσθιδία* 'entrails'; so *ἐντοσθιδία* Arist., Hipp.), Cret. *ἐξαρχίδιος* = *ἐξ ἀρχῆς* *γινόμενος*.

3. -τρον. From words like *λύτρον* 'means of release,' hence 'ransom,' the suffix came to be used freely in words denoting reward or amount paid, as *νίκαστρον* 'reward of victory,' Epid. *ἱάτρα* 'perquisites for healing,' Ion., Coan *τέλεστρα* 'expenses of inauguration' (of the priest. Cf. Coan *τελέω* 'inaugurate'), Cret. *κόμιστρα* 'gifts' (more specific?), and, even from a numeral, Cret. *τρίτρα* 'the threefold amount.'

4. -εων, -ων in nouns denoting place, as *ἀνδρών* (Ion. *ἀνδρεών*, Pamph. *ἀ(ν)δριών*), *ἀμπελών*, *νεκρών*, *ὄρνιθών*. To this large class belong Heracl. *τοφίων* (6, 9.9) = *ταφείων* 'burial place,' *γαιών* 'mound of earth' (cf. *γαεών* from *Halaesa*), *βοών* 'cow-shed,' Ion. *στεφών* 'ridge.'

This class is not to be confused with nouns of agency in Ion. -εών but Dor. etc., -άων, -άν, as Ion. *ξυνεών*, Dor. *κοινάν*. See 41.4.

166. I. Personal names in -κλέας, instead of -κλέης, -κλῆς, as *Ἴπποκλέας*, are most common in Thessalian, but also occur in Boeotian, Locrian, Phocian, Aetolian, and Megarian (here in the form -κλίας). -κλέας is a modification of -κλέης under the influence of hypocoristics in -έας.

2. Διόζωτος (i.e., Διός-δοτος, cf. Διός-κουροι) and Θεῖοςδοτος Θεόςζωτος, Θεόςζωτος, Θεόςζωτος (formed after Διός-δοτος, cf. Θεόςδοτος in Hesiod), instead of usual Διόδοτος, Θεόδοτος, are frequent in Boeotian, and Thessalian also has Θεόςζωτος, Θεόςζωτος, and Θεορδότειος (60.4). Elsewhere such forms are rare and doubtless imported.

167. The interchange of different vowel stems in the first member of a compound, or before a derivative suffix, is sometimes dialectal. Thus *Τιμοκλῆς*, *Τιμοκράτης*, etc., in most dialects, but Ion. *Τιμηκλῆς*, *Τιμηκράτης*, Cnid. *Τιμακλῆς*, Rhod. *Τιμακράτης*, *Τιμάπολις*, likewise Rhod. *Τιμᾶναξ* (**Τιμά-(F)αναξ*) instead of usual *Τιμῶναξ* (**Τιμό-(F)αναξ*). Thess. *ὕλωρός* (*ὕλωρόντος*) from **ὕλο-Forός* and so related to Att. *ὕλωρός* (late poet. *ὕλωρός*) from *ὕλας* as *ὕλοτόμος* to *ὕλατόμος*.

Arc., Locr., Thess. *οἰκιάτας* (or *Φοικιάτας*) from *οἰκία*, for usual *οἰκέτης* from *οἶκος* (*Φοικεύς*, fem. *Φοικέα*, are the forms used in Cretan). Ion. *πολιήτης*, Cret., Epid. *πολιάτας* (also Pindar), Cret. *πολιάτεύω*, Arc. *πολιάτις*, for usual *πολίτης*, etc.; cf. Heracl. *πολιανόμος*, Ion. *πολιόχορος* (Epic), Lac. *πολιάχος* (but Att. *πολιοῦχος* with -*οῦχος* from *κληροῦχος* etc.). Cret. *ὀφέλωμα* after *ἀνάλωμα*.

Late Att. *ἱερᾶτεύω*, Locr., Phoc. *ἱερητεύω* (also in some κοινή inscriptions), Lesb. *ἱρητεύω*, Cret., Cyren. *ἱαριτεύω*, Mess. *ἱεριτεύω*, Chalcid. *ἱερωτεύω*, *ἱερωτεία* (cf. Att. *ἱερωσύνη*).

Carpath. *δαμέτας*, like *οἰκέτης*, for usual *δαμότας*, *δημότης*, as conversely *οἰκότης* in an Attic inscription. So Cret. *βιέτος* (cf. Astyp. *Βιέτος*) = *βίωτος*, Arg. *καμέτας*, Rhod. *κτοινέτας*, beside *κτοινάτας*, after *φυλέτας*. Dor. *ἀνδρεφόνης* (Hdn.), Locr. *ἀνδρεφονικός* for usual *ἀνδρο-*, Rhod. *Ἰππέδαμος* = *Ἰππόδαμος*, but Rhod. *Ἀρχοκράτης* = *Ἀρχεκράτης*, Cret. *Μενοκράτης* = *Μενεκράτης*.

After the analogy of names containing inherited ι-stems arose

also forms like 'Αρχίλοχος, 'Αρχίδαμος, etc. (cf. ἀρχιτέκτων), in various dialects, Rhod. Μενίδαμος, El. Σαίκαρος, Coan, Nisyr., Mel. Λαίστρατος, Nisyr. Λαισθένης.

Parallel forms *δᾱμιο-Φεργός and *δᾱμιο-Φοργός (attested by the verbal Arc. δαμιοΦοργῆ, no. 16). From the former, Hom. δημοσεργός, and with contraction Att. δημιουργός (though of course this could equally well come from the second form), with elision δαμιοσεργός, occurring at Cyrene, Astypalaea, and Nisyros. The much more common δημιουργός (Ion.), δᾱμιοσεργός (Arc., El., Locr., Delph. and most Doric dialects), could come also from *δᾱμιοΦεργός (cf. Locr. 'Οπόντιοι, Meg. Σελινόντιοι, from -ο-φευτ, 44.4), but more easily with elision from *δᾱμιοΦοργός.—Other compounds in this group, Boeot. γᾱΦεργός (cf. 3 sg. fut. γᾱΦεργεῖσι, no. 42.11), Lac. γᾱΦεργόρ (Hesych.), frequently -εργός, rarely -οργός (ἀλοργός Sicil., Hesych., cf. Ion. ἀλοργής, ἀλοργίη), most commonly contracted -ουργός, also -ωργός; cf. Heracl. ἀμπελωργικός). Att. γεωργός from *γᾱ-(F)οργός (cf. Thess. γαοργεῖμεν) or γᾱο-F- (as in γεωγραφία, etc.)?

a. The well-known lengthening of the initial vowel of the second member of compounds, as in ἀνώνυμος, πανήγυρις, is seen in Ion. ἀνρήθρευτος = Att. ἀνερήθρευτος, Att. Cret. εὐθυωρία, Heracl. εὐθυωρία (vs. Arc. εὐθυωρία), Arc. δῖωρος (like δι-ώβολος). To the analogy of forms like ἐπάκοος, ἐπήκοος, which are of the same kind, is due to the ἐπᾱ- of Cret., Boeot. ἐπᾱβολά 'share' (cf. Hesych. ἐπιβολή 'μέρος) and Att.-Ion. ἐπήβολος. Cf. κατηγορή in Euripides.

168. Use of a patronymic adjective instead of the genitive singular of the father's name. Though occasionally found in literature, as in Hom. Τελαμώνιος Αἴας, this is the regular practice in prose only in the three Aeolic dialects. Thus Lesb. Μέλανχρος Πιθώνιος, 'Αρχίππα 'Αθανάεια, Thess. Σύχουν 'Αντιγό-νιος, Νικόλαος 'Αγισαῖος, Boeot. Θιόπομπος 'Ολυπύχιος, 'Ερμάιος Νικιῆος. Examples in other dialects are rare.

a. When the father's name is itself a patronymic form in -δας or -ιος, the genitive is regularly employed in Boeotian; so also in early Thessalian, but later the adjective forms like 'Επικρατίδαιος, Τιμουνίδαιος are usual.

b. Under κοινή influence the use of the adjective was given up in favor of the ordinary genitive construction. Thus in Boeotian the genitive is usual after about 250 B.C. and occasionally found earlier. There is some evidence that the Plataeans adopted the Attic usage at an early date. See no. 41, note.

SYNTAX

169. Although the syntax of the dialects deserves fuller investigation than it has received, yet syntactical differences between the dialects are much less striking than those of phonology and inflection. To a considerable extent they consist merely in the conservation in some dialects of early forms of expression which have become rare or obsolete in literary Greek, and in a less strict formalization of usage. Some peculiarities have already been mentioned in connection with the forms, e.g., in the use of certain pronouns (121-31), adverbs and conjunctions (132-34), and in the meaning and construction of prepositions (136). It is necessary to add here only a few comments on certain uses of the cases and the moods. Some other, more isolated, peculiarities are observed in the notes to the inscriptions.

CASES

The Genitive

170. Genitive of time. The genitive of the 'time within which' is especially frequent in the early Cretan inscriptions, although ἐν with the dative is already the more usual expression. Cf. Law Code, I.25 λαγάσαι τᾶν πέντ' ἡμερᾶν 'release within five days'; but I.6 ἐν ταῖς τρισὶ ἡμέραις, in another Gortyn inscription τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ 'within the year.' So also, but without the article, as in early Attic inscriptions, Cret. δέκα Φετίων (no. 116), Locr. τριῶν μῆδων beside ἐν τριάκοντα ἡμέραις, Boeot. τριῶν ἡμερᾶων (no. 42.16).

Aside from the adverbial phrases νυκτός, etc., the use of the genitive of time is most persistent in dating, as μηνὸς ἐβδόμου, etc., the usual expression in most dialects. More noteworthy is the phrase καὶ πολέμου (-ω) καὶ εἰρήνης (-ας) which is common in the proxeny decrees of various dialects, though eventually replaced in many by ἐν πολέμῳ καὶ εἰρήνῳ.

c. There are also examples in Thessalian and Boeotian of adjectives in agreement with appellatives, in place of a genitive of possession. Thess. Πολυξενία ἐμὴ (sc. ἡ στάλλα), etc. See the following.

d. A genitive may be used in apposition to that implied by the adjective, as in Hom. Γοργεῖν κεφαλὴν δεινότοιο πελώρου. Boeot. Καλιαία ἐμὴ (sc. ἡ κύλιξ) τῷ Κέντρωνος, Γοργεῖν ἐμὴ ὁ κότυλος καλὸς καὶ [αλ]ῶ, Lesb. σ[τάλλ]α 'πὶ Σθενείῃ ἐμὴ τῷ Νικαίῳ (dat.) τῷ Γαυκίῳ (gen.) 'the son of Nicias, the son of Glaucus,' where Γαυκίῳ is also a patronymic adjective, but in apposition with the genitive implied in Νικαίῳ. Thess. 'Αντιονεία στάλλα τῷ Εὐφρόνῳ (τοῦ Εὐφρόνῳ).

δῆμιον

ἐνιστή

The genitive of time is used distributively in various dialects; as also in Attic, e.g., τὰς ἡμέρας or τὰς ἡμέρας Φεκάστας 'daily,' beside κατ' ἡμέραν.

171. Genitive of the matter or person involved. Besides the familiar genitive of the charge or penalty, the genitive is also used more broadly to denote the matter or person involved, e.g., Cret. καταδικασάτῳ τῷ ἐλευθέρῳ δέκα στατῆραν, τῷ δόλῳ πέντε 'shall condemn him to a fine of ten staters in the case of a freeman, five staters in the case of a slave,' ἅ. Φεκάστῳ ἔγραπται 'as is prescribed for each case.' Such genitives may serve as headings, like 'Ικεσίων no. 115.110. In the long cult-inscription of Andania most of the headings are in the simple genitive, beside a few cases of περί with genitive.

The Dative

172. The adnominal dative is more common than in literary Greek, and is especially frequent in the introduction to inscriptions or their separate sections, e.g., El. ἡ Φράτρα τοῖς Φαλείοις, Locr. τῷ τέθμιον τοῖς ὑποκναμιδίοις Λογροῖς, Phoc. ὁμολογία τῷ πόλει Στειρίων καὶ τῷ πόλει Μεδεωνίων, Boeot. διαγραφὰ Νικαρέτῃ, Att. ἀπαρχὴ τῷ θεναίῳ, γραμματεὺς τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δάμῳ.

For the dative instead of the genitive construction with various prepositions in Arcado-Cyprian, see 136.1.

The Accusative

173. The accusative absolute of participles is common enough in literature (Hdt. +), but mostly in impersonal constructions. Examples of personal construction in the dialects are worth noting. Thus Arc. εἰ μὲ παρηταξαμένους τὸς πεντέκοντα ἔ τὸς τριακοσίους 'unless the Fifty or the Three Hundred approve.' This is an extension from instances where the participle agrees with the accusative of a preceding clause, as Arc. μὲ νέμεν μὲτε ξένον μὲτε Φαστόν, εἰ μὲ ἐπὶ θοῖαν ἵκοντα. Cf. also Arc. κατὰπερ τὸς ἐπισυνισταμένους... ἔγραπτοι 'as is prescribed in the case of those who conspire,' Coan αἰρεθέντας ἑκατέρων δέκα 'ten of each being chosen.' Such use is increasingly common in late Greek and led to the modern indeclinable participle in -οντα(ς).

1. η from α . 8
2. Quantitative metathesis (λεώς, etc.). 41.4, 43
3. ν -movable. 102
4. $\eta\mu\epsilon\iota\varsigma$, acc. -έας, -ās. 119.2, 5
5. $\pi\omicron\upsilon$, $\delta\pi\omicron\upsilon$, etc. 132.1
6. $\xi\theta\epsilon\sigma\alpha\nu$, $\xi\delta\sigma\alpha\nu$, etc. 138.5
7. $\eta\nu$ 3 sg. imperf. of $\epsilon\mu\iota$. 163.3
8. Conjunction $\epsilon\iota$. 134.1
9. Particle $\acute{\alpha}\nu$. 134.2
10. Infin. - $\nu\alpha\iota$. 154.1
11. Very early loss of ϕ . 50

Ionic

182. The chief characteristics of Ionic, as compared with Attic, are as follows. Some few of these are Ionic only (notably 1, also 8, 9, 14, 20, 22), but most are common to various other dialects, some indeed to all except Attic, being repeated here from 180 to bring out the contrast with Attic more fully. A few peculiarities which are not general Ionic, but are common to all branches except West Ionic, are included.

1. η from α even after ϵ , ι , ρ . 8
2. $\epsilon\alpha$, $\epsilon\omicron$, $\epsilon\omega$, $\epsilon\omicron\iota$ usually uncontracted. 42.1, 5, 6
3. $\epsilon\upsilon$ = $\epsilon\omicron$, from fourth century on. 42.5
4. Crasis of $\omicron$, δ ($\omicron\iota$), ω , + α = ω , as $\tau\omicron\gamma\omega\delta\nu\omicron\varsigma$. 94.1
5. ω from $\omicron\eta$. 44.2
6. $\xi\epsilon\iota\nu\omicron\varsigma$, $\kappa\omicron\upsilon\delta\eta$, etc. 54 with α
7. $\sigma\sigma$ = Att. $\tau\tau$. 81
8. $\rho\sigma$ = Att. $\rho\rho$. 80
9. $\eta\nu$ = Att. $\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\nu$, $\acute{\alpha}\nu$. 134.1b
10. α -stems, gen. sg. m. - $\epsilon\omega$, - ω , gen. pl. - $\epsilon\omega\nu$, - $\omega\nu$, dat. pl. - $\eta\mu\iota$ (ν). 41.4, 104.7
11. $\pi\acute{\omicron}\lambda\iota\varsigma$, $\pi\acute{\omicron}\lambda\iota\omicron\varsigma$, etc. 109.1, 2
12. $\beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$, -έος, etc. 111.3
13. - $\kappa\lambda\eta\varsigma$, - $\kappa\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\varsigma$. 108.1a
14. $\mu\iota$ -verbs inflected like contracts, as $\tau\iota\theta\epsilon\iota$, $\tau\iota\theta\epsilon\iota\nu$. 160
15. 3 pl. $\tau\iota\theta\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\tau\alpha\iota$, etc. 139.2
16. $\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu$ = Att. $\acute{\omega}\nu$. 163.8
17. Suffix - $\eta\iota\omicron\varsigma$ = Att. - $\epsilon\iota\omicron\varsigma$. 164.1
18. $\beta\acute{\omicron}\lambda\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ = $\beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$. 75b
19. $\iota\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ ($\iota\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$) beside $\iota\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$. 13.1
20. $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\zeta\omega\nu$ = Att. $\mu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega\nu$. 113.1
21. $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\nu\mu\iota$ = Att. $\delta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\kappa\nu\mu\iota$. 49.1
22. $\kappa\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\varsigma$ = Att. $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\varsigma$. 125.1
23. $\xi\nu\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ = Att. $\kappa\omicron\iota\nu\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$. 135.7
24. $\kappa\alpha\rho\tau\epsilon\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ = Att. $\kappa\rho\alpha\tau\epsilon\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$, in meaning = $\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$. 49.2a, Glossary
25. $\delta\eta\mu\iota\omicron\rho\gamma\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ = Att. - $\omicron\upsilon\rho\gamma\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$. 167
26. $\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\iota}\alpha$ ($\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\iota}\alpha$) = Att. $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\acute{\iota}\alpha$. 11
27. $\eta\nu\epsilon\iota\kappa\alpha$, $\eta\nu\epsilon\iota\kappa\alpha$ = Att. $\eta\nu\epsilon\gamma\kappa\alpha$. 144a
28. $\iota\theta\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ = Att. $\epsilon\upsilon\theta\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$. Glossary

183. East Ionic is further characterized by:
1. Psilosis. 57.
 2. $\alpha\omicron$, $\epsilon\omicron$ = $\alpha\nu$, $\epsilon\nu$ from fourth century B.C. on. 33.
 3. Short-vowel subj. of σ aorist. 150.
184. Chian. The dialect of Chios contains a few special characteristics, which are of Aeolic origin:
1. 3 pl. $\lambda\acute{\alpha}\beta\omega\iota\sigma\iota\nu$, $\pi\rho\acute{\eta}\xi\omega\iota\sigma\iota\nu$, etc., with $\iota\sigma$ from $\nu\sigma$. 77.3.
 2. Inflected cardinals, $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\omega\nu$, $\pi\epsilon\nu\tau\eta\kappa\acute{\omicron}\nu\tau\omega\nu$, etc. 116.
- Note also $\gamma\epsilon\gamma\omega\nu\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ 'call aloud,' as in Homer.

a. The Aeolic doubling of nasals (73 ff.) is seen in the names of the mountain $\Pi\epsilon\lambda\iota\nu\alpha\iota\omicron\nu$ in Chios and the promontory Ἀργεῶν opposite Chios, also in the personal name $\Phi\alpha\nu\acute{\omicron}\theta\epsilon\mu\iota\varsigma$ in an inscription of Erythrae. Likewise Aeolic is the Phocaeian Ζωνύ(σιος) . 19.1. All these features are relics of a time when the line between the Aeolic and the Ionic colonies was farther south than in the historical period.

185. Central Ionic differs from East Ionic in having the spiritus asper in early inscriptions. 57c. Note also the restricted use of η as a vowel, i.e., only η from α , in the early inscriptions of some of the islands. 4.6.

186. West Ionic, or Euboean, differs from the other divisions of Ionic as follows.

1. $\tau\tau$ as in Attic, not $\sigma\sigma$. 81
2. $\rho\rho$ as in Attic, not $\rho\sigma$. 80
3. $\xi\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$, etc. as in Attic, not $\xi\epsilon\iota\nu\omicron\varsigma$. 54
4. - $\epsilon\iota$, - $\omicron\iota$ from - $\eta\iota$, - $\omega\iota$ (in Eretria about 400 B.C.). 39a
5. $\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\alpha$, $\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon\iota$, $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\alpha\upsilon\theta\alpha$ = $\tau\alpha\upsilon\tau\alpha$, $\tau\alpha\upsilon\tau\eta\iota$, $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\alpha\upsilon\theta\alpha$. 124
6. - $\kappa\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\eta\varsigma$, gen. - $\kappa\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omega$. 108.1a
7. Proper names in - $\iota\varsigma$, gen. - $\iota\delta\omicron\varsigma$, as often in Attic (East and Central Ion. - $\iota\omicron\varsigma$). 109.5
8. $\acute{\epsilon}\iota\nu$ beside $\acute{\epsilon}\iota\nu\alpha\iota$. 160

187. Eretrian. In addition to the other Euboean peculiarities, the dialect of Eretria, seen in inscriptions of Eretria and Oropus, is specifically characterized by the rhotacism of intervocalic σ , as $\acute{\epsilon}\chi\omicron\upsilon\rho\iota\nu$ = $\acute{\epsilon}\chi\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\nu$, 60.3. The use of $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ (Oropus), $\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\nu$ (Eretria) is due to Attic influence.

188. Attic influence. Ionic was the first of all dialects to yield to Attic influence, and after the fifth century B.C. there are few inscriptions that are wholly free from Attic forms. See 277.

ARCADO-CYPRIAN¹

189. Special characteristics of Arcado-Cyprian.²

1. $\iota\nu$ = $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$. 10
2. Gen sg. - $\alpha\upsilon$. 22
3. $\pi\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ = $\pi\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$. 135.6
4. $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ = $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}$ (but Arc. usually $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}$). 134.3
5. $\sigma\iota\varsigma$, $\sigma\iota\varsigma$ = $\tau\iota\varsigma$. 68.3
6. Mid. endings - $\tau\upsilon$, - $\nu\tau\upsilon$. 22
7. $\delta\nu\omicron$ = $\delta\delta\epsilon$. 123
8. Dat. with $\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron$, $\acute{\epsilon}\zeta$, etc. 136.1
9. - $\kappa\rho\acute{\epsilon}\tau\eta\varsigma$ = - $\kappa\rho\acute{\alpha}\tau\eta\varsigma$. 49.2

190. Common to Arcado-Cyprian and various other dialects (1 Att.-Ion., 2 Ion., 3-6 Aeol., 7 N.W. Grk.).

1. Infin. in - $\nu\alpha\iota$. 154.1
2. $\beta\acute{\omicron}\lambda\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ = $\beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$. 75b
3. $\acute{\alpha}\pi\upsilon$ = $\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron$. 22
4. $\acute{\omicron}\nu$ ($\acute{\omicron}\nu$) = $\acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\alpha}$. 6, 22
5. $\omicron\rho$ = $\alpha\rho$. 5
6. $\mu\iota$ -inflect. of contract vbs. 157
7. $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ ($\iota\nu$) = $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$. 135.4
8. η , ω = secondary ξ , δ . 25
9. $\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma$ = $\acute{\epsilon}\zeta$ before cons. (but Cyp. also $\acute{\epsilon}\zeta$). 100
10. Masc. σ -stems, acc. sg. - $\eta\nu$ (Arc. also voc. sg. - η). 108.2
11. $\iota\epsilon\rho\acute{\eta}\varsigma$ = $\iota\epsilon\rho\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma$, etc. (but usual only in Arc.). 111.4
12. Subj. - $\eta\varsigma$, - η . 149
13. Article as relative. 126
14. Opt. in prescriptions. 175
15. $\pi\acute{\tau}\omicron\lambda\iota\varsigma$. 67

191. Noteworthy is the considerable number of words or meanings which are otherwise known only, or with rare exceptions, as poetical, mainly Homeric. Some of the most striking examples are

1. In Arcadian and Cyprian, $\alpha\acute{\iota}\sigma\alpha$ 'share' (also Arg.), $\omicron\lambda\iota\phi\omicron\varsigma$ 'alone,' $\epsilon\upsilon\chi\omega\lambda\acute{\alpha}$ 'prayer' or 'imprecation.'
2. In Arcadian. $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\mu\alpha\iota$, $\acute{\alpha}\pi\upsilon\omega$ 'summon,' $\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\theta\omicron\varsigma$ 'road,' $\delta\acute{\omega}\mu\alpha$ 'temple,' $\delta\mu\alpha\rho$ (but see no. 17.22, note), $\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\sigma\omega$ 'behold.'
3. In Cyprian. $\acute{\phi}\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\zeta$, $\acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\omega}\gamma\omega$, $\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}\rho$, $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ 'meadow,' $\iota\lambda\alpha\tau\eta\rho$, $\kappa\alpha\sigma\acute{\iota}\gamma\eta\eta\tau\omicron\varsigma$ (also Lesb.; Thess. $\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\iota}\gamma\eta\eta\tau\omicron\varsigma$), $\chi\rho\alpha\upsilon\acute{\omicron}\mu\alpha\iota$ 'border on' (Hom. $\chi\rho\alpha\upsilon\acute{\omicron}$ 'graze'), $\iota\delta\acute{\epsilon}$, $\nu\upsilon$ (also Boeot. 134.5).

¹ Several of the characteristics cited below under the head of Arcadian or of Cyprian, for which corresponding forms are lacking or ambiguous in the other dialect, probably are also Arcado-Cyprian. See also 199.

² In this and similar captions "special" is not to be taken too rigorously. Some few peculiarities of which occasional examples are found elsewhere are included, e.g., in this section, $\iota\nu$ = $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$, which is regularly found only in Arcado-Cyprian, but of which there are a few examples elsewhere.

Arcadian

192. Arcado-Cyprian characteristics. See 189/91.

193. In common with various other dialects (1, 2 Att.-Ion., 3 Lesb., 5 Aeol., etc., 6, 16 West Greek).

1. Conjunction $\epsilon\iota$. 134.1
2. Particle $\acute{\alpha}\nu$. 134.2
3. $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\omicron\tau\omicron\varsigma$ = $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$. 6
4. $\eta\nu\theta\omicron\nu$ = $\eta\lambda\theta\omicron\nu$. 72
5. $\pi\epsilon\delta\acute{\alpha}$ ($\pi\acute{\epsilon}$) = $\mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}$. 135.5
6. $\pi\alpha\rho\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}\xi\omega\nu\sigma\iota$, etc. 142
7. $\rho\rho$ = $\rho\sigma$. 80
8. $\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\sigma\alpha$, etc. 77.3
9. Acc. pl. - $\omicron\varsigma$, nom. sg. pple. $\eta\epsilon\rho\omicron\theta\upsilon\tau\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma$. 78
10. $\eta\mu\iota\sigma\sigma\omicron\nu$. 81
11. Dat. sg. - $\omicron\iota$. 106.2
12. Subj. $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\tau\omicron\iota$, etc. 151.1
13. Infin. - $\epsilon\nu$ and - $\eta\nu$. 153.2
14. 3 pl. inv. - $\nu\tau\omega$. 140.3a; mid. - $\sigma\theta\omega\nu$. 140.2b
15. Adverbs in - $\theta\iota$ place 'where,' as $\acute{\omicron}\pi\acute{\omicron}\theta\iota$, etc. 132.9a
16. $\acute{\omicron}\delta\epsilon\lambda\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ = $\acute{\omicron}\beta\omicron\lambda\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$. 49.3
17. $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau$ 'until.' 132.10
18. Peculiarities in the use of the spiritus asper. 58d
19. ϕ in early inscr. initially and after cons., but lost between vowels; initially till about 300 B.C. 52, 53, 54

194. Special Arcadian.

1. Gen. sg. fem. - $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ (Tegea). 104.2
2. 3 pl. - $\nu\sigma\iota$. 77.3
3. 3 sg. mid. - $\tau\omicron\iota$ = - $\tau\alpha\iota$. 139.1
4. $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\omicron$, $\eta\epsilon\kappa\omicron\tau\omicron\nu$ = $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\alpha$, $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\alpha\tau\omicron\nu$. 6
5. Numerals in - $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\sigma\iota\omicron\iota$ = - $\kappa\acute{\omicron}\sigma\iota\omicron\iota$. 117.2
6. ι from ϵ before front vowels, and ι from $\epsilon\iota$. 9.5
7. $\acute{\omicron}\nu\acute{\iota}$ = $\delta\delta\epsilon$. 123
8. $\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\omicron}$ = $\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha}$. 22, 95
9. $\pi\lambda\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ = $\pi\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\nu$. 113.2
10. $\epsilon\iota\kappa$ $\acute{\alpha}\nu$. 134.2a
11. $\acute{\alpha}\pi\upsilon\delta\acute{\omicron}\alpha\varsigma$ = $\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\delta\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$. 144
12. $\tau\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omega$ = $\tau\acute{\iota}\nu\omega$. 162.14
13. $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\lambda\omega$ = $\beta\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omega$. 68.1
14. $\Pi\omicron\sigma\sigma\iota\delta\acute{\alpha}\nu$ = $\Pi\omicron\sigma\sigma\iota\delta\acute{\omega}\nu$. 49.1, 61.5
15. Dual forms in - $\alpha\iota\nu$, - $\omicron\iota\nu$. 106.6

195. External influence in the dialect. The fact that $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ and $\delta\acute{\zeta}\iota\varsigma$, agreeing with Cyprian, are found only in the early inscriptions (nos. 16, 17), while all others have $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}$ and $\tau\iota\varsigma$, is probably due to external influence, though not specifically Attic. See 275. The Tegean building inscription (no. 19) of the fourth century B.C. shows some few Attic $\kappa\omicron\iota\nu\acute{\eta}$ forms, as $\pi\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\nu$ instead

of πλός, once gen. sg. -ου, etc. From the latter part of the third century on, when the chief Arcadian cities belonged to the Achaean League, or in some cases were controlled by the Aetolian League, most of the inscriptions are in the Doric or the Northwest Greek κοινή, e.g., one from Stymphalus (IG V.ii.359) with forms like κα, δκα, τετρώκοντα, πότ, τοῦ, τοῦς, δόντω and ἐν = εἰς. But a decree of Megalopolis (Ditt. Syll. 559), of about 200 B.C. in the time of a temporary revival of the Arcadian League, is mainly in the native dialect (iv, acc. pl. -ος, πολενσι, τουσύν). Curious is the occasional late occurrence of the Lac. σ = θ (68), as Σιοῦ = Θεοῦ, Σίπομπος = Θεόπομπος, etc.

Cyprian

196. Arcado-Cyprian characteristics. See 189-91.

197. In common with various other dialects.

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. ι from ε before vowels. 9.6 | 8. Dat. sg. -ῶ, -ᾶ beside -ῶι, -ᾶι. |
| 2. Glide sound after ι expressed, as ἱατῆραν. 56 | 38 |
| 3. αἰλός = ἄλλος. 74b | 9. Acc. sg. ἱατῆραν, etc. 107.1 |
| 4. Psilosis: 57 | 10. βασιλεύς, -ῆρος. 111.1 |
| 5. πείσει = τείσει. 68.2a | 11. 3 pl. κατέθιαν. 138.5 |
| 6. F in all positions. 52-55 | 12. κε = ἄν. 134.2 |
| 7. Occasional omission of intervoc. and final σ. 59.4 | 13. ἔρω 'go, come.' 162.6 |
| | 14. ἡμίνα. 164.10 |
| | 15. See also in Glossary, ἀκεύω, λιμήν, παῖς. |

198. Special Cyprian.

- | | |
|----------------------------|---|
| 1. Gen. sg. -ῶν. 106.1 | 7. ἔ = εἰ. 134.1 |
| 2. πτόλιφι, etc. 109.4 | 8. δουάνω, δώκω = δίδωμι. 162.5 |
| 3. φρέτα, φρετάω. 55, 70.3 | 9. See, in Glossary, ἄλφον, ἱκ-μάμενος, ἱναλίνα, οἶρων, ὕγ-γεμος. |
| 4. ζᾱ = γᾱ, etc. 62.4 | |
| 5. ὶ = ἐπί. 135.8 | |
| 6. παι 'indeed.' 132.5 | |

199. It is uncertain whether the infinitive should be transcribed with -εν or -ῆν, the accusative with -ος, -ῶς or -ο(ν)ς. In the absence of any evidence to the contrary, we assume -εν and -ος in agreement with Arcadian. But the dative singular is to be

transcribed -ῶι, in spite of Arc. -οι, on account of the frequent omission of the final ι (38); and the third plural ending is transcribed with -σι, not -(ν)σι, in spite of Arc. -νσι, on account of φρονέσι (59.4).

Pamphylian

200. ι (in part)-8 in common with Arcado-Cyprian, or Aeolic, 9-15 with West Greek or Cretan.

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. ι (written ι) = ἐι. ις from *ινς = εἰς. 10, 135.4 | 14. Ἀπέλλων Πύτιος. 49.3, 63 |
| 2. υ from ο. 22a | 15. Ἀφορδίσσιος. 70.1 |
| 3. Dative with ἐξ. 136.1 | 16. ι from ε before vowels. 9.6 |
| 4. Particle νι. 134.5 | 17. Secondary ῶ, by lengthening ω, by contraction ου. 25d |
| 5. Spelling διᾶ, etc. 56 | 18. μθειάλαν, etc. 62.3, 76b |
| 6. Omission of ν before consonants. 69.2 | 19. ὕπαρ = ὕπερ. 12 |
| 7. Dat. pl. of cons. stems -εσσι. 107.3 | 20. F preserved, expressed by two different letters. 51b |
| 8. 3 pl. inv. -ντον (-δυ). 140.5 | 21. περτί = πρός. 61.4, 70.1, 135.6 |
| 9. Ιαρός. 13.1 | 22. ἐβδλάσεν, βολέμενος. 22a, 25d, 142c, 161b |
| 10. Retention of τι. 61.1, 2, 138.4 | 23. Change of ντ to νδ, with ν not written. 66, 69.2 |
| 11. φίλατι = εἴκοσι. 51b, 61.2, 116 | 24. Final ν usually omitted. 89.9 |
| 12. δκα. 132.9 | |
| 13. τ for θ in ἀτρώπος, Πύτιος. 63 | |

AEOLIC

201. Aeolic characteristics, common to Lesbian, Thessalian, * and Boeotian (6 also Delph., etc., 7 also Arc.-Cypr., 8 also Arc.).

- | | |
|---|---------------------------------|
| 1. Labial instead of dental in πέμπε = πέντε, etc. 68.2 | 4. ἱα = μῖα. 114.1 |
| 2. Perf. act. pple. -ων, -οντος. 147.3 | 5. ρε = ρι. 18 |
| 3. Patron. adj. instead of gen. sg. of father's name. 168 | 6. Dat. pl. πόδεσσι, etc. 107.3 |
| | 7. ρο = ρα, etc. 5 |
| | 8. Θερσ- = Θαρσ-. 49.2 |

* In some cases only East Thessalian (Pelagiotis). See 214.

202. Aeolic characteristics, common to Lesbian and Thessalian (4-7 also Arc.-Cypr.).

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. Double liquids and nasals in ἐμμί, στάλλα, etc. 74-76, 77.1, 79 | 4. μι-inflection of contract verbs. 157 |
| 2. ἀγρέω (ἀνγρέω) = αἰρέω. 162.2 | 5. δν = ἀνά. 6 |
| 3. ι from ι before vowels. 19 | 6. ἀπύ = ἀπό. 22 |
| | 7. κε = ἄν. 134.2 |

203. Characteristics common to Lesbian and Boeotian (2 also Arc., Cret., etc.).

- | | |
|------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. ἐκάλε-σσα, etc. 143 | 2. πεδά = μετά. 135.5 |
|------------------------|-----------------------|

204. Characteristics common to Thessalian and Boeotian only (of which, however, only ι, which is Homeric, belongs to the Aeolic elements of these dialects).

- | | |
|-------------------------------|---|
| 1. Infin. φερέμεν, etc. 155.1 | 6. ἐλεξ = εἶπε in the official language of decrees (but also Argive). |
| 2. 3 pl. -νθι, etc. 139.2 | 7. ὀστερομει(ν)νία. Glossary. |
| 3. ει = η. 16 | |
| 4. γίνυμαι = γίγνομαι. 162.4 | |
| 5. Θεόζοτος. 166.2 | |

Lesbian

205. Characteristics in common with one or both of the other Aeolic dialects. See 201-3.

206. In common with various other dialects.

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. η, ω = secondary ε, ῶ. 25 | 7. βασιλεύς, -ηος, etc. 111.1 |
| 2. Final -ᾶ, -η, -ω = ᾱ, ηι, ωι, from end of fourth century on. 38 | 8. Masc. σ-stems, acc. sg. -ην, gen. sg. -η, etc. 108.2 |
| 3. Psilosis. 57 | 9. Article as relative. 126 |
| 4. Early loss of F. 50 | 10. ὕπά = ὑπό. 135.3 |
| 5. δέκοτος = δέκατος. 6 | 11. Infin. -ην. 153.1 |
| 6. Dat. pl. -αῖσι, -οῖσι. 104.7, 106.4 | 12. Perf. infin. -ην. 147.2 |
| | 13. Pass. infin. -ην. 155.2 |
| | 14. παῖς 'son.' Glossary |

207. Special Lesbian (ι in part Elean and in part Cyrenaean).

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. ισ from νς, as παῖσα, etc. (also Cyren.), acc. pl. ταῖς, τοῖς (also El.), 3 pl. φέροισι. 77.3, 78 | 8. 3 pl. inv. -ντον, -σθον. 140.5 |
| 2. αἰμισυς = ἡμισυς, etc. 17 | 9. Recessive accent. 103 |
| 3. αῦως, ναῦος, etc. 35 | 10. εἰκοιστος, etc. = Att. -κοσ-τος. 116 |
| 4. δτᾶ = δε. 132.11 | 11. σπέλλω = στέλλω. 68.2a |
| 5. δττι, δππως, etc. 129.2 | 12. ἔταλον 'yearling.' 49.3 |
| 6. Infin. ἐμμεναι, etc. 154.2 | 13. ἀρνηάς 'ewe,' ἔπερος 'sheep', δικάσκοποι, official title. Glossary |
| 7. Infin. δίδων, κέρναν, etc. 155.3 | 14. πρότανις (rarely Attic) = πρύτανις. Glossary |

208. External influence in the dialect. From the Macedonian period on—and very few of the inscriptions are earlier—there is usually some admixture of κοινή forms, as ἀνά beside δν, μετά beside πεδά, δετᾶ beside δετα, etc. But in the main the dialect is employed in inscriptions till about the middle of the second century B.C. Its use in inscriptions of Roman imperial times (cf. no. 27) represents an artificial revival. See 280.

Thessalian

209. Aeolic characteristics in common with one or both of the Aeolic dialects. See 201, 202.

210. West Greek and Northwest Greek characteristics (cf. 223.1, 2, 3, 4, 6, and 226.1, 4).

- | | |
|--|-----------------------------|
| 1. Retention of τ in 3 pl. -ντι -νθι 61, 138.4 | 4. ψαφίξασθαι, etc. 142 |
| 2. ἱατι = εἴκοσι. 116 | 5. Ιαρός beside Ιερός. 13.1 |
| 3. -κάτιοι (ἐξεϊκάτιοι). 117 | 6. ἐν = εἰς. 135.4 |
| | 7. στ = σθ (rare). 85.1 |

211. In common with various other dialects.

- | | |
|---|-----------------------------|
| 1. ι from ε before vowels (but oftener ε). 9.3 | 4. ἐς = ἐξ before cons. 100 |
| 2. ει, ου (but from η, ω) = secondary ε, ῶ. 25 | 5. πάνσα, etc. 77.3 |
| 3. Final -ᾶ, -ου (from ω), -ει (from η) = -ᾱι, -ωι, -ηι. 38 | 6. Acc. pl. -ος. 78 |
| | 7. ττ = πτ. 86.2 |
| | 8. πτόλις beside πόλις. 67 |
| | 9. δδ = ζ. 84 |

10. Doubling of ξ. 89.1
 11. Psilosis in article. 58a
 12. F init. till about 400 B.C.
 13. Gen. sg. -ᾱο, usually ᾱ. 41.4
 14. Gen. pl. -ᾱων, usually -ᾱν. 41.4
 15. βασιλεύς, -εῖος, etc. 111.1
 16. Plural inflection of δῶω, as δῶας. 114.2
 17. Article as relative. 126
 18. παρά 'at, with,' with acc. 136.2
 19. Names in -κλέας. 166.1
 20. Φοικιάτας = οἰκέτης. 167

212. In common with Boeotian only. See 204.

213. Special Thessalian.

1. ου = ω. 23
 2. Gen. sg. -οι (but see 214). 106.1
 3. κίς = τίς (but see 214). 68.4
 4. More extensive apocope than in any other dialect, namely in κάτ, πότ, πάρ, πέρ, ὄν, ἄπ, ἐπ, ὕπ. 95
 5. Consonant-doubling in πόλλιος, ἰδδῖαν, κύρρον = κύριον, etc. 19.3
 6. διέ = διά. 7
 7. βέλλομαι = βούλομαι. 75
 8. δστροφά = ἀναστροφή. 77.2
 9. ὄνε (τόνε, τοίνεος, etc.) = ὄδε. 123
 10. Relative use of κίς, ποῖος. 131
 11. ὅπει, ὅπειδε = ἐπεί, ἐπειδή. 132.7
 12. μέσ, μέσποδι 'until.' 132.12
 13. μά = δέ. 134.4
 14. τᾶμον 'of the present time.' Glossary
 15. 3 pl. ἐνεφανίσσασεν, ἐδοῦκαεμ, etc. 138.5
 16. 3 sg. mid. ἐψάφισται, etc. (Larissa). 27
 17. 3 pl. mid. ἐφάνγρενθιν, etc. (Larissa). 27, 139.2
 18. Infin. δεδόσθιν, etc. (Larissa). 27, 156
 19. ἔνσα = οὔσα. 163.8
 20. πεστάντες = περιστάντες. 89.7
 21. Λασαῖος = Λαρισαῖος. 89b
 22. Ἄπλου = Ἀπόλλων. 49.3
 23. Πετθαλός = Θεσσαλός. 65, 68.2
 24. λίθιος = λίθινος. 164.6, 9
 25. δαύχνα = δάφνη. 68.4a
 26. δνάλα = ἀνάλωμα. 164.9
 27. λιμήν = ἀγορά 'market-place' (ἀγορά being = ἐκ-κλησία)
 28. κίων often used in place of στάλλα (στήλη)
 29. ταγός as title of a state or municipal official
 30. σπόλος 'stake.' 68.2a
 31. συνκλείς. 164.9
 32. λειτορεύω. Glossary

214. Differences within Thessalian. The form of Thessalian which is best known is that of Pelasgiotis, represented mainly

by inscriptions of Larisa, which show some special local peculiarities (213.8-10), Crannon, and Phalanna. ⁴ The dialect of Thessalotis, represented mainly by inscriptions of Pharsalus and Cierium, differs from that of Pelasgiotis in two important respects, (1) gen. sg. of o-stems in -ῶ, -ου, not -οι, (2) pres. infin. of thematic verbs in -ῶν, -ειν, not -εμεν. The early inscription, no. 35, from Thetionium in the neighborhood of Cierium, shows, in addition to these two points of difference, τις not κίς, dat. pl. of consonant stems in -σιν (χρέμασιν) not -εσσι (as at Pharsalus as well as in Pelasgiotis), ἡλυδρέοντος not -έντος, uncontracted gen. sg. in -αο, gen. sg. of father's name instead of patronymic adjective (? see no. 35.11, note). Late inscriptions of Cierium have dat. sg. -οι, -αι, though at Pharsalus we find -ου, -α, just as in Pelasgiotis, and in no. 35 ἐν ταγᾷ beside ἐν ἀταγᾷ points to -αι, -οι. On δδ = ζ in ἐξανακάδεν, no. 35, see 84; on ττ beside σσ, see 81c.

From Histiaeotis and Perrhaebia the material is very scanty. From Magnesia there are a few fragmentary archaic inscriptions, but most are late and in the Attic κοινή. An early inscription of Phthiotis (Μεθίστας Πιθούνης Ἀπλου IG IX.ii.199) shows conclusively, what was only natural to expect, that its dialect was also Thessalian. But nearly all the inscriptions date from the period of Aetolian domination and are in the Northwest Greek κοινή (279.)

Many of the characteristics cited in the preceding sections are as yet attested only in the inscriptions of Pelasgiotis, but, except where there is evidence to the contrary as stated, it is to be assumed provisionally that they are general Thessalian. For the points of agreement are more pronounced than the differences.

215. External influence in the dialect. Occasional κοινή forms appear in the inscriptions of the third and second centuries B.C., especially ἀνά, ἀπό, περί, κατά, δέ, gen. sg. instead of patronymic adjective, η (not ει), γίνομαι (not γίνυμαι), etc. But the dialect as a whole is employed in inscriptions until about the end of the second century B.C. and occasionally later.

⁴ Really in Perrhaebia, so far as this was recognized as a distinct division of Thessaly, but in the part near Pelasgiotis.

Boeotian

216. Aeolic characteristics in common with one or both of the other Aeolic dialects. See 201, 203.

217. West Greek and Northwest Greek characteristics (cf. 223.1-10, and 226.1, 2, 4).

1. διδωτι, etc., 61
 2. φίκατι = εἰκοσι. 116
 3. πεντακάτιοι, etc. 116a, 117
 4. ἐπεσκεύαζε, etc. (but often -ετ ττ). 142
 5. τοί, ται = οί, αἱ. 122
 6. ἱαρός = ἱερός. 13.1
 7. Ἄρταμις = Ἄρτεμις. 13.2
 8. κα = κε, ἄν. 134.2
 9. πόκα. 132.11
 10. πρᾶτος = πρῶτος. 114.1
 11. αὐτῖ, i.e. αὐτεῖ = αὐτοῦ. 132.2
 12. ἐν = εἰς. 135.4
 13. δέιμενος = δεόμενος. 158
 14. παρά 'at, with,' with acc. 136.2
 11. Dat. sg. -αι(-η), -οι (-υ), ἔ, ὅ. 25
 12. -εως, -εῖος, -έφι. 111.1
 13. αὐτοσαντός, αὐσαντός, etc. 121.4
 14. ταν-ί, etc. 122
 15. ὕπα = ὑπό. 135.3
 16. ἀντί 'during.' 136.8
 17. Article as relative (rare). 126
 18. 3 pl. ἀνέθεαν, ἀνέθειαν, etc. 138.5
 19. 3 pl. inv. -ντω (-νθω). 140.3a
 20. Perf. ἀποδεδόανθι, etc., without κ. 146.1
 21. ἔντω (ἐνθω) = ὄντων. 163.6
 22. Διοκλέας, etc. 166.1
 23. Consonant-doubling in hypocoristics. 89.5
 24. Names in -ώνδας. 164.8
 25. γραμματιστάς. 161.4
 1. εἰ (from η), ω = secondary
 2. ι from ε before vowels. 9.4
 3. ττ in θάλαττα, εἰμιττον, etc. 81
 4. ττ in μέττος, ἐψαφίττατο, etc. 82
 5. δδ, initial δ = ζ. 84
 6. ἐς = ἐξ before cons. (see also 220.1). 100
 7. πρισγέως = πρεσβεύς. 68.1, 86.3
 8. F initial and intervocalic frequently (but not consistently) until nearly 200 B.C. 50, 53
 9. Nom. sg. m. -ᾱ beside -ᾱς. 105.1a
 10. Gen. sg. m. and gen. pl. in -ᾱο, -ᾱων (but τᾶν). 41.4

26. ποθόδωμα. 164.10
 27. λάζομαι (λάδδουσθη) = λαμβάνω. Glossary
 28. παῖς 'son.' Glossary
 29. εἰλύτα 'a kind of cake' = Ther. ἐλλύτα. 73a

219. In common with Thessalian only. See 204.

220. Special Boeotian. Most of the peculiarities of the vowel system (221) also belong here.

1. ἐς = ἐξ before vowels. 100
 2. ἐπασίς = ἐμπασίς. 69.4
 3. οὔτος, οὔτα, etc. 124
 4. εἰνῆαν = ἡνεγκαν. 144a
 5. βέιλομαι = βούλομαι. 75
 6. Hypocoristics in ει. 108.2
 7. ἄλωμα = ἀνάλωμα. 164.10
 8. γαεργός, 3 sg. fut. γαφερ-γείσι = γεωργός, etc. 167
 9. ἐπίθωσε = ἐπεισε. 161.3
 10. -λιγνώ 'cancel.' 162.10
 11. Φίστωρ 'witness.' 52d
 12. ἀφεδριατεύω. No. 41, note
 13. προτηνί 'formerly.' 123, 136.1
 14. πιτεύω 'irrigate.' Glossary
 15. περίσας 'left over, remaining.' Glossary
 16. Several new words for utensils in no. 39

221. The Boeotian vowel-system. The most striking and obvious characteristic of Boeotian lies in its vowel-system. One peculiarity consists merely in the retention of the original sound, namely, that of υ as u. But even this led to a change in spelling to ου, while on the other hand the υ with its Attic value of u as a basis was used to indicate approximately the sound, probably ὀ, which the diphthong οι had come to have. See 24, 30. The other peculiarities consist in changes of diphthongs to monophthongs and of more open to closer vowels, such as eventually prevailed everywhere and led to the Modern Greek pronunciation.

The chief orthographical peculiarities, with the approximate date of their introduction, are as follows:

- ι = ε before vowels. 9.4. Fifth century B.C. (in the epichoric alphabet ι, ε, ει, ι)
 ι = ει. 29. Fifth century B.C. (in the epichoric alphabet ι, ει, ι)
 η = αι. 26. Early fourth century B.C.
 ει = η. 16.
 ου = υ. 24. Early fourth century B.C., common after 300 B.C. (but great inconsistency is the spelling. υ = υ and οι = οι also frequent till near end of the third century),

του = υ. 24. About 300 B.C.

υ = ου. 30. About 250 B.C.

ει = οι. 30. Second century B.C. (rare)

222. External influence. Although Boeotia was for a short time in the Aetolian League, there are no Boeotian inscriptions in the Northwest Greek κοινή. But there are some scattered examples of the dative plural of consonant stems in -οις, as ἡγυς (αἷγυς), etc., and the appearance of στ = σθ (85.1) and δαμιώμεν, δαμιώοντες (159) in some late inscriptions of Orchomenos is also probably due to Aetolian influence. The influence of the Attic κοινή becomes considerable toward the end of the third century B.C., and some inscriptions or portions of inscriptions are wholly in κοινή, e.g. the formal contract in the Nicareta inscription (no. 43.VI). But most of the inscriptions are substantially dialectal until the second half of the second century B.C.

WEST GREEK

223. General West Greek characteristics:

- | | |
|---|------------------------------------|
| 1. δίδωμι, etc. with retention of τ. 61. | 10. ὄπει, etc. 132.2 |
| 2. (F)ίκατι = εἵκοσι. 116 with α | 11. ὄπη, etc. 132.7 |
| 3. -κάτιοι = -κόσιοι. 116a, 117.2 | 12. ὄπω, etc. 132.8 |
| 4. ἐδίδαξα, etc. But restricted in Argolic. 142 | 13. φέρομεν, etc. 138.3 |
| 5. τοί, ταί = οἱ, αἱ. But Cret. οἱ, αἱ. 122 | 14. Fut. -σέω. 141 |
| 6. ἱαρός (ιαρός) = ἱερός. 13.1 | 15. τέτορες = τέτταρες. 114.4 |
| 7. Ἄρταμις = Ἄρτεμις. But Cret. Ἄρτεμις. 13.2 | 16. τετρώκοντα = τετταράκοντα. 116 |
| 8. κα, τόκα, πόκα, ὄκα, γα. 132.11, 134.2 | 17. ἔβδεμος = ἔβδομος. 114.7 |
| 9. πᾶτος = πῶτος. 114.1 | 18. ἐμίν = ἐμοί, etc. 118.4b |
| | 19. ἐμέος = ἐμοῦ, etc. 118.3b |
| | 20. ὀδεός = ὀβολός. 49.3 |
| | 21. δήλομαι, δείλομαι. 68.1, 75 |
| | 22. λείω, λέω = θέλω. 162.11 |
| | 23. Word-order αἶ τίς κα. 179 |

a. Although only a part of these characteristics are actually quotable from every one of the West Greek dialects, some indeed from only a few, it is probable that, except for the divergence of Cretan in 5 and 7, they

were common to all, and that the absence of examples in any dialect is accidental. Thus, forms like φέρομεν are attested for Phocian and most of the Doric dialects, but there is no occurrence of a first plural form in Locrian and Elean, and in Rhodian only from the time when -μεν had been introduced from the κοινή, just as it was at Delphi before the end of the fourth century B.C. The early substitution of the κοινή forms of the numerals and the rare occurrence of the personal pronouns in inscriptions, account for the incomplete representation of 2, 3, 15-19.

b. The first ten of these characteristics are also Boeotian (217), several also Thessalian (220), and a few also Arcadian.

224. There are various other phenomena which are common to the West Greek dialects, but are not confined to them even in the widest application of the term. Several of those mentioned in 180 are often casually referred to as "Doric," e.g., αἶ = εἶ, ἦς = ἦν, ἄμές, ἔθεν, πᾶμα, ἔχω, but none of them has any claim to be regarded as specifically West Greek, with the possible exception of η from αε (41.1 with a).

a. Even of the peculiarities cited in 223 some consist merely in the retention of the original forms which must have been universal at one time; and that τοί, ταί or pron. datives like ἐμίν still existed in East Greek in the historical period is shown by their appearance in Homer. Some others also may prove to be of wider scope, e.g., ὄπει, since ὄπου is, so far as we know, only Attic-Ionic. But so far as the present evidence of inscriptions goes, the peculiarities given in 223 are distinctly characteristic of West Greek.

225. The declension of nouns in -εύς with gen. sg. -έος, acc. sg. -ῆ is common to Delphian and the majority, but not all, of the Doric dialects. See 111.5. The 3 pl. inv. -ντω is common to all the Doric dialects except Cretan, Theran, Cyrenaean, but the distribution of -ντω and -ντων does not coincide at all with the East and West Greek divisions. See 140.3, 4. There are various peculiarities which are West Greek in a limited sense, but demonstrably not general West Greek, e.g., τῆνος = ἐκεῖνος (125.1), αὐτοσαυτός (121.4), πρόσθα = πρόσθε (133.1), Ἀπέλλων (49.3), ντ, νθ = λτ, λθ (72).

NORTHWEST GREEK

226. The chief characteristics of Northwest Greek as distinguished from Doric, including however some which are not com-

mon to all the dialects of this group and some which are not strictly confined to them, are:

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. ἐν = εἰς. Also Thess., Boet., and Arc.-Cypr. (ἐν), 135.4 | 6. πάντοις, etc., dat. pl. But in Delph. only late and due to Aetolian influence, and in Locr. also other forms. 107.3 |
| 2. καλείμενος, etc. (El. -ημενος). Also Boeot., etc. 158 | 7. τέτορες, etc., acc. pl. El., Ach., but not Locr., and rare in Delph. 107.4 |
| 3. φάρω, etc. But rare in Delph. 12 | |
| 4. στ = σθ 85.1 | |
| 5. ἐντε, Delph. ἑντε = ἔστε. No example in El. 135.4 | |

a. There are various other peculiarities the scope of which coincides even less definitely with the Northwest Greek dialects proper, but the spread of which in the northern part of Greece is noticeable, e.g., masc. ā-stems with nom. sg. -ā, gen. sg. -ās (105.1a, 2e), personal names in -ώνδας or -όνδας (164.8), and in -κλέας (166.1).

Phocian (Mostly Delphian)

227. West Greek characteristics. See 223-25.

228. Northwest Greek characteristics. See 226.

229. Aeolic elements: πάντεσσι, etc. in all the earlier inscriptions. 107.3. Here also, perhaps, the words ταγός (also Thess., Cypr., and poetical), κεραῖω (also Hom.) = κεράννυμι, διδῆμι (also Boeot. and Hom.) = δέω 'bind'.

230. Characteristics mostly in common with various other dialects.

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. ει, ου = secondary ε, ο. 25 | 8. φατρία (Stiris) = φρατρία. 70.3 |
| 2. F initial till about 400 B.C. Intervocalic only in a sixth century inscription. | 9. ἀμφιλέγω. 76 |
| 3. Peculiarities in the use of the spiritus asper. 58a, b, c | 10. ρρ = ρσιν Θαρρίων, etc. 80 |
| 4. ἐντοφήα. 6 | 11. ἡμισσον. 81 |
| 5. η from εα, in part. 42.1 | 12. Crasis in κῆν, κηῦκλεια, κωῦτε, etc. 94.6, 7 |
| 6. ἀποστράφαι. 49.2 | 13. Apocope in κάτ, πότ, πάρ, πέρ, and in compounds ἀν (ἀμμόνιον). 95 |
| 7. hēmorrhion. 55a | Elision in πέροδος. 91a. |

- | | |
|--|---|
| 14. τῶλ Λαβυαδῶν, τοῦν νόμους, etc. 96, 97 | 30. ποεῖνται. 158 |
| 15. αὐτός as reflexive. 121.3 | 31. ἦται (late). 163.9 |
| 16. αὐτοσαυτός, αὐσαυτός. 121.4 | 32. παρά 'at, with,' with acc. 136.2 |
| 17. τοῦτοι = οὔτοι, τοῦτα = ταῦτα. 124 | 33. ἀντί 'during.' 136.8 |
| 18. τῆνος (ἰν τῆνῃ) = ἐκεῖνος. 125.1 | 34. ὑπέρ 'in behalf of' with acc. 136.10 |
| 19. ἄδε. 132.6 | 35. χρίζω 'wish.' 162.14 |
| 20. Φοίχω = οἰκόθεν. 132.8 | 36. γραμματιστάς. 161.4 |
| 21. ἐχθός, ἐχθω. 133.3 | 37. κεφάλωμα = κεφαλαῖον. 164.10 |
| 22. ἐνδός, ἐνδω. 133.4 | 38. πενταμαριτεύω. 12, no. 52 D 16, note |
| 23. ποί (beside πότ) = πρός. 135.6 | 39. ἀζετόω 'convict.' No. 55.17 note |
| 24. 3 pl. perf. -ατι. 138.4 | 40. δαράται and γάμελα. No. 52 A 24, note |
| 25. 3 pl. inv. -ντων. 140.4a | 41. πατρία 'gens.' No. 52 A 25, note |
| 26. Infin. -εν. 153.2 | 42. See also, in Glossary, αἶνος, ἀλία, ἀμμόνιον, ἀρέσμιον, προτεράσιος, τέλειος. |
| 27. στεφανώω, etc. = -όω. 159 | |
| 28. συλέω = συλάω. 161.2 | |
| 29. ποιῶντι, ποιόντων, θεαρόντων. 42.5d | |

231. External influence in the dialect. The temple accounts of 353-325 B.C. show plain evidences of Attic influence. With the Aetolian domination (278-178 B.C.) a new element is added, that of the Northwest Greek κοινή (see 279), resulting in the striking mixture (e.g., dat. pl. πάντεσσι, πάντοις, πᾶσι) seen in the numerous proxy and manumission decrees, some of them as late as the first and second centuries A.D. There are even some few traces of Boeotian influence, as in ἱστάνθω, θέλωνθι, κλαρωσῖ (ῖ = εἷ) from Stiris, near the Boeotian boundary, and the spellings κῆ (= καί), ἄσουλων in a decree of the Phocians. The Amphictionic decrees immediately following the Aetolian conquest are in the pure Attic κοινή, but the dialect was gradually resumed, in the mixed form which it shows in the other classes of inscriptions.

Locrian

232. West Greek characteristics. See 223-25.

233. Northwest Greek characteristics. See 226.

234. In common with various other dialects.

1. E, EI, O, OV, later ει, ου = secondary ε, ο. 25d
2. καθαρός (Περφοθαριάν) = καθαρός. 6
3. Ὀπέντι, Ὀποντίους. 44.4
4. F initial, rarely intervocalic. 52, 53
5. Peculiarities in the use of the spiritus asper. 58a, d
6. ξμίσον. 58d, 81, 89.6
7. Doubling of ξ. 89.1
8. τάραι = τολ τάραι. (Halae). 94.9
9. Apocope, assimilation, and simplification in κα τὰς, κα τὸνδε, πὸ τοὺς. 89.7, 95
10. ἀμφιλλέγω. 76
11. μεῖστον. 113.2
12. ταῦτᾱ, ᾱ. 132.6
13. ἀριστίνδαν, πλουτίνδαν, ἀγχιστέδαν. 133.7
14. ἐχθός = ἐκτός. 133.3
15. ὕπα- = ὕπο-. 135.3
16. ποί (once) = πρὸς. 135.6b
17. 3 pl. inv. -ντῶ; mid. -δσθῶν. 140.3a, 4b
18. ἐλᾱ- in ἀπελᾱδνται. 159
19. Φέρρω = φεύγω. 162.7
20. τεθμός, τετθμός, θέθμιον = θεσμός, and δαιθμός = δασμός. 164.4
21. δικαστήρ. 164.5
22. οἰκιάτας = οἰκέτης. 167
23. τέλειος = κύριος 'valid.' Glossary
24. παῖς 'son,' κόρα 'daughter.' Glossary
25. πλεῖθα 'assembly.' Glossary

235. Special Locrian.

1. ἐ from ἐκ in ἐ δάμῶ, ἐ λιμέ-νος, etc. 89.7, 100
2. αἱ τι συλῶι, etc. = αἱ τις. 89.7
3. χαρέσται = ἐλέσθαι. 12
4. φρίν = πρίν. 66
5. ἀλάζω = ἀλλάσσω. 84a
6. κατὰ 'according to' with gen. 136.5
7. ἀνδρεφονικός. 167
8. ἐχεπάμδν 'heir,' παματοφα-γεῖσται 'be confiscated.' 162.12
9. λιποτελέω. Glossary
10. πρεῖγα 'council.' 86.3, no. 59.10
11. πεντάμεροι, title of officials. Glossary
12. ἀξιόδοτας. No. 59b, note

236. The important inscriptions (nos. 57-59) are from the early fifth century B.C., and are from Western Locris. But one of these is presumably a copy of an original draft made at Opus. The other material, except for a few short inscriptions, is from

a much later period and in mixed dialect. The view that East and West Locrian were materially different in the early period is without adequate foundation and must be given up.

Elean

237. West Greek characteristics. See 223-25.

238. Northwest Greek characteristics. See 226.

239. In common with various other dialects.

1. η, ω = secondary ε, ο. 25
2. Psilosis. 57
3. δδ (also ττ) = ζ. 84
4. ρρ = ρσ. 80
5. Rhotacism of final ζ. 60.1
6. Intervocalic σ > h or lost (late). 59.3
7. F init. even before consonants, rarely intervocalic; late βουκίαρ = οἰκίας. 51, 55
8. αἰλότρια = ἀλλότρια. 74b
9. Omission of ι in ἐα = εἴη, etc. 31
10. γροφεύς = γραφεύς. 49.2
11. Apocope in κά, πό, πάρ = παρά, and πάρ = περί. 95
12. Nom. sg. τελεστά. 105.1a
13. Dat. sg. -οι. 106.2
14. Acc. pl. -αις, -αιρ, -οιρ. 78
15. Dat. pl. φυγάδεσσι (but usually -οις). 107.3
16. βασιλεύς, -ῆρος. 111.1
17. ἄσιστα = ἄγχιστα. 113.3
18. αὐτός reflexive. 121.3
19. τοῖ, ταῖ = τόδε, τάδε. 122
20. ταύτων = τούτων. 124
21. Article as relative (late). 126
22. ὕπα- = ὕπο-. 135.3
23. παρὰ 'at, with' with acc. 136.2
24. ὑπό with gen. in dating. 136.11
25. ἐγραμμένος = γεγραμμένος. 137
26. 3 pl. inv. -ντῶν; mid. -δσθῶν. 140.4a, 4b
27. 3 sg. subj. -ᾱ = -η. 149
28. Aor. subj. in ᾱ (φυγαδεύαντι, ποιήαντι). 151.1
29. 3 sg. aor. opt. -σειε, -ηαιε. 152.4
30. Infin. -ην. 153.1
31. μι-forms συλαίῃ, δαμοσιόῃ, δαμοσιῶμεν. 157c
32. Φέρρω, Φέρω = φεύγω. 162.7

240. Special Elean.

1. ᾱ = η. 15
2. α = ε, not only before ρ, but after ρ, before final ν, etc. 12 with α
3. πόλερ, βενέοι. 18b
4. ζ = δ (only in earliest inscr.). 62.2
5. πάσχω = πάσχω. 66

6. σσ = σθ (late). 85.2
7. Extreme elision in article. 94.9
8. Gen.-dat. dual -οιοις, -οιοιρ. 106.7
9. μεύς = μῆν. 112.3
10. ὀπτῶ = ὀκτώ. 114.8
11. ὕσταριν = ὕστερον. 133.6
12. ἄνευς = ἄνευ, and used with acc. 133.6, 136.4
13. Verbs in -ειω (-αιω) = -εω. 161.1
14. ἤστω = ἔστω. 163.5
15. Opt. with κα in commands; also subj. (late). 175
16. Opt. regularly in conditions etc. 176.3
17. For peculiar words and meanings, see, in Glossary, γράφος, δίκαια, δίφυιος, φράτρα, ἐπεμπαῶ, λαρόμαος, κατιαραίω, ἰμάσχω, θηλύτερος, ἐρσεναιτέρος.

241. κοινή influence. In the amnesty decree (no. 65), from the second half of the fourth century B.C., αρ from ερ is, with one exception (ὕσταριν), given up, as in θηλυτέραν, ἐρσεναιτέραν (note also ἐρσ- vs. earlier ρρ. 80), and περί (earlier πάρ, with apocope), though ρα from ρε is seen in κατιαραίω; πάσχω has its usual form (earlier πάσχω); the characteristic Elean words Φέρρω, Φέρω = φεύγω in its technical sense, δίφυιον (ζίφυιον), and γράφος have given place to the usual φεύγω, διπλάσιον, and γράμμα. The Damocrates decree (no. 66), from the first half of the third century B.C., has ερ, never αρ, ὑπό not ὕπα, and shows considerable κοινή influence in the vocabulary, e.g., καθώρ (καθώς), ἐγκτησις.

On the other hand most of the characteristics of the dialect persist, and, in contrast to earlier inscriptions, the rhotacism of final ζ is uniformly observed. Some of the differences between these two inscriptions and the earlier ones are due to chronological and local variation within the dialect, e.g., in both σσ, not στ, = σθ, loss of intervocalic σ; in no. 65 ττ, not δδ, = ζ, dat. pl. φυγάδεσσι (not -οις); in no. 66 subj. in prescriptions. Even in the earlier inscriptions there are some indications of local differences, but it is impossible with the present material to define their scope.

The definite substitution of the Attic κοινή in public inscriptions of Elis belongs to the end of the third century B.C.

Doric

Laconian

242. West Greek characteristics. See 223-25.

243. Partly in common with various other dialects.

1. η, ω = secondary ε, ο. 25
2. ι from ε before vowels. 9.8
3. η from ε + α, in part. 42.1
4. Intervocalic σ > h or lost. 59.1
5. Rhotacism of final ζ (late). 60.2
6. σ = θ (late in inscr.). 64
7. Ποιοιδᾶν = Ποσειδῶν. 49.1, 61.4
8. Ἀπέλλων = Ἀπόλλων. 49.3
9. F initial till about 400 B.C.; intervocalic in early inscriptions; later sometimes β. 50-53
10. Apocope in κάτ, κά, πότ, πό, πάρ, πέρ. 95
11. αὐτός reflex. 121.3
12. τετράκιν, etc. 133.6
13. ταυτᾱ, ἡτᾱ, πέποκα. 132.6, 7, 11
14. ἄσιστα = ἄγχιστα. 113.3
15. 3 pl. inv. -ντῶ; mid. -δσθῶ. 140.3a, 3b
16. Infin. -ην, -μεν. 153.1, 154.3
17. ἀγνέω = ἄγω. 162.1
18. βοῦαι, βουαγόρ, πρατοπάμπαις, ἀτροπάμπαις, μιχιχιδόμενος, εἰρην, κελῶα, κασσηρατόριν. Nos. 75-78, note.
19. See also, in Glossary, ἀπέλλα, βίδεοι, ὠβά.

244. κοινή influence. Inscriptions from the second century B.C. (from the fourth and the third there is very little material) and later are not even in the Doric κοινή (278), but substantially in the Attic κοινή, with but slight dialectal coloring. On the revival of the use of the dialect in some inscriptions of the second century A.D., probably representing crudely what still survived as a patois, see note to nos. 75-78.

Heracleian

245. West Greek characteristics. See 223-25.

246. In common with various other dialects.

1. η, ω = secondary ε, ο. 25
2. ἀνεπίγροφος. 49.2
3. καθαρός, τοφίων 6
4. ι from ε before vowels. 9.9
5. η from ε + α. 42.1
6. εω (ιω) from εο. 42.5b

7. τάνω = τένω. 49.4
8. F initial, with some irregularities. 50b
9. Spiritus asper frequent, but with some irregularities. 58d
10. ἐγφηληθίωντι. 75, 151.2
11. Apocope in ἄν, πάρ, κάτ, πότ. 95
12. μής = μήν. 112.3
13. ἡς = εἷς. 114.1
14. τρεῖς as nom. pl. 114.3
15. αὐτοσαυτός, αὐταυτός. 121.4
16. τήνος = ἐκεῖνος. 125.1
17. Article as relative. 126
18. ποτεχεῖ. 132.2
19. ἄνωθα, ἐμπροσθα. 133.1
20. 3 pl. imv. -ντω, mid. -σθω. 140.3a, 3b
21. ἀνθεῶσθαι. 146.3
22. Infin. -εν, -μεν. 153.2, 154.3
23. ἐλᾶ- in ἐπελάσθω. 159
24. πριῶι, πριωσεῖ. 161.3
25. ἔντες = ὄντες. 163.8

247. Special Heracleian.

1. προτερεῖα. 46.2
2. ἐνδεδιωκότα. 68.1
3. ἔντασι, ποιόντασι. 107.3
4. πόλιστος = πλείστος. 113.2
5. ποταλαίγω. 142a
6. γεγράφεται, μεμισθωσῶνται. 146.5
7. πεφυτευκῆμεν. 147.2
8. ἐρρηγεῖα = ἐρρωγυῖα. 146.3, 148
9. Special words or meanings, see, in Glossary, ἀμπώλημα ἄντομος, ἄρρηκτος, ἄφωτος, ἀρτύω, κάδδιξ, μασχάλα, μυχός, ὄρεγμα, πλάγος, ῥήτρα, ῥογός, σαρμεύω.

248. κοινή influence. κοινή forms appear now and then in the Heracleian Tables, especially in the numerals. Thus τρεῖς beside τρεῖς — τέσσαρες, τεσσαράκοντα beside τέτορες, τετρώκοντα — κόσιοι beside —κάτιοι — χίλιοι for χήλιοι — Φεῖκατι, with εἰ from εἵκοσι, beside Φεῖκατι — εἰ beside αἰ — ἡοῖ beside τοί.

Argolic

249. West Greek characteristics. See 223-25. But δικάσσει, not δικάζει, 142.

250. Mostly in common with various other dialects (but several special features included here, notably 59).

1. η, ω in part, but also εἰ, ἔ, and ου = secondary εἰ, ὅ. 25c
2. ι from ε before vowels, sometimes. 9.10
3. βῶν = βοῦν. 37.1

4. η from ε + α. 42.1
5. ο from εο before ντ. 42.5d
6. γροφεύς, etc. 49.2
7. φάρμα, φάρξις. 49.2a, 66
8. καταλοβεύς = καταλαβεύς. 49.3
9. τάνω = τένω. 49.4
10. F in all positions in earliest inscriptions; initial till ca. 400 B.C. 52-55
11. ἡάλιος, δαμιοργοῖ, etc. 56
12. Spiritus asper with some irregularities. 58d
13. Intervocalic σ > h or lost. 59.2
14. ἐντάδε = ἐνθάδε. 65
15. ῥόπτον, θύρωτον, φάτρα. 70.3
16. Μίντων = Μίλτων. 72
17. πάνσα, ἐνς, -ονς, etc. 77.3, 78
18. ἡμισσον. 81
19. πεπεμμένος. 86.8
20. ἐύλλεσθαι = σκύλλεσθαι. 87
21. βόλιμος, σπάδιον, φάλυρον. 88
22. ἡμίδιμνον. 88a, 89.2
23. γυμνικός, πέτρινον. 89.2
24. Apocope in ἄν, πάρ, πό, κάτ, κά. 95
25. ἐς = ἐκ. 100a
26. Acc. pl. ανς, -ονς, -ινς (but also -ας, -ος, rarely -ως). 78, 104.8
27. μής = μήν. 112.3
28. ἔθεν, gen. sg. 118.3
29. τυ, acc. sg., νίν acc. sg. 118.5
30. αὐτοῦ ἔθεν, reflexive. 121.1
31. αὐσαυτός, αὐταυτός. 121.4c, f
32. τήνος = ἐκεῖνος. 125.1
33. ποτεχεῖ, ἡῖ. 132.2
34. ἐχθω, ἐχθοι, ἐνδοι, ἀνευν. 133.3, 4, 6
35. πεδά = μετά. 135.5
36. ποί = πρὸς. 135.6
37. ὑπέρ 'in behalf of' with acc. 136.10
38. 2 sg. συντίθησι. 138.1
39. γεγράφανται. 66, 139.2
40. 3 pl. imv. -ντω; mid. -νσθῶ. 140.3a, 3b
41. κλαῖξ, κλαικτός. 142a
42. ἔγεντο = ἐγένετο. No. 80, note
43. ἐξεργύα, aor. 144b
44. λελάβηκα, ἐπιμεμηνάκαντι. 146.1
45. σῶσας, 2 sg. aor. subj. 150c
46. Infin. -εν, -μεν. 153.2, 154.3
47. οἰκείη, opt. 157c
48. διεγέλᾶ, ποτελάτῶ. 159
49. ἔρω 'go', ἐνπιπάσχομαι 'acquire', χρηζῶ 'wish'. 162.6, 12, 14
50. ἐντῶ = ὄντων, ἔντες = ὄντες, ἔσσα = οὔσα. 163.6, 8
51. μαντήα, πρεσγήα. 164.1
52. ἀλίσσις, etc. 164.3
53. θεθμός (65), γράσσημα, γράμμα. 164.4
54. ἡμίτεια. 164.10
55. ἐνδοσθίδια. 165.2
56. ἱάτρα. 165.3
57. κωμέτας. 167

58. Opt. with κα. 177
59. ἀφρέτσει, ἀρήτσει 'presided.' 55b
60. ἔλεξε = εἶπε 'made the motion.' Glossary
61. Other special words or meanings, see, in Glossary, ἀλιαία, ἀμβόλιμος, ἀνεπιβασία, ἀρτύναι, δεμελεῖς, δένδρῶ, δόκημα, Φηδιέστας, ἐπιπῆν, καλαῖς, ὀπίλλος, τέλειος, τέλλω, τρέω.

251. There are some differences between the dialect of Argos and vicinity and that which appears in the inscriptions of Epidaurus and other places in the Acte. So the absence in the latter region of the typical Arg. term ἀρήτσει, of the Argive change of intervocalic σ (see 59.2 with a), the rarity of νσ (77.3, 78; only early ποιφέσας Methana) which is usual in Argive inscriptions till within the second century B.C.; the infrequency of η, ω for secondary εἰ, ὅ (25c; only Epid. χηρός, χῆρα, ἀφήλετο, and gen. sg. -ω, acc. pl. -ως at Hermione). Some features are due to the fact that Attic influence was earlier and stronger in the East. Definite Attic forms are frequent in Epidaurian inscriptions of the early fourth century B.C. (see no. 90, note).

But more extensive early material from the Acte may alter the picture.

Corinthian

252. West Greek characteristics. See 223-25.

253. In common with various other dialects.

1. ευ from εο. 42.5
2. γροφεύς. 49.2
3. Ἀπέλλων. 49.3
4. F early in all positions. 52-55
5. ντ, νθ = λτ, λθ. 72
6. ρη, Mh. 76a
7. Apocope in ἄν, πάρ, πότ, πό (but more often full forms). 95
8. Φιλοκλέδα, nom. sg. 105.1a
9. Τλασίαφο, gen. sg. 105.2b
10. Προκλείδας, gen. sg. 105.2c
11. Dat. pl. of consonant stems in -εσσιν. 107.3
12. Διεί, dat. sg. 112.1
13. μείς = μήν. 112.3
14. αὐτός, reflex. 121.3
15. αὐτοσαυτός. 121.4b
16. ποί = πρὸς. 135.6
17. 3 pl. imv. -ντω; mid. -σθω. 140.3a, b
18. ἡίστατο, aor. of ἵζω. 144c
19. Infin. -ειν, -μεν. 153.1, 154.3
20. Personal names in -ήν frequent. 164.7

254. Special Corinthian. Very early monophthongization of εἰ and ου and representation of both original εἰ and secondary εἰ by E or EI (vs. ε, Sicyon ε = ε or η) and of original ου and secondary ο by OV. 25d, 28, 34.

255. After the early but brief inscriptions in the epichoric alphabet, there is but scanty material until the third and second centuries B.C., when the admixture of κοινή forms is considerable.

Megarian

256. West Greek characteristics. See 223-25.

257. In common with various other dialects.

1. E, εἰ, O, ου = secondary εἰ, ὅ. 25
2. E = original εἰ, rare. 28
3. ευ = εο, late. 42.5
4. τράφω = τρέφω. 49.2
5. F init. in fifth century B.C., otherwise lost.
6. Φίντων = Φίλτων. 72
7. Mh in Mheγαρεύς. 76a
8. ρρ = ρσ in Ὀρριππος. 80
9. ἡμισσον. 81
10. ἀμφιλλέγω. 76
11. Apocope in ἄν, πάρ, κάτ, πότ. 95
12. Gen. sg. masc. Φάγας, etc. 105.2c
13. μείς = μήν. 112.3
14. τοῦτοι = οὔτοι. 124
15. τήνος = ἐκεῖνος. 125. τήνῶθεν. 132.8
16. τῆδε, ἔ(λ)λῆ. 132.7
17. ὅκκα. 132.11
18. ἐνδός. 133.4
19. ἄνις. 133.6
20. 3 pl. imv. -ντω; mid. -σθων. 140.3a, 2b
21. Infin. -ειν, -μεν. 153.1, 154.3
22. ἐπεσκεύωσαν. 161.3
23. Names in -κλίας, as Εὐκλίας. 166.1
24. λάζομαι = λαμβάνω. Glossary
25. τελαμών = στήλη. No. 82, note

258. Special Megarian.

1. Θεδαρος, Θεοκλείδας, etc. most frequent. 42.5/
2. ἐντίδες = ἐλπίδες. 72
3. σά = τινα. 128
4. αἰσιμνάτας, αἰσιμνάω = αἰσινμήτης, etc. 20. Apart from the difference of vowel, the words are peculiar to Megarian and Ionic.

259. Except for the early inscriptions of Selinus and a few

third and second centuries, and in the Doric κοινή as described in 278.

Theran and Cyrenaean

267. West Greek characteristics. See 223-25.

268. In common with various other dialects.

1. η, ω = secondary ε, δ, but also sometimes ει and (T.) ου. 25b
2. αυ from ευ sometimes (T.). 33a
3. η from ε + α. 42.1
4. ευ from εο. 42.5
5. εω (C.) from εο. 42.5b
6. ὠδός (C.) = Att. ὁδός. 54
7. F lost in earliest times. 50
8. ντ, νθ (C.) from λτ, λθ. 72
9. Type παῖσα (C., traces in T.). 77.3
10. Final νς, loss of ν without change of preceding vowel. 78
11. ρρ = ρσ (early T., later C. ρσ). 80
12. Crasis of ο + α to ω. 94.1
13. Assimilation of final ν to following initial λ (C.). 96.3
14. Assimilation of final σ to following initial λ. 97.3
15. Article as relative (C.). 126
16. μέσθα 'until.' 132.12
17. Pron. advs. αὐτεῖ (C.), ὅπου (C.), ἔδε (C.), ὅπη (C.), ὅκα (C.). 132.2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 11
18. ἔνδοι, ἔξοι (C.), ἐξάν (T.). 133.4, 5, 6
19. 3 pl. inv. -ντων. 140.4a; mid. -σθων. 140.2b
20. Aorist of ἔζω (vs. ἔζω) ἔσαντα, ἰσάμενος. 144c
21. Aorist in -α, 3 sg. subj. μιᾷ, ἰσᾷ (Cyren.). 144b, 151.1
22. Fut. pass. with act. endings (T.). 145
23. Perfect forms as if from -εὐόω, ἐφορευακότων (C.), κατεσκευόωκε (T.). 161.3
24. Perf. act. pple. fem. -υῖα (C.) vs. -εῖα (T.). 148
25. Short vowel subj. of σ- and α-aor. (C.) 150
26. Long vowel subj. of unthematic vowel stems, δύνανται, etc. (C.) 151.1
27. Pres. subj. of εἶμι, ἐπείμι (C.). 151.3
28. Infin. of thematic forms, -εν. 153.2, 3
29. Mid. pple. χρεῖμενος (C.). 158
30. Transfer of -αω to -εω type (C.). 161.2
31. Pres. pple. fem. in unthematic form (C.) 163.8a
32. ἔσμι. 162.9
33. -ηιο- = Att. -ειο- (C.). 164.1
34. -τηρ in agent nouns = Att. -της. 164.5
35. δαμιεργός (C.) vs. more common δαμιουργός. 167

269. Special Cyrenaean.

1. ε from εο before ντ. 42.5e
2. βᾶβλος = βέβλος. 46.1
3. Nom. pl. and acc. pl. ἱαρές, dat. pl. Μεγαρέσσι, etc. 111.3
4. λεχός gen. sg. of λεχῶι (C.). 45, 111.5a
5. ἐς νέω = εἰς νέωτα (C.)
6. Forms of μαιίνω, 3 sg. fut. μανεῖ (trans.), μισσεῖ (pass.), aor. subj. μιᾷ (pass.)
7. παισεῖται = Att. πείσεται, fut. mid. of πάσχω (with α apparently from that of πάσχω, ἐπαθον).
8. ποτιπιάμα. 164.4
9. Some other special words or meanings (C.) ἀδηζῶν 'protecting,' δεκατός 'subject to a tithe,' ἔκνυς 'ashes' (?), οἰκισία 'settlement,' κοιτᾶτήριον = κοιμητήριον, ὄροφος 'house,' κολοσός 'plastic figure,' ἔκαμε 'died'

Cretan

270. West Greek characteristics. See 223-25. But οί, αἱ, not τοί, ταί, and Ἀρτεμῖς not Ἀρταμῖς.

271. In common with various other dialects.

1. η, ω = secondary ε, δ. 25 with α
2. ι from ε before vowel. 9.7
3. βῆς, βῆν = βοῦς, βοῦν. 37.1
4. ο from εο before ντ (not Central Cretan). 42.5d
5. τράπω, τράφω. 49.2
6. χάρτος, στάρτος, etc. 49.2a
7. Ἀπέλλων. 49.3
8. ἀντίγορον, ἐγγορον. 48.4
9. F initial till second century B.C.; sometimes β; intervocalic only in compounds or augmented forms. 50-54
10. ξῆνος, ὄρος from ξένος, etc., but Φίστος. 54 with d
11. Psilosis. 57 with b
12. μαίτυρες = μάρτυρες. 71a
13. ἀμφιλλέγω. 76a
14. πάνσα, ἐνς, -ονς, etc. (but also ἐς, -ος). 77.3, 78
15. ττ in ἱαττα ὀπότος, μέτος, δάτταθαι, etc. 81, 82
16. δδ (sometimes ττ) = ζ. 84
17. ττ = κτ and πτ. 86.1, 2
18. γγ, γ = σγ. 86.3
19. ττ = στ (rare). 86.4
20. ψ = σφ. 87
21. ἀλλόττριος. 89.4
22. Apocope in ἄν, πᾶρ (rarely κα(τ), usually κατά). 95
23. ἐς = ἐξ before consonants. 100
24. Early loss of dual. 104.11
25. υἱάσι. 112.2
26. πλῖες. 113.2

others, the material is from the end of the fourth century or later, and shows κοινή influence.

Rhodian

260. West Greek characteristics. See 223-25.

261. In common with various other dialects.

1. η, ω and ει, ου = secondary ε, δ. 25b
2. Ἀγλου- beside Ἀγλω- from Ἀγλαο-. 41.2
3. η from ε + α. 42.1
4. ευ = εο. 42.5
5. ᾱ from ο + ᾱ in ὀγδᾶι, Βᾶ-δρόμιος. 44.2
6. Early loss of F. 50
7. Ἐην-, Ἐειν-. 54
8. ἱαρός, ἱερός with lenis. 58b
9. τόξε = τόδε. 62.2
10. Φιντίας = Φιλτίας. 72
11. Ζεὺ δέ = Ζεὺς δέ, etc. 97.4
12. περιβολιβάσαι. 88
13. Πασιδάφο, gen. sg. 105.2b
14. Ἰδαμενῆος, gen. sg. 111.3
15. ἐννή. 114.9
16. τοῦτοι = οὔτοι. 124
17. κῆνος. 125.1
18. δπυς, υἱς. 132.4
19. δκκκ. 132.11
20. ἐξάν. 133.6
21. Πεδα- in month name. 135.5
22. 3 pl. perf. ἀπεστάλκαντι, etc. 138.4
23. 3 pl. inv. -ντω; mid. -σθων, -σθω. 140.3a, 1, 2b
24. Fut. pass. with active endings. 145
25. Perf. 3 sg. τετιμάκει, etc., infin. γηγόνειν. 147.1, 2
26. τιμέω = τιμάω. 161.2
27. χρέζω 'wish.' 162.14
28. ἐντί as 3 sg. 163.10
29. Τιμᾶκράτης, Ἰππέδαμος, Ἀρχοκράτης, κτοινέτας. 167

262. Special Rhodian. Infinitive in -μεν. 154.5. κτοίνα, denoting a territorial division like the Attic deme, is found only in Rhodes and Carpathos. The μαστροί are known as financial investigators at Delphi and Pallene, but as the chief local officers are peculiar to Rhodes (cf. no. 103), λέσχη in the sense of 'grave' (no. 101) is Rhodian only.

263. κοινή influence shows itself to a slight extent in the fourth century B.C. Most of the material is from the third century or later, and is in the Doric κοινή (278), though with frequent retention of the characteristic infinitive in -μεν. In this mixed form the dialect is one of the longest to survive, many peculiarities still

appearing in inscriptions of the first and second centuries A.D.

Coan

264. West Greek characteristics. See 223-25.

265. In common with various other dialects.

1. η, ω and ει, ου = secondary ε, δ. 25b
2. η from ε + α, and special ηύτων = εαυτών. 42.1
3. ευ = εο, also from ε + secondary δ in κυεύσα, etc. 42.5
4. ᾱ from οᾱ in ὀγδᾶι, Βᾶδρόμιος. 44.2
5. Δολφοί, ἔτελον. 49.3
6. τάμνω = τέμνω. 49.4
7. Early loss of F. 50
8. στέπτω = στέφω. 66
9. Palatalized λ, spelling λε, as ξύλα = ξύλα. 71b
10. Acc. pl. of ο-stems -ος, also ἐς = εἰς. 78
11. ἡμισσον. 81
12. πρηγιστεύω. 86.3a
13. πράτιστος. 114.1
14. τοῦτοι = οὔτοι. 124
15. τουτῶ, ἐκατέρω. 132.8 with α
16. δκκκ. 132.11
17. ἐξάν. 133.6
18. 3 pl. inv. -ντω; mid. -σθω, -σθων. 140.3a, 1, 2b
19. Short-vowel aor. subj. 150
20. ἐγρυᾶι, aor. subj. (Calymn.) 144b, 151.1
21. Infin. -εν, also in contract verbs; -μεν. 153.2, 3, 154.3
22. ἐλάντω, etc.
23. καρπῶντι, ἱερώσθω, ἐξορκῶντω, ἀζιῶι. 159a
24. ἀγρεαί. 162.2
25. ἔρω 'go.' 162.6
26. Other special words or meanings, see, in Glossary, αἱμάτιον, ἀμφεικᾶς, ἀποτος, γερεαρόρος, δίκρεας, ἐνδορα, ἐπίποκος, ἔτελον, θηκαῖον, καρπῶν, ναῦσσον, προσπερμεία, στυρός, τρικῶλιος, χέλυος.

266. There are no very early inscriptions, and only a few even from the fourth century B.C. The most important of these, the sacrificial calendar (cf. no. 108), already shows some κοινή forms, as ἱερεὺς beside ἱαρεύς, εἰκᾶς beside ἱκᾶς, acc. pl. τρεῖς, ἐστία beside ἱστία, etc., but preserves some forms which are never found later as ἱερῆι, τεταρτῆς (later always -ει, -εις, etc.). Ionic influence is shown in τέλεως, the hybrid ἱαρεωσύνα, and many women's names like Ἀλήη, Ἀρισταγόρη, etc. Most of the material is of the

27. *Ἐν αὐτῷ* = *ἐαυτῷ*, etc. 121.1
 28. *αὐτοσαυτός*. 121.4b
 29. *αὐτόν* neut. = *αὐτό* 125.2
 30. *ὁτέιος* = *ὁποῖος*, in sense adjectival *ὅστις*. 130
 31. *ὁπαι*, *ὁπαι*, *ὁπῆ*, *ὁπυ*. 132.2, 4, 5, 7
 32. *μέστα*, *μετ'* *ἐς*. 132.12
 33. *πρόθηα* = *πρόσθε*. 133.1
 34. *ἐνδός*, *ἐξοί*. 133.4, 5
 35. *αὐτίν*, *αὐταμέριν*. 133.6
 36. *πεδά* = *μετά*. 135.5
 37. *ποί* = *πρός* (rare). 135.6b
 38. *ἀντί* 'in presence of,' *ἀμφί* 'concerning.' 136.7, 8
 39. *ἔγραπται* = *γέγραπται*. 137
 40. 3 pl. perf. *ἀπεστάλκοντι*, etc. 138.4
 41. 3 pl. inv. *-ντων*; mid. *-σθων*. 140.4a, 1b

272. Special Cretan.

1. *ἀβλοπία* = *ἀβλαβία*. 49.3, 66
 2. *τνατός*, *τετναχός* = *θνητός*, etc. 66
 3. *δέφυρα* = *γέφυρα*. 68.2
 4. *θθ* = *σσ* (late). 81a
 5. *θθ* (also *τθ*) = *σθ*. 85.3
 6. *νν* = *ρν*. 86.5
 7. *μμ* = *μν*. 86.6
 8. *Ῥήρω* = *Ῥέρδω*. 86.6
 9. *πρεῖγυς*, *πρείγων*, etc. = *πρέσβυς*, etc. 68.1, 86.3
 10. Assimilation in external combination more extensive than elsewhere. 87.4, 5, 98

42. Fut. pass. with active endings. 145
 43. Short-vowel aor. subj., 3 sg. *δείξει*, etc. 150
 44. Subj. *νύναι*, *πέπαι*, etc. 151.1
 45. Infin. *-εν*; also in contract verbs. 153.2, 3
 46. *χρήμενος*. 158
 47. Verb-forms in *-εω* (*-ιω*) = *-άω*. 161.2
 48. *-οω* type in *τροδόσει*, *τροδῶσαντων*. 161.3
 49. *ἔρω* = *εἶμι*. 162.6
 50. *ἴσμι*. 162.9
 51. *ἔντων* = *όντων*, *ἴαττα* = *οὐσα*. 163.6, 8
 52. *ἐπαβολά*. 167a
 53. *πόλις* = *δήμος*. Glossary
 54. *καρτερός* = *κύριος* 'valid.' Glossary

22. *ἄρατρον* = *ἄροτρον*. 161.5
 23. *ἐλευσέω*, *πεύθω*, *ώνέω*. 162.15
 24. *ἀνδρήιον*. 164.1
 25. *ψάφιγμα*, *ψάφιμμα*. 164.4
 26. *ἐνδοθίδιος*, *ἐξαρχίδιος*. 165.2
 27. *κόμιστρα*, *τρίτρα*. 165.3
 28. *βίετος*, *Φοικεύς*, fem. *Φοικέα*, *ὀφέλδμα*. 167
 29. *ἐπαβολά*. 167a

30. Special words or meanings (not all Cretan only), see, in Glossary, *ἀγάλα*, *ἄζωστος*, *ἀκεύω*, *ἀμφαίνομαι*, *ἄπατος*, *δρομεύς*, *ἐμμανίς*, *ἐνδικός*, *ἐντιτός*, *ἐπιβάλλον*, *καρταῖπος*, *καρτερός*, *κόσμος*, *λαγίω*, *μωλέω*, *οὐρεῖον*, *πάσας*, *πατριδῆχος*, *περαιώω*, *στέγα*, *συνεσσάδδω*, *τέλομαι*, *τίτας*, *φωνέω*

273. Cretan, as commonly understood and as described above, is the dialect of the inscriptions of Gortyn (which is by far the most fully represented), Cnossus, Lyttus, Vaxus, and the other cities of the great central portion of Crete. This is also known more specifically as Central Cretan. Eastward, at Olus, Drerus, Latus, etc., the dialect is much less uniform; and in the inscriptions of cities of the eastern extremity of the island, as Hierapytna, Praesus, and Itanus, and again in those from the cities of the western extremity, as Aptera, Cydonia, etc., many of the most striking Cretan characteristics are wholly lacking. Hence the terms East Cretan, usually reckoned from Hierapytna eastward, and West Cretan, from Lappa westward, are sometimes employed. But there is no sufficient ground for the belief that the East, West, and Central Cretan are fundamental divisions of the dialect, or that they reflect to any degree the various constituent elements in the population. The East and West Cretan inscriptions, the latter very meager, are comparatively late, and show a large degree of obvious *κοινή* influence, partly Attic, partly the Doric *κοινή* of the other islands. The absence of many of the Central Cretan characteristics may well be, and probably is, due to external influence, which was felt earlier and more strongly than in Central Crete, where, especially at Gortyn, most of the peculiarities persisted until Roman times. However, an actual divergence of development, for which external causes are not apparent, is to be recognized in the treatment of *εο*, which, instead of becoming *ω*, appears as *ο* or *ω* in East and West

Greek (49c, d). There are also a few other local variations. But, if we had ample material from the early period, it is highly probable that we should find that in the main the characteristics of Central Cretan were also general Cretan.

SURVIVAL OF THE DIALECTS. GROWTH OF VARIOUS FORMS OF KOINH

274. Not only in early times, but also, in most parts of Greece, long after Attic had become the norm of literary prose, each state employed its own dialect, both in private and public monuments of internal concern, and in those of a more external or interstate character, such as decrees in honor of foreigners, decisions of interstate arbitration, treaties, and, in general, communications between different states. Thus, for example, an honorary decree of a Boeotian city is in the Boeotian dialect, no matter whether the recipient is a citizen of Athens, Delphi, Alexandria, or Tarentum. If the Eleans honor Damocrates of Tenedos, the decree is in the Elean of the time (no. 66). If Mytilene honors Erythrae, the decree is in Lesbian, and a copy in this form is set up at Erythrae. Such is the usual practice, examples of which could be cited by the hundred, and any departure from which is the exception.

A decision of the Argives in a dispute between Melos and Cimolos is in the Argive dialect (no. 87). A treaty between the Cretan cities of Cnossus and Tyllissus (no. 86) is in Argive alphabet and dialect, not only the draft deposited at Argos, but also that at Tyllissus. And so in general such decisions were regularly rendered in the dialect of the arbitrators, and inscribed in this form by the states involved in the dispute, usually at home, but sometimes also in one of the great religious centers as Delos or Olympia. The extant texts of treaties are, as a rule, in the dialect of that party in whose territory the text was found, and it is to be assumed that the version inscribed by the other party in its home was likewise in its dialect. Thus, for example, the monetary agreement between Mytilene and Phocaea in the Lesbian version found at Mytilene (no. 25), the treaty of alliance between Elis and Heraea (in Arcadia) in the Elean version found at Olympia (no. 62).

In communications between states using different dialects each party employs its own. For example, when Philip V of Macedon sends certain recommendations to the city of Larisa, he writes in the Attic *κοινή*, which had long been the language of the Macedonian court, but the decrees which the city passes in response are in the Thessalian dialect (no. 32). An inscription of Mytilene contains the text of a decree of the Aetolian league in favor of Mytilene, in its original Aetolian (Northwest Greek *κοινή*) form, a copy of which had been brought back by the Mytilenaeans, followed by a decree of Mytilene in Lesbian, quoting from the former decree and ordering the inscription of both. The regulations of the religious sanctuaries of Greece are drawn up in the dialect of the state which has direct charge of them, no less in the great Hellenic centers than in those of local fame. So, for example, an Amphictionic decree which is known to us only in the copy set up at Athens is in the Delphian dialect.

275. In the period before the rise of Attic as the language of literary prose, no one dialect was in a position even to influence other dialects except within narrow geographical limits. Yet it is probable that even then external influence was not wholly absent. There was no lack of intercourse to awaken consciousness of the peculiarities of one's own dialect as compared with those of others. Some of these peculiarities, especially such as were at variance with the practice of all or nearly all other dialects, might come to be regarded with disfavor as provincialisms, and be avoided in writing, and even in speech, or at least less consistently observed.

For example, the Laconians and the Argives, who were well aware that under certain conditions they omitted, or pronounced as a mere breathing, what was a σ in the speech of most other Greeks, may have felt that this, unlike some of their other peculiarities, was a sort of weakness, which did not deserve to be exploited in writing. This would explain the inconsistency in the treatment of intervocalic σ which is to be observed even in the early inscriptions of Laconia and Argolis, before any specific Attic influence is possible. See 59.1, 2. The fact that Arcadian $\sigma\iota\varsigma$ and $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$, agreeing with Cyprian $\sigma\iota\varsigma$ and $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$, are found only in the earliest inscriptions (no. 17; $\delta\zeta\iota\varsigma$ also no. 16), while all

the later ones have $\tau\iota\varsigma$ and $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\iota$, may also be ascribed to the combined influence of the other dialects, just as in a later period, when specific Attic influence is more probable, $\pi\lambda\acute{o}\varsigma$ was replaced by the usual $\pi\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\nu$, in spite of the fact that other equally marked peculiarities like $\iota\nu = \acute{\epsilon}\nu$ were unaffected. The Eleians gave up even in the sixth century their use of ζ for the δ of other dialects, and if, as is likely, this was a concession in spelling only, it is none the less in point.

In fact it is increasingly evident that, more than is commonly recognized, we must reckon with external influence even in very early dialect inscriptions. Some of the disparities between inscriptions of the same dialect, some of those which are commonly attributed to local variation or even to prehistoric dialect mixture are due to nothing more than the elimination by the writer of one or another local peculiarity in favor of what is usual in the majority of dialects and especially in that literary form which was familiar to all, the Homeric.

276. Traces of Ionic influence are seen in the Doric islands, though the earliest evidence of this belongs rather to the history of the alphabet, namely the spread of the Ionic $H = \eta$ (4.6). It is not accidental that $\epsilon\nu$ for $\epsilon\omicron$, though occasionally found in continental Greece, is mainly found, outside of Ionic, in Rhodes, Cos, Thera, etc. In Cos occur many Ionic forms, as $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\omega\varsigma$ etc. (see 266a). Even in the fifth century the coins of the Rhodian Ialysus show Ἰαλυσίον beside Ἰαλυσίον . Through the medium of the Doric *κοινή* of the other islands (278), some Ionic peculiarities have even spread to Crete, e.g., at Itanus $\epsilon\nu = \epsilon\omicron$, $\epsilon\omicron = \epsilon\nu$, and $\chi\rho\acute{\epsilon}\omega\mu\epsilon\theta\alpha$.

277. The Attic *κοινή*. The foundation of the ultimate supremacy of Attic is to be sought in the political conditions of the fifth century B.C. In this we refer to something more than the fact, important as it is, that in this period Athens became the intellectual center of Greece and Attic the recognized language of literary prose. It is within the sphere of influence represented by the confederacy of Delos and the Athenian empire that Attic made its first advance as an ordinary medium of communication. Of all dialects it is Ionic which shows the first signs of Attic influence and is the first to lose its identity as a distinct dialect. Some traces

of this influence are seen even in the Ionic inscriptions of the fifth century, especially in the islands, and in the fourth century the majority of inscriptions show at least a mixture of Attic forms, and some, even from the early part of the century, are substantially Attic. After this, Ionic practically ceased to exist as a distinct dialect, though some Ionic peculiarities are occasionally found in much later times, mostly in proper names and certain conventional words or phrases. It is this Attic, already well-nigh established in Ionic territory, and in some respects modified by Ionic, that the Macedonians took up and spread, and which is henceforth termed the *κοινή*, or, more specifically, the Attic *κοινή*.

The Macedonian period, indeed, forms the principal landmark in the evolution of a standard language in Greece. For in it the Attic *κοινή* was spread over a vast territory and permanently established in places which were to become leading centers of Greek life. Yet this is only a stage, marking neither the beginning, as we have seen, nor, still less, the end. Excepting Ionic, and Cyprian, of which we have no later record, the other dialects, though showing more or less *κοινή* influence, remained in common use in inscriptions from one to upwards of three centuries later. But eventually the *κοινή* attained complete supremacy both as the written and the spoken language, and from it is descended Modern Greek. The only important exception is the present Tsakonian dialect, spoken in a small portion of Laconia, which is basically the offspring of the ancient Laconian.

278. The Doric *κοινή*. In most of the Doric dialects Attic influence shows itself, to some extent, even in the fourth century B.C., and there was gradually evolved a type of modified Doric which prevails in the inscriptions of the last three centuries B.C., and is conveniently known as the Doric *κοινή*. This is substantially Doric, retaining a majority of the general West Greek characteristics, but with a tendency to eliminate local peculiarities, and with a strong admixture of forms from the Attic *κοινή*. In spite of some variety in the degree of mixture, and the retention of some local peculiarities, e.g., the infinitive in $-\mu\epsilon\iota\nu$ at Rhodes, there is yet a very considerable unity, amply sufficient to justify us in speaking of a distinct type of *κοινή*.

That the mixture is not a haphazard one is shown, for example, in the fact that the substitution of $\epsilon\iota$ for $\alpha\iota$, side by side with the retention of $\kappa\alpha$, resulting in the hybrid $\epsilon\iota \kappa\alpha$, is very general, while the opposite, $\alpha\iota \acute{\alpha}\nu$, is unknown. $\iota\acute{\alpha}\rho\omicron\varsigma$ is replaced by $\iota\epsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma$. The numerals show the forms of the Attic *κοινή*, e.g., acc. pl. $\tau\rho\acute{\epsilon}\iota\varsigma$ for $\tau\rho\acute{\iota}\varsigma$, $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\sigma\epsilon\rho\epsilon\varsigma$ (or $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\sigma\alpha\rho\epsilon\varsigma$, $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\tau\tau\alpha\rho\epsilon\varsigma$) not $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\tau\tau\omicron\rho\epsilon\varsigma$, $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\kappa\omicron\sigma\iota$ for $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\kappa\alpha\tau\iota$, $\tau\epsilon\sigma\sigma\epsilon\rho\acute{\alpha}\kappa\omicron\nu\tau\alpha$ ($\tau\epsilon\sigma\sigma\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}\kappa\omicron\nu\tau\alpha$, $\tau\epsilon\tau\tau\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}\kappa\omicron\nu\tau\alpha$) for $\tau\epsilon\tau\rho\acute{\omega}\kappa\omicron\nu\tau\alpha$, $-\kappa\acute{o}\sigma\iota\omicron\iota$ for $-\kappa\acute{\alpha}\tau\iota\omicron\iota$, $\chi\acute{\epsilon}\iota\lambda\iota\omicron\iota$ for $\chi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\lambda\iota\omicron\iota$ or $\chi\acute{\eta}\lambda\iota\omicron\iota$. In ι -stems we usually find $\acute{\rho}\omicron\lambda\iota\omicron\varsigma$, $\acute{\rho}\omicron\lambda\iota\epsilon\varsigma$ retained, but $\acute{\rho}\omicron\lambda\epsilon\iota$, $\acute{\rho}\omicron\lambda\epsilon\sigma\iota$, acc. pl. $\acute{\rho}\omicron\lambda\epsilon\iota\varsigma$. Nouns in $-\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$ follow the Attic type except in the accusative singular, e.g. $\beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma$, nom. acc. pl. $\beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$, but acc. sg. $\beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\acute{\eta}$. So Att. $\beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma$ is usual, but Att. $\acute{\rho}\omicron\lambda\epsilon\omega\varsigma$ rare. The substitution of $\omicron\iota$, $\alpha\iota$ for $\tau\omicron\iota$, $\tau\alpha\iota$ is frequent, but there is great variation in this respect, $\tau\omicron\iota$ and $\omicron\iota$ occurring not infrequently even in the same inscription. Attic $\omicron\nu$ from $\epsilon\omicron$ is frequent, especially in verbs in $-\epsilon\omega$. In some places, as far apart as Rhodes and Corcyra, we find inscriptions which have the verb-forms uniformly in $\omicron\nu$, but the genitive singular of σ -stems in $-\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$ or $-\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$, e.g., Rhod. $\epsilon\gamma\chi\alpha\lambda\omicron\upsilon\omicron\nu\tau\alpha\varsigma$, etc. but Ἰσοκράτεως , etc. (GDI 3758), Corc. $\pi\omicron\iota\omicron\upsilon\omicron\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$, etc. but Ἀριστομένους etc. (GDI 3206). Attic ω from $\epsilon\omega$ is also more common in verbs than in nouns. In dialects which have $\xi\eta\nu\omicron\varsigma$ or $\xi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\varsigma$ etc. (54), such forms are often replaced by the Attic, especially in the case of $\acute{\rho}\omicron\delta\acute{\epsilon}\xi\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$. The first plural ending $-\mu\epsilon\varsigma$ is generally replaced by $-\mu\epsilon\nu$, though it persists in some places.

There are various other Attic forms which are not infrequent, but much less common than the dialect forms, e.g., $\acute{\omega}\nu$ beside $\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu$, imperative ending $-\nu\tau\omega\nu$ beside $-\nu\tau\omega$, $\pi\rho\acute{\omega}\tau\omicron\varsigma$ beside $\pi\rho\acute{\alpha}\tau\omicron\varsigma$, $\pi\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$ beside $\pi\omicron\tau\acute{\iota}$, $\theta\epsilon\omega\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$ beside $\theta\epsilon\alpha\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$ (conversely $\theta\epsilon\alpha\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$ occurs at Andros, no. 7, and Tenos!). Many of the dialectal peculiarities persist with scarcely any intrusion of the corresponding Attic forms, e.g., $\bar{\alpha} = \text{Att.-Ion. } \eta$, $\kappa\alpha$, verb forms like $\delta\acute{\iota}\delta\omega\tau\iota$, $\phi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omicron\nu\tau\iota$, Doric future, future and aorist in ξ (142), $\acute{\alpha}\mu\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma$, etc. Att. η , verb forms like $\delta\acute{\iota}\delta\omega\sigma\iota$, $\phi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota$, infinitives in $-\nu\alpha\iota$ (also in large measure $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ and $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$, but see below, a) are almost unknown except in the very last stages when the Attic *κοινή* as a whole is practically established. $\bar{\alpha}$ is sometimes found as late as the third century A.D., but only as a bit of local color, perhaps artificial, in what is otherwise the Attic *κοινή*.

a. An interesting example of mixture, though not in all respects typical, is furnished by the long cult inscription of Andania from the early first century B.C. The native Doric features (or in part general non-Attic) persist in $\bar{\alpha}$, ποτὶ, 3 pl. verb ending -ντι (3 sg. forms like δίδωτι happen to be lacking), 3 pl. inv. act. -ντω (but ἔστωσαν and mid. -σθωσαν), infin. -μεν, ξ in ὀρκιζάτω, etc., also κλάιξ, κλαικτός, i-stem inflection gen. -ιος (παράδοσιος, πανηγύριος, etc., but πόλεος 4 times), nom. pl. ἰδιώτες (but dat. sg. καταλύσει, πανηγύρει, acc. pl. τρεῖς, δέρρεις), κα (beside ἄν, both frequent). Aetolian influence in dat. pl. of cons. stems in -οις (πλεόνοις, etc., 7 examples), and acc. pl. πάντες. Att. κοινή in ου from εο in verb forms (πυλοῦντες, etc.), ἱερός, ρρ in δέρρεις, οἱ, αἱ (never τοί, ταί), numerals εἴκοσι, τεσσαράκοντα, -κόσιοι, χίλιοι, ἑβδομος, some forms of i-stems (see above), 3 pl. ἔστωσαν, mid. -σθωσαν, ἄν (beside κα) and ἔν (never εἰ κα), ὅταν, ἔως, ὄντων, mid. inflection in 3 pl. subj. ἦνται.

279. The Northwest Greek κοινή. This is very similar to the Doric κοινή, showing about the same mixture of Attic with West Greek forms. But it differs from it in that it retains two of the most characteristic features of the Northwest Greek dialects as compared with Doric, namely ἐν = εἰς, and the dative plural of consonant stems in -οις. The use of this type is closely connected with the political power of the Aetolian league. We find it employed, in the third century B.C. and later, in Aetolia and in all decrees of the Aetolian league, in Western Locris (Naupactus was incorporated in the league in 338 B.C., the rest of Western Locris somewhat later), Phocis (Delphi was in the hands of the Aetolians by at least 290 B.C.), the land of the Aenianes, Malis and Phthiotis, all of which became Aetolian in the course of the third century B.C. Without doubt it was also used in Doris, from which we have no material, and in Eastern Locris. In Boeotia, which was in the Aetolian league but a short time (245-234 B.C.), it was never employed, though there are some few traces of its influence (222). The only extant decrees of Cephallenia and Ithaca, of about 200 B.C., are in this same Northwest Greek κοινή, reminding us that Cephallenia, of which Ithaca was a dependency, was allied with the Aetolians (Polyb. 4.6). Parts of the Peloponnesus were also for a time under Aetolian domination, and the characteristic dative plural in -οις is found in Arcadia, Messenia (also ἐν = εἰς), and Laconia. There is one example even so far away as Crete (λιμένους GDI 4942b; 159-138 B.C.), but clearly an importation. Aetolians had taken part in the internal wars of Crete,

and Cretans had served in the armies of both the Aetolian and the Achaean leagues (Polyb. 4.53).

The inscriptions of this period from Acarnania, Epirus, and Achaea, including decrees of the Acarnanian, Epirotan, and Achaean leagues, are not in the Northwest Greek κοινή as defined above (they do not have ἐν = εἰς, or the dative plural of consonant stems in -οις), but in the Doric κοινή. At this time at least the speech of Acarnania and Epirus was not essentially different from that of Corcyra, nor that of Achaea from that of Corinth and Sicyon.

In the Arcadian inscriptions of this period the native Arcadian forms are wholly or in part replaced by West Greek forms, and this is probably due in large part to the influence of the Doric κοινή of the Achaean league. But the Aetolians also held parts of Arcadia for a time, and, as noted above, there are some examples of the dative plural in -οις and ἐν = εἰς from the Northwest Greek κοινή.

280. Some more detailed observations upon the time and extent of κοινή influence in the various dialects have been made in connection with the Summaries of Characteristics (180-273), and in the notes to some of the late inscriptions.

What has just been noted in the case of the Doric κοινή is true in all dialects, namely, that of the dialectal peculiarities some are given up much earlier than others. Furthermore it is nothing unusual to find hybrid forms, part dialectal, part κοινή, e.g., Doric future with Attic ου, as ποιησοῦντι etc. frequently,—Boeot. ἔως, a contamination of ἄς and ἔως,—Heracl. Φείκατι, a contamination of Φίκατι and εἴκοσι,—Boeot. ζώωνθι with dialectal present stem and personal ending, but Attic ζ (pure Boeot. δάωνθι),—Boeot. ἐκγόνως with dialectal case-ending, but Attic ἐκ- (pure Boeot. ἐσγόνως),—Thess. acc. pl. γινομένος with dialectal case-ending, but Attic stem (pure Thess. γινυμένος),—Epid. ἑώρη with Doric ending -η from -αε, but Attic stem ἑώρ- from *ῥόρ-.

Besides such hybrids, hyper-Doric or hyper-Aeolic forms are occasionally met with in late inscriptions, though less often than in our literary texts. Thus the Attic term ἔφηβος (with original η, cf. Dor. ῥῖβα), when adopted in other dialects, was sometimes given the pseudo-dialectal form ἔφαβος, e.g., in some late Doric

and Lesbian inscriptions, in imitation of the frequent equivalence of dialectal ᾱ to Attic η. Conversely the Attic form was sometimes retained in opposition to what would be its true dialectal equivalent, as in Boeotian usually ἔφηβος, rarely ἔφειβος. Similarly the Doric Ἑρακλῆς and its derivatives keep η in Boeotian.

In Roman imperial times the antiquarian interest in local dialects is reflected in the revival of their use in parts of Greece where for some two centuries previously the Attic κοινή had been in general use, at least in inscriptions. So, for example, in the case of Lesbian (cf. no. 28), Laconian (cf. nos. 75-78) and to some extent in Elean, where examples of rhotacism reappear in the first and second centuries A.D. It is impossible to determine in every case whether this was a wholly artificial revival of a dialect which had long ceased to be spoken, or was an artificial elevation to written use of a dialect which had survived throughout the interval as a patois. The latter is true of Laconian (see 277, end, and note to nos. 75-78). But for most dialects we have no adequate evidence as to the length of their survival in spoken form.

PART II

SELECTED INSCRIPTIONS

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY OF WORKS OF REFERENCE WITH THE ABBREVIATIONS EMPLOYED

PERIODICALS

- Abh. Preuss. Akad. = Abhandlungen der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
 ABS = Annual of the British School at Athens.
 AJA = American Journal of Archaeology.
 AJP = American Journal of Philology.
 AM = Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts. Athenische Abteilung.
 Annuario = Annuario della regia scuola archeologica di Atene.
 'Arch. Δελτ. = 'Αρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον.
 'Arch. 'Εφ. = 'Αρχαιολογικὴ ἐφημερίς.
 'Αθηνᾶ = 'Αθηνᾶ. Σύγγραμμα περιοδικὸν τῆς ἐν 'Αθήναις ἐπιστημονικῆς ἐταιρείας.
 BCH = Bulletin de correspondance hellénique.
 Ber. Preuss. Akad. = Sitzungsberichte der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
 Ber. Sächs. Ges. = Berichte über die Verhandlungen der königlichen sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig. Philologisch-historische Classe.
 Ber. Wien. Akad. = Sitzungsberichte der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien. Philologisch-historische Classe.
 (Berl.) Phil. Woch. = (Berliner) philologische Wochenschrift.
 BzB = Bezenberger's Beiträge zur Kunde der indogermanischen Sprachen.
 CJ = Classical Journal.
 Comptes Rendus = Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres.
 CP = Classical Philology.
 CQ = Classical Quarterly.
 CR = Classical Review.
 Diss. Argent. = Dissertationes philologicae Argentoratenses selectae.
 Diss. Hall. = Dissertationes philologicae Halenses. Halle.
 'Ελληνικά = 'Ελληνικά. 'Ιστορικὸν περιοδικόν.
 Eranos = Eranos. Acta philologica Suecana.
 Glotta = Glotta. Zeitschrift für griechische und lateinische Sprache.
 Gött. Gel. Anz. = Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen.

- Gött. Nachr. = Nachrichten von der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen.
 Hermes = Hermes. Zeitschrift für classische Philologie.
 Hesperia.
 IF = Indogermanische Forschungen.
 IFAnz. = Anzeiger für indogermanische Sprach- und Altertumskunde.
 JHS = Journal of Hellenic Studies.
 Jb. arch. Inst. = Jahrb. des deutschen archäologischen Instituts.
 Klio = Klio, Beiträge zur alten Geschichte.
 KZ = Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachwissenschaft, begründet von A. Kuhn.
 Mnemos. = Mnemosyne. Bibliotheca philologica Batava.
 Mon. Antichi = Monumenti antichi pubblicati per cura della reale accademia dei Lincei.
 MSL = Mémoires de la Société de linguistique.
 Mus. Ital. = Museo italiano di antichità classica.
 Neue Jb. = Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum, Geschichte und deutsche Literatur und für Pädagogik.
 Oest. Jhrh. = Jahreshefte des oesterreichischen archäologischen Instituts in Wien.
 Philol. = Philologus. Zeitschrift für das klassische Altertum.
 Rev. Arch. = Revue archéologique.
 Rev. de Phil. = Revue de philologie.
 Rev. Ét. Gr. = Revue des études grecques.
 Rh. M. = Rheinisches Museum für Philologie.
 Riv. Fil. = Rivista di filologia.
 TAPA = Transactions of the American Philological Association.
 Wiener Stud. = Wiener Studien. Zeitschrift für klassische Philologie.
 Woch. f. klass. Phil. = Wochenschrift für klassische Philologie.

TEXTS AND COMMENTARIES

- Ditt. Or. = W. Dittenberger, *Orientis Graeci inscriptiones selectae*. Leipzig, 1903-5.
 Ditt. Syll. = W. Dittenberger, *Sylloge inscriptionum Graecarum*. 3d ed. Leipzig, 1915-24.
 Greek Inscr. Brit. Mus. = The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum.
 GDI = Collitz-Bechtel, *Sammlung der griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften*. Göttingen, 1884-1915.
 Hoffmann = O. Hoffmann, *Die griechischen Dialekte in ihrem historischen Zusammenhange mit den wichtigsten ihrer Quellen dargestellt*. Göttingen.
 I. Der südachäische Dialekt [Arcadian and Cyprian]. 1891.
 II. Der nordachäische Dialekt [Thessalian and Lesbian]. 1893.
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- IG = Inscriptiones Graecae consilio et auctoritate Academiae litterarum regiae Borussicae editae.
 IV. Inscriptiones Argolidis, ed. M. Fraenkel. 1902.
 IV.i². Inscriptiones Epidauri, ed. F. Hiller de Gaertringen. 1929.
 V.i. Inscriptiones Laconiae et Messeniae, ed. W. Kolbe. 1913.
 V.ii. Inscriptiones Arcadiae, ed. F. Hiller de Gaertringen. 1913.
 VII. Inscriptiones Megaridis et Boeotiae, ed. W. Dittenberger. 1892.
 IX.i. Inscriptiones Phocidis, Locridis, Aetoliae, Acarnaniae, insularum maris Ionii, ed. W. Dittenberger. 1897.
 IX.i². Inscriptiones Aetoliae, ed. Guentherus Klaffenbach. 1932.
 IX.ii. Inscriptiones Thessaliae, ed. O. Kern. 1908.
 XI.ii. Inscriptiones Deli liberae, ed. F. Dürbach. 1912.
 XI.iv. Inscriptiones Deli liberae, ed. P. Roussel. 1914.
 XII.i. Inscriptiones Rhodi Chalces Carpathi cum Saro Casi, ed. F. Hiller de Gaertringen. 1895.
 XII.ii. Inscriptiones Lesbi Nesi Tenedi, ed. W. Paton. 1899.
 XII.iii. Inscriptiones Symes Teutlussae Teli Nisyri Astypalaeae Anaphes Therae et Therasiae Pholegandri Meli Cimoli, ed. F. Hiller de Gaertringen. 1898.
 XII.iii. Supplementum, ed. F. Hiller de Gaertringen. 1894.
 XII.v. Inscriptiones Cycladum, ed. F. Hiller de Gaertringen. 1903, 1909.
 XII.vii. Inscriptiones Amorgi, ed. G. Delamarre. 1908.
 XII.viii. Inscriptiones insularum maris Thracici, ed. C. Friedrich. 1909.
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 XII. Supplementum, ed. F. Hiller de Gaertringen. 1939.
 XIV. Inscriptiones Siciliae et Italiae, ed. G. Kaibel. 1890.
 Inscr. Cret. = Inscriptiones Creticae, ed. N. Guarducci, I-IV. 1935+.
 Inscr. v. Magnesia = O. Kern, *Inschriften von Magnesia am Maeander*. Berlin, 1900.
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 Schwyzer = E. Schwyzer, *Dialectorum Graecarum exempla epigraphica potiora*. Leipzig, 1923 (revised edition of Cauer's *Delectus*).
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 Tod = Marcus Tod, *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions*. 2d ed. Oxford, 1946, 1948.

—77.3. παῖσα, μοῖσα, πλήθοισα, λίποισα, μειδάσαισα, μίγεισα, etc., 3 pl. ἀπυκρόπτοιαι, φαῖσι, λίσσι, ἐπιρρόμβεισι, etc.—78. acc. pl. -αις, -οις, nom. sg. m. pple. οἰκεις, μέδεις (= μεδέων).—80. κόρσα, χέρσα.—82, 83. Usually σο, but also σ (epic influence), μέσσον, μέσσοι, ὄσσοι, ὄσα, ἔσσο, τέλεσσα, τέλεσσον, πόδεσσιν, γυναικείσιν, etc., ἀνδρεσι, ἄμμεσιν, στήθεσιν, etc.—84. ὄσδων, πέσδων, μέσδων, etc.—89.4. κάλῃμμι, etc., νόμῃμμι, πεποιήμῃμμι, κλάμῃμμι, ἀροτρώμῃμμι, δίνῃμμι, δινάμῃμμι. Cf. also below, to 101.1.—89.8. ἔσλοσ, μάσλοσ.—94.1. ὄνηρ, τῶμον.—94.3. κῶττι.—94.6. κῆπτι, κάμῃμμι, κάλῃμμι, κῶν, etc. (α uniformly in pap. texts), but also κῆν, κῆχ.—94.7. κῶντι, κῶντε.—95-99. κατ τῶ, κάμ μὲν, κάκ κεφάλας, κάββαλε, etc., πᾶρ δέ, πᾶρ μὲν, πᾶρ κεφάλας, περσκόπεισα, ἀπ πατέρων.—101.1. ὀνῶρινε, ἀσύνετος, ἀσυνέτημμι.—102. v movable frequent (epic influence).—103. Recessive accent, attested by the grammarians, also shown in papyrus texts (so far as the accent is written at all), as κόθαρον, gen. pl. λυγρῶν, παῖσαν, μερίμναν, etc., likewise Ζεῦς (for Ζεύς).

104. Voc. sg. Δία, gen. pl. -ᾶν, dat. pl. -αῖσι(v) but ταῖς, acc. pl. -αῖς.—105. Gen. sg. once -ᾶο (epic).—106. Gen. sg. -ω, rarely -οιο (epic), dat. pl. -οιοι(v) but τοῖς, acc. pl. -οις.—107.3. πόδεσσιν, etc.—108.2. Acc. sg. ἀβλάβην, ἐμφέρην, etc., dat. sg. Δινομένην, voc. sg. μελλομένην (cf. -ᾶ in Δία).—109.2. πόλιος and πόλιος (epic).—111. βασιλῆος, τοκῆων, etc. (above, to 43). But "Ἀρεως, gen. acc. Ἀρεῦα (Hom. "Ἀρης, "Ἀρηος) with eu extended from nominative.—114. ἴα.—116. Gen. πέμπων, δέκων.—118.3c. Gen. ἐμθεν, σέθεν, φέθεν.—119. ἄμμες, ὕμμες, ἄμμι(v), ὕμμι(v), and ἄμμεσιν.—121.1. ἐμ' αὐται, ἐμ' αὐτῶν.—125. κῆνος.—128. Dat. sg. τίω, dat. pl. τίοισιν = Hom. τέω, etc.—129.2. ὄττινες, ὄττινας, gen. sg. ὄττω, dat. pl. ὄττοις.—δππα, δπποτα, δπποσε.—130. τέουτος = τοιοῦτος.—132.4. πῆλυι, ἄλλυι, τῖδε, ἔνδυς.—132.5. πάντα.—132.11. ὄτα, πότα, ὄπποτα, ἄλλοτα.—133.6. ἀτ.—134.1, 2. αἰ, κε, κεν.—135. ὄν, ἀπύ, ὄπα, εἰς, πεδά.

138.1. τίθηθα etc.—138.1a. -ης, -ης?—138.5. σύναχθεν, etc., but ἐστάθησαν (epic).—143. ἐκάλεσσα, χαλάσσομεν.—146.1. ὑπαδεδρόμακε.—147.2. τεθνάκη.—147.3. λελάθων, ἐκγεγόνων, etc.—150. χαλάσσομεν.—153. ἔχην etc.—154.2. ἐμμεναι.—155.2. μεθύσθην, τελέσθην.—157. κάλῃμμι, φίλησθα, φορήμεθα, ἐπὶ ἡμῖν, εὐωχῆμενοι, ἐπιρρόμβεισι, χόλαισι, ἐπαίνεντες, πολέμεντι, δίνῃμμι (cf. a), οἰκεις, μέδεις.—157b. βόα, ἄγρει. τίμαι, βόα(ι) ὄπταις, χαῖνοις, ὀκαλέοντες, ποτέονται.—159. ἀδικῆι, ποθήω.—161.2. ὀρημμι, ποτέονται beside ἀμφιπόταται, ἐκπεποταμένα.—161.2a. ἐξεπὸνασαν, ἐπτόασεν (and ἐπτόασ', above, to 8; cf. ἐπτοάσθης Eur.).—161.3. δοκίμω = δοκιμάζω.—162.2. ἄγρει.—162.8. ἐζώμεν.—163.3. ἦς.—163.8. ἔσσα and ἔσσα.—164.1. βασιλῆος, πεμπεβόηα.—164.2. ὀλάεις = ὀλαος, like Hom. μεσῆεις = μέσος.—164.4. ὄππα = ὄμμα.

ALCMAN

Text: Diehl, Anthologica Lyrica.

The language of Alcmán agrees with Laconian in its general Doric features, and in several others that were not general Doric, as η, ω, not ε, ου (25), infin. -ην (153.2), acc. pl. -ως (106), ἐνθ = ἐλθ (72), κάρρων (80), etc. But some of the special Laconian peculiarities were ignored. So certainly the change of intervocalic σ (59.1), of which there is no trace. So probably the Lac. δδ = ζ (84), which occurs only in one MS of one passage (Diehl no. 100). Alcmán probably wrote ζ, for which σδ, frequent in the texts, was a late spelling. The σ for θ (64) was much later than Alcmán's time, but is frequent in the texts especially in certain words, as σοί = θεοί. The ι for ε in this and some other forms represents a Laconian pronunciation (9.5), but one that is ignored in the spelling of the majority of forms (ὀρέων, αἰνέοντι, etc.), and very likely by Alcmán

himself. In the matter of spelling, σοί may owe its ι as well as the σ to the redaction of grammarians.

The most conspicuous Lesbian feature in Alcmán, as also in other lyric poetry, is the use of Lesbian participial forms like ἐχούσα, λιποῖσα, θέῖσα, etc. (77.3). Such forms are so frequent in Alcmán as to indicate that his practice was uniform in this class and that exceptions in the text are to be suspected, not only καρούσιν with its Att.-Ion. ου, but also λαβῶσ' (Diehl no. 28), which, though good Laconian, rests on an emendation. It was only the Lesbian participial form that was adopted, not the general Lesbian treatment of vowel + ν, which is not attested for other categories, not even the analogous μοῖσα as in Pindar, but Μῶσα, and never in third plural forms. κλενῶ (Diehl no. 1.44) is a Lesbian form (76), which may go back to the poet. Forms that are Lesbian, but also current in epic, as infin. -μεναι, dat. pl. παίδεσσιν, etc., may be grouped with other examples of epic influence. Such are the frequent use of ν movable (102), σ beside σο, as τόσσοις, τόσσοις (82), γούνατα, δουρί (54), the latter wrongly emended to δουρί (Diehl no. 77; but Lac. δουρί or δουρί), πρότι (135.6), 3 pl. ἐχουσιν, εὐδουσιν.

8. ἄ, δᾶμος, ἀμέρα, etc.—9.5. σοί, ἡμισίον, σιειδῆς, ἀργύριον, παγχρύσιος, but τέο, ἐπέων, αἰνέοντι, etc.—13.1. ἱαρός, also ἐπίασε (cf. Theocr. πιάσας), as in late Att. = ἐπίασε.—13.3. δκα, etc., γα.—25. η, as κῆνος, χηρός, ἡμεν, ὠρανόν, Μῶσα, gen. sg. -ω, acc. pl. -ως (but some cases of εἰ, ου left in text).—41.1. ὀρής, ποτήσθω.—41.2. φῶς, 3 sg. opt. νικῶ.—41.3. ἄλιον.—41.4. Ἀλκυῶν, Ἀλκυῶν, παῖνα, gen. pl. -ᾶν.—42.1. ἐπη, ἄνθη, ἦρ.—42.5. uncontracted εο, εω, or ιο, ιω.

52. Φάνακτι, Φέθεν, Φάδη, etc. (F written in some sources but mostly restored).—53. δάφνιον, αὐειρομέναι, but φῶς, ἄλιον, etc.—61. ἐντί, etc., τυ.—64. σοί, παρσένος, σαλασσο-, σάλλει, etc.—68. βλήρ = δέλεαρ. γλέπω, γλέφαρον = βλέπω, βλέφαρον.—72. ἐνθοῖσα, κέντο.—76. ἡμεν, ἀμές, χηρός, etc., but κλενῶ (Lesb.).—77.3. Lesb. partic. forms ἐχούσα, φέροισα, λιποῖσα, ἐνθοῖσα, λυθεῖσα, etc.—80. κάρρων.—82, 83. τόσσοις, τόσσοις, ἐδάσσοτο, ἔσσαμέναι, παίδεσσιν, etc.—84. Usually ζ or late σδ, as μάσδων, etc., once δδ, καθαρίδδην.—94.2, 6. κῆν, κῆπτι, κῶπῶραν.—95, 99. κά(τ) τάν, καβαῖων.—102. v movable frequent.

104. Gen. pl. -ᾶν, dat. pl. -αῖσι, -αῖς.—106. Gen. sg. -ω, acc. pl. -ως, dat. pl. -οιοι(v), -οις.—107. Nom. sg. μάκαρς, like Cret. μαίτωρς. Dat. pl. παίδεσσιν, etc.—118. Gen. τέο, Φέθεν. Dat. μοι, τοι, τίν. Acc. ἐμέ, σέ, τέ, τῷ, νῖν.—119. ἀμές, ἀμέων, etc.—120. ἀμός, φα, σφεά, σφοῖς, σφετέρως.—122. Nom. pl. ταί.—125. κῆνος.—132.2. αὐτεῖ.—132.8. ὦτ'.—132.11. δκα, ποκα, τόκα, also δκα.—134.1. αἰ.—134.2. κα (ᾶν in Diehl no. 81, but improbable).—135. ἐς, πεδά, προτί.—138.3. παρήσομες, ὀνέμεμες.—138.4. αἰνέοντι, ἐντί (εὐδουσιν, ἐχουσιν epic, if genuine).—138.5. ἐπέβαν.—142. ἀρμόξατο.—142a. ὀρνίχων.—153.1. φαίνην, etc. (mostly corrected from -εν or -ειν).—154. ἡμεν, etc., ἐδμεναι.—163.3. ἦς.—163.8. παρέντων.—Note also aor. ἐγεντο, as in Hesiod, Sappho, etc., likewise κέντο = κέλτο.

PINDAR AND BACCHYLIDES

Cf. Schöne, Leipziger Studien für klass. Phil. 19.181 ff. Texts: Pindar, Schroeder; Bacchylides, Blass-Suess.

The retention of original ᾶ = Att.-Ion. η, together with ᾶ from ᾶο ᾶω = Att.-Ion. εω, ω, is the most conspicuous characteristic of the choral lyric, and the only non-Att.-Ion. feature which prevails with any approach to consistency (even this not complete) and persists in the choruses of Attic tragedy. The weight of ᾶ-forms is further increased by the choice of Att.-Ion. ᾶ, not Dor. η, from αε (νικᾶν = Dor. νικῆν, etc.).

Of the general Doric characteristics (cf. 223), which are common to

the West Greek dialects and partly to Boeotian and Thessalian, only a few appear frequently, some occasionally, and others not at all. Thus Pindar, who uses much more Doric than Bacchylides (or Simonides), has usually 3d pl. -οντι, infin. -μεν = -ναι, frequently ξ in forms like κατεφάμμεν, τῷ beside σύ, τίν beside σοι, rarely τόκα beside τότε (and only ὄτε, ποτέ), and never κα, πρώτος, (F)ίκατι, 3 sg. ἦς, 1 pl. -μες, but only the Att.-Ion. ᾶν (or Aeol. κε(v)), πρώτος, εἰκοσι, ἦν, -μεν.

Aeolic features, occurring also in Homer, are κε(v) = ᾶν, the double nasals in ἄμμες, etc., κλενῶς (both P. and B.), perf. pple. with ντ (πεφρίκοντας etc.). Specific Lesbian, in Pindar regularly μοῖσα, φέροισα, etc., frequently 3 pl. -οιοι (in B. only μοῖσα beside μοῖσαι).

Pindar has a few cases of ἐν with acc., sometimes attributed to his native Boeotian. But Delphian influence is perhaps more probable. There is no clear evidence that the poet's language was affected by his local dialect.

8. ᾶ most consistently in broad categories which could have only ᾶ in Doric, as the endings of ᾶ-nouns of the first declension, non-present tenses and derivatives of verbs in -ᾶω, suffix -ᾶς, -ᾶτος, personal endings -ᾶν, -ᾶων. In individual words Doric ᾶ usually retained, as μάτηρ, ἄδός, φάμᾶ, but occasionally Att.-Ion. η (at least in our texts, and need not be rejected), as φήμᾶ (B.), which, though a hybrid form, is not stylistically offensive beside genuine Doric ἦβα.

13. Non-Doric ἱερός (but σκιαρός), "Ἀρτεμῖος, ὄτε, ποτε, τότε, rarely τόκα, never κα, γα.—25. εἰ, ου, not η, ω.—41.1. Att.-Ion. ᾶ, not Dor. η, as νικᾶν, νικᾶι, τιμᾶι, συλᾶται, etc.—41.2. τιμῶντες, etc.—φάος, σάφρων (B.) and σάφρων.—41.3. ἄελιος, ἄλιος.—41.4. Gen. sg. masc. -ᾶ, sometimes -ᾶο (P.), gen. pl. -ᾶν, ᾶς, Ποσειδάων, Ποσειδᾶν, λᾶός (but Μενέλας, etc.), νᾶός, ᾶός, ξυνᾶνες, ξυνᾶνα, ὀπάων, κοινᾶν, etc.—42.1. ἔτα, βέλας, etc., rarely -η. κᾶρ, ἔαρ, ἦρος (P.).—42.3, 4. τρεῖς, φιλεῖ, etc.—42.5. εο or εω, as gen. sg. -εος, -εως, φιλέοντα, φιλεῖντας.—42.6. φιλέων, etc.—43. βασιλῆος, etc., also Ἀχιλλῆος, etc.—49.2, 4. τράωα, τράωα, τᾶμωα.—53. Former F mostly ignored in prosody, but sometimes effective, especially in the case of reflexive οἰ.—53. Once ἀνάταν for ἀ(F)άταν.—54. μόνος, κόρα, ὄρος and less commonly μοῦνος, κοῦρα, οὔρος.—61. ἐφίητι, φέροντι, etc. (beside Lesb. or Ion. σ-forms, see below, to 138.4), τῷ (beside σύ), but εἰκοσι, Ποσειδᾶν (once perhaps Ποσειδᾶνος).—68.2. φῆρ.—76. Lesb. ἄμμες, etc., κλενῶς, κλεδενῶς.—77.3. Lesb. μοῖσα, in Pindar regularly φέροισα, etc., and frequently 3 pl. -οιοι.—82, 83. ὄσσοις, ὄσσοις, τελέσσαι, τελέσαι, etc.—89.7. ἔσλοσ (P.).—88. γλέφαρον.—94. κῆν, κῆχ, ᾶν, etc.—95. ᾶν frequent, rarely παρ, κατ, περ, as παρ ποδάς, παρ χειρός, παρ φῶρων, κᾶν νόμον, πέροδος, περ' αὐτᾶς.—102. v movable frequent.

105-6. Gen. sg. masc. -ᾶ, sometimes -ᾶο, gen. pl. -ᾶν, dat. pl. -αῖς, -αῖσι.—106. Gen. sg. -ου, also frequently Hom. -οιο, dat. pl. -οις.—107.3. πόδεσσιν, etc. frequent.—109.1. -ις, -ιως, etc.—111. -εός, -ῆος, and -έος.—114-5. πρώτος, not Dor. πρώτος, εἰκοσι, not Dor. (F)ίκατι.—118. ἐγών, τῷ and σύ; gen. σόο, σέθεν; dat. ἐμοί, μοι, σοί, τοι, τίν, οἱ, ἦν (?); acc. ἐμέ, με, σε, ἔ, νῖν.—120. τεός, ἐός, and σός, ὄς; ἄμός, ὕμός, σφός, and ἀμέτερος, etc.—122. ταί, τοί, and αἰ, οἰ.—126. Art. as rel. frequent.—132.11. ὄτε, ποτε, τότε, rarely τόκα.—134.1. εἰ, never αἰ.—134.2. ᾶν and κε, κεν, never κα.—135.4. ἐς, εἰς, and rarely ἐν in Pindar.—135.5. πεδά beside usual μετά.—135.6. ποτί beside πρόσ.—136.7. ἀμφί frequent.—138.2. ἐφίητι, but τίθησι, δίδωσι.—138.3. -μεν, not -μες.—138.4. In Pindar ἐντί, φαντί, φέροντι, etc. usually, but also Lesb. -οιοι(v). In B. usually -οιοι(v), rarely -οντι.—138.5. ἔβαν, τίθεν, φίνεν, etc.—142. κατεφάμμεν, παιδιᾶν, etc. (beside forms with σο, σ).—142a. ὀρνίχες.—147.2. γεγάκειν, κεχλάδεν.—147.3. πεφρίκοντας, κεχλάδοντας.—153.1. -ειν.—154. -μεν, also -μεναι, -ναι.—161.2a. πονᾶω.—162.7. ἰσᾶμι = οἰδα.—163. 3 pl. in

Pindar ἐντί, once εἰσίν, in B. εἰσίν. 3 sg. imperf. ἦν, not ἦς.—164.4. τεθμός, τέθμος.—162.12. πᾶμα, πέπαται.

THEOCRITUS

Cf. Magnien, Le syracusain littéraire, et l'idylle XV de Théocrite, MSL 21.49 ff. A. S. F. Gow, Theocritus edited with introduction and commentary (1950) pp. LXXI ff.

The Sicilian literary Doric that appears in the scanty fragments of Epicharmus and Sophron and in the corrupt texts of other Sicilian and Italian writers, but is best known from Theocritus, is based mainly on the Doric of Syracuse, though most of its characteristics are common to other Doric dialects. Its striking difference from the language of Pindar is due not so much to Sicilian peculiarities, though there are some, as to its much more thoroughgoing adherence to Doric.

Theocritus imitated various literary dialects, the epic (XII, XXII), the Lesbian lyric (XXVIII-XXX), the mild Doric of the choral lyric (XVI-XVIII, XXIV). But most of the poems are in the fuller Doric, based mainly on the Sicilian Doric of Epicharmus and Sophron and of his native Syracuse, but with many epic forms (ᾶν, κε, εἰ, v movable, gen. sg. -οιο, ἄμμες, ἐπέσσαι, etc.) and the Lesb. μοῖσα, ἐχούσα, etc. It is to these poems that the following summary applies.

8. ᾶ regularly. Rarely Att.-Ion. η, as in Hom. phrase βῆν καὶ κάρτος. Hyper-Doric ᾶ in ἄμμιος (but this in a Lesbian poem), other cases doubtful.—13. Epic ἱερός (ἱαρός in Epich., Sophron), but σκιαρός, κα, γα, δκα, etc.—25. η and εἰ, mostly ω but also ου, with great fluctuation in MSS., e.g. ἦνθε, ἡμεν, εἰμές, gen. sg. -ω, κῆρα, κοῦρα.—41.1 ὀρήτε etc.—41.2. Normal Dor. ω in ὀρῶν, σιγῶντι, πειρώμενοι, etc. Hyper-Dor. ᾶ in 2 sg. aor. ἐπάξα, ἐκτάσα of some MSS.—41.4. ᾶς, gen. sg. -ᾶ, also epic -ᾶο, gen. pl. -ᾶν, etc.—42.1. ἄνθηα, etc., but 2 sg. mid. -η from -εαι.—42.3, 4. εὐμένεες, φιλεῖ, etc., but usually contraction.—42.5. εο or εω, gen. -εος, -εως, ἐόντα, εὔντα, etc.—42.6. ἐών, φιλέων, but fut. δοκῶ, ἀξῶ, etc.—43. βασιλῆος, etc. (also -εος).—44.3. ἄθρως = ἄθρως, gen. sg. -ω.—52, 53. No F.—54. κῶρα (κοῦρα), μῶνα and κόρα, μῶνα.—61. εἰκατι, τῷ, πλατίον, τίθητι, ἐντί, etc.—72. ἦνθον, βέντιστος.—77.3. Lesb. μοῖσα, ἐχούσα, etc.—82, 83. ὄσσοις, ὄσσοις, ἔσσεται, etc.—84. ζ and σδ.—89.5a. μικρός.—94. κῆν, κῆς, χῶνῆρ, etc.—95. ᾶν, πᾶρ, πᾶρ, κατ, πότ.—102. v movable frequent.—104-5. Gen. sg. masc. -ᾶ (rarely epic -ᾶο), gen. pl. -ᾶν, dat. pl. -αῖς, -αῖσι(v), acc. pl. -ᾶς frequent.—106. Gen. sg. -ω (and epic -οιο), dat. pl. -οις, -οιοι(v), acc. pl. -ᾶς, sometimes -ος.—107.3. πάντεσσιν, etc., also epic ἐπεσσι(v).—111. βασιλῆος, etc. (and -εος).—114, 116. πρώτος, τέτορες, εἰκατι (cf. Heracl. εἰκατι).—118. Nom. τῷ; gen. ἐμῶς, μεν, τεῶς, τευ, σέθεν; dat. ἐμίν, μοι, τίν, τοι, οἰ; acc. τῷ, τέ, τίν, νῖν.—119. Lesb. ἄμμες, ὕμμες, etc.—120. τεός, ἐός, ἄμός.—122. τοί, ταί, and οἰ, αἰ.—125. τῆνος.—129.2 ὄττι.—132.2. τῆναι.—132.5. πᾶι, παντᾶι.—132.7. πῆ, δηρ, τῆδε.—132.8. ὦ, τῆνῶ, τῆνῶδε.—132.11. δκα, πόκα, τόκα, δκα.—133.4. ἐνθῶ.—134.1. αἰ and εἰ.—134.2. κα, ᾶν, and κε(v).—135.6. ποτί, rarely πρόσ.

138. 2 sg. suriades etc., beside usual -εις. 3 sg. τίθητι, προίητι. 1 pl. λέγομες, etc. 3 pl. ἐντί, φαντί, λέγοντι, etc.—141. ἐσσεῖται and ἐσσεται, οἰσεῖται and οἰσεται, etc.—142. χαρίζη, ἐργάζη, θεοπίσσα, etc.—142a. κλαῖει.—143. γελάσσαι.—147.1. δεδοίκα, πεποῖται, περῶν, etc.—153. -ειν (or -ην) and -εν.—154. θέμεν, ἡμεν, etc.—157. Once ποδόρῃμ with Lesb. type.—159. πεινᾶντι, γελᾶντι, παρελάντι, (ὀππᾶντες Epich.).—161.2. ποθορεῖσα, συλεόμενος.—161.2a. ἐξεπὸνασαν.—162.6, 7. ἰσᾶμι = οἰδα. λέω = θέλω.—163. ἐντί, ἦς.

4. Kirchhoff, Studien zur Geschichte des griechischen Alphabets, 4th ed. Roberts, Introduction to Greek Epigraphy, I. Rehm, Die Schrift des

ἀνατος 'immune from punishment.' El. ἀνάτορ, Loc. adv. ἀνάτο(ς). 53
 ἀνάνω = δοκέω 'be approved, voted.' 162.3
 ἀνδιχάω Loc. 'be of divided opinion.' Cf. Hdt. 6.109 διχα γίγνεται αἱ γνώμαι
 ἀνδρεφονικός Loc. = ἀνδρο-. 167
 ἀνδρήιος Cret.; ἀνδρῆος Delph. 164.1
 ἀνέθεαν, ἀνέθειαν = ἀνέθεσαν. 9.2, 138.5
 ἀνεκλήτως Delph. = ἀνεκλή-
 τως. 69.3
 ἀνελδοθῶ Lac. = ἀνελδοθῶν. 140.3b
 ἀνεπίγραφος Heracl. = -γραφος. 49.2
 ἀνέσκη Lac. = ἀνέσκη. 64
 ἀνευ Epid. = ἀνευ. 133.6
 ἀνευς El. = ἀνευ. 133.6, 136.4
 ἀνθεώσθαι Heracl., from ἀνθῆμι. 146.3
 ἀνθρίευτος Ion. = ἀνθρίευτος 'not venal.' 167a
 ἀνιοχίω Lac. = ἡνιοχέω. 9.8
 ἀνις Mess., etc. 133.6
 ἀνίσταμαι Cret. = ἀρνέομαι. 86.5
 ἀνοσίχα Cyp. 'impiety.' No. 23.29
 ἀνπ- in early Cretan words, see under ἀμφ-
 ἀνταποδιδῶσα El. = διδοῦσα. 89.4
 ἀντλ. 136.8
 ἀντίγραφον Cret., Anaph. = ἀν-
 τίγραφον. 49.2
 ἀντιμῶλος Cret. 'opponent, de-
 fendant,' see μωλέω
 ἀντιτυγχάνω Arg., Boeot., Delph.,
 Lac. = παρατυγχάνω 'happen to
 be present,' or 'in office' (so
 nos. 45, 84)
 ἀντομος Heracl. 'road, path'
 ἀντορος Heracl. 'counter-bound-
 ary'
 ἀντρήιον Cret. = ἀνδρήιον. 62.2
 ἀντρώπος Cret., Pamph. = ἀνθρω-
 πος. 66
 ἀνρόταρος Loc. = ἀμρόταρος. 12
 ἀνώγω Cyp. 191
 ἀνωθα Heracl. = ἀνωθεν. 133.1
 ἀνωθεσίη Ion. 157c
 ἀνός Cret., Thess. = ἄωρος
 ἀξίω Lac. (ἀξιάσει) = ἀξιώω.
 161.5, ἀξίωι Calym. 159a
 ἀξιοδότας Loc. No. 59b, note
 αὐτός East Ion. = αὐτός. 33
 ἀπ Thess. = ἀπό. 95

ἀπαγορεύω Cret. 'proclaim'
 ἀπατος Cret. = ἀνατος, used im-
 personally, e.g., ἄγοντι ἀπατον
 ἔμην 'there shall be no fine for
 the one who seizes.' 53
 Ἀπείλων Cyp. = Ἀπόλλων. 49.3,
 74b
 ἀπελάδονται Loc. 159
 ἀπελευθερίζω Delph., Thess. =
 ἀπελευθερώω. 161.4, Thess. ἀπε-
 λευθερεσθένσα, 18, 77.3
 ἀπέλλα, Lac. = ἐκκλησία. Cf.
 Ἀπελλῆος, name of a month.
 Ἀπέλλαι Delph., name of a
 festival corresponding to the
 Attic Ἀπατούρια
 ἀπελλαῖα Delph. 'victims for the
 Ἀπέλλαι'
 ἀπέλλω Lesb. = ἀπειλέω. 75
 Ἀπέλλων = Ἀπόλλων. 49.3
 ἀπεσσούα Lac. 145b
 ἀπέταιρος Cret. 'one who is not a
 member of a εἰσαίρεα.' 117.11.5,
 note
 ἀπεχομῖνος Arc. = -μένους. 10
 Ἀπλουν Thess. = Ἀπόλλων. 49.3
 ἀποδεδοῖναι Boeot. = -δεδώκασι.
 138.4, 146.1
 ἀποδείγνυσθαι Eretr. = -δείκνυ-
 σθαι. 66
 ἀποδόσσαι El. = ἀποδοῦσαι. 85.2
 ἀπόδρομος Cret. 'a minor.' See
 δρομεύς
 ἀποφάτω El. = ἀπειλέω. 75
 ἀπολήνω Boeot. 162.10
 ἀπολογίτταστη Boeot. = ἀπολογί-
 σασθαι. 82, 85.1, 142
 ἀπομωλέω Cret. 'contend in denial,
 deny.' See μωλέω
 ἀποπιπράσκω 'sell,' Lesb., Ion.,
 etc.
 ἀποστράψαι Delph. = ἀποστρέψαι.
 49.2
 ἀποτίνοιαν El. = ἀποτίνοιαν. 12a
 ἀποτος Coan = ἄοιτος. No. 108.35,
 note
 ἀποφορά Coan 'carrying off'
 ἀποφώνω Cret. (ἀποφώνοι, etc.)
 'bear witness.' See φωνέω
 ἀππασάμενος Boeot. = ἀνακτησά-
 μενος. 69.4, 162.12
 ἀππεισάτου Thess. = ἀποτεισάτω.
 68.2
 ἀπύ Arc., Cyp., Lesb., Thess. =
 ἀπό. 22
 ἀπυδίει Arc. = ἀποδέει. 9.5
 ἀπυδόας Arc. = ἀποδοῦς. 144

ἀπυδόσμιος Arc. 'for sale.' No.
 18.28, note
 ἀπυδοσμός Arc. = ἀπόδοσις 'pay-
 ment.' 164.4
 ἀπυλιώναι Arc. 'smooth out, settle
 (?)'. 162.10
 ἀπυσεδομίν[ος] Arc. = ἀποδεδομέ-
 νους. 10, 68.3a
 ἀπυτείω Arc. See τίνω
 ἀπύω Arc. 'summon' = poet. ἡπύω,
 191
 ἀπώμοτος Cret. 'under oath of
 denial'
 ἀρατρον Cret. = ἄροτρον. 161.5
 ἀράω Heracl. (ἀράσσοντι) = ἀρώ.
 161.5
 Φαργάναι Delph. = Ἐργάνη. 12
 Φάργον El. = ἔργον. 12
 ἀργύριος Lesb. = ἀργύρεος. 164.6.
 Lesb. ἀργυρα, 19.4, Thess. ἀργύ-
 ρος. 19.3
 ἀρέσιμον Phoc. 'fee, perquisite.'
 From ἀρέσκω
 ἡαρέσαι Loc. = ἐλέσθαι. 12, 85.1
 Φαρήν Cret. = ἀρήν (Att. inscr.),
 nom. of ἀρός. 52
 ἀφρέτευε, ἀρήτευε Arg. 55 with δ
 Ἀρίσταρχος Coan. 69a
 ἀριστιδαν Loc. 133.7
 ἀρνηάς 'ewe,' Lesb.
 ἡἀρνηαῖς Heracl. = ἀρνηαῖς. 58d
 ἀρρηγερος Arc. = ἀρρηγ. 80,
 165.1
 ἀρρηκτος 'unplowed.' Heracl.
 Φάρω El. 12, 162.7
 ἀρσην. 49.2, 80
 Ἀρταμῖς = Ἀρτεμῖς. 13.2
 Ἀρταμῖτιος = Ἀρτεμῖσιος. 61.3
 Ἀρτεμῖρια Eretr. = Ἀρτεμῖσια.
 60.3
 ἀρτύω Heracl. 'devise by will.' Cf.
 Hesych. ἀρτυμα 'διαθήκη, and
 ἀρτύναι 'διαθεῖναι. In Cretan (no.
 117.XII.32) 'manage.' In Ar-
 cadian 'arrange, prepare.' Cf. the
 official titles Arg. ἀρτύναι (no.
 85.2, note), Epid. ἀρτύνοι, Ther.
 ἀρτυτήρ
 ἀρχιδουχναφορέω Thess., see δαύ-
 χνα
 ἀρχιτολιάρχω Thess. 'be the
 first ptoliarch.' See τολιάρχαι
 Ἀρχοκράτης Rhod. = Ἀρχεκρά-
 τῆς. 167
 ἀρχός Boeot., Cret., Ion., Loc. =
 ἄρχων 'magistrate'
 ἀς = ἔως. 41.4, 45.4, 132.12

ἀσαυτός reflex. pron. 121.4
 ἀσιστα El., Lac. = ἀγχιστα. 113.3.
 Lac. τοῖ ἀσιστα πόδικες, El. τοῖρ
 ἐπ' ἀσιστα 'those next of kin.'
 Cf. Cret. οἱ ἐπ' ἀγχιστα πεπαμένοι
 'the nearest owners,' Loc. ἐπ' ἀν-
 χιστος 'next of kin'
 Ἀσκαλαπίος Thess. = Ἀσκληπῖος.
 48
 ἀσκηθῆς Arc., used of animals
 'without blemish'
 ἀστας Epid. = ἀναστας. Cf. 77.2
 Ἀστο- Thess. = Ἀριστο-. 88b
 Φαστός = ἀστός. 52
 ἀτα Cret. 'penalty, fine.' 53
 ἀταγία Thess. No. 35.6, note
 ἀτάω Cret. (ἀταμένοι, ἀταθείε) 'fine.'
 53
 ἄτε Lac. (hār). 132.6
 ἀτελέν Cyp. = ἀτελή. 108.2
 ἀτερόπιλος (and -ίλος) Epic., see
 ὀπιλος
 ἄτερος = ἔτερος. 13.3
 Ἀθόνοιος Thess. = Ἀφθόνητος.
 86.2
 ἄτι Cret. = ἄτινα. 129.3
 ἀτροπάμπαις Lac. Nos. 75-78, note
 ἀττάμιος El. = ἀζήμιος. 84
 ἀυάδης Lesb. = ἀηδῆς. 35
 αὐάτα Lesb. = ἄτη. 35a, 53
 αὐθι Arc. 133.1a
 αὐθῖν Rhag. = αὐθῖς. 133.6
 Αὐκλεία Arc. 9.5, 33a
 αὐλήρα Dor. 55a
 αὐρηκτος Lesb. = ἀρρηκτος. 55a
 αὐσαυτός, αὐσωτός Delph., reflex.
 pron. 121.4
 αὐσος Cret. = ἄλσος. 71
 αὐταμαρόν Loc. = αὐθημερόν. 12,
 58b, 133.6
 αὐταμέριν Cret. = αὐθημερόν.
 133.6
 αὐταμερόν = αὐθημερόν. 133.6
 ἄφταν Corcy. = αὐτήν. 32
 ἄφταρ Att. = αὐτάρ. 32, 50
 αὐταυτός reflex. pron. 121.4
 αὐτεῖ, Boeot. αὐτῖ. 132.2
 αὐτεῖς Boeot. = αὐτοῖς. 30
 αὐτιν Cret.; αὐτις Arc., Ion. =
 αὐθῖς. 133.6
 αὐτός 121.3, 4, 125.2
 αὐτοσαυτός reflex. pron. 121.4
 αὐτοῦτα, αὐτῶντα Sicil. = αὐτοῦ,
 αὐτῶν. 121.4
 αὐφῖτα Cret. = ἄλφῖτα. 75
 αὐως Lesb. = ἔως. 35
 ἀρακεσάσθω Arg. 58c

ἀφεδριστεύω Boeot. 'serve as ἀφε-
 δριάτας or official dedicator.' No.
 41, note
 ἀφερζόντι Heracl. 'shut off' (water
 by damming). No. 79.130 ff., note
 ἀφρώσθω Arc., from ἀφρίημι. 146.3
 ἀφικνεμένων Orop. = ἀφικνουμέ-
 νων. 158
 Ἀφροδίτα Cret. = Ἀφροδίτη. 70.1
 ἀφράνω Cret. = ἀμφάνω. 69.3
 ἀφρωνος Heracl. 'intestate'
 ἀχι Dor. 'where.' 132.6
 ἀχύριος Heracl. 'building to hold
 chaff.' Cf. Hesych. ἀχυρός 'ὁ ἀχυ-
 ρῶν. ἀχυροδόκη· ἀποθήκη τῶν
 ἀχυρῶν
 ἀψευδῶν Arc. 149, 159
 ἀ(φ)ώς Dor. etc. = ἔως. 35, 41.4
 βάββαλος Cyren. = βέβηλος. 46.1
 Βαδρόμιος Coan, Rhod. = Βοη-
 δρομῶν. 44.2
 βαθόω Lesb. = βοηθέω. 44.2
 βανά Boeot. = γυνή. 68.1
 βάρναμαι = μάρναμαι. 88
 βασιλῆες El. = βασιλῆς. 15
 βασιλεύς official title in many
 states. In some the chief magis-
 trate; in others restricted to
 religious functions, like the ἄρχων
 βασιλεύς at Athens, e.g., at Chios
 (no. 4 C) and Miletus; βασιλεῖς
 an official body, e.g., in Mytilene
 (no. 26) and Elis (no. 61)
 βάω, βέω (cf. 161.2) Dor. = βαίνω.
 Heracl. ἐπιβῆι, Cyren. παρβῶντα,
 also ἐκβῶντας Thuc. 5.77
 βέβαιος Loc. = κύριος
 βεβαιωτήρ Delph. = -τής. 164.5
 βείλωμαι Boeot. = βούλωμαι. 49.3,
 68.2, 75
 βέλωμαι Thess. = βούλωμαι. 49.3,
 68.2, 75. 3 pl. subj. βέλλουνθαι,
 27, 139.2
 Βέλφαιον Thess. = *Δέλφαιον, Δελ-
 φῖνιον. 68.2
 Βελφοί Lesb., Boeot. = Δελφοί.
 68.2
 βενέω El. = βινέω. 18b
 βέντιστος Dor. = βέλτιστος. 72
 βεττόν Lac. = *Φεστόν. 86.4
 βέφυρα Boeot. = γέφυρα. 68.2
 βίβει, βίδυοι Lac., title of offi-
 cials. 51
 βίετος Cret. = βίσιος. 167
 βλήρ = δέλεαρ. 42.1, 68.1
 βόα(ι) Lab. 41a 157b, 159

βοαθεώ, βοαθέω = βοηθέω. 44.2,
 45
 βοαθός, βοηθός = -θός. 45
 βοιηθέω = βοηθέω. 31a
 βοικίαι El. = οἰκίαι. 51
 βόλιμος Delph., Epid. = μόλιμος.
 88
 βόλλα Lesb. = βουλή. 75
 βολλεύω Lesb. = βουλεύω
 Βολόντα Cret. 44.4, 51
 βόλομαι Arc., Cyp., Ion. = βού-
 λομαι. 75b
 Βόρθιος Cret. = Ὀρθιος. 51
 βούα, βουαγός Lac. Nos. 75-78, note
 βουσός Arc. 'cattle run.' 45
 βούων Heracl. 'cow-shed.' 165.4
 βροχός Boeot., Thess., Arc. =
 βραχός. 5
 βυβλία Heracl. 'papyrus marsh.'
 τὰν βυβλίαν no. 79.1.58 = τὰν
 βυβλίαν μασχάλαν 92
 βύβλινος Heracl., see preceding
 βυβλίον = βιβλίον. 20
 βωθέω Ion. = βοηθέω. 44.2, 45
 βωλά Boeot., Cret., Arg., etc. =
 βουλή. 25, 75
 Βωρθέα, Βωρσέα Lac. = Ὀρθία. 51,
 64
 βώς Dor. = βοῦς. 37.1
 γά W. Grk., Boeot. = γέ. 13.3
 γαεργός Boeot.; γαεργός Lac. =
 γεωργός. 167
 Γαῖα Φοχος Lac. = γαῖοχος. 53
 γαῖων Heracl. 'heap of earth,
 mound.' 165.4
 γάμελα Delph. = γαμήλια 'wed-
 ding cakes.' 164.10
 γεγράφανται Arg. = γεγράφται.
 66, 139.2
 γεγράφται Heracl. 146.5
 γεγωνέω Chian 'call aloud.' 184
 -γελᾶ, γελᾶντι 159
 γεναῖ 'family, offspring,' also in
 plural 'descendants.' No. 61, 65
 γερεαφόρος Coan, title of a priestly
 official. γερεφόρος occurs also in
 Pserimos near Calymna
 γερούσια, Lac. γερούσια (59.1), title
 of the council at Sparta and
 some other places (as Ephesus,
 Andania, Dyme in Achaea)
 γίνομαι = γίγνομαι. 86.10
 γίνος Rhod. = γίνος
 γίνυμαι Boeot., Thess. = γίγνομαι.
 86.10, 162.4

β
 2

γινώσκω = γινώσκω. 86.10
 γλάσσα Ion. = γλῶσσα. 49.5
 γλέτω Dor. = βλέπω. 88
 γλέφαρον Dor. = βλέφαρον. 88
 γνῶμαν El. = γνῶμεν. 12a
 γνώμη, γνώμα 'opinion, declara-
 tion' of an official body, frequent
 in Ionic and Doric
 γνοσία Arc. = γνώσις. 164.10
 γράμμα Arg. = γράμμα. 164.4
 γραμματισδω Boeot. = γραμμα-
 τεύω. 84, 161.4
 γραμματιστός = γραμματεὺς 161.4
 γράσση Arg. = γράμμα. 164.4
 γραφῆς Arc. = γραφεύς. 111.4
 γράφος El., Arc. = γράμμα. 241
 γραφά, γραφεύς, etc. = γραφή etc.
 49.2
 γυμνικός Arg. 89.2
 γυμνάδομαι Lac. 84
 Γυνόπαστος Boeot. 69.4
 δαιθμός = δασμός. 164.4
 δαῖσις Cret. 'division'
 δακτύλιος Boeot. = δακτύλιος. 87
 δάλτος Cyp. = δέλτος. 49.3
 Δαλφοῖς = Δελφοῖς. 12b
 δαμέτας Carpath. = δημότης. 167
 δαμπεργέντων Cyren. 42.5e
 *δαμιοφοργός, δαμιοργός, δαμιοργός,
 title of high officials, eponymous
 in many places. 167
 δαμῖνεν Cret. 157c
 δαμιοργόντων Arg. 42.5d
 δαμῖνεν, δαμῖνεντες Boeot. =
 ζημιούν, etc. 159
 Δαμοκρέτω Lesb. = Δημοκρίτου. 18
 δαμοσιολα El. = δημοσιολῆ. 15,
 157c
 δαμοσιώμεν El. = δημοσιούν. 157c
 δαμοτέλην Lesb. = -τελή. 108.2
 δαράτα Delph. 'a ceremonial cake.'
 No. 52 A 5, note
 δαρνά Cret., see δαρχνά
 δάρμα Delph. = δέρμα. 12
 δαρχνά = δαρχνή. 49.2a, δαρχνάω,
 dual Boeot. 104.9
 δαρχνά Cret. (δαρνά) = δαρχνή.
 49.2a, 69a
 δάττασθαι, δάττονται Cret. = δά-
 σασθαι, δάσωνται. 82
 δαύχνα Thess., Cyp. = δάφνη.
 68.4a
 δέατοι Arc. = δοκῆ. 139.1, 151.1,
 191
 δειλωμαι = βούλωμαι. 49.3, 68.1, 75
 δειμενος Boeot. = δέομενος. 158

δέκεται Cret. = δέχεσθαι. 66, 85.3
 δέκνυμι Ion. = δεικνυμι. 49.1
 δέκο Arc. = δέκα. 6, 114.10, 116a
 δέκομαι = δέχομαι. 66
 δέκοτος Arc., Lesb. = δέκατος. 6,
 114.10, 116a
 δέκων Lesb., Chian, gen. pl. of
 δέκα. 116
 δέλλω Arc. = βάλλω. 49.3, 68.1
 δεμελῖς Epid. 'leeches.' No. 90.
 98, note
 δενδρῶν 'dive under water.' Epid.
 Δφένις Corinth. = Δεινίς. 28,
 54d
 δέρφα Arc. = δέρη. 54
 δέρεθρον Arc. = βάρεθρον. 68.3
 Δεύς Boeot., Lac., Rhod. = Ζεύς.
 84
 δεύω Lesb., Thess. = δέω 'want.' 35
 δέφυρα Cret. = γέφυρα. 68.2
 δήλωμαι = βούλωμαι. 49.3, 68.1,
 75. El. δηλομήρ, no. 65.5, note
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 Δῆνα Cret. = Ζήνα. 84, 112.1
 διακνόντων Heracl. = διακνόντων.
 66
 διάλαμψις = διάληψις 'distinction,'
 in late Lesb., Cret., etc. Cf.
 And., Thess. λάμψομαι = λήψο-
 μαι, as also in Hdt. -λάμψις, like
 late -λημψις
 διαλήνω Boeot. 162.10
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 δικήσοι Ion. = δικήσοι. 117.2
 δικάδω Cret., El. = δικάζω. 84
 δίκαια El. 'legal penalties, fines.'
 ζῆκαια. 62.2
 δικάζω Arg. = δικάζω. 89.1
 δικάσκοι officials at Mytilene
 'inspectors of justice'
 δικαστήρ Loc., Pamph. = -τής.
 164.5
 δικάως Lesb. = δικαίως. 31
 δίκνυμι Cret. = δεικνυμι. 49.1
 δίκρεας Cos, Chios 'double portion
 of flesh, a double cut'
 δινάκω El. 'change, amend.' Cf.
 δίνω
 διννηντες Lesb. 89.4, 156a
 Διόζωτος Boeot., Thess. = Διόδο-
 τος. 166.2

ἐντιμος Locr. 'in office.' Cf. Plat. Rep. 528 C
 ἐντιτός 'liable to suit' Cret. Cf. ἐντιτόν. ἐνδικον Hesych.
 ἐντοῦθα Cumae = ἐνταῦθα. 65, 124
 ἐντόθα Orop. 34a
 ἐντοφία Delph. = ἐντάφια 'funeral rites.' Cyren. ἐντόφον 'burial gift.' Cf. Hesych. ταφία· ἐντάφια, εἰς ταφὴν ἐνθέντα ἱμάτια. 6, 164.1
 ἐντω = ἐστων. 163.6
 Ἐνυμακρατίδας Lac. = Ὀνυμα-. No. 71.35, note
 ἐνυφαίνω Cret. (ἐνυπάνει), 'weave within' (the house)
 Ἐξ = ἐξ. 52b, 114.6
 ἐξαγρέω El. = ἐξαγρέω. 162.2
 ἐξάν = ἐξῆς. 133.6
 ἐξαντίαι Arc. 'over against, near by.' No. 22.13, note
 ἐξαρχίδιος Cret. 165.2
 ἐξει Lac. = ἐξω. 133.5
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 ἐξήκοιστος Lesb. = ἐξηκοστός. 116 with a
 ἐξενακαδέν Thess. = ἐξεναγκαζεν. 69.3, 84, 89.1
 ἐξοι = ἐξω. 133.5
 ἐξόμενον Thess. = ἐξάμηνον. 6
 ἐξορύξω Cyp. 'expropriate.' No. 23.12, note
 ἐξος = ἐξω. 133.5
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 Ἐξος Locr. = ἐαυτοῦ. 118.3
 ἐπ Thess., Boeot. = ἐπί. 95
 ἐπαβολά Cret., Boeot. 'share.' 167a
 ἐπάκοε, ἐπάκω, ἐπακῶ Lac., dual of ἐπάκοος. Nos. 72, 73, note
 ἐπάνωκον = ἐπάνωκα. 69.3
 ἐπανιτάω El. 'return.' Cf. ἱητέον = ἱτέον, and Hesych. εἰτακεῖν· ἐληλυθέναι
 ἐπάνχιστος Locr. 'next of kin.' See ἄσιστα
 ἐπαπύλλογος Arc. 'in defense.' No. 22.34, note
 ἐπαργμα Ther. = ἀπαργμα 'offering.' Cf. Att. (inscr.) ἐπαρχή beside ἀπαρχή
 ἐπαρμα Boeot., meaning? No. 39
 ἐπαρέωμενοι Cyren. 42.5b, 161.2
 ἐπειτε, ἐπειτεν Ion. = Att. ἐπειτα. 132.11

ἐπελάω = ἐπελαύνω. 159. Coan ἐπελάντω 'drive up,' but Heracl. ἐπελάσθω and Arc. ἐπελασάσθω mean 'collect, enforce' (fines). Cf. also Arg. ποτελάτῳ 'enforce,' Ion. ἐνηλάσιον 'rental'
 ἐπελευσεί (fut.), ἐπέλευσαν (aor.) Cret. 'bring.' 162.15
 ἐπεμπάω El. (ἐπενπῶ, ἐπενπῶτο) 'enforce'; also ἐμπάω (μὲ 'νπῶ). No. 61
 ἐπερος 'sheep' (literally 'wooly') Lesb.
 ἐπές Arc. 'with reference to.' 136.12
 ἐπεστάκοντα Thess. = ἐπεστηκότα. 58b, 147.3
 ἐπετον Dor., etc. = ἐπεσον, aor. of πίπτω. See no. 79.120, note
 ἐπεχεῖ Delph., ἐπεχές Arg. = ἐφεξῆς. 132.2
 ἐπηρείδω = Att. ἐπηρεάζω. No. 19.46, note
 ἐπί Boeot. = ἐπεί. 29
 Ἐπίψα Cyp. = ἐπεα. 9.3
 ἐπίπαρον El. = *ἐπίερον 'sacred penalty'
 ἐπιπᾶτες ('πιατές) Locr. 'for the year.' No. 57.35, note
 ἐπιβάλλον Cret., short expression for ὡς ἐπιβάλλει. Sometimes = ὡς ἐπιβάλλει (τά χρήματα), i.e., 'heir-at-law'; sometimes ὡς ἐπιβάλλει (δουλίαν), i.e., 'groom-elect'
 ἐπιβῆι Heracl., see βᾶω
 ἐπιδοί Boeot. = ἐπειδή. 29
 ἐπιδημέωρυν Eretr. = ἐπιδημῶσιν. 60.3
 ἐπιδικατοί Lac. = οἷς ἐπιδικάζεται 'those to whom property is adjudged by law, heirs-at-law.' No. 70. For -ατός cf. θαυματός beside θαυμαστός
 ἐπιζημίωμα Heracl. = ἐπιζήμιον 'penalty.' 164.10
 ἐπιζύγιον Arc. = ὑποζύγιον
 ἐπιθεῖαν El. = ἐπιθεῖν. 12a
 ἐπιθυιάνε Arc. = ἐπιθυγάνη. 62.3
 ἐπιθωσε Boeot. 161.3
 ἐπικαταβάλλω Heracl. = ἐπιβάλλω 'impose upon'
 ἐπιλακτοί, ἐπιλεκτάρχει. No. 67. 16, note
 ἐπιμενηνάκων Arg. 138.4, 146.1
 ἐπιφουκία Locr. = ἐποικία
 ἐπιουκοδομά Heracl., collective, used of the buildings belonging to the land. No. 79.150, note

διορθωτήρ Corcyr. = -τής. 164.5
 διούο Boeot. = δύο. 24
 διπλεῖ Cret., Heracl. 132.2
 διπλείος Locr., Cret. = διπλός
 διρεῖς Cret. = διάρρησις in form. No. 117.1X.26 ff., note
 διφουῖος, ζίφουῖος, El. = διπλάσιος. 62.2
 δίωρος Arc. 'having two boundaries.' 54c
 δόγμα 'decree,' usually that of a league, council, or selected body, as distinguished from the decree by popular vote, the ψήφισμα
 δοφέναι Cyp. = δοῦναι. 154.1
 δόκημα Arg. = δόγμα. No. 87
 δοκιμάδω Boeot. = δοκιμάζω. 84
 δοκιμάω Lesb., Ion. = δοκιμάζω. 161.3
 Δολφοί Coan. 49.3
 δουλιζώ Boeot., Phoc. = δουλόω. 161.4
 δούρραντα Thess. = δωρῶντα. 89.4, 162.1a
 δωδέκα Boeot. = δωδεκα. 24
 δρίφος Syrac. = δίφρος. 70.2
 δρομεύς Cret. 'one who is of age.' Boys under seventeen were not allowed to enter the gymnasium, which the Cretans called δρόμοι, and so were termed ἀπόδρομοι
 δυφάνω Cyp. = δίδωμι. 162.5
 δύγαστρον Boeot. = ζύγαστρον. 84
 δός Lac. = δύο. 114.2
 δυεῖν = δυοῖν. 114.2
 δύο, plural forms δυῶν, δυοῖς, δύας. 114.2
 δυόδεκα, δυώδεκα = δώδεκα. 115
 δυωδεκαῖς, δωδεκαῖς Delph. = Ion. δωδεκαῖς 'sacrifice consisting of twelve victims'
 δώκω Cyp. = δίδωμι. 162.5
 δῶλα, δῶλος Dor. = δούλη, δούλος. 25f
 δῶμα 'temple.' 191
 δῶός Cret. = ζῶός. 84
 δῶω Boeot., Cret. = ζῶω. 84.1, 162.8
 ἔ Locr. = ἐκ. 100
 ἔα El. = εἴη. 15, 31
 Ἐφαδεκία Locr. 146.1, 162.3
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 ἐβδεμαῖος Epid. = ἐβδομαῖος. 114.7
 ἐβδεμήκοντα Delph., Heracl. = ἐβδομήκοντα. 114.7

ἐβδεμος = ἐβδομος. 48, 114.7
 ἐβδολάστω Pamph. 162.2a
 ἐγγροφος Cret. = ἐγγραφος. 49.2
 ἐγδοτήρ Argol., Lac.; ἐσδοτήρ Att. 'one who lets the contract.' 164.5
 ἐγεντο = ἐγένετο. No. 80, note
 ἐγφληθῶντι Heracl. 75, 151.2
 ἐγκαθιδῶν Epid. 58c
 ἐγκτασις = ἐγκτησις 162.12a
 ἐγραμμαι Cret., El. = γέγραμμαι. 137
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 Ἐδάλιον = Ἰδάλιον. 10
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 ἐδοῦκαε Thess., ἐδώκαιν Delph. = ἐδωκαν. 138.5
 ἐδραμα Epid. = ἐδρα. Cf. the rare ἐδρασμα
 ἐθεν Epid. = οὐ, gen. 3 pers. pron. 118.3
 εἰ = οὐ adv. 132.2
 Φειζός El. = εἰδός. 62.2
 εἰκ Arc. = εἰ. 134.2a
 Φελκᾶτι Heracl. = εἰκοσι. 116
 εἰκοιστος Lesb. = εικοστός. 20a, 77.2, 116 with a
 εἰλύτα Boeot.; ἐλύτα Ther. 'a kind of cake'
 εἰλω εἰλώ. 75
 εἰμάτιον, εἰματισμός = ἱμάτιον, etc. 25e
 εἰμεῖν Rhod. = εἶναι. 163.7. εἰμμεῖν 89.4
 εἰμεν = εἶναι. 163.7
 εἶν Eub., Chian = εἶναι. 160
 εἵνατος Ion. = ἑνατος. 54
 εἵνεκα Ion. = ἐνεκα. 54
 εἰνιζαν Boeot. = ἡνεγκαν. 144a
 Φειπ- (Cret. Φειπόντι, etc.) = εἰπ-. 52
 εἰρην Lac., also τριτίρηνες. Nos. 75-78, note
 εἰρήται Ion. = εἰρέεται. 43, 139.2
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 Φέκαστος, ἐκαστος. 52b
 Φεκατέρη. 132.7
 ἐκατέρω Coan, adv. 'on each side of.' 132.8a
 Φεκέδαμος Thess. 46, 52b
 ἐκκλημα Locr. = ἐγκλημα. 69.3

ἐπίφουκος Locr. = ἐποικος
 ἐπιπῆν Epid. = καταπάσσειν. Cf. Hesych. πῆ καὶ πῆν ἐπὶ τοῦ καταπάσσει καὶ καταπάσσειν
 ἐπιπῆρῶ Cret. (ἐπιπῆρται) = πειρῶ
 ἐπίποκος 'unshorn' Coan. (also LXX)
 ἐπιπόλαια χρήματα Cret. 'movable property.' Cf. Harpocration ἐπιπᾶ· τὴν οἶον ἐπιπόλαιον κτῆσιν καὶ μετακομίζεσθαι δυναμένην
 ἐπιπρῆγιστος Cret. 'the next oldest.' See πρῆγιστος
 ἐπισκεάζω Corcyr. = ἐπισκευάζω 36
 ἐπισπένδω Cret. 'solemnly promise.' Cf. Lat. *spondeo*. ἐπέσπενσε, 77.3
 ἐπιτάδευμα Cret.
 ἐπιχύτας Arg. = ἐπίχυσις 'beaker.' No. 87
 ἐποίφεθε Arg. 53, 59.2
 ἐποίφεσε Boeot. 53
 ἐποικία, τὰ Heracl. 'farm buildings'
 ἐποισέ Arc., aor. subj. to fut. οἶσα. No. 18.21, note
 Ἐπος = ἐπος. 52
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 Ἡεπάκιν Lac. = ἐπάκιν. 133.6
 ἐπῶλον Arg. 42.5d
 ἐπομόται Locr. 'jurors'
 ἐρανεσταί Ach. = -ισταί. 18b
 Φέργον = ἔργον. 52
 ἐρευταί Cret. = ζητηταί 'collectors.' No. 120.132, note
 Φεφρέμενα Arg. = εἰρημένα. 55
 Ἐφρετάσату Cyp., see Φρετάω
 Ἐρμῶνοσσα Chian = -ασσα. 46.1
 ἐρσός Boeot., Thess. = ἐρατός. 5
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 ἐρω go, come. 162.6
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 Φέρρω El., Locr. = ἔρρω = φεύγω. 52, 162.7
 ἐρρεναίτερος El. = ἄρρη. 49.2, 80, 165.1
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 Ἐρχομενός Arc., Boeot. = Ὀρχομενός. 46.1
 ἔς = ἐκ. 100 with a
 ἔσγονος = ἔκγονος. 100
 ἐσδῆλλω Arc. = ἐκβάλλω. 49.3, 68.1, 100

ἐσδοκά 'contract' Arc., in form = ἐκδοχή (cf. 66, 100)
 ἐσδοτήρ Arc., see ἐγδοτήρ
 ἐσκεθῆν Arc., *ἐσκαθεῖν 'keep out, exclude.' 65, no. 21.50, note
 ἐσκηδεκάτη Boeot. = ἐκκαδεκάτη. 114.6
 Ἐσκλητος Sicil., title of a select official body. 100a, no. 107.2, note
 ἐσλήνω Boeot. 162.10
 ἐσλός, ἐσλος = ἐσθλός. 89.8
 Φεσπάριος Locr. = ἐσπέριος. 21, 52d
 ἐσπεράω Arc. = ἐκπεράω 'transgress' 100
 ἐσπράττει Cret. = ἐκπράττει. 86.1
 ἐσπρεμνίτω Cret. = ἐκπρεμνίτω. 84, 86.7
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 ἔστε 'until.' 132.12, 135.4
 ἔστεις Arc. = ἐκτεῖς. 28a
 ἔστελλα Lesb., Thess. = ἐστειλα. 79
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 ἔταλον Lesb., ἔτελον Coan 'yearling.' 49.3
 ἐτάξιν Thess. = ἐταξάν. 138.5
 Φέτας El. = ἐτης 'private citizen'
 Φέτος = ἔτος. 52. Cret. Φέτεθι, 81b. Arc. dat. sg. ἐτι. 9.5
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 ἐττά Cret. = ἐπτά. 86.2
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 εὐάμερος, ἄ Cret. = ἑορτή
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 εὐφρετάσату Cyp., see Φρετάω
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 εὐτοῦ Thess. = ἐαυτοῦ. 121.2, no. 32.16, note
 Εὐτρητίς Boeot. = Εὐτρησις. 61.3
 εὐχολά Arc.-Cyp. 'prayer of imprecation.' 191
 ἔφαβος pseudo-dial. = ἐφῆβος. 280
 ἐφανέομαι Delph. 'repair.' 58c

Φεφόντας Locr. = ἐκόντας. 52
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 ἐκπέτωντι Heracl. = ἐκπέσωσι. No. 79.120, note
 ἐκτεισίς, not ἐκτισίς. 28a
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 ἐλάτω, ἐλάντω Coan 159
 ἐλαύθερος late Delph. = ἐλεύτερος. 33a
 ἔλεξε = εἶπε. So regularly in Boeotian and Thessalian decrees, where Attic and most dialects have εἶπε. Also Argive.
 ηλέσται Locr. = ἐλέσται. 85.1
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 ἐμίν W. Grk. = ἐμοί. 118.4
 ἐμᾶνις 'wroth.' Cret.
 ἐμμεν Thess. = εἶναι. 163.7
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 ἐμπαν Dor. = ἐμπης. 133.6
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 ἐμφανίζοντας Arg. 42.5d, 142
 ἐμφανίσσω Thess. = ἐμφανίζω. 84a
 ἐν = εἰς. 135.4
 ? ἔναγος Delph. 'ceremony for the dead.' Cf. ἐναγίζω. No. 52 C 38, note
 ἑνάτος Delph., Ther. = ἑνατος. 58c, 114.9
 ἐνδεδιωκότα Heracl. = ἐμβεβιωκότα 'alive.' 68.1
 ἐνδειγνύμενος Ther. = ἐνδεικνύμενος. 66
 ἐνδέρω, ἐνδωρα Coan. No. 108.47, note
 ἐνδούω Lesb. = ἐνδῶ 'want.' 35
 ἐνδικάζομαι, Arc. ἰνδικάζομαι (10), 'be subjected to suit.' No. 19.34, note
 ἐνδικος Cret., ἰνδικος Arc. (10), used impersonally with dative of the person who is 'liable to, or has right to, trial.' No. 19.34, note

ἐνδοθίδιος Cret. 'belonging within.' 165.2
 ἐνδοί 'within.' 133.4
 ἐνδωρα Coan. See ἐνδέρω
 ἐνδόσε Ceos = εἶσω. 133.4
 ἐνδοσθίδια Epid. 'entrails.' 165.2
 ἐνδύς Delph. 'within.' 132.4, 133.4
 ἐνδω Delph. 'within.' 132.8a, 133.4
 ἐνενηχθεῖ Boeot. = εἰσενεχθῆ. 144a, 151.2, no. 43.49, note
 ἐνετέρια Locr. 'taxes of admission' (to citizenship). From ἐνίημι, like Att. εἰσιτήρια from εἰσεῖμι
 ἐνεφανίσσω Thess. = ἐνεφάνιζον. 84a, 138.5
 ἐνθεβδῆις Lac. from ἐνηβάω. 41.2, 59.1
 ἐνθαῦθα Att. (inscr.) = ἐνταῦθα. 65
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 ἐνθεῖν = ἐλθεῖν. 72
 ἐνθινος, from ἐνθα. Meg.
 ἐνθίνος Cret. = ἐνθεος. 164.10
 ἐνθω Boeot. = ἑστων. 138.4, 163.6
 ἐνιαυτίος Coan, Delph. = ἐνιαύσιος. 61.3
 ἐνιαυτός (1) 'end of the year, anniversary,' (2) 'year.' For the former and more original meaning, which the word sometimes has in Homer, cf. Delph. no. 52 C 47, Cret. no. 117 I 35, IV 4
 ἐνοικιόται Cret., sc. δαρκναί 'money given as security.' Cf. Hesych. κοῖον· ἐνέχυρον, κοῖαζει· ἐνεχυράζει. Deriv. of κείμαι
 ἑννεά Heracl. = ἐννέα. 58c, 114.9
 ἐννεκα Lesb. = ἐνεκα. 54b
 ἐννη = ἐννέα. 42.1, 114.9
 ἐνοτος Lesb. = ἐνατος. 6, 114.9, 116.9
 ἐνπίδες Meg. = ἐλπίδες. 72
 ἐνπιπάσσομαι 'acquire' Arg. 162.12
 ἐνς Cret. = εἰς. 114.1
 ἐνσα Thess. = οὔσα. 77.3, 163.8
 ἐντάδε Argol. = ἐνθάδε. 65
 ἐν τάν Boeot. 'until.' 136.1, no. 43.49, note
 ἐντασίς Thess. = ἐγκτησις. 163.12
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 ἐνταῦτα El. = ἐνταῦθα. 65
 ἐντε Locr., ἑντε Delph. = ἑστε, ἑως. 58c, 132.11, 135.4
 ἐντες Heracl. = ὄντες. 163.8
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ἐφάνγρενθαι Thess. = ἐφαιρούν-
ται, κατηγορούνται. 27, 58, 139.2,
157, 162.2, no. 32.41, note
ἐφερζόντι Heracl. 'shut in' (water
by damming). No. 79.130 ff., note
ἐφθορκώς Arc. = ἐφθορκώς. 5
ἐφιορκέω = ἐπιιορκέω. 58c
ἐφορευακότων Cyren. 161.3
ἐχεπάμδον Locr. 'heir.' 162.12
ἐχθός, ἐχθω, ἐχθοί = ἐκτός. 66,
133.3
ἐψαφίττατο Boeot. = ἐψηρίσατο.
82, 142
ἐωκα = εἶκα. 49.5, 146.3
Ἔγω (cf. Lat. *veho*), Cypr.,
Pamph. 53

ζά Lesb. = διά. 19.1
ζά Cypr. = γή. 62.4
ζαμιοργία El. 'the body of demi-
urgi.' 62.2, 167
ζαν Cypr., see no. 23.10, note
ζέλλω Arc. = βάλλω. 68.3
ζέρεθρον Arc. = βάραθρον. 68.3
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ζήκεια El., see δίκαια
ζήφυιος El., see δίζυιος
Ζόνυσος Lesb. = Διόνυσος. 19.1
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ή Boeot. = αἰ. 134.1
ή Cypr. = εἰ. 134.1
ή 'when, where,' etc. 132.7
ήγραμμαι Cret. = γέγραμμαι. 137
ἤμα Cret. = εἶμα. Gen. sg. ἤμας.
112.5
ήμεν, ήμειν, ήμην = εἶναι. 25, 76,
154.3-5, 163.7
ήμην i sg. imperf. mid. of εἶμι.
163.9
ήμι = εἶμι. 25, 76
ἡμιδιδυμνον Epid. = ἡμέδιδυμον.
88a, 89.2
ήμινα Cret. 'the half.' 164.10
ἡμυρρήνιον Delph., probably 'half-
grown sheep,' i.e. such as are
midway between lambs and full-
grown sheep. 55a
ήμισσον, Boeot. εἰμιττον, ήμιττα.
81. ήμισον. 89.6
ήμίτεια Epid. 61.5, 164.10
ήμιτυέκτο Cret. = ήμιέκτου. 61.5
ήμυσυ = ήμισυ. 20
ήν Ion. = ἐάν. 134.2b
ήν = ήσαν. 163.4
ήναι Arc. = εἶναι. 154.1, 163.7

ήνατος Cret., Arg. = ἐνατος. 54,
114.9
ήνεικα, ήνικα = ήνεγκα. 49.1, 144a
ήνται Mess. = ὄσι. 151.1, 163.9
ήρόντων, ήροντι Cret., fr. ήρόδω.
86.6
ής = ήν. 163.3
ής Heracl. = εἰς. 114.1
ήσαντο Arg. 144c
ήσω El. = ἔσω. 163.5
ήται Delph. = ή. 151.1, 163.9
ήτω = ἔσω. 163.5
ήτων Coan = ἔατων. 121.2
ήχοι Orop. = ἔπου. 132.3
ήώς Ion. = ἔως. 41.4b

θάλαθθα Cret. = θάλαττα. 81a
θάλαττα. 81. θάλλαττα. 89.4
θαρής Ther. 42.2, 80
θαρρέω El. = θαρρέω, θαρρέω, but
in technical sense of 'be secure,
immune.' So θαρρός 'security, im-
munity.' 80, no. 61.1, note
Θε- Meg., etc. = Θεο-. 42.5f
θεαρός, Arc. θαορός = θαωρός.
41.4. θαορόντων Delph. 42.5d
θέθμιον = θέσμιον. 65, 164.4
θεθμός = θαομός. 65, 164.4
θείκα Boeot. = διαθήκη 'will'
Θεισιπυός Boeot. 9.4a
Θεόζωτος Boeot., Thess. = Θεό-
ζωτος. 166.2
θεομοιρία Coan = θεοῦ μοῖρα 'the
part consecrated to the god'
Θεόρδοτος Thess. = Θεόρδοτος. 60.4,
166.2
θεορός, θαυρός = θαωρός. 41.4a
θέρσος = θάρσος. 49.2
θέστων Phoc. = θέστων. 85.1
θηαυρός Arg. = θησαυρός. 59.2
θηκαίον 'burial place' Coan (δρος
των θηκαίων)
θηλύτερος El. = θήλυς. 165.1
θιαωρία Boeot. = θαωρία. 41.4
θιγάνα Delph. 'lid, cover' (?). Cf.
Hesych. θιγάνος· κιβωτοῦ. See
no. 52 C 33 ff., note
θιθέμενος Cret. = τιθέμενος. 65
θίνος Cret. = θείος. 164.10
Θιοκορμίδας Lac. 60.4
Θιόππαστος Boeot. 69.4
θιός = θεός. 9. θιός Arg. 56
Θιόφειστος Boeot. 68.2
Θο- Meg., etc. = Θεο-. 42.5f
θασία Boeot. = θασία. 24
θράγανον Boeot., meaning? No. 39
θύρδα Arc. = θύραζε. 133.2

gint. Cf. Hesych. καρπωθέντα·
τά ἐπὶ βωμοῦ καθαγιασθέντα. =
κάρπωμα· θυσία. Coan καρπώντι,
159
κάρρων = κρείττων. 80, 113.1
καρταίπος, pl. καρταίποδα, Cret.
'large cattle,' in contrast to πρό-
βατα used of sheep and goats. Cf.
καρταίπους 'bull' in Pindar.
καρτερός Ion., Cret. = κρατερός, in
meaning often = κύριος 'valid.'
Cf. also Ion. ἀκρατής 'invalid,'
κρατεῖν 'be valid,' Cret. κάρτων
q.v. 49.2a
κάρτος = κράτος. 49.2a
κάρτων Cret. = κρείττων, in mean-
ing = κυριώτερος, as κάρτωνας
ἐμὲν 'shall prevail, be of greater
authority.' Cf. καρτερός. 49.2a,
81, 113.1
Καρυκῆφις Boeot. = Κηρυκείου. 53,
164.1
κάς Arc.-Cypr. = καί. 134.3
κασίγνητος Lesb., Cypr.; Thess.
κατῖγν[ειτος] 191
-κάσιοι Arc. = -κασιοί. 116a, 117.2
κασσηρατόριν, καθθηρατόριν, καθθη-
ρατόριν Lac. 'the hunt,' name of
an athletic game. 45.6, 64, Nos.
75-78, note
κάτ = κατά. 95
καταγέλαμενος Epid. 159
καταγρέω Lesb. = καθαιρέω 'con-
vict, condemn.' 162.2
καταδουλίτταστη Boeot. = -δου-
λίττασθαι. Cf. 82, 85.1, 142
καταφελμένον Cret. 'assembled.'
75
καταθένης Cret. = καταθείς. 78
καται. Fei Locr. 53
κατακείμενος Cret. 'one whose
person is mortgaged' passive of
κατατίθημι 'mortgage,' mid. 'take
a mortgage'
κατάκλητος Heracl. 'summoned.'
κατάκλητος ἄλῃα = Att. σύγκλητος
ἐκκλησία
καταλλάσσω Arc., intrans. 'act
otherwise'
καταλοβεύς Cret., Epid. = *κατα-
λαβεύς 'support.' 49.3
καταλυμακός Heracl. 'cover over
with stones.' Cf. Hesych. λυμακες·
πέτραι. -λυμακωθής, 78
κατάπερ = καθάπερ. 57a. Also for
καττάπερ. 126
κάταρφος Arc. = κατέρματος. 54

ινφορβίω, ινφορβισμός Arc. No. 18,
note
ιός Cret. = ἐκεῖνος. 114.1
ιφίός = υἱός. 52c
ιουιῶ Boeot. = υἱοῦ. 24
Ἰππέδαμος Rhod. = Ἰππόδαμος.
167
ιππότας Boeot. (as in Hom., Hdt.)
= ἱππεύς
ιράνα, etc. = εἰρήνη. 8c, 58c
ιρεία Lesb. = ἱερεία 'priestess.' 13.1
ιρεύς Lesb. = ἱερεύς. 13.1
ιρητεύω Lesb. = ἱερατεύω. 13.1,
167
ιρος Lesb., ιρός, ιρός Ion. = ἱερός.
13.1
ισαμι Dor. = οἶδα. 162.9. Subj.
Cret. ἱσάντι, Cyren. ἱσῶ. 151.1
ισόθι Arc. 'within the distance of.'
133.1a, no. 22.13, note
Ἰσος, Ἰσφος, Ἰσος = Ἰσος. 50b,
52, 54, 58c. Lesb. Ἰσοθέοις,
54b
ἱσατο, ἱσατο, ἱσαμένος, etc. 144c
ἱστία, ἱστία = ἔστι. 11
ἱστιάτοριον Rhod. = ἐστιάτοριον
'banquet-hall.' Cf. Hesych. ἱστια-
τόρια· δευπητήριον. 11
Ἰστωρ Boeot. 'witness.' 52d
ἱττω Boeot. = ἱστω. 86.4
ἰών Boeot. = ἐγών. 62.3, 118.2

κα W. Grk., Boeot. = κε, ἄν. 134.2
κά = κατά. 89.7, 95
κά Arc.-Cypr. = κάς = καί. 97.2,
134.3
καδαλέομαι El. = καταδηλέομαι 'in-
jure, violate.' καδαλέμενος, καζα-
λέμενος. 89.7, 158
κάδδix, gen. κάδδixος, Heracl.,
Mess., a measure. Cf. Hesych.
κάδδixον· ἡμικτον, and Lac.
κάδδixος 'urn' (Plut. Lyc. 12)
καθεσάκατι Delph. 138.4
κακριθέε Arc. = κατακριθέ. 89.7,
151.2
καλαῖς Epid. 'hen.' No. 89, note
καλείμενος = καλούμενος. 158
καλλίτερος El. = καλλίων
καλλύ[σ]μα[ι]τα Ceos 'sweepings.' Cf.
Hesych. σάρματα· καλλύσματα
καλφός Boeot. = καλός. 54
κάρζα Lesb. = καρδία. 19.1
καρπώω 'offer,' especially 'a burnt
offering,' in Smyrna, Thera,
Athens, as often in the Septua-

θύρωτον Epid. = *θύρωτρον. 70.3
θύσθεν Arc. 89.8, 133.1
θυφλός Cumae = τυφλός. 65
θύχα Cret. = τύχη. 65
θωάδδω El. (θάδδω) 'impose a
fine.' See following
θω(ι)άω 'impose a fine.' Locr.
θωῖσέτο, Att. θάω, Delph. θωεόν-
των. 161.2. Cf. Att. θω(ι)ά, Ion.
θωιή (37.2), Delph. θωίσις

ια Lesb., Thess., Boeot. = μία.
114.1
ιαθθα Cret. = οὔσα. 81a, 163.8
ιαρειάδδω Boeot. 'serve as priest.' 84
ιαρές Cyren. = ἱερεῖς. 111.3
ιαρήιον = ἱερεῖον. 164.1
ιαρόμας, official title, El. Cf.
Hesych. ἱερόμας· τῶν ἱερῶν ἐπι-
μελούμενος.
ιαρο(μ)νάμονες, see ἱερομνήμων
ιαρός, ἱαρός = ἱερός. 13.1, 58b
ιασσα = ἰούσα. 163.8a
ιαττή Cypr. = ἱατρός. 56, 164.5
ιατρα, τά Epid. 'perquisites for
healing.' 165.3
ιαττα Cret. = οὔσα. 81, 163.8
ἱγυος Arc. = ἑγγυος. 10
ἱγχερηρήκω Arc., 3 sg. perf. opt.
from verb = Att. ἐγγχερέω. 10, 25
ἱδδιος Thess. = ἱδιος. 19.3, 58c
ἱδέ Cypr. 'then, and.' 134.6
ἱδιδιος, Arg. ἱδιδιος = ἱδιος. 52b, 58c
ἱέρεως Mil. = ἱερεύς. 43, 111.5
ἱέρηα = ἱερεία. 28b
ἱερή(ι)ον = ἱερεῖον. 37.2, 164.1
ἱερής Arc.; ἱερές Cypr. = ἱερεύς.
111.4. Arc. dat. sg. ἱερί 9.5
ἱερητεύω = ἱερατεύω. 167. ἱερητεύ-
κατι Phoc., 138.4
ἱερτεύω, ἱαριτεύω = ἱερατεύω. 167.
ἱαριτευνάκων Cyren. 161.3
ἱεροθυτέω Arc., Phoc., Rhod.,
etc., 'be ιεροθύτης.' Arc. ἱεροθυτές,
78, 157
ἱεροθύτης (-ας) official title. Some-
times applied to priestly atten-
dants, sometimes to priestly of-
ficials of high rank, who were
even, in some places, the epony-
mous officers
ἱερομνήμων, -μνάμων title of cer-
tain superior officials, primarily
in charge of religious matters,
'sacred commissioners, ministers
of religion,' also delegated to the
Amphictionic council. Arc. ἱε-

ρομνάμονσι, 77.1a. Mycen., Epid.
ἱαρο(μ)νάμονες, 58b, 89.2
ἱεροποιός title of officials in charge
of religious matters, sometimes
regular magistrates, sometimes
extraordinary commissioners
ἱερός, ἱερός. 58b
ἱερωτεύω = ἱερατεύω. 167
ἱθάντες Cret. 82b, 162.9
ἱθός Ion., Boeot. (also lit. Dor.) =
εὐθός. As in lit. Ion., so also
inscriptional ἱθός (Ephesus), ἱθου-
να (Chios), though εὐθνος, εὐθύ-
να also occur. Proper names in
ἱθου- are Ionic and Boeotian.
ἱκάς = εἰκάς. 116. Ther. ἱκάδι, 58c
(F)ικαστός Boeot. = εἰκοστός. 116
with a
(F)ικατι = εἰκοσι. 52, 61.2, 116
ἱκατίδεις, ὁ Heracl., name of a
particular (twenty-foot) road
ἱκατίπιδος Heracl. 'twenty feet
wide,' used with ἀντομος
ἱκέτας Arg. = ἱκέτης. 58d
ἱκαμένος Cypr. 'stricken' (in
battle), 'hit' Denom. from *ἱκαῖ.
Cf. ἱκαρ 'at one blow, at once.'
Hesych. ἱκτέα· ἀκόντιον, Lat. *icō*
ἱκοστός Thess. = εἰκοστός. 116
ἱκω = Ἀθ. ἱκω, in most, perhaps all,
other dialects, e.g. (beside Homer
and lit. Doric) Corinth. ἱκόμενος,
Delph. ἱκόντι, Arc. ἱκόντι
ἱλαος, ἱλαος, ἱλαος (Lac. ἱλῆφος) =
ἱλαός. 49.5, 53. Arc. ἱλαος 58d
ἱλαξάστο Delph., from ἱλάσκομαι.
85.1
ἱλῆφος Lac., see ἱλαος
ἱμάσκω El., probably 'maltreat,'
related to ἱμάς, ἱμάσσα
ἱμάτιον Att. 25e
ἱμπασις, ἱνπασις Arc. = ἐγκησις.
10, 162.12
ἱν Arc.-Cypr. = ἐν. 10, 135.4
ἱν = οἱ dat. 3 pers. pron. 118.4.
ἱν αὐτοῖ Cret. = ἐαυτοῖ. 121.1
ἱνάγω Arc. = εἰσάγω. 10
ἱναλίω Cypr. 'write upon.' 10.
Cf. Hesych. ἀλίνειν· ἀλείφειν, and
ἀλειπτήριον· γραφεῖον. Κύπριοι
ἱνδικάζονται Arc., see ἱνδικάζομαι
ἱνδικός Arc., see ἱνδικός
ἱνμενφής, ἱνμενφός Arc. 'blame-
worthy, impious.' 10
ἱνκολά Arc. = ἐμπολή. 10
ἱνφαίνω Arc. 'inform' in legal
sense. Cf. εἰσφαίνω Ath. 75 A

κατατίθημι Cret., Mess. = ὑποτίθη-
μι 'mortgage,' mid. 'take a mort-
gage'
κατέθιαν Cypr. = κατέθεσαν. 138.
5
κατέρων Lesb. = καθιερῶν. 13.1,
155.3
κατενθόντας, κατηνθηκῆτι Arc. =
κατελθόντας, κατελθουθῆτι. 72,
146.1
κατέφοργον Cypr., aor. οἱ κατέρ-
γω. 5
κατιαραῖω El. (κατιαραῖον, κατια-
ραῖσις). 12a, 161.1, no. 61.2, note
κατῖγν[ειτος] Thess., see κασίγνη-
τος
-κάτιοι = -κασιοί. 61.2, 116a,
117.2
κατιστάμεν Cret. 57a
κατοικεῖον Thess. = κατοικῶσι.
138.4, 159
κατόπερ Ion. beside κατάπερ = κα-
θάπερ
καττάπερ = καθάπερ. 126
κατύ Arc. = κατά. 22
καυχός Cret. = χαλκός. 65, 71
κε = ἐν. 134.2
κείνος = ἐκεῖνος. 125.1
κεκλεβώς Mess. 66
κέλευθος Arc. 'road.' 191
κέλεξ Lac. = κέλης. 142a
κέντο Dor. = κέλτο. 72
κεραῖω = κεράννυμι. 229
κέρναν Lesb. = κερνάει. 18a, 155.
3
Κέτιον = Κίτιον. 10
κή Boeot. = καί. 26
κήνος = ἐκεῖνος. 125.1
κέρεισις Cret. = χήρεισις 'divorce'
κεφάλωμα 164.9
Κιάριον Thess. = Κιέριον 12
κιζαλλεύω Ion. 'act as highway-
man'
κιζάλλης Ion. 'highwayman.' Used
with ληστής in no. 3 B 19, as in
Democr. fr. 260 ed. Diels. Prob-
ably of Carian or Lycian origin
κίς Thess. = τίς. 68.4, 131
κίων, ἄ Thess., often used instead
of στάλλα = στήλη
κλαυκός Argol., Mess. = κλειστός.
142a
κλάξ Argol., Mess. = κλείς. 142a
κλῆρος Cret. 'the body of κλαρώται
or seris attached to the estate'
-κλέας, personal names in. 166.1

-κλέφες, -κλέης, -κλῆς, personal
names in. 108.1a
κλέφος Phoc. 53
Κλεῦας Thess. 35a
κλίνη Naples, Cumae 'niche in a
tomb.' No. 11
Κνωσός. 89.4b
κοθαρός = καθαρός. 6
κόθαρις El. = κάθαρις. 6
κοινάν, κοινάνεω = κοινών, κοινω-
νέω, 41.4. κοινανόντι Arg. 42.5d
κοινάω Thess., Dor. = κοινάω.
161.5
κόμιστρα, τά Cret. 'gifts.' 165.3
κομιττάμενοι Boeot. = κομισά-
μενοι. 142
κόρφα = κόρη. 54
κορζία Cypr. = καρδία. 5, 19.1
κόρτον Boeot. = κύρτος (?) 24, no.
39
κοσμέω (-ω) Cret. 'be a member
of the κόσμος.' See following.
κοσμόντες, 42.5d
κόσμος Cret. 'the body of chief
magistrates' (collective; a single
member was called κοσμίον, see
preceding); also used of a single
member of this body, with pl.
κόσμοι
κότερος Ion. = πότερος. 68.4
κότος Boeot. = κύτος. 24, no. 39
κοτύλεια Coan = κοτύλη. 71b
κούρη = κόρη. 54
κραμάσαι Epid. = κρεμάσαι. 12c
κράνα = κρήνη. 8c
κράνανι Arc. = κρήναι. 104.10
κρατόντες Cret. = κρατούντες. 42.5d
κρένω Thess. = κρίνω. 18. 74
κρέτος = κράτος. 49.2
κρίνω Lesb. = κρίνω. 74. Aor.
ἐκρίνω, 77.1
κριτή Argol. = κριτής. 164.5
κρόμπος Arc. No. 20.9 ff., note
κτένω Lesb. = κτείνω. 74
κτοίνα Rhod., a territorial division
similar to the Attic deme. Cf.
κτίζω, κτίσις
κτοινάτας, κτοινέτας Rhod. 'mem-
ber of the κτοίνα.' 167
κυέσσα, κυεῦσα Coan, 42.5
κυκάν Epid. = κυκάν. 41.4
κύφους Chalcid. 22d, 24a
κυμερέναι Cypr. = κυβερνᾶν. 8, 8
157
κυνία Lesb. 9.2
κύρρον Thess. = κύριον. 19.3
κωμέτας Arg. 167

κώρα Cret. = κόρη. 25, 54
κῶς Ion. = πῶς. 68.4

Λα- from Λαο-. 41.4, 45.3
λαββάνω Delph. = λαμβάνω. 69.3
λάβωσιν Chian = λαβώσιν. 77.3
λαβών Aegin. = λαβών. 76a
λαγαίω Cret. 'release'; aor. λαγά-
σαι. Cf. ἀπολάγαι. 142a
λάζομαι Meg., Boeot. (λάδδουσθη,
ἀπολάδδουσθη), Ion. λάζυμαι =
λαμβάνω
Λαππαίων Cret. 69.3
Λάρισα. 89.4b
λάς, Cret. gen. λάῶ. 112.4
Λασαίος Thess. = Λαριαίος. 88b,
no. 32.19, note
λατραί[όμενον], λατρεύμενον El. =
λατρεύμενον 'consecrated.' 12a,
161.1
λαφυροπώλιον Arc. 'sale of booty.'
No. 19.9 ff., note
λειτορεύω Thess. = λειρατεύω. Cf.
Hesych. λείτορες· ἑρέται, and
λητήρες· ἱεροὶ στεφανοφόροι. Ἀθα-
μάνες. Related to Att. λειτουργέω
(39)
λείω, see λέω
λειδῶς Rhod. 'accursed.' No. 101,
note
λεχοῖ Delph., see λεχάι
λελάβηκα Arc., Ion., Epid. 137,
146.1
Λέντιχος Cyren. 42.5a
λέσχα Rhod. 'grave.' No. 101,
note
Λεσχαίος Thess., epithet of Apollo.
No. 30, note
Λεττιναίος Thess. = Λεπτιναίος. 86.2
λεύσω 'behold.' 191
λευτον Arc., meaning? No. 18.3
note
λεχάι Cyren., gen. sg. λεχός Cyren.,
dat. sg. λεχοῖ Delph. 63, 111.5a,
λέω, Cret. λείω = θέλω. 162.12
-λήνω (= -λαίνω) Boeot. 'cancel.'
162.10
λίθιος Thess. = λίθινος. 164.6
λιμήν Thess. = ἀγορά 'market-
place' (Thess. ἀγορά = ἐκκλησία).
So also Cypr. (Hesych.) and Ion.
(GDI 5545.25)
λίνιος Boeot. = λίνεος. 164.6
λιποτελέω Locr., 'leave taxes un-
paid.' Cf. λιποστρατία, etc.
λίσσος Cret. 'insolvent' (?). No.
120.115, note

λοπίς Arg., some kind of shallow
vessel. Cf. λοιπός and λοιπός
Λόφριον Aetol. 5
Λύττος Cret. = Λύκτος. 86.1
λωτήριον Arg., Heracl. = λουτή-
ριον. 44.4
μά El. = μή. 15
μά Thess. = μέ. 134.4
μαίτρες Cret., Epid. = μάρτυρες.
71a
μάν El. = μέν. 12a
μαντήα, μαντήον Arg. 164.1
μάντοι Epid. = μέντοι. 12c
μάσλης Lesb. = μάσθλης. 89.8
μαστράα El., μαστρέα Mess. 'ac-
counting.' Cf. Hesych. μαστρίαι·
αἱ τῶν ἀρχόντων εὐθυναί. 12a, 31
μαστρός title of an official at
Delphi, Rhodes, Pelene. Cf.
Delph. κατάμαστρος, Mess. ὑπό-
μαστρος 'subject to fine'
ματάρα Delph. = μητέρα. 12
μέδιμνον Epid. 89.2
μέζων Arc., Ion. = μέζων. 113.1
μεθάμερα Epid. = μεθ' ἡμέραν.
Adverb formed like ὑπερέκφαλα
from ὑπὲρ κεφαλάν
μεῖ Boeot., Thess. = μή. 16
μειάλλ[αν] Pamph. = μεγάλην.
62.3, 76a
μεινός, μεινός Thess. = μηνός.
77.1, 112.3
Μηελίος Corcyr. 76a
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μείστον Locr. 'at least.' 113.3
μεμισθωσῶνται Heracl. 146.5
Μένναι Boeot. = Μένης. 89.5.
108.2
Μενοκράτης Cret. = Μενεκράτης.
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μέντον = μέντοι. No. 32.38, note
μερεία Heracl. = μερίς
μέρος Locr. 'real estate.' No. 57.44,
note
μές Thess. 'until.' 132.12
μεσακόθεν Arc. 65, 133.1
μεσέγγυος Boeot., adj. 'with a
third party.' Cf. μεσεγγυάω LS
μεσόννη Att. = μεσόννη. 87
μέσποδι Thess. 'until.' 132.12
μέσσορος Heracl. 'intermediate
boundary'
μέστα Cret., Cyren. 'until.' Arc.
μέστε. 132.12
μεταφουκίω Locr. = μετοικέω. 53
μέτερος Lesb. = μέτριος. 19.2

μετρίωμαι Heracl. = μετρού-
μαι. 42.5b
μέττ' ἐς Cret. 'until.' 86.4, 132.12
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Μίντων Arg. = Μίλων. 72
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μιστός Cret. = μισθός. 85.1
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Μνασσά Thess. = Μνασία. 19.3
μοῖσα Lesb. = μουσα. 77.3
μοιχέω Cret. (μοικίον, etc.) = Dor.
μοιχάω = μοιχεύω. 161.2
μούνος Ion. = μόνος. 54
μυχός Heracl. 'storehouse, gra-
nary'
μῶσα Lac. = μουσα. Cf. 59.1
μωλέω Cret. (μωλέν, μωλέν, etc.)
'contend' (in law). So also Cret.
ἀμφιμωλέω, ἀμφιμωλος, ἀντιμω-
λος, ἀπομωλέω, adv. ἀμωλεί. Cf.
Hesych. μωλήσεται· μαχήσεται.
Related to Hom. μῶλος 'contest.'
Cf. ἀγωνίζομαι as a law-term in
Attic
μῶσα = μουσα. 77.3

ναεύω Cret. 'take refuge in a tem-
ple'
νακόρος, see νεακόρος
να(φ)ός = νεός. 41.4, 53, 54d
ναποῖαι, see νεωποῖας
ναῦος Lesb. = νεός. 35, 54d
ναῦσσον name of a tax, Coan, also
(spelled with T) at Cyzicus
νεί Arc. = νή, ναί. 134.7
νεμονία Cret. = νεομηνία. 89
νεότας Cret. 'an official body of
young men,' gen. νεότας, acc.
νεότα. 88a
νεωκόρος Ion., Delph. νεακόρος,
Delph., Epid., Coan νεακός (41.4
45.3), custodian of the temple,
sacristan. In some places the
office became one of considerable
rank and honor

νεωποῖας Ion., Coan ναποῖαι. 31.
41.4. Cf. also Ion. νεωποῖός.
Boeot. ναποῖός. Title of officials
in general charge of the affairs
of the temple
νήατος Arc. = νέατος. No. 20.10 ff.,
note
νικάσας, νικάαρ Lac. = νικάσας.
59.1, 60.2
νῖν = ξ. 118.5
νιουμεινία, νιουμεινός, νιουμεινός Boeot.
= νουμηνία, νουμηνός. 42.5a
νόμαιος Ion. = νόμιμος. 164.10
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νόμος Heracl., a coin. Cf. Lat.
nummus
νοσσά, etc. 42.5f
νοστήτω El. = *νοστήζω, νοστέω.
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νυ Cypr., Boeot. 134.5
νύναμαι Cret. = δύναμαι. 88
νυττί Cret. = νυκτί. 86.1
Ξείνος, ξήνος, ξένφος = ξένος. 54
Ξέννος Lesb. = ξένος. 54b
Ξενοδίκαι Locr., Phoc., title of
judges in cases involving the
rights of ξένοι. Ξενοδίκης is used
by a late writer to translate the
Latin praetor peregrinus
Ξύλα Coan = ξύλα. 71b
Ξύλλεσθαι Arg., in form = σκύλ-
εσθαι (87), but meaning 'pillage'
(cf. σκύλον)
Ξύν = σύν. 135.7
Ξυνός Ion. = κοινός. 135.7

δ = δ. 58a
"Οαξος = Φάξος. 51a
ὀβελός Boeot., ὀβελός Thess. =
ὀβολός. 49.3, 68.1, 89.4
ὀγδοῖς, ὀγδοῖχοντα. 31a
ὀγδοός, ὀγδοός. 114.8
ὀγδῶι Ion. = ὀγδῶ. 44.2
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ὀδελός = ὀβολός. 49.3, 68.1
ὀείω Lesb. = οἶω. 49.1
ὀζος Cret. = ὄσος. 82
ὀθθαῖν Cret. = ὀσάκις. 81a, 133.6
ὀσι Arc. 132.1a
ὀσμα Lesb. = ὄσμα. 164.4
ὀσι = οἰ dat. 3 pers. pron. 118.4
Φουκίτας = οὐκίτης. 167
οἰκίη Arg. 157c
Φουκίς Cret. = οὐκίτης. 167
οἰκιστήρ = -τής. Cyren. 164.5
Φύκος = οἶκος. 52

Φοίω Delph. = οἰκοῦν. 132.8
Φοῖνος = οἶνος. 52
οἶφος Cypr. = οἶος 'alone.' 53, 191
οἶρων Cypr. (iv τῶν οἶρων) 'district.'
Cf. οἶρων 'boundary line,' He-
sych.
οἶς Delph. = οἶ. 132.3
οἰσάντι Heracl. = οἰσόντι. 58d
οἶφω Cret. (οἶφεν, οἶφει), Ther.
(οἶφει, etc.), Lac. (Hesych.)
'have sexual intercourse'
ὄκα, also ὄκα = ὄτε. 132.11
ὄκοις Ion. = ὄποιος. 68.4
ὄκοτακίται Heracl. = ὄκακίται.
58c, 117.2
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ὄκτώ Lesb. = ὄκτω. 114.8
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ὄμωμεθα Lac. 42.5b
ὄμολογά, ὄ, ὄμολογον, τό Boeot. =
ὄμολογία
ὄμονέντες Lesb. = ὄμονοῦντες.
44.4, 157
ὄν Lesb., Thess., Cypr. = ἄν. 6
ὄνάλα, ὄνάλουμα Thess. = ἄνάλωμα.
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ὄποντι, ὄποντίους, ὄποντίων
Locr. = ὄποῦντι, ὄποῦντίους,
etc. 44.4, 58d
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ὄπόττος Boeot., ὄπόττος Cret. =
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ὄππα Lesb. 129.2, 132.6
ὄππα Lesb. = ὄμμα. 164.4
ὄππως Lesb. 129.2
ὄπτίλος Dor. = ὄφθαλμός. Occurs
in Epidaurian (-ίλος and -ίλος,
no. 90 passim), as Laconian in
Plut. Lyc. 11, and in the writings
of Archytas and Phintias. ὄπ-
ίλος (cf. ὄπ-τήρ etc.) like ναυ-
ίλος beside ναύ-της
ὄπτῶ El. = ὄκτώ. 114.8
ὄπύ Arc. = ὄπό. 22, 24
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ὄπω Dor. (Cret. ὄπῶ, Lac. ὄπῶ) =
ὄπόθεν. 132.8
ὄπωρ Eretr., ὄπωρ El. = ὄπως.
60.1, 3, 97a
ὄρβος Corcyr. = ὄρος. 51
ὄρεγμα, measure of length, Heracl.
ὄρκίζω = ὄρκω. 161.4
ὄρκιδερος Cret. 'having preference
in the oath'
ὄρκιδόμαι Locr., Arc. 'jurors'
ὄρνις = ὄρνις. 142a
ὄρφος Corcyr., ὄρος Heracl., ὄρος
Arg. = ὄρος. 54, 58c
ὄροφος 'house' Cyren. No. 115.16,
note
ὄρτή Ion. = ὄρση. 42.5f
ὄρύξ Cypr., see ἑξορύξ
ὄρφανοδικασταί Cret. (ὄρφανοδικα-
σταί) 'officers appointed to look
after the affairs of orphans or
minors.' Cf. Att. ὄρφανοφύλακες
ὄρος Cret. = ὄς. 120.3, 121.1
ὄσεί Arc. = ὄτε. 68.3, 128,
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ὄσια Arc., Locr. = ὄσια. 58c
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ὄτα Lesb. = ὄτε. 13.3, 132.11
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ὄττι Locr., error for ὄττι. 129.2a
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ὄττις, etc. Lesb. = ὄτις, etc. 129.2
ὄττος Cret. = ὄσος. 82
ὄυδές Lac. = ὄυδής. 114.1
ὄυθαμεί Epid. = ὄυθαμῶς. 132.2
ὄυθής = ὄυδής. 66
ὄυλος Ion. = ὄλος. 54
ὄυρεῖον, ὄυρεῖον Cret. 'guard-
house.' From οὖρος 'watcher,'
like Att. φρούριον from φρουρός
ὄυρεύω Cret. 'watch'

οὔρος Ion. = ὄρος. 54
οὔτο, οὔτα, etc., Boeot. = τοῦτο,
ταῦτα, etc. 124
ὀφέλλω Arc., Hom. = ὀφείλω. 73a
ὀφῆλω Arc., Arg., Cret. = ὀφείλω.
75; aorist and perfect, Att.
ὀφλον, ὀφληκα 'be condemned
to pay a fine, be adjudged guilty.'
So Arc. aor. infin. ὀφλέν, perf.
[F]φλέσαι, Fφλέκοι. 52a, 138.4,
146.1
ὀφέλωμα Cret. = ὀφείλωμα. 167
ὀφρύς Arg. 'ramp.' No. 87.14, note
παῖ, παῖ 132.5
παῖδιχος Lac. = παῖδικός. 164.9
παῖριν Eretr. = παῖσιν. 60.3
παῖς = υἱός, or, sometimes, θυγά-
τηρ. Lesb., Boeot., Cypr., Locr.,
Ion. Cf. παῖς, κόρα 'son, daugh-
ter' in no. 59.4
παῖσα Cyren. = παῖσα. 77.3
παῖμα = κτήμα. 162.12
παματοφαγείσται 'be confiscated'
Locr. 162.12
παμωχέω Heracl. 'possess.' Cf.
Hesych. παμῶχος· ὁ κύριος. Ἰτα-
λοί, and παμωχίων· κεκτημένος.
162.12
παναγορία Arc. = πανήγορις. 164.10
Παναγόριος Arc., name of a
month
πανάγορος Arc. = πανήγορις. 5,
49.2, 80a
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Πάναμος Thess. = Πάνημος, name
of a month
πάνσα Arc., Arg., Cret., Thess. =
πάσα. 77.3
παντῆι Heracl., Lesb. πάνται. 132.5
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πανδνίος Cypr. 'wholly salable.'
No. 23.10, note
πάομαι = κτάομαι. 162.12
Πάονι Arc. 41.4
πάρ El. = περί. 12, 95
πάρ = παρά. 95
παρά with acc. for dat. 136.2
παρμαξεύω Arc. 'drive in a wagon
off (the highroad).' Cf. ἐπαμαξεύω,
καθαμαξεύω. No. 18.23, note
παρπροστάτας Agrig. 'an adjunct
προστάτας' or presiding officer of
the council. Cf. παραπρυτάνεις in
Teos
παρβάλλω Delph. = παραβαίω
'transgress'

παρβεῶντας Cyren. 42.5b, 161.2
παρδειχμα Epid. = παράδειγμα. 66
παρεῖαν Boeot. = παρήσαν. 138.5
παρεῖς Boeot. = παρήν. 163.3
παρετάζω Arc. 'examine into' (cf.
ἐξετάζω) and so 'approve.' παρ-
εταζώνσι (no. 19.28), 142. παρ-
εταζόμενος (no. 18.20), 173
παρίς Boeot. = παρήν. 16a
παριαθέα Lac. = παρακαταθήκη
Πασιάδαφο Gela. 105.2a
πάσχω El. = πάσχω. 66
πασσυδιάζω Lesb. 'assemble'. 96.2
πασσυδίη Ion. = πανουδίη. 96.2
πάστας Cret. 'owner.' 162.12
παστάς = παραστάς. 89.8
πατάρα Locr. = πατέρα. 12
πάτρα Arc., Dor. = γένος 'gens.'
Ion. πάτηρ also, rarely, in this
sense
πατριά Delph., El. = γένος 'gens,'
as in Hdt. 1.200
πατροῖδος Cret. = ἐπίκληρος 'heir-
ess.' 117.VII.15 ff., note
πέ Arc. = πεδῶ, μετά. 95, 135.5
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Πειλεστρωτίδας Boeot. 68.2
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πέλεθρον = πλεθρον. 48
πέλεκυ Cypr., used of a sum of
money equal to 10 minae. No.
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πέμπε Lesb., Thess. = πέντε. 68.2,
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πενταητηρίς Heracl. = πενταητη-
ρίς. 58c
πενταμαριτεύω Delph. 12. no.
52 D 16, note
πεντάμεροι, title of officials, Locr.
(Halae). See preceding
πεντηκόντων Chian = gen. pl. of
πεντήκοντα. 116
πεντορκία Locr. 'quintuple oath,
oath sworn by five gods.' 58d
πέντος Cret., Amorg. = πέμπος.
86.2, 114.5
πεπείσται Thess. = πεπείσθαι. 85.1,
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πεπεμμένος Troez. 86.8, no. 88.13, note
 πεποιόντες Boeot. = πεποιήκασιν.
 9.4a, 146.1
 περ = περί. 91a
 περαιώ Cret. 'set aside, repudiate' (the purchase of a slave). No. 117.VII.10, note
 πέρανθε Arc. 'abroad'
 περιβολισμός Rhod. 'fasten round with lead.' 88
 περιδρομοί, officials at Mytilene 'clerks of the court'
 περίσας 'left over, remaining.' No. 42.22
 περιωρεσία Sicil. Dor. 18b
 Περφοβαρίαι Locr. 6, 95
 πέροδος Delph. = περίοδος. Cf. 95
 Πέρραμος Lesb. = Πρίαμος. 19.2
 περτ' Pamph. = πρόσ. 135.6
 πέσυρες Lesb. = τέτταρες. 68.2, 114.4
 πεστάντες Thess. = περιστάντες. 89.8
 Πεταγείτιος = Μετα-. 135.5
 πέτευρον Orop., Delos, πετεύριον Erythrae 'notice-board.' 135.5a
 Πιεθαλός Thess. = Θεσσαλός. 65, 68.2, 81c
 πετράμεινον Boeot. = τετράμεινον. 68.2
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 πετροετηρίς Thess. = τετρα-. 5, 68.2
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 πέποκα Lac. = πόποτα. 132.7, 11
 πίσυρες Hom. = τέτταρες. 11, 68.2, 114.4
 πιτεύω 'irrigate,' & πίτευτα 'un-irrigated.' Boeot.
 πλάγος Heracl. 'side'
 πλαθύοντα El. = πληθύοντα. 15
 πλάν Dor., etc. = πλὴν
 πλέες Lesb. = πλέονες. 113.2
 πλευριάς, -άδος Heracl. = πλευρά
 πλέθα, & Locr.; Boeot. πλείθα 'assembly'

πλήθος (1) 'amount,' (2) 'majority,' (3) frequently 'people, assembly.' Arc. dat. sg. πλήθι 9.5
 πληθύς = πλήθος, as in Homer.
 Cret. 'the amount,' Locr. 'the majority'
 πλίες Cret. = πλέες = πλέονες. 9.4, 42.7, 113.2
 πλίυι Cret. = πλέον. 113.2, 132.4
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 πλουτίνδαν Locr. 133.7
 ποεί, πώσω, etc. = ποιεῖ, etc. 31
 πόεσι Arc. = πρόσεσι. 59.4a
 ποεχόμενον Cypr. = προσεχόμενον 'adjacent to.' Cf. προσεχής. 59.4
 πόθικες Lac. = προσήκοντες. For stem πόθικ- to ποθίκα, cf. προίξ, προικός
 ποθίκα Boeot. = προσήκα. Cf. ἴκα
 πόθοδος = πρόσοδος. Cf. πετί = πρόσ
 ποθόωμα Boeot., Epir. = πρόσ-οδος. 164.10
 ποί = πρόσ. 135.6
 ποιγραψάνσθ Arg. 77.2, 135.6, 140.3b
 ποιείνται, ποιέμενος. 158
 ποίονσι Arc. = ποιούσι. 77.3, 157
 ποιέω = ποίω. 53; Argol. ποιέ-σανς. 78.3
 ποιήσασαι El. = ποιήσασθαι. 59.3, 85.2
 ποιήματα El. = ποιήσθαι. 59.3, 151.1
 ποικεφάλαιον Delph. = προσκεφάλαιον. 135.6
 ποιόν, ποιόντος, ποιόντων, etc. 42.5d
 Ποίτιος Cret. = Πόθιος. 30a
 πόκα = πότα. 132.11
 πόκι κι Thess. = δτι. 68.4, 131
 πόλερ El. = πόλις. 18b
 πολιανόμοι Heracl., title of municipal magistrates in charge of public buildings, streets, etc., like Roman aediles. Called ἀστυνόμοι at Athens, Rhodes, etc.
 πολιάτας Dor. = πολίτης. 167
 πολιάρχος Lac. = πολιοῦχος. 167
 πόλις = δήμος. Especially frequent in decrees of Phocis, Locris, Thessaly, and other parts of Northwest Greece, and notably in Crete, where it is almost constant
 πόλις Lesb. nom. pl. 109.3
 πόλιτος Heracl. = πλείστος. 113.2, ἡως πολίστων = ὡς πλείστων

πολιτή = πολιτεία. 28b
 πόλλιος Thess. = πόλιος (πόλεως). 19.3
 Ποηοιδάν, Ποηοιδαια Lac. = Ποσειδών, Ποσειδώνια. 41.4, 49.1, 59.1, 61.5
 πομπάν Cret. = πομπήν. 69.3
 πορθία Arc. 'passage, path' (?). No. 20.9, note
 πόρνοφ Boeot., Lesb. = πάρνοφ. 5
 πορτί Cret. = πρόσ. 70.1, 135.6
 πός Arc.-Cypr. = πρόσ. 135.6 with a
 Ποσειδάν, Ποσειδάν, Ποηοιδάν, Ποσειδάν, Ποσειδάν, etc. 41.4, 49.1, 59.1, 61.4
 πότ = ποτί, πρόσ. 95
 ποταποπισάτω Boeot. = προσπο-τισάτω. 68.2
 Ποτεδά(φ)όν, Ποτειδάν, see Ποσειδάν
 ποτελάτω Arg. 'enforce.' 159
 ποτεχεί Heracl., ποτεχέας Ach. = προσεχώς. 132.2
 ποτί = πρόσ. 61.4, 135.6
 ποτικαίτω Heracl. 'be close to, adjacent to.' 142a
 ποτιπλάμνα Cyren. 86.8, 164.4
 ποτιοκάπτω Heracl. = *προσκα-πτω 'dig up to, heap earth upon'
 ππάματα Boeot. = κτήματα. 69.4, 162.12
 πράδδω Cret. = πράττω. 84a
 πρασόντασι Heracl. 107.3
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 πρώτος W. Grk., Boeot. = πρώ-τος. 114.1
 πρέιγα Locr. = γερούσια. 86.3
 πρέιγος, πρέιγυτάς, πρέιγυτάς, πρέιγυν, πρέιγιστος Cret. = πρέσ-βος, etc. 68.1, 86.3 with a
 πρεισβεία Thess. = πρεσβεία. 86.3
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 πρήγιστος Cret., πρηγιστεύω Coan. 86.3a
 πρήξοισιν Chian = πρήξωσιν. 77.3, 150
 πρήσω Ion. = πράττω. Cf. 8, 81
 πρήττω Eub. = πράττω. 81
 πρήχμα Chian = πρήγμα, πρήγμα. 66
 πρισγείες Boeot. = πρέσβεις. 68.1, 86.3
 πριώι, πριωσεί Heracl. 159a, 161.3

προαγορέω Agrig. 'be πρόαγορος, presiding officer of the ἀλία'
 προαγενημένη Lesb. = προαγε-μένη. 89.4, 157a, 162.2
 προάγγεσις Thess. = προαίρεσις. 162.2
 πρόβατα 'sheep' in Attic, but 'cattle' in a wide sense, domestic quadrupeds, large (kine), or small (sheep and goats), in Ionic and in Arcadian (no. 18, 14 ff.); in Cretan, used of small cattle in contrast to καρταίποδα (no. 117.IV.36)
 προβειπάδας Lac. = προειπάδας. 51, 59.1
 πρόθθα Cret. = πρόσθεν. 133.1
 προξενιούν Thess. = προξενιόν. 19.3, 41.4c
 πρόξενος Corcyra, πρόξενος Cret. = πρόξενος. 54
 πρόσθα Dor. = πρόσθεν. 133.1
 προσθαγενής Arc. (προσθαγενής). No. 17.33 ff., note
 προσθίδιος El. (προστιζίδιον). 165.2
 προσμέτρεις Lesb. = προσμετρέ-ων. 157
 προσπερμεία 'sprinkling with seed' Coan
 πρόστα Delph., πρόσθεν Thess. = πρόσθεν. 85.1, 133.1
 προστάτης. (1) As at Athens, one who looks after the rights of aliens. So in no. 57.34. (2) The chief magistrate of a city or state. (3) προστάται = Att. πρυ-τάνεις. So in Cos, Calymna, Cnidus, etc.
 [προστί]θησ[θον] Lesb. = προστι-θέσθον. 157a
 προσφάγιον Ceos = πρόσφαγμα 'sacrifice'
 πρότανις Lesb. (rarely Att.) = πρύτανις. The more usual prefix προ- replaces here the related but uncommon πρυ-.
 προτεράσιος 'of the previous time.' Delph.
 προτερεία Heracl. = προτερεία 'the day before.' 46.2
 προτηνί Boeot. 'formerly.' 123, 136.1
 προτί = πρόσ. 135.6
 πρυτανήιον = πρυτανειόν. 164.1
 πρωγγυεύω Heracl. 'be surety'
 πρώγγυος Heracl. 44.4
 πτόλεμος = πόλεμος. 67

πόλις Cypr., etc. = πόλις. 67
 Πύρφος, Πύρφιας, Πύρφαλόν 54e
 πύς Dor. = πῶς. 132.4
 Πύτιος = Πόθιος. 66
 πῶ Dor., etc. 132.8
 Φρήσις Arc. 'declaration.' 55
 ῥήτρα, El. Φρήτρα, Cypr. Φρήτρα, originally 'saying'. (Cf. ῥήτρ, etc.) but in various dialects also used of a 'formal agreement, compact, decree, law.' Cf. Heracl. κατ τὰς ῥήτρας καὶ κατ τὰν συνθήκων 'according to the laws and the compact,' Photius ῥήτραι. Τα-ραντίνω δὲ νόμους καὶ οὖον ψη-φίσματα, and LS s.v. II. So El. Φρήτρα 'law, covenant' Cypr. Φρήτρα 'compact,' Φρήτάω 'pro-mise.' 15, 55, 70.3
 ῥηχμός Arg. = ῥηγμός. 66
 ροφαίσι Corcyra. 53, 76a
 ῥογός Heracl. 'granary.' Cf. Hesych. ῥογοί· σιτοὶ σιτικοί, σιτοβο-λῶνες, and Pollux 9.45 σιτοβόλια-ταῦτα δὲ ῥογούς Σικελιώται ὠνό-μαζον
 ῥόφος Cypr. 53
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 ῥά Meg. = τίνα. 128
 σαδράπας = σατράπης. Still other variations in the transcription of the Persian word (σαθραπάν) are seen in ἐξαιθαριπέντος, ἐξ-σατραπεύοντος, ἐξαιτράπης
 Σακρέτης, etc. 41.2
 Σαλαμόνα El. = Σαλαμώνη. 48
 Σαρμεύω Heracl. No. 79.136, note
 Σαυγένης, Σαυκράτης Boeot. 41.2
 σελάνα Dor., etc., σελάννα Lesb. = σελήνη. 76
 Σελινόνεντι, Σελινόντιον. 44.4
 σιός Lac. = σιός. 64 σίν=σιν 42.5g
 σις Cypr., σις Arc. = τις. 68.3, 128
 σιταγέρται Heracl. 'receivers and inspectors of grain.' So ἀγέρται οἱ ἀπὸ σιτωνίας at Tauromenium, σιτοφύλακες at Athens, Taurome-nium, etc., σιτώναι at Athens, Delos, etc.
 σιτηριν Eretr. = σίτησιν. 60.3
 σκευάδω El. = σκευέω. 12a
 -σκευω- Meg., Cret. ἐπισκευέωσαν, etc. 161.3

σκόφος Boeot. = σκόφος. 24
 σπάδιον Arg. = στάδιον. 88
 σπέλλω Lesb., Thess. σπόλος. 68.2a
 σποφδδάν Cret. = σπουδῆν. 32, 89.4
 σπυρός Coan, Epid., Syrac., Ther., Cyren. = πυρός
 στάλα Dor., etc.; στάλλα Lesb., Thess. = στήλη. 75
 σταρέστω Delph., fr. aor. of στέ-ρομαι. 49.2
 σταρτός Cret., a subdivision of the tribe. 49.2a
 στέγα Cret. 'house.' No. 117.III.46, note
 στέγασσις Epid. 164.3
 στέπτω Coan = στέπω. 66
 στεφανίζω = -ώω. 161.4
 στεφάνοι Lesb. 157b
 στεφανώι. 159a
 στεφών Ion. 'ridge.' 165.4
 στοιχείς Lesb. = στοιχέων. 78, 157
 σπονόφσαν Corcyra. 164.2
 σπορπά, σπορπάτος Arc. = ἀστραπή, ἀστραπαίος. 5, 31
 στραταγός (Lesb. στρότ-), title of the chief magistrate of the Achaean and Aetolian Leagues, also at times of others, as the Arcadians, Thessalians, Phocians etc.; also of local magistrates in Mytilene (no. 26), Eresus, Tegea (no. 19), etc.; under Macedonian rule = provincial 'governor', in Roman times 'prefect' (no. 107)
 στρατή Arg. 164.1
 στρότος, στρότατος = στρατός, etc. 5
 στροφά Delph. 'turn of the road.' No. 52 C 33 f.
 στυμέον Arc. 22b
 σύββωλον Delph. = σύμβολον. 69.3
 σύγγραφος, & Arc., Boeot., Mess., σύγγραφος (49.2) Delph., Argol. = συγγραφή 'contract'
 συγχέαι Ion. 144
 συκία Lesb. 9.2
 συλαίε El. 157c
 συμβόλιτρον & Arc. No. 20.26, note
 συμπιπίσκω Delph. 'invite to drink together'
 συναρτύω Arg. 'belong to the body of ἀρτύων.' No. 84.2, note
 συναρχοστατέω Phoc. 'join in ap-pointing magistrates'

συνδουχναφόροι Thess. 'fellow δαφ-νιφόροι.' See δαύχνα
 συνθερζόντι Heracl. 'enclose, cut off' (the roads). No. 79.130 ff., note
 συνσεσάδδω Cret. = συν-εκ-σάττω 'assist in carrying off.' Cf. χρή-ματα ἐκσευάζειν Strabo. 84a
 συνκλείς, -εῖτος Thess. = σύγκλη-τος ἐκκλησία. 164.10
 σφάδδω Boeot., σφάζω Ion. = σφάττω. 84a
 σφείς Arc. = σφίσι. 119.4
 σφηνόπους Ceos 'having wedge-shaped feet'
 σφυχή = ψυχή. 87
 σῶς, σω-, Σω-. 41.2
 ταγά Thess. 'time when there is a τυχός,' hence 'time of war.' No. 35, note
 ταγέω Delph., Thess. 'hold the office of ταγός'
 ταγός official title, Cypr., Delph., Thess. In Thessaly applied to (1) a military leader of the united Thessalians appointed only in time of war (cf. no. 35, note), (2) city officials like the ἀρχοντες of many places (nos. 32-34). At Delphi, officials of the phratry of the Labyadae (no. 52)
 ταί = αἰ. 122
 ταί El. = τάδε. 122
 ταινί, ταινύ Arc. = ταῖσδε. 97.1, 123
 ταίς Lesb., El. = τῆς. 78
 τάνω = τέμνω. 49.4
 τάνω Thess. 'of the present time.' Cf. Hom. τῆμος 'then.'
 τάνε Thess. = τάδε. 123
 τανί Boeot. = τήνδε. 122
 τανί, τανί Arc. = τῆσδε, τῶνδε, τῆσδε. 97.1, 123
 τάνω Arc. = τάδε. 123
 ταῦτα East Ion. = ταῦτα. 33
 ταυτᾶ Lac. 132.6
 ταῦτᾶ Locr. 'likewise.' 132.6
 ταῦται = αὐται. 124
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 τέθμος τέθμος, τέθμιος = θεσμός, θέσμιος. 164.4
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 τεῖω Arc., see τίνα

τέκνα Locr. = τέχνη. 66
 τελαμό Arg. 'support.' 89.9, no. 82, note
 τέλειος, τέλειος (1) 'perfect, unblemished,' (2) frequently = κύριος 'valid' (examples in Arg., Delph., Locr., Aetol., El., Ach.), ἀγορά (ἀλία, etc.) τέλειος = Att. ἐκκλησία κυρία
 τελεστά El. 'official.' Cf. τέλος 'of-fice.' 105.1a
 τελεστήρ Argol. 'priest.' 164.5
 τέλεστρα, τά Ion., Coan 'expenses of inauguration.' 165.3
 τελεσφορέντες Cyren. 42.5e
 τέλειος Coan = τέλειος. 43, 276
 τέλλω Arg., Cret. (as also in poe-try) = τελέω
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 τέος Dor. = σοῦ. 118.3
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 τέουτος Lesb. = τοιοῦτος. 130
 τέρτος Lesb. = τρίτος. 18a
 τέρχνια (or τέρχνια) Cypr. 'shrubs, trees.' Cf. Hesych. τέρχνεα· φυτὰ νέα and τέρχνος· στέλεχος, κλάδος, φυτόν, βλάστημα
 τέσσαρες, τέσσερες. 81, 114.4
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 τετράκιν Lac. = τετράκις. 133.6
 τετράκοντα, τετράκοντα = τεττα-ράκοντα. 116
 τέτρωρον Heracl. 'group of four boundary stones.' 41.2
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 Τήμιοι Ion. 37.2
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CHART II

δίδωσι, (f)λασι, -κασι, ξ in aor.
 as above, and κα, δκα, πρᾶτος, ιαρός
 as above, and pl. -μες, fut. -σεω, τέτορες
 ἐν with acc. ἴν with acc.

3 pl. -νθι
 φάρω

- Attic
- Ionic
- Arcadian
- Cyprian
- Lesbian
- Thessalian
- Boeotian
- Phocian
- Locrian
- Elean
- Laconian
- Heracleian
- Megarian
- Corinthian
- Argolic
- Rhodian
- Coan
- Theran
- Cretan

ἴν, πός, etc. ἔμμι, στάλλα

εἰ, δν

infn. -ναι

πέμπε, ἴα, etc.

πόδεσσι

κε, δπῶ, δν, φιλῆμι

ορ, πο = αρ, ρα

The GREEK DIALECTS

Grammar
Selected Inscriptions
Glossary

By
Carl Darling Buck



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PREFACE

The changes from the previous editions of the *Introduction to the Study of the Greek Dialects* have been so great that the old plates could not be used, and this is virtually a new book.

I have changed the title to *The Greek Dialects*, as both simpler and in a measure also appropriate. For it is fair to claim that the book is, for the time being, the most up-to-date treatment of the subject. Bechtel's monumental work (3 vols; 1,781 pp.) is a storehouse containing many items of detail not noticed here. But there is a deal of repetition incident to the arrangement adopted, and, more important, much new material has become available since its date.

The new material furnishes significant additions to our knowledge of several dialects, as Thessalian, Boeotian, and notably that of Cyrene. But I have hoped in vain for the greatest desiderata—early inscriptions of some extent from Lesbos and from East Locris.

I am more than ever convinced that the arrangement adopted here is not only more economical of space, but also more illuminating, than the separate treatment of the several dialects followed in other works.

I am indebted to the University of Chicago Press, to which the copyright has been transferred from the previous publishers, for undertaking the new publication and for the competent services in its execution; and to Dr. D. Georgacas for painstaking proofreading and other assistance.

The present volume is a complete revision and expansion of *Introduction to the Study of the Greek Dialects*, published by Ginn and Co., Copyright 1928.

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ABBREVIATIONS

The following abbreviations are employed for languages, dialects, and local sources of the forms quoted.

Acarn. = Acarnanian	Eub. = Euboean
Ach. = Achaeae	Germ. = German
Aegin. = Aeginetan	Gortyn. = Gortynian
Aetol. = Aetolian	Herac. = Heracleae
Agrig. = of Agrigentum	Herm. = of Hermione
Amorg. = of Amorgos	IE = Indo-European
Amphiss. = Amphissan	Ion. = Ionic
And. = of Andania	Lac. = Laconian
Arc. = Arcadian	Lat. = Latin
Arc.-Cypr. = Arcado-Cyprian	Lesb. = Lesbian
Arg. = Argive (of Argos)	Locr. = Locrian
Argol. = Argolic (of Argolis, outside of or including Argos; but mostly marked Epid., Troez., etc.)	Mant. = Mantinian
Astyp. = of Astypalaea	Meg. = Megarian
Att. = Attic	Mel. = of Melos
Att.-Ion. = Attic-Ionic	Mess. = Messenian
Avest. = Avestan	Mil. = of Miletus
Boeot. = Boeotian	Mycen. = of Mycenae
Calymn. = of Calymna	Nisyr. = of Nisyros
Carpath. = of Carpathos	N.W.Gr. = Northwest Greek
Chalced. = of Chalcedon	Olynth. = of Olynthus
Chalcid. = Chalcidian	Orop. = of Oropus
Cleon. = of Cleonae	Pamph. = Pamphylian
Cnid. = Cnidian	Phlias. = Phliasian (of Phlius)
Corinth. = Corinthian	Phoc. = Phocian
Corcyr. = Corcyraean	Rheg. = of Rhegium
Cret. = Cretan	Rhod. = Rhodian
Cypr. = Cyprian	Selin. = of Selinus
Cyren. = Cyrenaean	Sicil. = Sicilian
Delph. = Delphian	Sicyon. = Sicyonian
Dodon. = of Dodona	Skt. = Sanskrit
Dor. = Doric	Stir. = of Stiris
El. = Elean	Styr. = of Styra
Eng. = English	Sybar. = of Sybaris
Ephes. = Ephesian	Syrac. = Syracusan
Epid. = Epidaurian	Teg. = Tegean
Epir. = Epirotan	Thas. = of Thasos
Eretr. = Eretrian	Ther. = Theraean
	Thess. = Thessalian
	Troez. = of Troezen

For abbreviations of modern works of reference see pp. 337 ff. Those used for the names of Greek authors are familiar. Likewise those used for grammatical terms, as adj., adv., sb. (= substantive, noun), vb., cpd., sg., pl., masc., fem., gen., dat., act., mid., pass., subj., opt., infin., inv., pple., etc. Note also gram. = grammarians or grammatical (with reference to forms quoted from the ancient grammarians), and lit. = literary (with reference to forms quoted from the literary dialects without mention of the individual authors).

certainty here is as to the extent of territory which was once Ionic. There are various accounts according to which Ionians once occupied the southern shore of the Corinthian gulf, the later Achaea (e.g., Hdt. 1.145-46, 7.94), Megara (e.g., Strabo 9.392), Epidaurus (e.g., Paus. 2.26.2), and Cynuria (Hdt. 8.73). If these accounts in themselves are of questionable value, yet we cannot doubt that the Ionians before the migration were not confined to Attica. The close relations of Epidaurus and Troezen with Athens, in cult and legend, are significant for the Argolic Acte, and it is reasonable to assume that at least the entire shore of the Saronic gulf was once Ionic. Indeed it is now a widely favored view, uncertain yet not unlikely, that the ancestors of the Ionians (the name of course is later) constituted the first wave of Greek migration and once occupied much of the territory which, with the next waves of migration, was held by speakers of Aeolic and the dialect which later survived as Arcado-Cyprian.

The affinities of the Aeolians were more obscure, for theirs was the earliest migration to Asia Minor, the most remote from the historical period. But Thessaly was the scene of their favorite legends, the home of Achilles, as also of their eponymous hero Aeolus, and many of their place-names had their counterpart in Thessaly. In Herodotus we find the tradition that the Thessalians of the historical period were invaders from the west who occupied what had hitherto been an Aeolic land¹, and with this the linguistic evidence is in perfect accord. For Thessalian is of all dialects the most closely related to Lesbian, and at the same time shares in some of the characteristics of the West Greek dialects, this admixture of West Greek elements being somewhat stronger in Thessalitis than in Pelasgiotis. See 201, 202, 210, and Charts I, II. The Boeotians also are called Aeolians by Thucydides,² and the Boeotian dialect is, next to Thessalian, the most closely related to Lesbian. These three have several notable characteristics in common (see 201 and Charts I, II),

¹ Hdt. 7.176: ἐπεὶ Θεσσαλοὶ ἤλθον ἐκ Θεσπρωτῶν οἰκήσαντες γῆν τὴν Αἰολίδα, τὴν περὺ νῦν ἐκτέταται.

² Thuc. 7.57: οὗτοι δὲ Αἰολῆς Αἰολεῦσι τοῖς κτίσασσι Βοιωτοῖς τοῖς μετὰ Σαρακοσίων κατ' ἀνάγκην ἐμάχοντο, i.e., the Aeolians of Methymna, Tenedos, etc., were compelled to fight against the Aeolians who founded these cities, namely, the Boeotians; id. 3.2: Βοιωτῶν συγγενῶν ὄντων (of the Lesbians)

INTRODUCTION

CLASSIFICATION AND INTERRELATION OF THE DIALECTS

1. When the ancient grammarians spoke of the four dialects of Greece—Attic, Ionic, Aeolic, and Doric, to which some added the *κοινή* as a fifth—they had in mind solely the literary dialects, which furnished the occasion and object of their study. But these literary dialects represent only a few of the many forms of speech current in Greece, most of which play no part whatever in literature, and, apart from some scattered glosses, would be entirely unknown to us were it not for the wealth of inscriptions which the soil of Greece has yielded in modern times.

The existence of Ionic, Aeolic, and Doric elements in the people and speech of Greece is an undoubted fact of Greek history, and one of the first importance to an understanding of the dialect relations. But there is no warrant, either in the earlier Greek tradition or in the linguistic evidence, for making this an all-inclusive classification. These three elements were precipitated, as it were, on the coast of Asia Minor, where their juxtaposition gave rise to the historical recognition of the distinction. And as the Ionians, Aeolians, and Dorians of Asia Minor were colonists from Greece proper, it was a natural and proper inference of the historians that they reflected ethnic divisions which also existed, or had once existed, in the mother country.

As to who were the Dorians of Greece proper there was of course no mystery. They formed a well-defined group throughout the historical period, and the tradition that they came originally from the Northwest is completely borne out by the close relationship of the Doric and Northwest Greek dialects (see below).

That the Ionians were akin to the inhabitants of Attica was an accepted fact in Greek history, and the Athenians are called Ionic both in Herodotus (e.g., 1.56) and Thucydides (6.82, 7.57). The linguistic evidence is equally unmistakable. The only un-

and are known as the Aeolic dialects. But in Boeotian there is an even stronger admixture of West Greek elements than in Thessalian (see 217 and Charts I, II), the historical explanation of which must be the same. If we credit the statement of Thucydides that the Boeotian invaders were from Arne, whence they had been driven by the Thessalians,³ we should recognize in these Boeotians not a part of the old Aeolic population of Thessaly, but a tribe of West Greek invaders from Epirus (cf. Mt. Boeon), like the Thessalians who forced them onward. The Aeolic element is to be ascribed rather to the tribes, or some of them, comprising the early stratum, as, for example, the Minyans of Orchomenos. However obscure such details may be, the evidence is perfectly clear that both Boeotia and Thessaly were once Aeolic, but were overrun by West Greek tribes which adopted the speech of the earlier inhabitants in greater or less degree.

It is a natural presumption, of which there are some specific indications, that not only Thessaly and Boeotia but the intermediate lands of Phocis and Locris, and even southern Aetolia—in fact, all that portion of Greece north of Attica which plays a role in the legends of early Greece—was once Aeolic. Phocaea in Asia Minor, which, though later Ionic, surely belonged originally to the strip of Aeolic colonies, was believed to be a colony of Phocis and in the dialect of Phocis there are actually some relics of Aeolic speech as the dative plural of consonant stems in -εσσι, which is also found in Locris (107.3). As for southern Aetolia, the region of Calydon and Pleuron was once called Aeolis according to Thucydides,⁴ and the probability is that the Aetolians of the Homeric period were Aeolic, though their name was taken by the later, West Greek, invaders. The Aetolian occupation of Elis was an accepted tradition, and the existence of an Aeolic element in the dialect of Elis, like the dative plural in -εσσι, may be brought into connection with this if we assume that while the invaders were Aetolians in the later sense, that is, West Greek, as Elean is distinctly a West Greek dialect, they

³ Thuc. 1.12: Βοιωτοὶ τε γὰρ οἱ νῦν ἐξηκοστῷ ἔτει μετὰ Ἰλίου ἔλωσιν ἐξ Ἀρνης ἀναστάντες ὑπὸ Θεσσαλῶν τὴν νῦν Βοιωτίαν, πρότερον δὲ Καδυμίδει γῆν καλούμενην ὥκησαν.

⁴ Thuc. 3.102: ἐς τὴν Αἰολίδα τὴν νῦν καλούμενην Καλυδῶνα καὶ Πλευρώνα.

had nevertheless adopted certain characteristics of the earlier Aeolic Aetolian and brought them to Elis. Corinth was also once occupied by Aeolians according to Thucydides,⁵ and it is a noteworthy fact that the dative plural in -εσσι, which is unknown in other Doric dialects, is found in various Corinthian colonies (107.3).

But we have passed beyond the limits within which the term Aeolic, or in general the division into Ionic, Doric, and Aeolic, can with any propriety be applied to the peoples and dialects of the historical period. It is only in Strabo that these three groups are made into an all-inclusive system of classification, by means of an unwarranted extension of Aeolic to include everything that is not Ionic or Doric. And yet it is, unfortunately, this statement of Strabo's,⁶ the error of which has long since been recognized, that has often been taken as representative of ancient tradition and still colors, in the literal sense, our maps of ancient Greece. The historical Phocians, Locrians, Aetolians, etc., were not, as Strabo's statement implies, called Aeolic. Neither in Herodotus, Thucydides, nor any early writer are they ever brought under any one of the three groups. Their dialects, with that of Elis, which Strabo also calls Aeolic, all of which may be conveniently designated the Northwest Greek dialects, are, in spite of some few traces of Aeolic as mentioned above, most closely related to the Doric dialects. There is scarcely one of the general characteristics common to the Doric dialects in which they do not share, though they also have certain peculiarities of their own (see 223, 226, and Charts I, II). If we were to classify them under any one of the three groups, it is unquestionably Doric to which they have the best claim, and if Strabo and our maps so classed them there would be no very

⁵ Thuc. 4.42: ὑπὲρ οὗ ὁ Σολύγειος λόφος ἐστίν, ἐφ' ὃν Δωριεὺς τὸ πάλαι ἰδρυμένης τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει Κορινθίοις ἐπολέμουν, οὓς αὖν Αἰολεῦσι.

⁶ Strabo 8.333: πάντες γὰρ οἱ ἐκτὸς Ἰσθμοῦ πλην Ἀθηναίων καὶ Μεγαρέων καὶ τῶν περὶ τὸν Παρνασσὸν Δωριέων καὶ νῦν ἐτι Αἰολεῖς καλοῦνται . . . καὶ οἱ ἐντὸς (sc. Ἰσθμοῦ) Αἰολεῖς πρότερον ἦσαν, εἰτ' ἐμίχθησαν, Ἰώνων μὲν ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς τὸν Αἰγιαλὸν κατασχόντων, τῶν δ' Ἡρακλειδῶν τοὺς Δωριέας καταγαγόντων . . . οἱ μὲν οὖν Ἴωνες ἐξέπεσαν πάλιν ταχέως ὑπὸ Ἀχαιῶν, Αἰολικοῦ ἔθνους ἐλείφθη δ' ἐν τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ τὰ δύο ἔθνη, τὸ τε Αἰολικὸν καὶ τὸ Δωρικόν. ὅσοι μὲν οὖν ἦττον τοῖς Δωριεῦσιν ἐπεπλέκοντο, καθάπερ συνέβη τοῖς τε Ἀρχαῖσι καὶ τοῖς Ἡλείοις, . . . οὗτοι αἰολιστὶ διελέχθησαν, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι μικτῇ τινι ἐχρήσαντο ἐξ ἀμφοῖν, οἱ μὲν μᾶλλον οἱ δ' ἦττον αἰολίζοντες.

serious objection. Indeed, modern scholars do often class them under "Doric in the wider sense," calling them specifically "North Doric". But on the whole it seems preferable to retain the term Doric in its historical application and employ West Greek as the comprehensive term to include the Northwest Greek dialects and the Doric proper. As to the Arcadians too, calling them Aeolic is without warrant in earlier usage. For example, Thucydides in describing the forces engaged at Syracuse (7.57) makes the most of the distinction between Ionic, Doric, and Aeolic elements, but does not class the Arcadians with any of these.

The most fundamental division of the Greek dialects is that into the West Greek and the East Greek dialects, the terms referring to their location prior to the great migrations. The East Greek are the "Old Hellenic" dialects, that is, those employed by the peoples who held the stage almost exclusively in the period represented by the Homeric poems, when the West Greek peoples remained in obscurity in the northwest. To the East Greek division belong the Ionic and Aeolic groups, though, of the latter, Thessalian and Boeotian, as explained above, are mixed dialects belonging in part also in the West Greek division. And to East Greek belongs also the Arcado-Cyprian.

No two dialects, not even Attic and Ionic, belong together more obviously than do those of Arcadia and the distant Cyprus. They share in a number of notable peculiarities which are unknown elsewhere. See 189 and Chart I. This is to be accounted for by the fact that Cyprus was colonized, not necessarily or probably from Arcadia itself, as tradition states, but from the Peloponnesian coast, at a time when its speech was like that which in Arcadia survived the Doric migration. This group represents, beyond question, the pre-Doric speech of most of the Peloponnesus, whatever we choose to call it. The term Arcado-Cyprian, while describing accurately what is left of the group in historical times, is strikingly infelicitous when applied to the prehistoric period. But it is difficult to find a substitute which is not arbitrary or ambiguous.⁷

⁷ Both, in the case of "Achaean," a term used in this sense by some and so in the previous editions of this book, but now discarded. Its

This group is by several scholars combined with the Aeolic under the head of "Achaean" ("North Achaean" = Aeolic, "South Achaean" = Arcado-Cyprian) or "Central Greek." There are in fact notable points of agreement between Arcado-Cyprian and Aeolic (see 190.3-6 and Chart I), which cannot be accidental. On the other hand, many of the common Aeolic characteristics are lacking, and there are certain points of agreement with Attic-Ionic (see 190, 193.1, 2), as well as many quite special features (see 189). It is probable that the connections with Aeolic reflect a remote period of geographical contiguity with Aeolic peoples in northern Greece or even before the migration into Greece, with a subsequent quite independent development. If, then, we classify the dialects, not according to supposed prehistoric relations, but as we actually know them, it is only proper to class Arcado-Cyprian as a distinct group coordinate with others of the East Greek division.⁸

Just as in the Northwest Greek dialects some traces of the former Aeolic speech have survived, as noted above, so there are also some traces of pre-Doric speech (either Aeolic or of the Arcado-Cyprian type) in the Doric dialects. Thus Lac. Ποσειδάν and Ποσειδαῖα unmistakably represent (with Lac. *h* from *σ*) a form of the name which is attested in Arc. Ποσειδᾶν, and is in contrast to the genuine Dor. Ποσειδάων, Ποσειδάν. And the Ποσειδάν which also occurs in inscriptions of many Doric lands may represent another pre-Doric form. But see 61.4. The *iv* = *év*, regular in Arcado-Cyprian and Pamphylian, occurs also in two Cretan towns and the Achaean colony of Metapontum (see 10a). The occurrence of the Aeolic dat. pl. -εσσι in consonant stems

specific application to this group does not conform to any of the accepted uses of *Ἀχαιοί*, namely, (1) those of Achaean Phthiotis, (2) those of the Peloponnesian Achaean, (3) in Homer a generic term for the Greeks before Troy by no means restricted to the southern group; and furthermore stands in rivalry with various other modern and partly visionary applications of the same term.

⁸ The partial decipherment of the tablets in Cretan script (Linear B) from Pylos, Mycenae, and Knossos, dating from about 1400-1200 B.C. (Pylos) and earlier, has revealed an early Greek dialect, one that must be a precursor of Arcado-Cyprian. In view of the incomplete state of decipherment, it would be premature to attempt a detailed description of this dialect. But a notable feature is the preservation of the old labiovelar voiceless stop with a value like that of Lat. *qu*, as in *quetra* = Att. *τετρα-* (for *το* cf. Thess. *τετρο-*, etc., 6). This lines up with the fact that in Arcado-Cyprian labiovelars show a special development different from that in other dialects (see 68.3).

in Corinthian colonies, as well as in the Northwest Greek dialects, has already been noted.

The peculiar development of secondary *vs* as seen in Lesb. *παῖσα* from *πάνσα*, etc. is now fully attested for Cyrene, with traces in Thera (see 77.3). The agreement is such a striking innovation that it is surely not accidental. True, any direct connection with the Asiatic Aeolians is unlikely. For the missing link we must assume that a continental mother dialect of the Asiatic Aeolic, one containing forms like *παῖσα* though such are unknown in the actual Thessalian and Boeotian dialects, once existed in a part of this once Aeolic territory before the West Greek overlay. We may then credit the accounts of Minyan participation in the colonization of Thera (e.g., Hdt. 4.145 ff.) with reflecting some genuine tradition.

There are some other alleged, and possible, but more dubious, examples of pre-Doric survival. The question of survival versus accidental agreement or historical borrowing is often difficult.

The classification of the dialects is then, in outline, as follows:

WEST GREEK	EAST GREEK
NORTHWEST GREEK	ATTIC-IONIC
Phocian	Attic
Locrian	Ionic
Elean	Aeolic
Northwest Greek	Lesbian
κοινή	
	Thessalian
	Boeotian
DORIC	ARCAIDO-CYPRIAN
Laconian	Arcadian
Heracleian	Cyprian
Megarian	
Argolic	
Rhodian	
Coan	
Theran, Cyrenaean	
Cretan, etc.	
	Pamphylian

2. The Greek dialects, classified in accordance with the preceding scheme, and with their important subdivisions noted, are the following. For summaries of the characteristics of each, see 180-271.

EAST GREEK

A. THE ATTIC-IONIC GROUP

1. Attic.

2. Ionic.

A. **East Ionic**, or Ionic of Asia Minor. The Ionic cities of the coast of Asia Minor and the adjacent islands, Samos, Chios, etc., together with their colonies, mostly on the Hellespont, Propontis, and Euxine. There are some local varieties, of which the most marked is Chian, containing some Lesbian features.

B. **Central Ionic**, or Ionic of the Cyclades. The Ionic Cyclades, Naxos, Amorgos, Paros with its colony Thasos, Delos, Tenos, Andros, Ceos, etc.

C. **West Ionic**, or Euboean. Chalcis (with its colonies in Italy, Sicily, and the Chalcidian peninsula) and the other cities of Euboea. A local dialect with marked characteristics is the Eretrian, seen in the inscriptions of Eretria and Oropus.

B. THE ARCAEO-CYPRIAN GROUP

1. **Arcadian**. The material is now considerable, owing to the increasing number of newly found inscriptions.

2. **Cyprian**. There are numerous short inscriptions, and one of considerable length, the bronze of Idalion. All are in the Cyprian syllabary. Inscriptions in the Greek Alphabet, beginning in the Macedonian period, are all in the *koivḗ*.

3. **Pamphylian**. The only inscription of any extent (Schwyzer 656) though the interpretation is in many parts doubtful, contains plenty of clearly identifiable words. The dialect shows many notable characteristics of this group, combined with others which are West Greek or reminders of Cretan. See 200. The earliest colonists were doubtless pre-Doric Peloponnesians, as in Cyprus followed by Dorians. The mixture is then somewhat similar to that of Aeolic and West Greek in Thessaly and Boeotia.

III. THE AEOLIC GROUP

1. **Lesbian**, or Asiatic Aeolic.⁹ The inscriptional material is fairly extensive, but late. There is nothing approaching the time of the poems of Alcaeus and Sappho, and very little that is older than the Macedonian period. Most of the inscriptions are from the cities of Lesbos, but a few are from other islands and towns of the Aeolic mainland.

2. **Thessalian**.¹⁰ Two subdivisions with marked differences are formed by the dialect of Pelasgiotis and that of Thessaliotis. For these and for other parts of Thessaly, see 214.

3. **Boeotian**.¹⁰ The material is very extensive, and representative of all the important Boeotian towns, but is meager for the early period.

WEST GREEK

IV. THE NORTHWEST GREEK GROUP

1. **Phocian**. A large part of the material, including nearly all that is of an early date, is from Delphi, and is quoted specifically as **Delphian**.

2. **Locrian**. The two early inscriptions long known, to which a third is now added, are from Western Locris, but one of these is presumably based on an East Locrian draft. Most of the other material is much later and with more or less mixture. See 236.

3. **Elean**. Numerous very early inscriptions from Olympia, with a few later ones that are still in dialect with some mixture. See 241.

4. **The Northwest Greek** *koivḗ*. Employed in Aetolia and other regions under the domination of the Aetolian league. See 279.

NOTE. Only Phocian, Locrian, and Elean are known to us as distinct dialects of this group. Of others which presumably belong here we have almost no material from a time when they retained their individuality. In Aetolia, except for a few very short inscriptions, the material is from the time of the Aetolian league, and in the mixed Northwest Greek *koivḗ*.

⁹ Sometimes simply called Aeolic. But, to avoid confusion with Aeolic in its wider sense, the designation Lesbian is to be preferred in spite of the formal impropriety of applying it to a dialect not restricted to Lesbos. Most of the material is actually from Lesbos.

¹⁰ That Thessalian and Boeotian are only in part Aeolic, in part West Greek, has been explained above.

Of the speech of Aeniania and Malis previous to the Aetolian domination we have no remains. It is natural to suppose that Northwest Greek dialects were once spoken also in Acarnania and Epirus. But here the influence of the Corinthian colonies was strong from an early period, as shown by the use of the Corinthian alphabet in the few early inscriptions; and in later times, from which nearly all the material dates, the language employed is not the Northwest Greek *koivḗ*, but the Doric *koivḗ*, like that of the contemporaneous inscriptions of Corcyra. See 279. Hence the actual material from Acarnania and Epirus is more properly classified with Corinthian. From Cephallenia and Ithaca we have decrees in the Northwest Greek *koivḗ* from the Aetolian period (see 279), but from earlier times not enough to show whether the dialect was Northwest Greek or Doric. From Zacynthus there is almost nothing. The dialect of Achaea (i.e., Peloponnesian Achaea in the historical period) is generally believed to belong to this group. This is probable on general grounds, but there is as yet no adequate linguistic evidence of it. For, apart from the inscriptions of Achaean colonies in Magna Graecia, which, on account of both their meagerness and the mixed elements in the colonization, are indecisive, nearly all the material is from the time of the Achaean league, and this is not in the Northwest Greek *koivḗ*, but in the same Doric *koivḗ* that was used in Corinth and Sicyon.

V. THE DORIC GROUP

1. **Laconian and Heracleian**. Laconia and its colonies Tarentum and Heraclea. Heracleian, well known from the Heracleian Tables, has peculiarities of its own, and is treated as a distinct dialect.

2. **Messenian**. Most of the material is late and with considerable *koivḗ* mixture, as the famous cult inscription of Andania (nearly 200 lines).

3. **Megarian**. Megara, and its colonies in Sicily (especially Selinus) and on the Propontis and Bosphorus (as Byzantium, Chalcedon, etc.). Except from Selinus the material is late.

4. **Corinthian**. Corinth, Sicyon, Cleonae, Phlius, and the Corinthian colonies Corcyra (with its own colonies Apollonia and Pyrrhachium), Leucas, Anactorium, Ambracia, etc. For Syracuse, etc., see below, 10. Material from places other than Corinth, though coming under the general head of Corinthian, is generally quoted specifically as Sicyonian, Corcyraean, etc.

5. **Argolic**. Argos, Mycenae, etc., and the cities of the Acte, as Hermione, Troezen, and Epidaurus, together with Aegina.

Argolic (Argol.) is used as the general term, while Argive (Arg.) refers more specifically to the material from Argos (with the Argive Heraeum), as Epidaurian to that from Epidaurus. From Aegina there is not much material from the period before the Athenian occupation, but enough to show that the dialect was Argolic.

Argos (or in some sources one of the other Argolic cities) was the reputed mother city of Crete, Rhodes, Cos, etc., and in historical times Argos was often chosen as arbitrator in their local disputes (cf., e.g., nos. 85, 86). There are in fact some, but not too impressive, points of agreement (besides the general Doric) in the dialects.

6. **Rhodian**. Rhodes with the adjacent small islands and the mainland settlements (the Rhodian Peraea), Phaselis in Pamphylia, Cnidus, Syme, Telos, Nisyros, Carpathos, Casos, the Sicilian colonies of Gela and Agrigentum. An inscription of Rhegium, though not a Rhodian colony, is in the same dialect and there are other signs of the spread of Rhodian influence, notably the infin. *-μεν* (154.5). The material is extensive, but little of it early. The inclusion of Cnidus and some of the islands named, in which examples of distinctive features like the infin. *-μεν* are lacking, is at least convenient and probably justified (cf. now IG XII. Suppl., p. 1).

7. **Coan**. Cos and Calymna. The material is considerable, but not early.

8. **Theran and Cyrenaean**. Thera, with Melos, Cimolos, Phlegandros, Sicinos, probably Anaphe, and perhaps Astypalaea.—Cyrene. There are archaic inscriptions in the same type of alphabet from Thera, Melos, Sicinos, and Anaphe. Those of Sicinos (IG XII. Suppl. pp. 178, 180), which was formerly classed among the Ionic islands, indicate that it was, at least in the early period, Doric. For, though metrical to be sure, they show regular Doric forms like *σᾶμα* and *μᾶμα* and the loss of *f* as in the earliest Theran.

The dialect of Cyrene, a colony of Thera, is now by far the best known, owing to the discoveries of the last decades.

9. **Cretan**. This is now the best known of all the Doric dialects, owing to the very extensive early material, especially from

Gortyn. The dialect of Gortyn and other cities of the great central portion of the island is also known more specifically as Central Cretan, to exclude the divergent type seen in the inscriptions, mostly late, from the eastern and western extremities of the island. See 273. But the term Cretan alone is to be understood as referring to this Central Cretan, unless otherwise stated.

10. **Sicilian Doric.** Owing to the mixture of population it is the exception that the dialect of Sicilian cities can be clearly grouped with that of their mother cities. That of Selinus and Megara Hybla may be classed as Megarian, and that of Gela and Agrigentum as Rhodian. But in Syracuse Gelon's wholesale transplantation of population from Gela and other cities must have left the old Corinthian element in a minority. There are (at least, as yet) no inscriptions written in the Corinthian alphabet or with the typical early OV for secondary δ (25d), and there is nothing distinctively Corinthian in the dialect of either the inscriptions or the works of the Syracusan writers. With but few exceptions, the inscriptions of Syracuse and the other cities are late. The longest, those of Halaesa and Tauro-menium, are in a mixture of Doric and Attic $\kappa\omicron\iota\nu\eta$, with some local features in vocabulary. A noteworthy spread of Rhodian influence is seen in the typical infin. $-\mu\epsilon\iota\nu$ used by Epicharmus and occurring in several places in Sicily and Magna Graecia (154.5).

THE DIALECTS IN LITERATURE

3. Of the numerous dialects of Greece a few attained the rank of literary dialects, though for the most part in a mixed and artificial form not corresponding to anything actually spoken at a given time and place. Moreover, in the course of literary development these dialects came to be characteristic of certain classes of literature, and, their role once established, the choice of one or the other usually depended upon this factor rather than upon the native dialect of the author.

The literary development of epic songs began with the Aeolians of Asia Minor, whence it passed into the hands of the neighboring Ionians, and the language of Homer, which became the norm of all epic poetry and strongly affected subsequent poetry of all

The dialects mentioned are the only literary dialects known and cultivated throughout the Greek world. But some few others were employed locally. Epicharmus and Sophron wrote in their native Syracusan Doric, as did later, but in a more mixed form, Archimedes and Theocritus. A form of Doric prose was developed among the Pythagoreans of Magna Graecia, seen in some fragments of Archytas of Tarentum, Philolaus of Croton, and others, though the greater part of the writings of this class are spurious. The comic poet Rhinthon, from whom the grammarians sometimes quote, used the Doric of Tarentum. The fragments of Corinna of Tanagra, whose fame was scarcely more than local, are in Boeotian, and the Boeotian dialect, as well as Megarian and Laconian, are caricatured by Aristophanes. But the great majority of the dialects play no role whatever in literature.

Even for those dialects which are represented, the literary remains must for the most part be regarded as secondary sources, not only because of their artificial character but also because of the corruptions which they have suffered in transmission. Exceptional importance, however, attaches to the language of Homer because of its antiquity, and to the Lesbian of Alcaeus and Sappho because it is relatively pure and much older than the inscriptional material.

NOTE. In the following exposition, dialectal forms from literary and grammatical sources are not infrequently quoted, especially where the inscriptional evidence is slight, as it is, for example, quite naturally, for the personal pronouns. Such forms are sometimes quoted with their specific sources, sometimes simply as literary Doric (lit. Dor.), literary Lesbian (lit. Lesb.), literary Ionic (lit. Ion.), or grammatical (gram.). But a detailed treatment of the dialectal peculiarities observed in our literary texts is so bound up with questions of literary tradition and textual criticism that it is best left to the critical editions of the various authors. It would be impracticable in a work of the present scope, and would, moreover, tend to obscure that more trustworthy picture of the dialects which is gained from inscriptions, and which is so important as a basis for the critical study of the mixed literary forms. However, see the Appendix, pp. 342 ff.

classes, is a mixture of Aeolic and Ionic—in the main Old Ionic but with the retention of many Aeolic forms, such as $\acute{\alpha}\mu\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ beside $\eta\mu\epsilon\iota\varsigma$, genitive singular in $-\acute{\alpha}\omicron$ beside $-\epsilon\omega$, etc. The language of Hesiod is substantially the same, but with some Aeolic forms not used in Homer, also some Boeotian and Doric peculiarities. The elegiac and iambic poets also use the epic dialect with some modifications, not only Ionians like Archilochus, but the Athenian Solon, the Spartan Tyrtaeus, the Megarian Theognis, etc.

Of the melic poets, Alcaeus and Sappho followed very closely their native Lesbian dialect, though not entirely unaffected by epic influence. The language of these and other Lesbian poets was directly imitated by some later writers, notably by Theocritus in three of his idyls, and contributed an important element to the language of many more, e.g., Anacreon of Teos, who in the main employed his native Ionic (New Ionic), and, in general, to the choral lyric, which was mainly Doric.

The choral lyric was developed among Doric peoples, though under the impulse of Lesbian poets, who we know were welcomed in Sparta, for example, in the seventh century. Its language is Doric, with an admixture of Lesbian and epic forms, no matter whether the poet is a Dorian, or a Boeotian like Pindar, or an Ionian like Simonides and Bacchylides. This Doric, however, is not identical with any specific Doric dialect, but is an artificial composite, showing many of the general Doric characteristics, but with the elimination of local peculiarities. An exception is to be made in the case of Alcman, whose Doric is of a severer type and evidently based upon the Laconian, though also mixed with Lesbian and epic forms.

The earliest prose writers were the Ionic philosophers and historians of the sixth century, and in the fifth century not only Herodotus, but Hippocrates of Cos, a Dorian, wrote in Ionic. In the meantime, with the political and intellectual supremacy of Athens, Attic had become the recognized language of the drama, and before the end of the fifth century was employed in prose also, though the earlier prose writers as Thucydides, like the tragedians, avoided certain Attic peculiarities which were still felt as provincialisms (e.g., $\tau\tau = \sigma\sigma$, $\rho\rho = \varphi\varphi$). Henceforth Attic was the language of literary prose.

PHONOLOGY

THE ALPHABET

4. The numerous differences in the local alphabets, so far as they consist merely in variations of the forms of the letters, need not be discussed here, important as they are to the epigraphist in deciding the age and source of inscriptions. But certain points in the use of the alphabet and its development as a means of expressing the Greek sounds should be noted.

1. In the most primitive type of the Greek alphabet, as it is seen in the earliest inscriptions of Crete, Thera, and Melos, the non Phoenician signs Φ , X , Υ have not yet been introduced, and the Ξ is not in use. The sounds of φ , χ are represented by πh , κh (or φh), or, as in Crete, where Θ (H) when used is η not h , are not distinguished from π , κ ; those of ψ , ξ by $\pi\sigma$, $\kappa\sigma$.

2. In the next stage of development, after the introduction of Φ , X , Υ , the alphabets fall into two classes, according to the values attached to these signs. The eastern division, to which Ionic belongs, employs them as φ , χ , ψ , and also uses the Ξ as ξ , though a subdivision of this group, represented mainly by the Attic alphabet, uses only the first two and expresses ψ , ξ by $\varphi\sigma$, $\chi\sigma$. The western division,¹ to which belong the majority of the alphabets of Greece proper as well as that of Euboea, and which became the source of the Latin alphabet, employs Φ , X , Υ as φ , ξ , χ , not using Ξ at all, and generally expressing ψ by $\pi\sigma$ or, oftener, $\varphi\sigma$ (but a special sign for ψ in Locris and Mantinea, another rarely in Elis and Laconia).

3. In the earliest inscriptions nearly all the alphabets have the

¹ This distinction of Eastern and Western alphabets, the distribution of which is clearly shown in the map in Kirchhoff's *Studien zur Geschichte des griechischen Alphabets* (which, however, now needs some corrections; see Appendix), has no connection with that of East and West Greek dialects and is anything but coincident with it. From the coloring of Kirchhoff's map the convenient short terms, "red," "blue," and "green" alphabets, have come into use.

Ϝ (vau or digamma); and many the Ϙ (koppa), which is used before o or u, and that too even if a liquid intervenes, e.g., Ϙορινθόθεν, ἡρόρος, Λορρός, ἐρρότε, Πάτρολος, λέρυθος, Ϙλύτος (in other positions it is very rare).

4. The four Phoenician signs for sibilants were taken over, but with varying distribution or values. Both the Ϻ or ϻ (sigma) and Ϝ (san) were used for σ, but, with few exceptions (e.g., once Ϝ beside Ϻ in the Locrian no. 59), only one or the other at the same place and time. A sign Ϟ, a simplified form of Ϝ is used in an Arcadian inscription for a sibilant of special origin, as Ϟις = τς, Cypr. σς (no. 17; see 68.3). Ϟ, occurring also in the Carian alphabet and perhaps ultimately another modification of the san, is used for usual σσ = Att. ττ at Halicarnassus (Ἀλικαρνατέ(ω)ν beside Ἀλικαρνασσεών), Teos (θαλάτης beside θάλασσαν), Ephesus (τέταρες, etc.) and elsewhere (see p. 348). This is the source of the numeral sign for 900, namely Ϟ, known by the late name "sampi" (σάν πῖ 'like πῖ', from its form).

Ξ and Ι were adopted, but for a time without full stabilization in value. Ξ = ξ in the Ionic, Corinthian, and (Ϟ) Argive alphabets, but lacking in the majority of alphabets (not only where X = ξ, but also in Attic where φσ = ξ, and occurring = Ι in Theran Ξεύς, Ξήύς, Corinth. ΞΕΥΜ = Ζεύς. Conversely Ι for Ξ in Epid. ἈναΙς. Ι in earliest Cretan, precise phonetic value uncertain, = later ττ; Att. σ, as ὅΙος, etc. (82).

5. In Boeotian Ϻ, a compromise between E and I, is sometimes used for the close e, later ι (9.4). At Corinth with Corcyra, Sicyon, Cleonae, and Megara there were two characters for the e-sounds, namely, Corinth. Ϻ, Sicyon, Ϟ = ε or η, but Ϻ or (Corcyra) Ϟ = original ει or secondary ē (but Ϻ in an archaic Meg. inscription = ε only, not η, and at Cleonae = η only. Cf. nos. 91-97).

6. In most of the alphabets the Η (early θ) is the sign of the spiritus asper, and neither η and ω nor the secondary ē and ō (25) are distinguished from the short ε and ο. But in East Ionic, where the sound of the spiritus asper was lost at a very early period, the Η, which was thus left free, was turned to account as a vowel sign, not so much to show a difference in quantity (in the case of ā, ī, ū no such need was felt) as one of quality. It was probably used first only for the extremely open ē coming

from ā, that is, for the specifically Attic-Ionic η (8), which for a time was more open than the sound of the inherited ē, though this was also open as compared with the short ε, and both soon became identical and were denoted in the same way. To be sure, no such distinction is to be observed in East Ionic inscriptions, but it is seen in some of the Cyclades, to which the use of the Η has passed from East Ionic, e.g., from Naxos (no. 6) Νικάνδρη, Ὀδρη, etc. but ἀνέθεκεν (with E in the penult). Similar examples from Andros and Ceos (nos. 7, 8), also Amorgos.

The use of θ = η extended not only to the Ionic but also to the Doric islands, Rhodes, Thera, Melos, and Crete, where it is found in the earliest inscriptions, though in Crete it went out of use for a time, not appearing, for example, in the Law Code. In Central Ionic, where the sound of the spiritus asper still survived, as also in Rhodes, Thera, and Melos, the sign was used both as η and as h. It occurs also with syllabic value = he or hē, as θηβόλδι (Naxos, no. 6), Ησπέρης (Oropus, no. 14.46), Ηλλέν (Paros), Ther. Ηρμoxρέ(ον), Arg. (no. 85) Ηραι beside ΗΕραι, Boeot. (no. 39) Ηνδεκα, Ηξ, Ημῖτα, even late Aetol. Ητέων (= ητέων, cf. ἔτος 58c).

The Ionic alphabet is also characterized by its distinction of the o-vowels through differentiated forms of Ο, usually Ω = ω, which became universal, but in archaic inscriptions of Delos, Paros, Thasos, and Siphnos Ω = ο and Ο or Θ = ω; of Thera Ο = ο, Θ = ω; of Melos and Cnidus c = ο, Ο = ω.

7. In 403 B.C. the Ionic alphabet was officially introduced at Athens, and not much later replaced the native or "epichoric" alphabets in other parts of Greece. Inscriptions of the end of the fifth or the beginning of the fourth century often show a transitional form of the alphabet, partly epichoric, partly Ionic. Even with the full Ionic alphabet, Ϝ was generally retained where it was still sounded, and sometimes a form of Η was used for the spiritus asper, as Ϻ in the Heracleian Tables and occasionally elsewhere (Elis, Cumae, Sicyon, Epidaurus). The Delphian Labyadae inscription (no. 52) has θ = h, Η = η; likewise an Argive inscription.

For the Cyprian syllabary, see p. 210.

VOWELS

α

5. ο for α before or after liquids. Examples are most numerous in Lesbian, mainly from literary and grammatical sources, as στρότος = στρατός, βροχέως = βραχέως, χόλαισι = χαλώσι; etc. (see p. 342). So ἀμβρο[δ]την (no. 25) = ἀμαρτεῖν, like Hom. ἡμβροτον = ἡμαρτον (μβρ from μρ, as regularly). Both στρόταγος and στρατάγος occur in inscriptions; likewise in Boeotian στροτός in numerous proper names, στροτιώτας, ἐστροτεύαθη, but also στρατός in proper names, στραταγίοντος. The στρατ-forms, which are the only ones so far attested for Thessalian, are to be attributed to κοινή influence. Boeot., Thess. ἐροτός = ἐρατός, βροχύς = βραχύς, attested by proper names, Boeot., Lesb. πόρνοψ = πάρνοψ, whence Lesb. Πορνοπία, Thess. πετρο- = τετρα-.

In Arcado-Cyprian also we find Arc. ἐφθορκώς = ἐφθαρκώς, πανάγορσις belonging with West Ion. ἄγαρρις (49.2) τέτορτος, Βρόχυσ, στορπάος = ἀστραπαῖος (also Arc. στορπά, Cypr. στορπά in Hesych.), Cypr. χορζία (Hesych.) = καρδία, κατέφοργον = *κατε-φαργον aorist of *κατ-εφέρω (κατείρω) with the weak grade of the root as in ἔδρακον from δέρκομαι (49.2).

Here perhaps also, as an Aeolic survival, Aetol. Λόφριον beside usual epithets Λάφριος, Λάφρια. But for the widespread γροφεύς, etc. see 49.2.

6. ο for α in other cases. ὄν = ἀνά in Lesbian, Thessalian (Pelagiotis), and Arcado-Cyprian (also ὄν-, see 22). Cf. also Thess. ὄστροφά, from *ὄνστροφά = ἀναστροφή. Lesb., Arc. δέκοτος = δέκατος, also Arc. δέκοτ = δέκα, ηχοτόν = ἐκατόν, and Lesb. ἐνοτος = ἐνατος. Thess. ἐξόμεννον = ἐξάμηνον. Delph. ἐντοφήα 'burial rites,' Cyren. ἐντόφιον 'burial gift,' Heracl. τοφίων 'burial place' (cf. τάφος). κοθαρός = καθαρός in Heraclea, Sybaris, Locris (Περ-φοθαριῶν), Lesbos, Elean κόθαρσις.

a. The explanation is uncertain, and not necessarily the same for all the forms cited here. For example, it is possible that the ο of δέκοτος, etc. is to be viewed in the same light as that of εἰκοσι = West Greek ἑκασι. See 116a. But the preference for ο appears to be, here as in 5, an Aeolic-Arc.-Cypr. characteristic.

7. ε for α. For forms with ε beside α which fall within the regular system of vowel-gradation, see 49.2-4.

An actual change of final α to ε is seen in Thess. διέ = διά. Cf. Thess. -ει = -αι (27).

ā

8. Attic-Ionic η from ā. Original ā, which remains unchanged in all other dialects, becomes η in Attic-Ionic. Thus τιμή, φημί, ἵστημι, but in other dialects τιμά (ā-stem), φᾶμι (Lat. fārī), ἵσταμι (Lat. stāre). For the contrast between this η and that which represents an inherited ē-sound and is common to the other dialects also, note Att.-Ion. μήτηρ, elsewhere μάτηρ (Lat. māter).

But Attic differs from Ionic, in that it has ā, not η, after ε, ι, and ρ, as γενεά, οἰκία, χώρᾱ = Ion. γενεή, οἰκία, χώρη.

a. In some Central Ionic inscriptions, as noted in 4.6, only this η from ā was written Η, vs. E for η = original ē. This distinction was probably once general Attic-Ionic, the sound resulting from ā being still somewhat more open than that representing original ē.

b. It is a widely held, but also disputed, view that the change of ā to η, or rather to the sound close to but not quite identical with η = original ē (above, a) was general Attic-Ionic and that the ā of Att. γενεά, etc., was a reversion rather than an uninterrupted retention of ā in such cases. The evidence is complicated and open to more than one interpretation. As the problem is a purely Attic one, it need not concern us further.

c. In Att. κόρη, δέρη the η after ρ is explained by the fact that it was originally preceded by Ϝ (54). But Att. εἰρήνη, κρήνη vs. Dor. ῥᾶνᾱ, κᾶνᾱ are anomalous and variously explained.

d. The ā arising from lengthening of α in connection with original intervocalic, να, σν, etc., undergoes the same change, e.g., Att.-Ion. ἔφηνᾱ from ἐφᾶνα, original *ἐφανσα. See 76, 77.1. But in τάς from τάνς and πᾶσα from πάνσα, original *πάντῃα, the ā was of later origin and was unaffected. See 77.3, 78.

ε

9. ι from ε before (mostly α- and ο-) vowels.

1. Even in Attic an ε before another vowel had a closer sound than in other positions, and was frequently written ει, as θεός = θεός, νειώς = νεώς. So, sometimes, in Ionic, as εῖως = ἔως, δειόμενος (Oropus) = δεόμενος.

In several dialects the ε progressed so far in the direction of ι that it was frequently, or even regularly, written ι. Thus:

2. Lesbian. Spelling ε in θεός, ἑών, etc. But χρύσιος, χάλκιος,

συχία, κυνία, ὄστιον, etc., show the same phonetic tendency as in other dialects, although the uniform spelling here may be due to the favoring influence of parallel suffixes. So also τίωι, τίωσι (cf. Hom. τέω, ὀτέουσιν) in which the ι may have been reinforced by that of τίς.

3. Thessalian. Frequently ι, as θιός, λίθιος, Λιόντα, etc., but also ε in ἠυλδρόντος, παρέοντος, τοίνεος, etc.

4. Boeotian. The spelling is usually ι, but sometimes ε, ει, or ι (see 4.5), as θιός, θειός = θεός, ἀνέθιαν, ἀνέθειαν, beside ἀνέθειαν, Πολυκλήτης = Πολυκλῆς, ἰόντος = ἑόντος, ῥιόντος = ῥέοντος.

a. Boeotian ε in general had a relatively close sound, and the spelling ε occurs occasionally even before a consonant, as Ξεναρεῖτω = Ξεναρέτου, Θιόφειστος = *Θεόφειστος (68.2), πεποιόντειςσι = -εσι. In ἐν Θεισπιῆς, Θεισπιεύς, etc., the spelling ει is so constant that it perhaps stands for original η (16), which in other dialects was shortened as if the name of the town were connected with θέσις, etc.

5. Arcadian. Regularly ε before a back vowel, as θεός, Φέτα, ἑόντος, etc. But ι before a front vowel in ἀπυδίει = ἀποδέει, Αὐκλῆεια = Εὐκλῆεια (?); so also -εῖ to -ιῖ, whence -ιῖ in dat. sg. πλῆθι, ἔτι, ἱερῖ, etc. A somewhat different, but related, case is ἀπυλιῶναι (no. 22.20), from an elsewhere attested ἀπολειῶ (162.10).

6. Cyprian. At Idalium the spelling is regularly ι, as θιός, ἰό(ν)τα = ἑόντα, Φέπια = ἔπεα. So Pamph. Φέτια, ἀνδριῶνα.

7. Cretan. We find ι regularly, except where the ε was once followed by F. That is, the change was prior to the loss of intervocalic F; and the ε which later, with the loss of F, came to stand before another vowel, was unaffected. Thus ἰόντος = ἑόντος, καλίων = καλέων, πλῆς = Hom. πλέες, —but υἱός, Φοικέος, δρομῶν.

8. Laconian. We find ι, with the same restriction as in Cretan, in early inscription (also in Alcman and Ar. Lysist.), e.g. θιός, ἀνιοχίδων = ἡνιοχέων. In later inscriptions the spelling is usually ε.

9. Heracleian. Verbal forms show ι, with the same restriction as in Cretan, e.g., ἀδικίων, ἐμετρίωμες, ἀναγγεῖοντι, but ῥέοντα, δέοντα. In other words, Τιμοκράτης, τοφίων, but usually ε, as Φέτος, owing to κοινή influence.

10. Argolic. Frequently θιός, Θίων, etc., in Argos and Epidaurus, but otherwise usually ε.

11. Corinthian. Usually ε; but θιαρός in two late decrees of Corcyra and Epidamnus.

10. ι from ε before ν in Arcado-Cyprian. Here ἰν = ἐν is the regular form (cf. also Pamph. ἰ πόλι and ἰς from *ἰνς = ἐνς, εἰς), also in compounds as Arc. ἰνάγω, ἰμφαίνω, ἰνφορβίω, ἰγκεχηρήκοι, ἰνδικος, ἰνπασίς, ἰνπολά, ἰγγυος, ἰνμενφής and ἰνμονφος 'blame-worthy' (opp. to ἀμεμφής, ἀμομφος), Cyp. ἰναλίνω (ἰναλισμένα). Cf. also Arc. μίνονσαι = μένουσαι, Ἐρχομίνιοι = Ὀρχομένιοι, ἀπεχομίνος, ἀπυσεδομίνος, διαβωλευσαμίνος = -μένους, etc., but in such forms the later inscriptions have ἐν. There are a few examples in other positions, as Arc. Τιλείας, Cyp. Μιγαλαθέω, indicating that in general ε had a relatively close sound (as also in Boeotian, 9.4a). The foreign names appearing as Ἐδάλιον, Κέτιον in the Cyprian texts were usually rendered Ἰδάλιον, Κίτιον.

a. ἰν = ἐν is found also, probably a pre-Doric survival, in some inscriptions of the Cretan towns of Eleutherna and Vaxus, and the Achaean colony of Metapontum.

11. ι beside ε in other cases. The interchange is occasionally seen among dialectal forms of the same word, as in Hom. πίσυρες = πέσσυρες, τέσσερες. Att. ἐστία appears with ι in all other dialects, so far as quotable, e.g., Ion. ἰστίη, Lesb. ἰστία, Thess. Ἰσστιαῖος, Boet. Ἰστίη, Delph. Ἰστιά (but ἡμέστιος), Locr. ἰστία, Heracl. Ἰστίος, Syrac. Ἰστία, Rhod. ἰστιατόριον, Coan ἰστία, Cret. Ἰστία, Arc. Φιστίαν. Here the ι may be due to the influence of ἰσσημι.

12. α from ε before ρ in Northwest Greek. Locr. φάρειν, πατάρα, ἀμάρα, ἀνφόταρος, Φεσπάριος (but μέρος no. 57, περί, ἐνφέροι, Φερρέτω no. 59). Here also ἡρέσται (no. 57; but ἡλέσται no. 58) = ἐλέσθαι, with ρ for λ after the analogy of the present αἰρέω (as, conversely, Cret. αἰλέω = αἰρέω, with λ from the aorist). El. φάρῃν, Φάργον, Φάρρῃν, πάρ (= περί), ὀπόταρος, ἐλεύθαρος, ὕσταριν, but the spelling αρ is not quite uniform even in the early inscriptions, and later gives way to ερ (see 241). Delph. φάρειν, ματάρα, Φαργάναι, δάρματα, πενταμαριτεύων, but in the later inscriptions the spelling is ερ (φέρειν even in no. 52). Cf. also Ach. Ζεὺς Ἀμάριος, Pamph. ὕπαρ = ὕπερ, Thess. Κιάριον = Κιέριον.

a. Elean has α also after ρ, as λατραί[όμενον] beside λατρεῖόμενον, μαστράαι from *μαστρεῖα (31), κατταραίων, κατταραύσειε in contrast to

φυγαδεῖν, φυγαδεύαντι (see 161.1); also before final ν, as μάν = μέν, γνῶμαν = γνῶμεν, 3 pl. opt. ἀποτίνοιν, ἐπιθεῖαν, συνάν, etc.; occasionally elsewhere, as εὐσαβέοι = εὐσεβέοι, σκευάδων = -έων, showing that Elean ε in general had a very open sound. Cf. El. ᾱ = η (15).

b. A similar change before λ in Delphian appears in Δαλφοῖς of an inscription and in Δα, Δαλ, Δαλφικόν of the earliest coins.

c. Epid. κραμάσαι = κρεμάσαι and μάντοι = μέντοι, though more isolated, and open to other possible explanations (μάντοι blend with μάν = μήν, κραμάσαι weak grade or assimilation), are perhaps to be viewed in the same light as the Elean forms under α.

13. West Greek α = East Greek ε. Besides the examples of dialectal interchange of α and ε cited under the head of vowel gradation (49.2-4), in which the distribution of the α and ε forms is various (e.g., ἄρσην, ἔρσην, —βάλλω, δέλλω), there is a group of parallel forms in which the preference for the α forms is a marked West Greek characteristic.

1. ἱαρός (or ἱαρός) is the regular form in early inscriptions of all West Greek dialects, Pamphylian (ἠιαρό), and Boeotian, ἱερός occurring only later and plainly due to κοινή influence. The situation is probably the same in Thessalian, though the occurrences of both forms are late. ἱερός (or ἱερός) is Attic-Ionic and Arcado-Cyprian, while a third form is seen in Lesb. ἱρος, (likewise ἱρεὺς, ἱρεῖα, ἱρητεύω, late κατεῖρων with εἰ = ι), Ion. ἱρός, ἱρός beside ἱερός, ἱερός. There are many other words with variation between -ερός and -αρός, as μιερός, μιαρός (likewise πύελος, πύαλος, etc.), but with widely different dialectal distribution.

2. Ἄρταμις, so far as the name is quotable from early inscriptions, is the form of all West Greek dialects except Cretan, and of Boeotian. In later Doric and Delphian inscriptions this is usually replaced by Ἄρτεμις. Thessalian has both forms.

3. κα = κε (ᾱν) is the form of all West Greek dialects and Boeotian, while Thessalian has κε, like Lesbian and Cyprian. See 134.2. West Greek and Boeotian δκα, etc. = Att.-Ion., Arc.-Cyp. ὄτε, etc. (but Lesb. ὄτα, etc.). See 132.II. -γα = -γε is likewise West Greek and Boeotian. Adverbs in -(σ)θα = -(σ)θεν, -(σ)θε are usual in West Greek (προσθα- also Arc.). See 133.I.

a. ἄτερος = ἕτερος is not confined to West Greek dialects, but is also quotable from Arcadian, Boeotian, and Lesbian, and even for Attic is

implied by ἄτερος with crasis. So far as we know, ἕτερος belongs to Attic-Ionic only, all examples in other dialects being late.

η

14. Original η, that is, η representing original ē, remains unchanged in nearly all dialects. Contrast the special Attic-Ionic η from ā (8), both being seen in Attic-Ionic μήτηρ = μάτηρ of other dialects. On the introduction of the character η, see 4.6.

15. ā from η in Elean. The sound of η was so open in Elean that it approximated that of ā, and was frequently, though by no means consistently, denoted by α. Thus μά (but also μέ, μή) = μή, Φάτρα = ῥήτρα, βασιλᾶες = ἥες, ἔα (but also εἶε) = εἶη, δαμοσιόα = -οῖη πλαθύνοντα beside πλεθύνοντι, 3 sg. subj. ἐκπέμπᾱ (149). Cf. α for ε (12a).

a. An isolated case outside of Elis is ποῖασι on a vase from Ithaca.

16. ει from η in Thessalian and Boeotian. In these dialects the sound was so close that with the introduction of the Ionic alphabet it was uniformly denoted not by η but by ει, which at that time represented a close ē. Thess., Boeot. μεί = μή, ἀνέθεικε = ἀνέθηκε, μεινός = μηνός, Thess. βασιλείος, Boeot. γραμματεῖος = -ῆος, Thess., Boeot. στατεῖρας, Boeot. μάτειρ, πατεῖρ = -τηρ.

a. The spelling ι also occurs in Cyp. ἰ = ῆ 'or' (no. 23.24), perhaps ὅπι (no. 23.29) = ὅπη (132.7), in Pamph. Μάντους beside Μάνεινυς (gen. sg. = -ητος), and some late Boeot. forms, as παρίς beside παρεῖς (εἶς = ῆς, Att. ἦν. 163.3).

17. Lesb. αἰμισέων (no. 25), αἰμιθέων (Alc.), αἰμιόνους (Sappho), all = ἡμι-. The explanation is difficult, since in all other cases η remains unchanged in Lesbian. Perhaps η was more open initially than in other positions, and this, in connection with an epenthetic vowel (but see 47), led to αι.

18. ε from ι after ρ in the Aeolic dialects. An open pronunciation of ι after ρ is indicated by occasional spellings such as Lesb. Δαμοκρέτω = Δημοκρίτου (but κρίνω, κρίτων), Thess. κρέννεν (Lesb. κρίνω), Ὑβρέστας beside Ὑβρίστας, ἀπελευθερεσθένσα from ἀπελευθερίζω, Boeot. Διοκρένῃς = -κρίνης, τρέπεδδα, τρεπεδδίτας (Hesych. τρίπεζαν τὴν τράπεζαν. Βοιωτοί).

a. Cf. also Lesb. $\epsilon\rho = \rho\iota$ (probably through the medium of a syllabic ρ) in $\tau\epsilon\rho\tau\omicron\varsigma$ (in glosses and proper names) = $\tau\rho\iota\tau\omicron\varsigma$, and in forms cited in 19.2; also Lesb. $\epsilon\rho = \iota\rho$ in $\kappa\epsilon\rho\nu\alpha\nu = \kappa\iota\rho\nu\alpha\nu$ (influence of $\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\rho\alpha\sigma\alpha$, etc.?).

b. There are scattered examples of ϵ for ι elsewhere, as El. $\pi\omicron\lambda\epsilon\rho$ beside $\pi\omicron\lambda\iota\rho = \pi\omicron\lambda\iota\varsigma$, $\beta\epsilon\nu\epsilon\omicron\iota = *βινέοι$ (Att. $\beta\iota\nu\epsilon\omega$), Ach. $\epsilon\rho\alpha\nu\epsilon\sigma\tau\alpha\iota = \epsilon\rho\alpha\nu\iota\sigma\tau\alpha\iota$, Sicil. Dor. $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota\omega\rho\epsilon\sigma\iota\alpha = *π\epsilon\rho\iota\omega\rho\iota\sigma\iota\alpha$.

19. Consonantal ι (ι) from antevocalic ι in Lesbian and Thessalian. The consonantal pronunciation of antevocalic ι might occur anywhere in rapid speech, but was especially characteristic of Aeolic, as indicated by the following related phenomena in Lesbian and Thessalian.

1. Lesb. ζ from $\delta\iota$ in $\zeta\acute{\alpha}$, $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\rho\zeta\alpha$, $\text{Z}\acute{\omicron}\nu\nu\sigma\omicron\varsigma$, from glosses or late inscriptions, the usual inscriptional spelling being $\delta\iota\acute{\alpha}$, etc. Cf. also $\text{Z}\iota\omicron\nu\omicron(\sigma\iota\omicron\varsigma)$ on an early coin of Phocaea, Cyp. $\kappa\omicron\rho\zeta\iota\alpha$ $\kappa\alpha\rho\delta\iota\alpha$ (Hesych.). Compounds with $\zeta\alpha-$ = $\delta\iota\alpha-$ are frequent in the Lesbian poets, as $\zeta\acute{\alpha}\beta\alpha\iota\varsigma$, $\zeta\acute{\alpha}\delta\eta\lambda\omicron\varsigma$, etc., and occur elsewhere, as Hom. $\zeta\acute{\alpha}\theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$ (Boeot. $\delta\acute{\alpha}\theta\iota\omicron\varsigma$ Corinna), etc.

2. Lesb. $\mu\epsilon\tau\epsilon\rho\rho\omicron\varsigma$, $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\tau\epsilon\rho\rho\omicron\varsigma$, $\text{P}\acute{\epsilon}\rho\rho\alpha\mu\omicron\varsigma$, $\text{P}\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha\mu\omicron\varsigma = \mu\epsilon\tau\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$, $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\tau\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$, $\text{P}\rho\iota\lambda\mu\omicron\varsigma$, the development being $\rho\iota$, $\rho\iota$, $\epsilon\rho\iota$, $\epsilon\rho\rho$.

3. Thessalian doubling of consonants before ι , which may then be retained or omitted in the spelling, as $\iota\delta\delta\iota\alpha\nu$, $\iota\tau\delta\iota\alpha\nu$, $\pi\omicron\lambda\lambda\iota\omicron\varsigma$, $\pi\rho\omicron\zeta\epsilon\nu\nu\iota\omicron\upsilon\nu$, $\acute{\epsilon}\xi\alpha\kappa\acute{\alpha}\tau\tau\iota\omicron\iota$, $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\kappa\lambda\eta\sigma\iota\alpha$, $\kappa\ddot{\upsilon}\rho\rho\omicron\nu$ beside $\kappa\ddot{\upsilon}\rho\iota\omicron\nu$, $\acute{\alpha}\rho\gamma\ddot{\upsilon}\rho\rho\omicron\iota$ gen. sg. = $\acute{\alpha}\rho\gamma\ddot{\upsilon}\rho\iota\omicron\upsilon$ beside $\text{M}\nu\alpha\sigma\sigma\acute{\alpha} = \text{M}\nu\alpha\sigma\iota\acute{\alpha}$. Cf. Att. $\beta\omicron\rho\rho\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ from $\beta\omicron\rho\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$.

4. Omission of ι , as Lesb. $\acute{\alpha}\rho\gamma\upsilon\rho\alpha = \acute{\alpha}\rho\gamma\ddot{\upsilon}\rho\iota\alpha$, Thess. $\tau\rho\alpha\kappa\acute{\alpha}\delta\iota = \tau\rho\iota\alpha\kappa\acute{\alpha}\delta\iota$, etc. (see also under 3.)

20. Interchange of ι and υ . Assimilation of ι to υ of the following syllable is seen in $\eta\mu\upsilon\sigma\upsilon = \eta\mu\iota\sigma\upsilon$, which appears in an Ionic inscription of the fifth century B.C. ($\tau\acute{\omega}\mu\upsilon\sigma\upsilon$), also in Attic and elsewhere; the opposite assimilation in $\beta\epsilon\beta\lambda\iota\omicron\nu$ beside $\beta\upsilon\beta\lambda\iota\omicron\nu$. Influence of the preceding $\epsilon\upsilon$, or of the suffix $-\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\nu\eta$, in Lac. $\text{E}\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\eta\acute{\upsilon}\nu\iota\alpha = \text{E}\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\iota\acute{\upsilon}\nu\iota\alpha$ (also Olynth. $\text{E}\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\nu\iota\omicron\varsigma$, name of a month). Other by-forms, the relation of which is uncertain, are $\text{A}\mu\phi\iota\kappa\tau\iota\omicron\nu\epsilon\varsigma$ and $\text{A}\mu\phi\iota\kappa\tau\acute{\upsilon}\nu\epsilon\varsigma$, Meg. $\alpha\iota\sigma\iota\mu\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\tau\alpha\varsigma$, $\alpha\iota\sigma\iota\mu\acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\alpha}$ = Ion. $\alpha\iota\sigma\iota\mu\acute{\eta}\nu\eta\tau\eta\varsigma$, $\alpha\iota\sigma\iota\mu\acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\alpha}$, $\mu\acute{\omicron}\lambda\upsilon\beta\delta\omicron\varsigma$ beside $\mu\acute{\omicron}\lambda\iota\beta\omicron\varsigma$, $\beta\acute{\omicron}\lambda\iota\mu\omicron\varsigma$, etc. (88).

a. A secondary ι before σ + consonant appears in sporadic spellings, as Boeot. $\alpha\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon\alpha = \acute{\alpha}\sigma\tau\epsilon\alpha$, Lesb. $\pi\alpha\lambda\alpha\iota\sigma\tau\alpha = \text{Att. } \pi\alpha\lambda\alpha\sigma\tau\acute{\eta}$ (but also $\pi\alpha\lambda\alpha\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\eta}$ Aristot., papyri), Argol. $\text{A}\iota\sigma\kappa\lambda\alpha\pi\acute{\iota}\delta\varsigma$ (cf. also Corinth. $\text{A}\iota\sigma\kappa\lambda\alpha\beta\iota\omicron\varsigma$ and Lat. *Aesculapius* from a similar source) = usual $\text{A}\iota\sigma\kappa\lambda\alpha\pi\acute{\iota}\delta\varsigma$, $\text{T}\rho\omicron\iota\zeta\acute{\alpha}\nu\iota\omicron\varsigma$

υ and $\bar{\upsilon}$

24. Instead of becoming a sound like German u , French u , as it did in Attic at an early period, the original u -sound (English oo in *food*) was retained in several, perhaps the majority of, dialects. This is most obvious where, the Attic values of the letters being taken as a basis, the spelling υ was replaced by $\omicron\upsilon$.

In Boeotian, $\omicron\upsilon$ begins to appear in the early fourth century B.C. (no. 39), and is frequent after 300 B.C., though υ is not uncommon until the last quarter of the century. Thus $\omicron\upsilon\pi\epsilon\rho$, $\kappa\omicron\upsilon\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$, $\acute{\alpha}\rho\gamma\omicron\upsilon\rho\iota\omicron\nu$, $\tau\omicron\upsilon\chi\alpha$, $\delta\omicron\nu\omicron\mu\alpha$, (22c), etc. In the third century the spelling $\iota\omicron\upsilon$ (pronounced like English u in *cube*?) is also employed, though never consistently, after τ , δ , θ , ν , and λ , as $\tau\iota\omicron\upsilon\chi\alpha$, $\delta\iota\omicron\upsilon = \delta\acute{\upsilon}\omicron$, $\text{I}\theta\iota\omicron\upsilon\delta\iota\kappa\omicron\varsigma$, $\delta\omicron\nu\iota\omicron\mu\alpha$, $\Delta\iota\omega\nu\iota\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\omicron\varsigma$, $\Lambda\iota\omicron\upsilon\kappa\iota\sigma\kappa\omega$, etc.; also once after σ ($\Sigma\iota\omicron\upsilon\nu\epsilon\sigma\iota\varsigma$) and once initially ($\iota\omicron\upsilon\omega = \upsilon\iota\omicron\upsilon$). Another spelling is $\omicron$, as Boeot. $\acute{\omicron}\pi\epsilon\rho = \acute{\upsilon}\pi\epsilon\rho$, $\theta\omicron\sigma\iota\eta\varsigma = \theta\upsilon\sigma\iota\alpha\iota\varsigma$, also (no. 39) $\delta\omicron\omega\delta\epsilon\kappa\alpha$, $\sigma\acute{\omicron}\phi\omicron\varsigma$, and perhaps $\kappa\acute{\omicron}\rho\tau\omicron\nu$, $\kappa\acute{\omicron}\tau\omicron\varsigma$, Arc. $\acute{\omicron}\pi\acute{\upsilon}$, $\acute{\omicron}\pi\epsilon\rho$.

a. Except in Boeotian, the spelling υ is generally retained in inscriptions. So in Laconian, for which the retention of the u -sound is amply attested by the numerous glosses spelled with $\omicron\upsilon$ in accordance with Attic values, and by the pronunciation of the modern Tsakonian. In various other dialects, as Arcadian, Cyprian, Thessalian, Lesbian, Cretan, Euboean, there are indications, of one kind or another, of the same pronunciation, such as the occasional spelling $\omicron\upsilon$ or $\omicron$ for υ , or υ for $\omicron$ (22a), use of φ before υ (Chalcid. $\varphi\acute{\omicron}\varphi\upsilon\nu\varsigma$, $\lambda\acute{\eta}\varphi\upsilon\theta\omicron\varsigma$, etc.) and occasional F for υ (52c).

Secondary $\bar{\epsilon}$ and $\bar{\omicron}$. „Spurious Diphthongs”

25. In many dialects, as in Attic, ϵ and $\omicron$ differed in quality from η and ω , being close vowels (e , ϕ). Consequently the long vowels which came from them by contraction or compensative lengthening, since they retained the same quality, were not identical with η and ω , but were $\bar{\epsilon}$ and $\bar{\omicron}$, the latter becoming $\bar{\upsilon}$, and eventually came to be designated by $\epsilon\iota$ and $\omicron\upsilon$ after these original diphthongs had become monophthongs in pronunciation (28, 34). But in other dialects they became identical with η and ω , and were so written. Hence such dialectal variations as $\tau\rho\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ — $\tau\rho\eta\varsigma$ from $*\tau\rho\epsilon\iota\epsilon\varsigma$ (42.3), $(\acute{\epsilon})\kappa\epsilon\iota\nu\omicron\varsigma$ — $\kappa\eta\nu\omicron\varsigma$ ($-\epsilon\text{-}\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$), $\epsilon\iota\mu\acute{\iota}$ — $\eta\mu\acute{\iota}$ from $*\epsilon\sigma\mu\acute{\iota}$ (76), $\varphi\theta\epsilon\iota\rho\omega$ — $\varphi\theta\eta\rho\omega$ from $*\varphi\theta\epsilon\iota\rho\omega$ (74), $\xi\epsilon\iota\nu\omicron\varsigma$ —

(in a fourth-century inscription of Hermione, otherwise only late) = usual $\text{T}\rho\omicron\zeta\acute{\alpha}\nu\iota\omicron\varsigma$, beside $\text{T}\rho\omicron\zeta\acute{\alpha}\nu$, the usual spelling until Roman times.

But for Lesb. $\epsilon\iota\kappa\omicron\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$, etc., commonly cited in this connection, the uniform spelling (seven occurrences) favors a different and more special explanation, for which see 77.2, 116a. For Thess. $\pi\rho\epsilon\iota\sigma\beta\epsilon\iota\alpha$, etc., see 86.3.

̣

21. τ remains unchanged-everywhere. But in late inscriptions it is sometimes denoted by $\epsilon\iota$, which had come to have the sound τ , as $\tau\epsilon\iota\mu\acute{\alpha}$ or $\tau\epsilon\iota\mu\acute{\eta} = \tau\epsilon\iota\mu\acute{\eta}$.

o

22. υ from $\omicron$, especially in Arcado-Cyprian. In both Arcadian and Cyprian, final $\omicron$ nearly always appears as υ . Gen. sg. $-\acute{\alpha}\upsilon = -\acute{\alpha}\omicron$, as Arc. $\text{K}\alpha\lambda\lambda\iota\acute{\alpha}\upsilon$, Cyp. $\text{O}\nu\alpha\sigma\iota\gamma\omicron\rho\alpha\upsilon$. Middle endings $-\tau\upsilon$, $-\nu\tau\upsilon = -\tau\omicron$, $-\nu\tau\omicron$, as Arc. $\delta\iota\omega\rho\theta\acute{\omega}\sigma\alpha\tau\upsilon$, $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha\nu\tau\upsilon$ (but also $-\tau\omicron$, from Attic), Cyp. $\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\iota\tau\upsilon$, $\acute{\epsilon}\text{F}\rho\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}\sigma\alpha\tau\upsilon$. Arc., Cyp. (also Lesb., Thess.) $\acute{\alpha}\pi\acute{\upsilon} = \acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron$, Arc. $\acute{\omicron}\pi\acute{\upsilon} = \acute{\upsilon}\pi\omicron$, also $\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\upsilon}$ by analogy, $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\upsilon = \acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron$. Cf. also $\acute{\upsilon}\nu$ for $\acute{\omicron}\nu = \acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\alpha}$ (6) in Cyp. $\acute{\upsilon}\nu\epsilon\theta\epsilon\kappa\epsilon$ (once) beside $\acute{\omicron}\nu\epsilon\theta\epsilon\kappa\epsilon$, and Arc. $\acute{\upsilon}\nu\epsilon\theta\upsilon\sigma\epsilon$, $\acute{\upsilon}\nu\epsilon\rho\acute{\omicron}\sigma\epsilon\iota$ beside $\acute{\omicron}\nu\delta\iota\kappa\alpha$ (later $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ - due to Attic influence).

a. In Pamphylian, υ for $\omicron$ not only when final, but also in final syllables ending in a consonant and once medially in composition, e.g., gen. sg. $\text{P}\iota\upsilon\lambda\acute{\omega}\rho\alpha\upsilon$, 3 sg. mid. $\acute{\epsilon}\beta\omicron\lambda\acute{\alpha}\sigma\epsilon\tau\upsilon$, nom. sg. $\acute{\upsilon}\beta\omicron\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\mu\epsilon\nu\upsilon\varsigma$ (= $\acute{\omicron}\beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\acute{\omicron}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$), gen. sg. $\text{M}\acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\tau\upsilon\varsigma$, cpd. $\nu\omicron\iota\kappa\upsilon\pi\omicron\lambda\iota\varsigma$ (= $*\text{F}\omicron\iota\kappa\omicron\pi\omicron\lambda\iota\varsigma$).

b. In Lesbian there are several examples (beside $\acute{\alpha}\pi\acute{\upsilon}$) of $\upsilon = \omicron$, especially before μ , as $\acute{\upsilon}\mu\omicron\iota\omega\varsigma$, $\acute{\upsilon}\mu\omicron\lambda\omicron\gamma\iota\alpha$, and (lit.) $\acute{\upsilon}\mu\omicron\iota$, $\acute{\upsilon}\pi\acute{\iota}\sigma\sigma\omega$, $\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\delta\omega\nu$. Also Arc. $\acute{\upsilon}\mu\omicron\iota\omicron\varsigma$, $\sigma\tau\upsilon\mu\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\nu$.

c. $\delta\upsilon\nu\omicron\mu\alpha = \delta\omicron\nu\omicron\mu\alpha$ is common to nearly all, perhaps all, dialects except Attic-Ionic. Cf. the compounds $\acute{\alpha}\nu\omega\nu\mu\omicron\varsigma$ etc., which are universal.

d. In Chalcid. $\eta\upsilon\pi\acute{\upsilon} = \acute{\upsilon}\pi\omicron$, and $\varphi\acute{\omicron}\varphi\upsilon\nu\varsigma$, the second υ is due to assimilation to the first.

ω

23. $\omicron\upsilon$ from ω in Thessalian. Long $\omicron$ in Thessalian, whether original or secondary (25), became a close $\omicron$, then $\bar{\upsilon}$, and, after the introduction of the Ionic alphabet, was regularly denoted by $\omicron\upsilon$. $\chi\omicron\upsilon\rho\alpha = \chi\acute{\omega}\rho\alpha$, $\varphi\iota\lambda\acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\rho\upsilon\pi\alpha = \varphi\iota\lambda\acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\rho\omega\pi\alpha$, $\tau\omicron\upsilon\nu \tau\alpha\gamma\omicron\upsilon\nu \pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\text{-}\tau\omicron\upsilon\nu = \tau\acute{\omega}\nu \tau\alpha\gamma\acute{\omega}\nu \pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\omega\nu$. Cf. $\epsilon\iota$ from η (16).

$\xi\eta\nu\omicron\varsigma$ from $\xi\acute{\epsilon}\nu\text{F}\omicron\varsigma$ (54), $\chi\epsilon\iota\lambda\iota\omicron\iota$ — $\chi\acute{\eta}\lambda\iota\omicron\iota$ from $*\chi\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\lambda\iota\omicron\iota$ (76), $\chi\epsilon\iota\rho$ — $\chi\acute{\eta}\rho$ from $*\chi\epsilon\sigma\rho$ (76), $\beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\acute{\eta}$ — $\beta\omega\lambda\acute{\acute{\alpha}}$ (75), $\kappa\omicron\upsilon\rho\eta$ — $\kappa\acute{\omega}\rho\alpha$ from $\kappa\acute{\omicron}\rho\text{F}\acute{\alpha}$ (54), gen. sg. $-\omicron\upsilon$ — ω from $-\omicron\iota\omicron$ (106.1), acc. pl. $-\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ — $\omega\varsigma$ from $-\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ (78).

The dialects which regularly have η and ω in such forms are Arcadian (and presumably Cyprian, though the spelling of course is indeterminate), Lesbian, Elean, Laconian, Heracleian, and Cretan. Boeotian and Thessalian properly belong to this group, since Boeotian has ω , and $\epsilon\iota$ is the same as for original η (16), and Thess. $\epsilon\iota$, $\omicron\upsilon$ are the same as for original η , ω (16, 23).

In several dialects there is some evidence of a qualitative difference between the vowels resulting from lengthening and those resulting from contraction.

a. Cretan. The earliest Cretan inscriptions which have the letter Θ show this for the vowel resulting from the early lengthenings (before original $\sigma\mu$, etc. as $\Theta\mu\text{E}\nu$), but E for that before original νF , as $\kappa\omicron\text{E}\nu\iota\omicron\varsigma =$ later $\xi\eta\nu\omicron\varsigma$, and usually for the result of contraction, as $\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\iota\rho\text{E}\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$, $\mu\acute{\omicron}\lambda\text{E}\nu$ (= later $\mu\omega\lambda\eta\nu$, $\kappa\omicron\sigma\mu\text{E}\nu$, $\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\delta\acute{\omicron}\mu\text{E}\nu$, $\Theta\mu\text{E}\nu$, etc. (rarely $-\mu\text{E}\nu$; $\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\text{-}\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\mu\text{E}\nu$, and $\Theta\mu\text{E}\nu$ and $\Theta\mu\text{E}\nu$ in the same inscription, no. 116). After the introduction of ω there are a few cases of O for the contracted vowel, as gen. sg. $\kappa\acute{\omicron}\sigma\mu\text{O}$. In later times regularly η , ω for both lengthened and contracted vowels.

b. Theran and Cyrenaean. Regularly η , ω for the lengthened vowels, as $\delta\acute{\eta}\lambda\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$, $\eta\mu\epsilon\nu$, $\beta\omega\lambda\acute{\acute{\alpha}}$ (in proper names), Cyren. $\chi\acute{\eta}\lambda\iota\omicron\iota$. Before original νF , etc., Cyren. $\eta\nu\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$ but Ther. $\omicron\delta\rho\omicron\iota$. For contraction archaic Theran E (vs. Θ) in $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omicron\iota\text{E}$, etc., later $\epsilon\iota$, rarely η as $\tau\rho\eta\varsigma$. Cyren. 3 sg. mid. Dor. future $\delta\eta\sigma\eta\tau\alpha\iota$ and $\kappa\alpha\iota\sigma\epsilon\iota\tau\alpha\iota$ in the same inscriptions. Ther. gen. sg. archaic $-\text{O}$ (vs. $\text{O} = \omega$); similarly in Melos gen. sg. $-\text{C}$ (vs. $\text{O} = \omega$), later $-\omicron\upsilon$. Cyren. gen. sg. $-\text{O}$ in a fifth-century inscription which has ω , later always $-\omega$; also ω from $\omicron\epsilon$ in $\lambda\omega\sigma\acute{\alpha}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$.

Somewhat similar situation in Rhodes, Cos, etc. Rhod. $\eta\mu\epsilon\nu$, Rhod. $\text{C}\omicron\alpha\nu \delta\acute{\eta}\lambda\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$, $\beta\omega\lambda\acute{\acute{\alpha}}$ (in proper names), $\chi\eta\nu\omicron\varsigma$, but more commonly $\epsilon\iota$, $\omicron\upsilon$. c. Argolic. By lengthening, $\eta\mu\acute{\iota}$, $\chi\eta\sigma\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$, $\chi\eta\sigma\alpha$, $\eta\nu\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$, $\beta\omega\lambda\acute{\acute{\alpha}}$, $\acute{\omega}\rho\omicron\varsigma$, etc., but frequently, and especially later, $\epsilon\iota$, $\omicron\upsilon$. By contraction η in augmented forms, $\eta\rho\epsilon\pi\epsilon$, $\eta\chi\omicron\nu$, $\eta\lambda\epsilon\tau\omicron$ (beside $\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\tau\omicron$), but in forms of verbs in $-\epsilon\omega$ usually $\epsilon\iota$ and at Argos even ι in $\tau\epsilon\lambda\iota\tau\acute{\omicron}$, $\acute{\alpha}\varphi\alpha\iota\rho\iota\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ (no. 85, about 450 B.C.) and later $\kappa\alpha\lambda\iota\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$. Also, strangely, ι for genuine $\epsilon\iota$ in the thrice recurring $\eta\iota$, $\iota = \epsilon\iota$ (132.2). By contraction ω in $\lambda\omega\tau\eta\rho\iota\omicron\nu$ gen. sg. and acc. pl. of σ -stems, $-\omega$, $-\omega\varsigma$ at Hermione, but usually $-\omicron\upsilon$ and $-\omicron\varsigma$, $-\omicron\varsigma$.

d. It is to be remembered that in the inscriptions of most dialects before the introduction of the Ionic alphabet, and except for the early vowel use of Θ , H in Crete, Rhodes, etc., or the use of different signs for

ο and ω in some of the islands, the spelling was simply E, O, which we transcribe ε, ω, whether the later spelling is ει, ου or η, ω.

In Corinthian the identity of secondary ε, ω and original ει, ου belongs to the earliest period, owing to the very early monophthongization of the diphthongs (28, 34). The spelling is E at Corinth and Sicyon (vs. Corinth. Sicyon X = ε, η), Bz at Corcyra, and OV in all three places. It is possible that the situation was similar in Megarian, where there is some indication of early monophthongization of ει (28).

In early Locrian, no. 58, 59 have only E, O, while no. 57 has EI (φάρειν, etc.) and OV in the acc. pl. (τὸν) but O in the gen. sg. (δάμῳ). Later regularly ει, ου.

In Attic-Ionic, E, O are common until after 400 B.C. and occasionally much later, while EI, OV in general begin to appear in the fifth century B.C. But remarkable is the exceptionally early appearance of EI in EIMI, of which there is one example from the eighth (Hesperia 5.33) and several from the sixth century B.C. in Attic (e.g., no. 1 in the Attic, vs. EMI in the Ionic version), Eretrian, etc. Conversely, there are a few very early examples of E = original ει, as 3 sg. ἄρχε, etc.

e. An early change of ε to ι occurs in Att. χίλιοι vs. Ion. χεῖλιοι, etc. (76), and ἱμάτιον vs. εἰμάτιον in other dialects, like εἶμα.

f. The lengthening of ο before σ + nasal (76), gives Att.-Ion. ω not ου, as in ὤμος (cf. Goth. *ams*, Skt. *ansa-*, Lat. *umerus*, and Lesb. ἐπομμαδίας), ὠνή (cf. Skt. *vasna-* 'price,' Lat. *venum* 'sale,' and Lesb. ὠνά), Hom. Διώνυσος. The relation of Att. ὄν to ὦν of other dialects is obscure; likewise the history of Att.-Ion. δοῦλος vs. Dor. (Cret., Lac., etc.) δῶλος.

DIPHTHONGS

αι

26. η from αι in Boeotian. The diphthong is retained in the earliest inscriptions, sometimes as αι, sometimes as αε, especially at Tanagra, e.g., Αἰσχρόνδας, Ὀκίβας. But it came to be pronounced as a monophthong, an open ē, and with the introduction of the Ionic alphabet was regularly denoted by η, e.g., κή = καί; ἦ = αἶ; Θειβῆος = Θειβαιος; dat. sg. and nom. pl. -η = -αι; dat. pl. -ης = -αις; infin. -ση, -σθῆ = -σαι, -σθαι. In very late inscriptions even ει is found, as Θειβεῖος.

a. An alleged Cret. κή = καί in an early inscription (SEG 2.509, Inscr. Cret. 1, p. 90) is at variance with all other evidence and is surely to be rejected. The first occurrence has already been eliminated by a corrected reading. Namely, αἰ δέ κα κή ρίς ροοσει is to be read αἰ δέ κα κηρι (= χηρι) τρῶσει. The second occurrence, which still stands in the latest edition, namely, αἰ δέ κή ρινός αἶμα ρυῖ, may be read αἰ δέ κ' with elision

(and so corresponding to αἰ δέ κα of the previous clause), followed by ἦ ρινός αἶμα from ἐς (=ἐκ) ρινός with the development as in medial σρ (76).

27. ει from αι in Thessalian. In general αι remains, but at Larissa we find ει for final αι; e.g., ἐψάφισται = ἐψήφισται, βέλλεται = βούληται, γινύεται = γίγνηται; and with added ν (139.2, 156) πεπεῖσται = πεπεῖσθαι, ὀνγράψεν = ἀναγράψαι, ἐφάνγρενθιν = ἐφαιροῦνται, βέλλουνθιν = βούλωνται. Also Εἰ-μούνης (Αἰμων).

ει

28. Sooner or later ει became everywhere a monophthong, a close ē (ē), though the spelling was retained and in certain dialects extended to the secondary ε (25). In Corinthian this had taken place at the time of the earliest inscriptions, and, while at Corcyra the spelling was Bz (25d), at Corinth the sound was nearly always denoted by a single sign, though generally differentiated from ε or η, e.g., ΔΕνία = Δεινίου, Ποτεδάν (rarely with Εε or Bz), but ἀνέθηκε = ἀνέθηκε. From Megara there are a few examples of E = ει, as names in -κλεδας.

a. At a late period the ē progressed still further to an ι, usually with retention of the old spelling ει, which then came to be used also for original ι (21), but sometimes with phonetic spelling ι. In some words this late spelling with ι became fixed in our texts, e.g., τίσω, ξίσα, ἔκτισα, of which the proper spelling, as shown by inscriptions and papyri, is τείσω, ἔτεισα, ἔκτεισα.

b. But before vowels it remained ē for some time after it had become ι elsewhere, and to distinguish it from ει = ι, was often written η, e.g., πολιτήαν, ἱέρη, etc., especially in the Augustan period.

c. For Elean αι from ει after ρ, see 12a.

29. ι from ει in Boeotian. The change in pronunciation which took place everywhere at a late period (28a) occurred very early in Boeotian, and here showed itself in the spelling, which in the fifth century varies between ει, ι (4.5), and ι, but later is regularly ι, e.g., Τισιμένες = Τεισιμένης, ἐπί = ἐπεί, ἐπιδεί = ἐπειδή (cf. also 16), ἔχι = ἔχει, κιμένας = κειμένας. For Arg. hī = εἶ, see 25c.

οι

30. υ from οι in Boeotian. The diphthong οι was retained much longer than αι (26) or ει (29), appearing as οι, but also, in some of the earliest inscriptions especially of Tanagra, as οε, e.g., Χοερίλος, Φεκαδάμοε. But in the third century it became a monophthong, probably similar to the German ö, to denote which, approximately, the υ, with its Attic value of ü as a basis, was employed with increasing frequency from about 250 B.C. on, though not uniformly until the end of the century, e.g., Φυκία = οἰκία, dat. sg. and nom. pl. -υ = -οι, dat. pl. -υς = -οις. Where οι is followed by a vowel, it is usually retained (in contrast to αι, 26), as Βοιωτῆς, though Βωωτῶν occurs once.

In some late inscriptions of Lebadea and Chaeronea the spelling ει is also found, indicating the further progress of the sound to ι (see 28a), e.g., αὔτεις = αὔτοις.

a. Late Cret. Πότιος (no. 120.24) = Πύτιος illustrates the confusion of οι and υ which later prevailed in the κοινή (hence, with still later change in sound to ι, their identity in Modern Greek).

αι, ει, οι before Vowels

31. In the case of αι, ει, οι, also υι, before vowels the omission of ι, consequent upon its consonantal pronunciation with the following vowel, is to be observed in various dialects, though the spelling is anything but constant, and it is impossible to make any general statement as to the conditions of the loss. Thus, as in Attic Ἀθηναία, later Ἀθηνά, Ἀθηνᾶ, δωρεά beside earlier δωρειά, εὔνοα beside εὔνοια, υῖς beside υῖός, υῖός, so, e.g., Ion. ἀτελέη beside ἀτελείη, ποιήσαν = ποιήσαν, Lesb. δικάως = δικαίως, εὔνοαν = εὔνοιαν, Thess. Γεννάοι = Γενναίου, Arc. στορπάος = ἀστραπαῖος, El. ἕα beside εἶε = εἶη, μαστρά = *μαστρεῖα (12a), Cret. ἀγέλοι = ἀγελαῖοι, Delph. φρωτός = *φαιωτός (φαιός). So especially in forms of ποιέω, as Att. ποεῖ, ποέσω (but ποιῶν), Lesb. πόησαι, etc., Boeot. ἐπόεισε, Arc. πόντω, El. ἐπιπόντων, Coan ναποᾶν beside ναποιάς. Contraction, as in Ἀθηνᾶ, in Lesb. Φώκαι = Φωκαῖαι.

a. Owing to the variation in forms like the above, the diphthongal spelling sometimes appears in words where it has no etymological justification, as late ὀγδοῖς, ὀγδοῖκοντα, βοιηθέω.

αυ, ευ, ου

32. In αυ, ευ, ου, the υ remained an υ-sound, not becoming ü as it did in Attic when not part of a diphthong. This is shown not only by Ionic αο, εο (33), but by occasional varieties of spelling such as Corinth. Ἀχιλλεούς, Corcyr. ἄφυτάν, Att. ἄφυτάρ, Ion. ἄφυτῶ, Cret. ἀμεφύσασθαι, where F indicates the natural glide before the υ-sound, and Locr. Ναφπακτίδων, Cret. σποφδδάν, etc.

33. αο, εο from αυ, ευ appear in East Ionic inscriptions (eo also in Amphipolis and Thasos) of the fourth century and later, e.g., αὐτός, ταῦτα, εἰνοια, εδεργέτης, φεόγειν. This spelling is frequent even in κοινή inscriptions of this region.

a. Cretan inscriptions show several examples of ου beside usual ευ, as early Ἐλπινοῦσι, τιτοφτός, τιτοφθέσθ (from *τιτεύομαι 'impose a fine'), later ἐλούθερος, ἐπιτάδουμα, etc. For El. αυ from ευ after ρ, see 12a. Sporadic cases of αυ = ευ elsewhere, as late Delph. ἐλαυθερος, ἱεραῖς, βουλαυόντων, Arc. Αὐκλεία (= Εὐκλεία?), Ther. αὐνοίας, αὐεργέταν, Αὐήμερος, Phleg. φαυδῆ, late πέταυρον v.l. of πέτευρον (hence *petaurum* in Lucil., etc.).

34. ου became, in most dialects, a monophthong (first ō, later ū), though the spelling ου was generally retained and eventually extended in certain dialects to the secondary ō. In Corinthian this had taken place at the time of the earliest inscriptions. See 25d.

a. Occasionally words which contain genuine ου are found with the spelling O in early inscriptions when O for secondary ō was usual, e.g., δκ = οὐκ, βδν = βούν (or = βών? See 37.1). In forms of οὔτος, which in general have genuine ου (e.g., Cret. τοῦτο etc.), this spelling is so frequent in early Attic, e.g., τῶτο, τῶτῶν (τῶτο also in Thasos; cf. also Orop. ἐντῶθα, i.e. ἐντοῦθα = ἐνταῦθα), as to point to some special cause. Possibly, as has been suggested, there existed beside the usual forms with genuine ου (e.g. τοῦτο from *το-υ-το), a gen. sg. τῶτό (τούτου), formed by doubling of τῶ (τού), which then influenced the other forms.

35. Certain words show a υ diphthong only, or mainly, in Lesbian. So αῶς = Dor. ἄφως (Arg. ποτ' ἄφῶ, Lac. ἀβῶρ Hesych.), ἄῶς, Hom. ἠῶς, Att. ἔως, from *αῶσῶς (cf. Lat. *aurōra* from **ausōs-ā*); παραῶα = Dor. παρᾶα (implied by εὐπαρᾶος), Ion. παρήη (implied by καλλιπάρης, παρήιον), Att. παρεᾶ, from *παρ-αυ-ᾶ (cf. Lat. *auris*); ναῦος = Dor. etc., νᾶ (F)ός (cf. Lac. ναῖῶν),

Hom. *νηός*, Att. *νεώς*, probably from **νασFός* (54d); *δεύω* (also Thess., no. 33.27 and Hom.), from **δεύσω* (?); *αὐάδης* (Sappho) = Att. *ἀηδής*, from **ἀ-σFαδής*. Cf. also Hom. *εὐαδε* from **ἐσFαδε*, and *αὐερύω* from **ἄFερύω*, **ἄν-Fερύω*.

a. In such forms *υ* comes from a combination containing *υ* or *F*, not from simple intervocalic *F*, which in Lesbian, as elsewhere, regularly drops out without affecting the preceding vowel. Forms like *αὐάτα* (Alcaeus, Pindar) = *ἄFάτα* (cf. 53), *ε[ῶ]δε* (Balbilla), etc. (several forms in glosses, presumably from the Lesbian poets; some also in Homer) are poetical only, and represent an artificial doubling or shift in syllabification, perhaps in imitation of cases like the above, coming from a combination. The consonant-doubling in hypocoristic proper names (89.5) accounts for the diphthong in Thess. *Κλεύας*, from **ΚλέFας*, Calymn. *Κλεύαντος*, Cret. *Φαῦος*, *Νεύαντος*.

36. In words with regular antevocalic *ευ* the natural glide between *υ* and the following vowel is often expressed by *F*, as Boeot. *ΒακεύFαι*, Cypr. *κατεσκεύFασε*, Lac. *Εὐβάλλης* (*β = F*, 51), Locr. *ΕὐFανδρος*.

In late inscriptions *υ* is sometimes omitted, especially in derivatives of *σκεῦος*, as Att. *παρεσκεασμένων*, Lesb. *ἐπισκεάσαν-τα*, Corcyr. *ἐπισκεάζειν*, *σκεοθήκας*, Delph. *κατασκεώσεται*.

Long Diphthongs

37. 1. The original long diphthongs *αι*, *αιι*, *ει*, *ειι*, *οι*, *οιι*, except when final, were regularly shortened in prehistoric times to *αι*, *αιι*, *ει*, *ειι*, *οι*, *οιι*, or, in some cases, lost the second element. Hence such by-forms as *βοῦς* from **βῶς* (cf. Skt. *gāus*), acc. *βοῦν*, but Arg., Epid., Cret., Syrac. *βῶς*, *βῶν* (cf. Lat. *bōs*, Skt. acc. sg. *gām*), *Ζεύς* from **Ζηύς* (cf. Skt. *dyāus*) but acc. *Ζῆν* (cf. Lat. *diēs*), whence, with transfer to consonant declension, *Ζῆνα*, *Ζηνός*, etc., Cret. *Δῆνα*, *Τῆνα* (84).

2. The Greek long diphthongs may be original when final, but otherwise are of secondary origin. Most of the latter arose by loss of an intervening consonant, as *κλαίς*, *κλήις*, from **κλαFίς* (cf. Lat. *clāvis*), and in the earlier period these were not diphthongs but were pronounced in two syllables. So *κλήις*, *χρηίζω*, *πολεμήιος*, *πατρώιος*, etc., regularly in Homer, and often in the later Ionic poets. This pronunciation is also indicated by occasional

spellings such as *Τῆμοι*, *θωμῆν*, *ιερήμα*, *χρηίζω*, in inscriptions. On the other hand the change of *ηι* to *ει* (39) or the loss of the *ι* (38) presupposes the diphthongal pronunciation; and where we find, e.g., *χρηίζω*, *ιερῆον*, and *χρηίζω*, *ιερηιον*, side by side, the latter must be understood as *χρηίζω*, *ιερῆιον*. But in general it is impossible to determine just when the change from dissyllabic to diphthongal pronunciation took place, and hence it is often uncertain whether we should accent, e.g., *κλήις* (*κλήις*) or *κλήις* (*κλήις*), *χρηίζω* or *χρηίζω*, *οικῆιος*, *οικῆιου* or *οικῆιος*, *οικῆιου*, and editors of the same texts differ in their practice. We employ the accentuation which goes with the earlier pronunciation, though without the mark of diaeresis, for the early Ionic inscriptions; and likewise in general, simply as a matter of convention, in citing forms of this kind in the grammar.

38. *αι*, *ηι*, *ωι* from *αιι*, *ηιι*, *ωιι*. In Attic the *ι* ceased to be pronounced in the second century B.C., and the spelling without *ι* (the *ι* subscript is a medieval device; in inscriptions *ι* is written like other letters or omitted entirely) became more and more frequent, and may be found in late inscriptions from all parts of Greece. But in some dialects this dates from an earlier period.

East Ionic has occasional examples of dat. sg. *-ηι* = *-ηι* from the sixth century B.C. on, though *-ηι* is the usual spelling.

Lesbian has *τῷ Νικιαίδι* in a fifth-century inscription (no. 24), the earliest loss of *ι* in the article. No. 25 (first half fourth century) and no. 26 (324 B.C.) have uniformly dat. sg. *-αι*, *-ωι* (3 sg. subj. *-ηι* in no. 25, *-ηι* in no. 26), while no. 27 (319/7) has 3 sg. subj. *-ηι*, dat. sg. *-ωι*, but *-αι*, a difference observed in some other texts (also, though anachronistic, in some texts of the Lesbian poets; see pp. 342 f.). After the fourth century the forms in *-αι*, *-ωι*, *-ηι* predominate.

Thessalian has from the fifth century dat. sg. *τάφροδίται τῷ*, and *ταγῷ* beside *ἀταγῷ* (in no. 35), and in inscriptions in the Ionic alphabet we find regularly dat. sg. *-αι*, *-ου* (= *ω*, 23), 3 sg. subj. *-ει* (= *η*, 16).

Cyprian has dat. sg. *-αι*, *-οι*, beside *-αι*, *-οι*, but in the Idalium bronze (no. 23) only in the case of the article when followed by *ι*, as *τῷ ι* (v).

a. The loss of *ι* probably began in the article, which was proclitic.
b. The fluctuation between the historical and the phonetic spelling in late inscriptions introduced confusion in the spelling of forms with original *ηι*, *ωι*; hence such spellings as nom. sg. *βουλῆι*, gen. sg. *τῷ δάμωι*, imv. *ἐχέτωι*. Such imperative forms in *-τωι* and *-σθωι*, where this spelling was favored by the subj. in *-ηι*, are especially frequent.

39. *ει* from *ηι*. The history of *ηι* differs in some dialects from that of *αι*, *ωι*,—especially in Attic, where it became *ει* (i.e., *ῆ*) some two centuries before *αι*, *ωι* became *αι*, *ωι*.

In the case of *ηι* of secondary origin (37.2) the spelling *ει* is frequent in the fourth century and from about 300 B.C. is almost universal, e.g., *κλείς* from *κλήις*, *λειστής* from *ληιστής*, *λειτουργέω* from *ληιτουργέω*.

In inflectional endings *ει* is also frequent in the fourth century and predominates in the third and second, e.g., dat. sg. *βουλεῖ*, 3 sg. subj. *εἴπει*. But here, owing to the analogy of other forms with *ηι* of the same system, as *βουλῆς*, *βουλῆν*, *εἴπητε*, *ηι* was never given up and eventually was fully restored, so that the normal spelling in imperial times was *ηι* or *η* (38).

The spelling *ει* beside *ηι*, partly at least due to Attic influence, is also frequent in third- and second-century inscriptions of other dialects, or even earlier as in the Heracleian Tables, where we find 3 sg. subj. *νέμει*, *φέρει*, etc. (so usually, but twice *-ηι*, once *-η*).

a. The change of *ηι* to *ει* is also Euboean, where it was accompanied by a change of *ωι* to *οι*. In Eretrian this was effected about 400 B.C. Somewhat later *ει* occurs beside *ηι* at Amphipolis, and *οι* beside *ωι* at Olynthus. Dat. sg. *ει* is found also in an inscription from Naples.

NON-DIPHTHONGAL COMBINATIONS OF VOWELS (CONTRACTION, ETC.)

40. Owing to the proethnic loss of intervocalic *ι* and *σ*, a large number of new vowel combinations arose, and these were subsequently augmented by the dialectal loss of intervocalic *F* (53). An exhaustive treatment of their history in the several dialects would require not merely that each of the numerous combinations should be considered by itself, but that further distinctions should be made according to the character of the consonant which was lost, that of the sound which preceded the combina-

tion, the accent, the number of syllables in the word, etc. See 45. Only some of the most important facts can be stated here.

α or *ᾱ* + Vowel

41. 1. *α* + *ε*, *ᾱ* (secondary *ᾱ*), or *η*. Att.-Ionic *ᾱ*, but *η* in West Greek and Boeotian. Similarly *ᾱι* or *ηι* from *α* + *ει*, *ηι*. Examples are forms of verbs in *-αω*, as Att.-Ion. *νικᾷ(αι)*, *νικᾷτε (αι)*, *νικᾶν (αἰ)*, etc., but *η* in West Greek and Boeotian, e.g., Cret., Arg. *νικῆν*, Lac. *ἐνίκᾱ*, Rhod. *θινῆται*, Meg. *φοιτήτω*, Corcyr. *τιμῆν*, Locr. *συνῆν*, Delph. *συνῆν*, Boeot. *φυσῆτε* (Ar.), etc.

a. For Lesbian, Thessalian, and Arcado-Cyprian direct evidence is lacking but *η* is probable in view of the *η* in crasis (94.6). Lesb. *τίμαι*, *βόαι* (gram.; *βόα* text of Sappho), Thess. *ἐρουῖαι*, probably belong to the *-ᾱω* type (159)?

2. *α* + *ο* or *ω*. When contracted, the result is *ω* in all dialects. So regularly in forms of verbs in *-αω*, as Att. *τιμῶ*, *τιμῶμεν*, Meg. (Selinus) *νικῶμεν*, *νικῶντι*, Locr. *συνῶντα*, Boeot. *συνῶντες*, Lac. *ἡβῶντι* (subj.), *ἐνῆβῶνταις* (*ἡβῶσαις* from *ἡβῶσαις*), but also, rarely, uncontracted as Boeot. *ἰάοντες*. Cf. also Heracl. *τέτρωρον* 'group of four boundary-stones' from **τετρα-ορον*, *παμῶχος* (*παμῶχέω*) from **παμα-οχος*. *αο* from *αφο* is uncontracted in Boeotian (as in Homer), but in most dialects yields *ω*, as *φῶς* from *φῶος* (**φαFος*, cf. Hesych. *φαυοφόρος*), Boeot. *Καλλιφῶων*, etc., *Ἄγλω* from *ἄγλαο* (**ἄγλαFο*), Boeot. *Ἄγλαδωρος*, etc. (*Ἄγλαο*-also Thess., Coan, etc.), *σῶς*, *σῶν*, *σῶν*, from *σάFος* (cf. Cypr. *ΣαFοκλέFες*). Boeot. *περίσας*, *Σαυκράτες*, *Σαυγένης*, etc. Arc., *Σακρέτης*, *Σάδαμος*, *Σακλῆς* (beside *Σαοκλῆς*), *Σάανδρος*, Boeot. *Σακράτης*, etc., are to be read *Σᾱ*-, this from *Σαο*-, or parallel to Meg. *Θέδωρος*, etc. (42.5)?

3. *ᾱ* + *ε*. Attic-Ionic *η*, elsewhere *ᾱ*. Att.-Ion. *ἥλιος* (Hom. *ἥλιος*) from *ἄFέλιος* (Cret. gloss *ἄβέλιος*), *ἄέλιος* (Pind., etc., Arc.), Dor. *ἄλιος*, Lesb. *ἄλιος*.

4. *ᾱ* + *ο* or *ω*. Attic-Ionic *εω* or *ω*, elsewhere *ᾱ* or uncontracted. In Attic-Ionic first *ηο*, *ηω* (cf. 8), often preserved in Homer, whence *εω* (with shortening of the first vowel, and, in the case of *ηο*, lengthening of the second; cf. 43), which may be further contracted to *ω* (in Ionic mostly after vowels, cf. 45.2;

in Attic not so restricted, but the conditions are complicated and not wholly clear). In the other dialects the uncontracted forms are most general in Boeotian.

Gen. sg. masc. $\bar{\alpha}$ -stems, Ion. -εω, -ω (also -ηο in no. 6), from - $\bar{\alpha}\omega$ as in Homer (here Aeolic, beside Ion. -εω) and Boeotian (rare in Thessalian), Arc.-Cypr. - $\bar{\alpha}\omega$ (22), Lesb., Thess., West Greek - $\bar{\alpha}$.

Att.-Ion. εως (Hom. εἰς, i.e. ἦρος) from * $\bar{\alpha}\omega\varsigma$ (Skt. *yāvat*), Lesb. $\bar{\alpha}\varsigma$, Boeot., West Greek $\bar{\alpha}\varsigma$ (late Boeot. also hybrid $\bar{\alpha}\omega\varsigma$).

Att.-Ion. λεώς, νεώς, εως (Hom. νηός, ἡώς), ληός (in Eub. Ἀγα-σλέφω) from $\lambda\bar{\alpha}\omega\varsigma$ (seen in personal names of several dialects), ν $\bar{\alpha}\omega\varsigma$, $\bar{\alpha}\omega\varsigma$ (but see 35, 54d), in most dialects $\lambda\bar{\alpha}\omega\varsigma$, ν $\bar{\alpha}\omega\varsigma$, $\bar{\alpha}\omega\varsigma$ but $\lambda\bar{\alpha}$ -, ν $\bar{\alpha}$ -, in compounds as $\lambda\bar{\alpha}\chi\rho\acute{\iota}\nu\eta\varsigma$, ν $\bar{\alpha}\chi\acute{o}\rho\omicron\varsigma$ ν $\bar{\alpha}\pi\omicron\iota\alpha\iota$, also - $\bar{\alpha}\varsigma$ frequent for - $\bar{\alpha}\omega\varsigma$, etc., in personal names, as the widespread Ἀρκεσίλας (Cyrene sixth century, etc.) beside the rare Ἀρκεσί- $\lambda\omega\varsigma$ (on an Apulian vase).

Gen. pl. $\bar{\alpha}$ -stems, Ion. -έων, -ῶν (also -ηῶν in no. 6), Att. -ῶν, from - $\bar{\alpha}\omega\omega$ (* $\bar{\alpha}\bar{s}\omega\omega$, Skt. - $\bar{\alpha}\bar{s}\bar{a}\bar{m}$) as in Homer (Aeolic), Boeotian (but always τᾶν, see 45.4), Thessalian (τᾶν κοινάουν, etc. at Crannon, but otherwise -ᾶν), Lesb. -ᾶν, Arc., West Greek -ᾶν.

Att.-Ion. θεωρός, Lesb. θεᾶρος, West Greek θεᾶρος, beside uncontracted Arc. θεᾶορός, from *θεᾶ- $\phi\omicron\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$ (or - $\phi\omicron\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$, cf. φρουρός from * $\phi\rho\omicron$ - $\phi\omicron\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$; both from - $\phi\omicron\rho\omicron\varsigma$). Boeot. θιαωρία could be from a parallel form with ω -grade in the second part, but more likely is a hybrid, influenced by Att. θεωρία.

Att. κοινών, ξυνών, Ion. ξυνεών (Hes. ξυνήνορας) from * $\bar{\alpha}\omega\omega$, *- $\bar{\alpha}\omega\omega\varsigma$, ξυνᾶνες Pindar, Arc., West Greek κοινᾶν. So Epid. κυκᾶν = κυκεών.

Att. Ποσειδῶν, Ion. Ποσειδέων, Hom. Ποσειδάων (-ᾶωνος), Corinth. ΠοτΕδᾶφονι, ΠοτΕδᾶνι, ΠοτΕδᾶν, Boeot. Ποτειδάωνι, Cret., Rhod., Delph. Ποτειδᾶν (-ᾶνος), Lesb. Ποσειδᾶν, Arc. Ποσειδᾶνος, Lac. Ποσειδᾶν (-ᾶνι).

Arc. Πᾶνι beside Πᾶνός, Πᾶνί. Here the native Arcadian form was adopted in Attic-Ionic.

a. In Ionic, beside usual εω, there are some examples of εο or ευ (cf. 33), as θεωρός, θεωρός (Paros, Thasos), gen. sg. -εω (Erythrae, etc.).

b. In Ionic some of the older forms with unshortened η, as in Homer, are employed also by later writers, as νηός, etc. So ἡώς in Herodotus and in an inscription of Oropus (gen. sg. ἡῶς).

λιποτελέει (but read -εἰ by some, as belonging to type -ηω, 159), Delph. ἀδικέη, ποιέη, Lesb. ἐη, Boeot. ἱει, δοκίει (9, 16), are rare. See 45.5. But forms like δέη, δέηται (from εἴη, see 45.1) are usually uncontracted. Names in -κλέης occur in some dialects, though most have only -κλής. See 108.1a.

5. $\epsilon + \omicron$. The contraction to secondary $\bar{\omicron}$ (ου), as in γένους from *γενεσος, φιλοῦμεν from *φιλέομεν (but πλέομεν, ἡδέος, etc., see 45.1), is Attic only. Most dialects have εο or ιο (9), as γένεος (-ιος), φιλέομεν (-ίομεν).

In Ionic εο often has the value of one syllable in poetry, and this diphthongal pronunciation came to be represented by ευ (cf. εο = original ευ, 33). This spelling, though found in our texts of earlier authors (sometimes even in Homer, as μευ, φιλεῦντας), does not appear in Ionic inscriptions until the fourth century B.C. But it occurs also in Rhodes, Cos, Thera, Cyrene, Megara, Delphi, Corcyra, etc., mostly late but an exceptionally early example is Corinth. Θευγένες of the sixth century B.C.

Also from $\epsilon +$ secondary $\bar{\omicron}$ (Att. ου) spelling εο or ευ, Coan κυεῖσα, κυεῖσα, τελεῖσα, παρεῖσα.

a. Boeotian has some examples of ιω, ιου, beside ιο (both original and from εο), but mostly after dentals, where it was supported by the prevalence of the spelling ιου = υ (24). Thus Νιουμείνιος and Νιωμείνιος, νιουμεινίη, θιουτίμυ, Διουκλείς, but once also Βιούτῃ.

b. Change to εω in Cyren. ἐπαρεῶμενοι, παρβεῶντας (with transfer from - $\bar{\alpha}\omega$ to -εω type, 161.2), and (with ι from ε, 9.8, 9) Lac. δμώμεθα, Heracl. ἐμετρίωμεν, μετρίωμεναι (before single consonant, vs. ιο in ἀνανγελλόντι, etc.). Cf. also Tarentine pron. gen. sg. (gram.) ἐμῖω(ς), τίω(ς) = ἐμεο(ς), τεο(ς).

c. Contraction to ω in some towns of East and West Crete, mostly in open syllables, as ἐπαινώμεν, εὐχαριστῶμεν, ὠνωμένος, etc., but also παρακαλῶντι, διατηρῶντες. Likewise ἐξαίρωντες in an inscription of Phaselis.

d. Change to ο before ντ or final ν. East Cret. (especially Hierapytna; but some examples also in the west) κοσμώντες, κρατῶντες, ἐπιπορνόντι, ἐπεστάτον, etc., Arg. διατελόντι, κοιανόντι, ἐμφανίζοντας, δαμιοργόντων, ἐπῶλον, (here also probably Heracl. fut. κοφόντι, etc., but disputed; see 141b), Delph. θεαρόντων, ποιόντων (beside ποιόντων in the same inscription), Heracl. ποιόντασι, ἐξεποίον, Mess. ποιόντι, Chian ποιόντος. In these last examples, from ποιέω, the fact that a vowel preceded the original εο is a special factor, and the similar loss of ε is seen in other forms of the same verb, as Delph. ποιῶντι, ποιῶι, El. ἐνποῖν, ἐνποῖον (beside ἐξαγρέων, ἐξαγρέοι in the same inscription), Troez. ποιῶν.

c. Homer has the non-Ion. $\lambda\bar{\alpha}\omega\varsigma$, which also displaced λεώς in the κοινή and Modern Greek. Similarly νᾶός instead of νεώς in the κοινή and Modern Greek.

d. In Thessalian there are some examples of $\bar{\omicron}$, ου (from ω, 23), where we expect $\bar{\alpha}$, as gen. pl. προξενιούων, Γομφιτοῦων, Θεουρός, Ποτειδουιν, ηυλῶρέοντος (cf. ὕλωρός, ὕλωρός). But the first four are probably κοινή forms with dialectal coloring (for such hybrids, see 280), and ηυλῶρέοντος is from ὕλο- beside ὕλᾳ- (see 167).

-ε + Vowel

42.1. $\epsilon + \alpha$. Uncontracted εα in most dialects, contracted η in some. Acc. pl. neut. of σ -stems, Arc., Locr., Lac. $\phi\acute{\epsilon}\tau\epsilon\alpha$, Boeot. $\phi\acute{\epsilon}\tau\iota\alpha$, Pamph. $\phi\acute{\epsilon}\tau\epsilon\iota\alpha$, Ion., Delph. $\acute{\epsilon}\tau\epsilon\alpha$, Cret. μέρεα, Lesb. μέλεα—Heracl. $\phi\acute{\epsilon}\tau\eta$ (but δένδρεα), Att., Argol., Rhod. $\acute{\epsilon}\tau\eta$, Coan μέρη, θύη, etc., also Ion. θύη (no. 8), σκέλη, etc. beside $\acute{\epsilon}\tau\epsilon\alpha$, etc. Acc. sg. masc. σ -stems, mostly εα, but η in Attic, also Rhod. λειῶλη (no. 100, sixth century B.C.), Lac. Θιοκλῆ (sixth century B.C.), Κλεογένη, Ion. ἐξῶλη (but earlier ἀφανέα, no. 4.11), Troez. ἐπιαλῆ, Delph. ἐνδογενῆ, Ἀγαθοκλῆ, etc. Acc. pl. masc. fem. -εας, but Cyren. τριήρης. Cf. also Coan ηῦτων = εαυτῶν. Att.-Ion. $\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\rho$, gen. ἥρος, but ἥρ in Alcman, Delph. ἥρινός.

Even εα from ε $\phi\alpha$, which is uncontracted in Attic, sometimes becomes η in West Greek, as Delph., Rhod., Coan, Cyren. ἐννῆ = ἐννέα, Ther. ἡμίστῃ = ἡμίσεα, Κληγόρας = Κλεαγόρας, Rhod. Ἀγῆναξ = Ἀγεαναξ, Dor. κρής (Theocr., etc.) = κρέας, Sicil. (Acrae) φρήτιον = φρεάτιον (cf. φρητί Callim.). Dor. βλήρ (Alcman) = Att. δέλεαρ (cf. dat. sg. δέλητι Hesych., δελήτιον Sophron).

2. $\epsilon + \bar{\alpha}$. Personal names in -εας, as Τιμέας, Δημέας, usually remain uncontracted in Attic (Ἑρμῆς is the Ionic form) and most dialects, though in late times partly replaced by -ᾶς, as Δημᾶς, Δαμᾶς. But -ῆς regularly in Ionic (from -έης), as Δημῆς, Απελλῆς, and sometimes elsewhere, as Rhod. Ἀριστῆς, Ther. Κυδρῆς, Θαρῆς (archaic). Cf. Rhod. Χαλκῆ from Χαλκέα.

3. $\epsilon + \epsilon$. Regularly contracted to $\bar{\epsilon}$ (ει) or η (see 25), as Att. τρεῖς, Ther. τρῆς, from *τρέιες (Skt. *trayas*). But uncontracted forms also occur, as Cret. τρέες, δρομέες, Arg. γροφέες, Boeot. Φικατιφέτιες. See 45.5.

4. $\epsilon + \epsilon\iota$, $\eta\iota$, or η . Regularly contracted to $\epsilon\iota$, $\eta\iota$, η , as φιλεῖ, φιλήι, φιλήται. Uncontracted forms, like Locr. δοκέει, ἀνχῶρέει,

e. Change to ϵ before ντ in Cyren. ἐκτιμασέντι (3 pl. Dor. fut.), δαμιο-γόντων, Λέντιχος, τελεσφορέντες, etc. (thus showing that the old view of τελεσφορέντες as an unthematic form was mistaken).

f. Personal names compounded of θεός show forms in Θε- and Θεο-. Though found elsewhere, these are most common in Megarian and nearly always with Θε- before a simple consonant, Θεο- before two, as Θεόδωρος, Θεότιμος, but Θεοκρίνης, Θεοκλείδας. Cf. also Ion. Θόκλος, Κλόδεινος, ὀρτή = ὀροτή, νοσσιή, late Att. νοσσιᾶ, νοσσιόν, etc. for earlier νεοττία, etc.

g. More isolated is Arc. πλός from *πλέος = πλέον (113.2).

6. $\epsilon + \omega$ or $\omicron\iota$. In Attic regularly contracted, as φιλῶ, φιλοῖ, but πλέω, ἡδέων, etc., see 45.1). In other dialects regularly uncontracted εω, εοι, or ιω, ιοι (9), but sometimes ω, οι, mostly after a vowel (see 45.2). Ion. εἰδέωσιν but ποιῶσιν, ἀνωθεοῖη but ποιοῖ, Lesb. ἀνατεθέωσι, Delph. ἐνκαλέοι, εὐδοκῶντι but ποιῶντι, Locr. εἶοντι, προξενέοι. El. ἐξαγρέων, δοκέοι but ποιδῶν, ἐνποιοῖ, ποιοῖτο (also ποιεοῖ), Heracl. ἀδικίω, ἐγῆληθῶντι, but ποιδῶν, ποιδῶντι, Cret. ἐνθίωμεν, πῶνιοι(φωνέοι), Arg. (early) δαμιοργοῖ, ἀφικνοῖτο.

η + Vowel

43. In the declension of nouns in -εως the η of the stem is retained, as in Homer, in the Aeolic dialects, Arcado-Cyprian, and Elean, but shortened in most West Greek dialects and Attic-Ionic; in Attic this is accompanied by lengthening of the second vowel, if ο or α (βασιλέως, βασιλέᾳ). See 111. This "quantitative metathesis" seen in Attic is in many other words Ionic also (as usually from ηο = $\bar{\alpha}\omega$, 41.4), e.g., ἱλεως (Herodas—Hdt. ἱλεως or ἱλεος?) from ἱληος (49.5), πόλεως (109.2), Mil. ἱέρως (111.5), also τέλεως (Herodas, and, borrowed from Ionic, in Coan) = Cret. τέλῃος, though the usual Ionic form is τέλειος, τέλειος.

Cret., Arc. χρεῖος (Hom. χρεῖος), Att. χρέως and χρέος; χρέος in most dialects (for verbal forms, see 162.13).

Cf. also the subjunctives with η retained in Hom. θήομεν (θείομεν), Boeot. κουρουθείη, etc., but shortened in most dialects, as Ion. θέωμεν (Att. θῶμεν), Cret. ἐνθίωμεν, etc. See 151.2.

Contraction of ηα to η (but probably through εα, cf. 42.1) is seen in Eub. 3 pl. εἰρήται from *εἰρήται (cf. Hom. βεβλήται), εἰρέαται (Hdt.), and in βασιλῆ, etc. of Delphian and most Doric dialects (111.3).

o + Vowel

44. 1. o + α. When contracted, the result is ω in all dialects (cf. ω from α + o, 41.2), e.g., Att. ἡδῖω, Heracl. μείω from -ο(σ)α, Τιμῶναξ, Ἰππῶναξ, etc. in West as well as East Greek dialects, from -ο-(F)αναξ (for Rhod. Τιμᾶναξ, see 167). Cf. also ω in crasis, as Corinth. τῶγαθόν = τὸ ἀγαθόν, etc. (94).

2. The older view that o + α gives Dor. ᾱ rests on a false derivation of Dor. πᾱτος (see 114.1a).

3. o + ᾱ. Usually uncontracted (Att. οη), but in Ionic regularly ω, in other dialects sometimes ᾱ, e.g., Rhod. βοᾱθέω, Cret. βοᾱθῖω, Aetol. βοᾱθῶέω, Att. βοηθέω, but Ion. βοθέω, Lesb. βᾱθῶέω, Att. βοηδρομίων, but Coan, Rhod. Βᾱδρόμιος, Att. dat. sg. ὀγδόη, Coan, Rhod. ὀγδαῖ. For Ionic ω from οη, no matter whether η is from ᾱ or original η, cf. also ὀγδῶι (once) = ὀγδόη, and ὀγδῶκοντα from ὀγδοήκοντα (with original η), and Hdt. βῶσαι, νῶσαι, ἀλλογνώσας.

4. o + o. Regularly contracted to secondary ὀ(ου) or ω (see 25), as gen. sg. -ου or -ω from -οιο (106.1).

5. o + ε. When contracted, the result is the same as from o + o (3), e.g., Att. ἐλάττους (nom. pl., from -ο(σ)ες), but Lac. ἐλάσσως, Att. λουτρόν (Hom. λωτρόν), Arg., Heracl. λωτῆριον, Cyren. λωσάμενος. So Heracl. πρῶγγυος from *προέγγυος. Cf. also the crasis in Att. τοῦτος, Lesb. ὠνάυτος, etc. (94.2). But we also find uncontracted οε, mainly from οφε, and, before two consonants, sometimes ο, e.g., Lesb. ὀμονόεντες, λωεσσάμενος, Μαλόεντι, Arc. Σινόνεντι, Locr. Ὀπόεντι and in the same inscription Ὀποντίους, Meg. Σελινόνεντι but Σελινόνντιοι, Cret. Βολόεντα, Βολοεντίων, later Ὀλόνντι, Ὀλοντίους, all from -ο-φεντ- (164.2). For δαμιοργός, δαμιοργός, etc., see 167.

6. Notes to 41-44. Besides the so-called "hyphaeresis" in ε or ο from εο (42.5d, e, f, g), ο from οε (44.4), and ε from εε as in the widespread gen. sg. -κλέος in proper names, there are also scattered examples of ο from οο. So late Cret. βοᾱθός, Att.-Ion. βοηθός (Hdt., Thuc.) beside -θός (Hom.), as in several dialects βοᾱθέω instead of βοᾱθῶέω. Arc. βουσός 'cattle-run' from *βουσόος like μᾶλοσῶ, μῆλοσῶ 'sheep-run' (Hesych.). Here apparently gen. sg. Cyren. λεχός, etc. (111.5a) from -οος. Some of the

factors which help to account for divergence in the development of the same combination of vowels are the following.

1. A combination which arises by the loss of F, being of later origin than that arising from the loss of ι or σ, may remain uncontracted, or be contracted only later. So Att. πλέομεν, ἡδέος, ἡδέα, ἡδέων, in contrast to φιλοῦμεν, γένους, γένη, γενών, Locr. Ὀπόεντι, later Ὀποῦντι.

2. A combination which is otherwise uncontracted may be contracted after a vowel, Att. βασιλέως but ἀλιῶς, Ion. Μεγαβάτεω but Παναμύω (-ω sometimes after consonants also, but not usually), ἀνωθεοίη but ποιοῖ, El. δοκέοι but ποιοῖτο, etc. (see 42.6).

3. A combination which is otherwise contracted may remain uncontracted in dissyllabic words. Att. πέος, θεός, ζέω, and likewise, though belonging also under 1, Att. νέος and νεός, λεώς, Dor. νᾱός, λᾱός. Such words may be contracted in compounds, as Att. Θούτιμος, νουμηνία, Dor. νᾱκόρος, Λᾱκρίνης, Ἀρκεσίλας. Cf. also Meg. Θέδωρος, Θεοκρίνης (42.5f).

4. The article, as proclitic, is often the first form to show contraction. Cf. Boet. τᾶν μωσᾶων, Thess. τᾶν κοινᾶων (Crannon; elsewhere -ᾶν in nouns also), Eub. τᾶν δραχμῶν.

5. The analogical influence of grammatically related forms in which the vowel, either of stem or ending, is not subject to contraction often counteracts the normal phonetic development. So Cret. τρέες, etc., with -ες after forms like πόδες, Ion. βασιλέος, etc. (not -εως), after ποδός etc., Locr. δοκέει, etc., after δοκέομεν etc.

6. A late contraction of ιο to ι is indicated by the frequent spelling ι or ει in Hellenistic times, e.g., in proper names Διονύσις, etc. = -ιος, nom. -acc. sg. neut. ἀργύριν, παιδείν, etc. = -ιον (hence modern παιδί, etc.). So late Lac. κασσηρατόριν beside -τοριον, likewise (for ιο from εο) Σίδαμος = Θεόδαμος, acc. sg. θίν = θεόν, gen. sg. Καλλικράτης, Ἀριστοτέλης.

Assimilation and Dissimilation of Vowels

46. 1. The assimilation of vowels is comparatively rare in Greek, and not characteristic of any particular dialect. Here may be mentioned Ὀρχομενός from Ἐρχομενός, the regular

native form of the name of both the Boeotian and the Arcadian town, Τροφώνιος from Τρεφώνιος, name of the Boeotian local hero, Chian Ἐρμῶνοσσα = -ασσα, Thess. Φεκέδαμος = Boeot. Φηεκάδαμος, Delph. Φανατεύς beside Φανοτεύς. Cyren. βᾶβᾶλος = usual Dor. βέβαλος, Att. βέβηλος, late Cret. θαραπέυσαντες, Ἀπταραῖος, etc. For examples of ι and υ, see 20. For Boeot. τρέπεδδα, see 18. For Ποσειδᾶν, Ἀπόλλων, ὀβολός, in which assimilation is a possible but not necessary assumption, see 49.1, 3.

2. Prehistoric dissimilation of Fευ- to Fει- in εἶπον, ἔφειπον (cf. Cret. Fεῖπαι) from *FεFυπον (= Skt. *avocam*) and probably (though disputed) in εἶδω. Dissimilation of -αia to -eia is generally assumed for Mess. αἰλεία = αἰλαία, Heracl. προτερεία = Att. προτεραιά (ἡμέρα), Att. Ῥήνεια beside Ῥηναιεύς, Thess. Μελίτεια beside Μελιταιεύς, Arc. Αὐκλίεια (if = *Εὐκλίεια). But possibly these are cases of suffix-interchange rather than phonetic change.

Epenthetic Vowels

47. Lesb. γέλαιμι, etc. quoted by grammarians, are of doubtful authenticity. (3 sg. φαῖσι, Sappho, may be due to 3 pl. φαῖσι, 77.3). For epenthesis in the case of original νι, ρι, λι, see 74a, b.

Anaptyctic Vowels

48. ἔβδομος and ἔβδεμος (114.7) from *ἔβδμο-, *ἔπτμο-. Other examples are of only exceptional occurrence, as Att. Ἐρεμῆς = Ἐρμῆς, El. Σαλαμῶνᾱ = Σαλμώνη, Thess. Ἀσκαλαπιός = Ἀσκαλαπιός, Delph. Τολοφώνιος = Τολφώνιος. The widely attested πέλεθρον = πλέθρον (Cret., Delph., Thess., etc., as in Homer) is perhaps an inherited by-form.

Vowel-Gradation

49. In the system of inherited vowel-gradation (or "ablaut," to use the widely adopted German term) the dialects generally agree in the grade shown by corresponding forms, e.g., λείπω, λέλοιπα, ἔλιπον, in all dialects alike. But there are some examples of dialectal differences, of which the following may be mentioned.²

² Some cases where the variation is quite possibly not inherited, but which fall into the same system, are included for convenience.

1. Series, ει, οι, ι (λείπω, λέλοιπα, ἔλιπον). Cret. δίκνυμι (προ-δίκνυμι) = Att. δείκνυμι (cf. δίκη, etc.). Ion. δέκνυμι is perhaps due to a blend of δεικ- and δικ-. Lesb. δέιγω (*ὀφειγ-) = Att. οἶγω (*ὀφειγ-). ἡνεια and ἡνικα in various dialects (144a). Ποσειδῶν, Ποτειδᾶν, etc. (41.4) with ει (Ποτειδᾶν very rare), but usually ι in derivatives, as Att. Ποσιδεῖος, Ion. Ποσιδήιος, Carpath. Ποτίδαιον (but the famous Potidaea was Ποτειδαία), also οι (assimilation?) in Arc. Ποσειδᾶν, Lac. Ποιοιδᾶν, Ποιοιδαία, and Πιοιοιδᾶνι of uncertain dialect (Schwyzer 642).

2. Series ερ, ορ, αρ or ρα (δέρκομαι, δέδορκα, ἔδρακον). τέσσερες, τέτορες, τέτταρες, etc. (114.4). Ion. (Hdt.), Lesb., Cret., Mess., Epid., Coan, Cyren., El. ἔρσην, but Ion. (Miletus, Thasos) ἄρσην (also in the κοινή and hence in late Arcadian, Thera), Lac. ἄρσης, Att. ἄρρην, Arc. ἄρρέντερος, etc. (80). θέρσος = θάρσος in Aeolic (gram.); Lesb. θέρσεισ' in Theocritus), and in proper names most frequently in Lesbian, Thessalian, Boeotian, and Arcadian, as Lesb. Θέρσιππος, Thess. Θερίτας, Θέρσουν, Boeot. Θερασάνδριχος, Arc. Θερίσις, etc. κρέτος = κράτος in Lesbian (poet.), and in proper names also frequent in Arcado-Cyprian, as Τιμοκρέτης, Σωκρέτης, etc. Ion. κρέσσων (in κρείσσων, κρείττων, the ει is not original), but Cret. κάρτων (cf. καρτερός, κρατερός), Cret. τράπω = τρέπω, as sometimes in Herodotus, Cret., Meg. τράφω = τρέφω, as in Pindar, etc., Delph. ἀποστράψαι = ἀποστρέψαι. East Ionic ἄγερσις 'assembly' (ἀγείρω, ἀγορά), West Ion. ἄγαρρις (Naples), Arc. πανάγορσις (see 5) = πανήγυρις (with obscure υ). Beside usual γράφω, etc., also (like -τροφος beside τρέφω, τράφω) Mel. γρόπθων, γρόφων 'carving,' Arg., Mycen., Epid., Sicyon., Cyren., El. γροφεύς, in Argolis also γροφά, γροφίς, γροφεύω, ἄγγροφά, ἔγγροφά, σύγγροφος (the last also Delph.), Heracl. ἀνεπίγροφος, Cret. ἀντίγροφον, ἔγγροφος. Here probably Delph. σταρέστω, from aor. of στέρομαι (rather than pres. with α from ε).

3. The weak grade varies between αρ and ρα, as in Hom. κράτος and κάρτος, κρατερός and καρτερός, etc. So Cret. κάρτος, καρταῖπος, καρτερός, κάρτων, likewise σταρτός = στρατός, Arc., Cyp., Boeot., Corcyr., El. δαρχμά, Cret. δαρκνά = δραχμή, Epid. φάρχμα, φάρξις = φράγμα, *φράξις, Boeot. πέτρατος (Hom. τέτρατος) = ἐταρτος, Lesb. ἀμβρο[ό]την (5) = ἱμαρτεῖν. This variation is in part due to transposition, and clearly so in Cretan, which has αρ uniformly, as it also has πορτί = πορτί. See 70.1.

3. Series ελ, ολ, αλ or λα (στέλλω, στόλος, ἐστάλην), Arc. δέλλω = βάλλω (cf. βέλος, etc.). West Greek and Arc. ὀδελός, Boeot. ὀβελός (rarely early Attic), Thess. ὀβελλός (89.4) = ὀβολός (assimilation?). West Greek δέλομαι, δήλομαι, Boeot. βέλομαι, Thess. βέλλομαι, all from a grade in ελ, = βούλομαι (see 75). Cypr. δάλτος = δέλτος (but this is a Semitic loanword). Coan ἔτελον, Lesb. ἔταλον 'yearling' (cf. Lat. *vitulus*). Cret., Lac., Mess., Corinth., Pamph. Ἀπέλλων, Cypr. Ἀπεῖλδν (cf. 74b) = Att.-Ion., Delph., Locr., Cyren., Ἀπόλλων (also Lac., Corinth. beside Ἀπέλλων), Thess. Ἀπλουν (with weak grade πλ). Coan, Calymn. Δολφοί = Δελφοί (cf. δολφός = δελφύς Hesych.). Epid., Cret. καταλοβεύς 'support' = *καταλαβεύς. Cret. ἀβλοπής (Hesych.), ἀβλοπία = ἀβλαβής, etc.

4. Series εν (εμ), ον (ομ), α or αν (αμ) (τείνω from *τενίω, τόνος, τατός), Ion., Dor. τάνω = Att. τέμνω (εμ from ἔτεμον). For Fίκατι = εἴκοσι, etc., see 116a. For participles with ατ beside εντ and οντ, as ἔασσα, ἔαττα = οὔσα, and ἔντες = ὄντες, see 163.8.

5. Series η, ω, α (ῥήγνυμι, ἔρρωγα, ἔρράγην), ἴληος (Lac. ἡλέφος), whence Att.-Ion. ἴλεως, Cret. ἴλεος, but Arc. ἴλαος like Hom. ἴλαος, Ion. γλάσσα = γλῶσσα. For Heracl. ἐρρηγεῖα = ἐρρωγυῖα, Dor. ἔωκα = εἴκα, see 146.3.

CONSONANTS

F

50. In Attic-Ionic the F was lost at a very early period. In East Ionic there is no trace of it even in the earliest inscriptions; it is very rare in Central and West Ionic; and in Attic the only evidence of its existence is its occasional use to express the glide sound before υ, as ἀφύτάρ (32). In Thera, too, it is absent from the earliest inscriptions; likewise at Rhodes, Cos, etc., though here early material is scanty. In Lesbian it was already on the wane in the time of Alcaeus and Sappho, and is not found in inscriptions, of which, however, none of any extent is earlier than the fourth century.

But in most dialects it is of frequent occurrence initially, where it survives till the fourth century, and in some much later (especially as β; see 51). Between vowels it occurs in the earliest inscriptions of many dialects, after consonants in several, and before consonants in a very few.

(cf. Lat. *vīcus*), Fίκατι (cf. Lat. *vīginti*), Fάναξ, Fαρήν, Fαστός, Fέπος, Fειπ-, Fέργον, Fέρρω, Fίδιος, Fίσος, Fοῖνος, and many others, especially in proper names.

a. In several dialects which otherwise preserve F it is lost before ο and ω (but not before ου), as in Homer, e.g., in Gortynian forms of ὠνή, ὠθέω, etc., without F beside Fίκατι, Fέκαστος, Fοικεύς, etc. (Fόν, Fδν by analogy of Fά, Fiv, etc.). But the precise dialectal scope of this phenomenon is not yet determined, and Fο is by no means unknown, e.g., Arc. Fδφλεκόσι (no. 17, fifth century; in no. 18, fourth century, ὀφλέν beside Fαστόν, Fέκαστον, etc.), Forθασία, Cret. Bόρθιος, Lac. Bωρθέα, etc. (see 51).

b. Initial σF yields hF, occasionally written fh (cf. Eng. *which*) but usually simply F, which, however, was pronounced as hF (or a voiceless F), as shown by the fact that after the loss of F such words have the spiritus asper. Thus Pamph. Fhέ = ξ (cf. Cypr. Fοι, etc.), Boeot. Fheκα-δάμοε, Thess. Fεκέ-δαμος, Cret., Locr. Delph., El., Arc. Fέκαστος, later ἔκαστος, Arg. Fheδέστας = ἰδιώτης (cf. Arg. ἡδῖος = ἰδῖος). In some dialects this F was lost earlier than F in general, e.g., in Boeotian, where ξξ (from Fέξ, i.e., Fhέξ, from *swehs) and ἔκαστος are frequent in inscriptions which otherwise have initial F, as Fικαστή κή ἔκτη (no. 43.8).

c. The unique Fhίος = υῖος (no. 97) represents a dissyllabic pronunciation of the word, with Fh = hF as usual (above) and F for consonantal υ, as in Arg. Fακίνθια = Ὑακίνθια (no. 85.17) and Cret. Fακίνθιος name of a month.

d. There are also some words with initial F and ' in their later forms for which there is no trace of an initial s in cognates (a hypothetical initial 'laryngeal' is now assumed by some), e.g., Att. ἴστωρ, ἱστορία (cf. Boeot. Fίστωρ, from Fιδ-, Lat. *vid-*), ἔννυμι, εἴμα (cf. Cret. Fῆμα, Lat. *ves-tis*), ἔσπερος (cf. Locr. Fεσπάριος, Lat. *vesper*), ἔκων (cf. Locr. Fεφόντας, Skt. *vac-*), ἀλίσκομαι (cf. Thess. Fαλίσσκεται, Goth. *wilwan*).

53. Intervocalic F. This was lost sooner than initial F, hence is found in fewer dialects, and in most of these only in the earliest inscriptions. Often we find forms with and without F from the same period or the same inscription, showing that it was either weakly sounded or wholly lost in pronunciation and retained only in the spelling. This inconstancy is much greater than in the case of initial F. The spelling with F often persists in proper names, and sometimes in certain conventional or solemn expressions, longer than elsewhere.

Examples are most frequent in Cyprian, where it appears almost uniformly except in some later inscriptions, e.g., αἰFεί, ὀFος, ῥόFος, δοFέναι, βασιλῆFος, etc. (but always παῖς, παιδός, with loss of F). Eub. ἈγασιλῆFδ with F in the proper name

a. In some cases the disappearance of F from inscriptions is due to κοινή influence rather than to an organic loss of the sound within the dialect. So evidently in Laconian, as shown not only by its reappearance in the spelling β (51), but by its survival in some words in Tsakonian, the modern representative of Laconian, e.g., βάννε (*vanne*) 'lamb' (Fαρν-).

b. Even where there is no reason to doubt the actual loss of the sound, the spelling, as is natural in such cases, only gradually adapted itself to the pronunciation, and often there is an interval of considerable length in which the older spelling with F and the later spelling without F occur promiscuously, even in the same inscription. In the Heracleian Tables the presence or omission of initial F is constant for certain words, e.g., always F in Fέξ, Fίκατι and derivatives, also Fέτος, Fίδιος, ἐγFηγηθῶντι, but οἶκος, ἐργάζομαι, ἡέκαστος, ἴσος and ἡῖσος, etc.

51. β for F. F is represented by β, which we must understand in its later value of a spirant (Eng. *v*), in numerous glosses and in the later inscriptions of several dialects. So frequently in Laconian from the fourth century B.C. to the second century A.D., e.g. βίδεοι, βίδυοι, title of officials (Fιδ-), Bωρθέα, Bωρσέα beside Fωρθέα (cf. nos. 75-78) = Ὀρθία, προβειπάσας = προFειπάσας, διαβέτης = διαFέτης, ὠβά from *ὠFά (cf. Hesych. ὠας· τὰς κώμας, ὠγή· κώμη, and οὔαι· φυλαί), etc.; and in Cretan, e.g. Bόρθιος, Bολόεντα, βέρδη, βεκάτεροι, διαβειπάμενος, ὑπόβοικοι, etc. Cf. also Arg. Bορθαγόρας, Πυρβαλίων = older ΠυρFαλίδν, Corcyr. ὄρβος = earlier ὄρFος, El. βοικίαρ = Fοικίας (no. 66, in the stereotyped phrase γᾶρ καὶ βοικίαρ, otherwise F lost). For initial βρ = Fρ, see 55.

a. Conversely, F is used in place of β in ἀμοιFά = ἀμοιβά of an early Corinthian inscription. The name of the Cretan town Fάξος was sometimes represented by Ὀαξος, as Lat. *Nerva* by Νέρωα. Cf. κοάξ of the quacking of frogs. F is also represented by υ in Cret. ὑέργων once = Fέργων, as conversely F for υ (52c). In the lexicographers F is represented by β, or from graphic confusion by γ (likeness of Γ and F), and other letters.

b. Pamphylian has F in some words (Fέτια, etc.), but in others a sign И (e.g. Иοικυπολῖς = *οἰκοπολῖς), which is used also for β (e.g., ἐφιεИδοται), and for υ in the αυ, ευ diphthongs (e.g., ἀИταῖσι) and the glide (e.g., ΣελύИιους). A similar sign occurs in the Cretan towns of Eleutherna and Vaxus with the value of F, and at Selinus and Melos for β. It presumably represented a fricative pronunciation like that of English *v* and so is best transcribed as *v* (*w* in German publications). Also once φίκατι = Fίκατι.

52. F initially before a vowel. Examples are numerous in inscriptions of most dialects, e.g., Fέτος (cf. Lat. *vetus*), Fοῖκος

beside ἐποίεσεν (no. 9). Thess. ΔάFδν, but otherwise lost, as in ἔσῳσε (no. 35). Boeot. ΠτῶιFε, ἐποίFεσε, χαρίFετταν, ΚαρυκεFιδ, γαFεργεῖσει, also late διFύκισις, τραγαFυδία, τραγαFυδός, κωμαFυδός, etc. (these last probably archaistic). Phoc. κλέFος, αἰFεί, Delph. ΛαFόσοFος, Ach. ἈρκεσίλαFος. Locr. καταFεί (also ἐπίFοικος, μεταFοικέοι, FεFαδῆκότα, but see a) beside παῖς, Ὀπόεντι, δαμιοργούς. El. [πο]Fέοι once (also ἀποFέλοιοι, but see a), but usually ποιέοι, even in the same inscription, βασιλᾶες, etc. Lac. ἡλέFδι, ναFδν, ΓαιαFόχῳ (cf. Cypr., Pamph. Fέχω, Lat. *vehō*), ἀFάταται (cf. Lesb. αὔατα, El. ἀνάατορ, elsewhere contracted as in Att.-Ion. ἄτη, Cret. ἄτα, ἄπατος, etc.), late ὠβά (51). Arg. ΔFός, ὀFινς, ποιFέματα, ἐFεργάσατο. Corinth. ΠοτεΔάFδνι beside ΠοτεΔδνι, ΑἰFας, ΛαFοπτόλεμος, etc. Corcyr. ροFαῖσι, στονόFεσαν, etc. There are no examples of intervocalic F in even the earliest Cretan (cf. αἰεί, ναός, Fοικέος, etc.) except for the gloss ἀβέλιος (Cret. in Hesych.) and in compounds or augmented forms (a); nor in Arcadian (cf. ἐποίεξ, ἴλαος, Παδδέσσα vs. init. F, ρF, Fρ), except αἰFεθλα(?) in an archaic inscription.

a. Even where intervocalic F is regularly lost, it may appear in compounds or in augmented or reduplicated forms, owing to the influence of the simplex or of the forms without augment or reduplication, where F has survived as initial, e.g., Cret. προFειπάτῳ, ἐραδε, and late διαβειπάμενος. Hence such forms are not necessarily evidence of the survival of true intervocalic F.

b. F is often used to indicate the natural glide before or after υ. So before or after the υ of diphthongs, as already noted (32, 36), and Chalcid. δύFο, Eretr., Aetol. δύFe, Sicyon. ΣεFυFόνυος, Pamphyl. ΣελύFιους.

54. Postconsonantal F. The combinations νF, ρF, λF, and (secondary) σF are preserved in the earliest inscriptions of some dialects. The loss of F was accompanied by lengthening of the preceding vowel in East Ionic, Central Ionic (in part; see a), Doric of Argolis, Crete, Thera, Cos, Rhodes and colonies, while in other dialects, as in Attic, the vowel was not affected.

Corinth. ΞένFδν, Corcyr. Ion. ξεῖνος, Cret. πρό- Att., etc. ξένος, πρόξενFος, El. Ξεν- ξηνος, Cyren. Φιλό- πρόξενος, Fάρεορ ξηνος, Rhod. Ξην-, Ξειν-

*ένφατος	Ion. είνατος, Arg., Cyren., Cret. ήνατος	ένατος
*ένφεα, *μόνφος	Ion. είνεα, μούνος	ένεα, μόνος
Arc., Corinth. κόρφα	Ion. κούρη, Cret. κώρα	κόρα (κόρη)
Corcyr. δρφος, Arc. εύθυορφία	Ion. ούρος, Arg., Cret. ώρος, Ther. ούρος	δρος
Arc. κάταρφος	Ion. άρής	άρά
Boeot. καλφός	Ion. καλός	καλός
*δλφος	Ion. ούλος	δλος
Boeot., Arc., Cret., Sicyon. φίσφος	Ion. ίσος	ίσος
Arc. δέρφα	Ion. δειρή	δέρα (δέρη)
*δδφός	Ion. ούδός, Cyren. ώδός	δδός

a. To the lengthening in East Ionic there are possibly some local exceptions, but, in general, forms like ξένος, and especially πρόξενος, are due to Attic influence. Similarly in Rhodian, etc., where ξένος has survived only in proper names, and in late Cretan where πρόξενος is far more common than πρόξηνος. In Central Ionic the lengthening is attested for Paros and Thasos, but it is uncertain how far west this extended. From many of the islands, both Ionic and Doric, decisive material is lacking.

b. Lesb. ξένος, έννεα, in grammarians and late inscriptions (έννεα also codd. Alcaeus, Theocr.), are probably hyper-Aeolic, due to the frequency of *ν* from *ν*, *ον*, etc. (74, 76, 77.1). Cf. also ίσοθέοισι in an inscription of A.D. 2-14. For Thess. προξενιούν see 19.3.

c. In Arcadian there is fluctuation in the same inscription, e.g., no. 18 κάταρφος but ξένος, no. 20 δέρφα, εύθυορφία, but δριον, ώρισαν, δίωρος (this last with *ω* by composition lengthening, 167a).

d. In Cretan the *F* of *σF* survives longer than that of *νF*, etc. So in the Law-Code *φισφόμοιρον* beside *κσένδ* and *καλός*. This is a secondary *σF* (*φίσφος* probably from **φισφος* cognate with *είδος* 'form'). The development of original *σF*, somewhat similar to that of *σλ*, etc. (76), is seen in Lesb. *ναός*, Dor. *νᾶ(φ)ός*, Ion. *νηός*, probably from **νασφός*, also *τός* 'arrow' from **ισφός* (cf. Skt. *īṣu-* 'arrow').

e. Different from *δρφος*, etc., is Corinth. *Πύρφος* (cf. Argol. *Πυρφίας*, *Πυρφαλίδων*), probably for **Πύρρφος* (from **Πυρσφος* with assimilation of *ρσ* before *F*), whence the *Πύρρος* of most dialects.

f. Preservation of *F* after a stop is rare. There are a few examples of *δF* in archaic inscriptions, as Corinth. *ΔFΕνιά* = *Δεινίου* (cf. the indirect evidence of Hom. *ἐδδειςεν*, etc.), Aetol. *Χελιδφόν* (IG IX².i.86.1). But *τF* was changed in prehistoric times, becoming *σσ* or *ττ* (see 81). Likewise *κF* (IE *k_w*), becoming *ππ*, as in *ίππος* (Skt. *asvas*).

55. *F* before consonants. Corresponding to Att. *ρήτρα*, *ἐρρήθην*,

etc. (from *φρη-* beside *φερ-* in *ἐρέω*, cf. Lat. *verbum*), we have El. *φράτρα* (15), Cypr. *φρέτα* (70.3) with its denominative *φρετάω* (*ἐφρετάσασα*, also spelled *εὐφρετάσασα*, indicating an anticipation of the *F*. Cf. *a* and 35. So also *κενευφόν* from *κενεφόν*), Arg. *φεφρεμένα*, *ἀφρέτευσ*, later *ἀρήτευσ* 'was spokesman, presided,' Arc. *φρήσις*, El. *ἀφλανέος* 'wholly' (cf. Hesych. *ἀλανέως* · *όλοσχερῶς*, also *ἀλλανής* · *ἀσφαλής* and *ἀλανές* · *ἀληθές*), is from *ἀ-φλα-*, and related to *ἀελλής* (*ἀ-φελ-*), *ἀολλής* (*ἀ-φαλ-* with Aeolic *ο*, cf. 5), *ἀλής*, Dor., Delph. *ἀλία* 'assembly,' Ion. (Hdt.) *ἀλίη* (also from *ἀφαλ-*, with Ion. *ᾱ* from *αφα* as in *ᾱτη*, *ἀναῶλις*), Cleon. *φρέξαντα* (= Att. *ρέξαντα*, *ἐρξαντα*, cf. Cret. *φέρκσαι*, etc.).

φρ appears as *βρ*, indicating a pronunciation *vr*, in Lesbian words quoted by grammarians and in our texts of the Lesbian poets (*βρήτωρ*, *βρόδον*, etc.), though this has become simply *ρ* at the time of our earliest inscriptions. Cf. also Boeot. *βρανίδας* beside *φάρων*.

In most dialects *F* was lost before the time of our earliest inscriptions, and we find, as in Attic, *έ*, medial *ρρ* or *ρ*. See *a*.

a. In the case of medial *φρ*, the *F* unites with the preceding vowel to form a diphthong in Lesb. *εὐράγη*, *αὐρηκτος* (Herodian) from **ε-φράγη*, **α-φρηκτος* (Att. *ἐρράγη*, *ἄρρηκτος*), Hom. *ταλαύρινος*, *καλαύροψ*, *ἀπούρας*, from **ταλά-φρινος*, etc. But generally the syllabification of the simplex (or form without augment or reduplication) was retained (i.e., *φρ* with the following vowel), and later this *φρ* became *ρρ* or sometimes *ρ*, e.g., Arg. *φεφρεμένα*, *ἀφρέτευσ*, later *ἀρήτευσ*. In Attic and most dialects augmented and reduplicated forms have *ρρ*, as Att. *ἐρρήθην* (*εἶρηκα* is formed after the analogy of forms like *εἴληφα*, 76), *ἐρράγην*, *ἐρρωγα*, Heracl. *ἐρρηγα*, while compounds also usually have *ρρ* but sometimes *ρ* under the continued influence of the simplex, as Att. *ἀναρρηθείς* but also *ἀναρθεῖς*, Delph. *ἡμιρρήνιον* (from **ἡμί-φρην*, like *ἡμί-ονος*, cf. Hom. *πολύ-ρρην*). Cf. *ρρ* and *ρ* from *σρ*, 76. For medial *φλ*, cf. El. *ἀφλανέος* (above), but diphthongization in *αὐλαξ* (from **ἀφλακ-* beside **ἀφολκ-*, **ἀφλοκ-* in Hom. *ὠλεξ*, Att. *ὠλοξ*), Dor. *αὐληρα* (Epich.; *ἄβληρα* Hesych.).

b. The much discussed Arg. *ἀφρέτευσ*, *ἀρήτευσ* is best taken as from a compound of *άν-* = *άνα-* (perhaps first in an agent noun **αν-φρετας*) with assimilation of *νF* and further simplification, as in Arc. *συφουκία* = *συνουκία* (see 96.5). Cf. also Hom. *αὐερώω* from **αφφερώω*, **αν-φερώω*. The view that *α* stands for the augment (no present forms occur) cannot be made plausible by reference to the cases of *αυ* = *ευ*, which are all only sporadic spellings and none of them Argive (33α), whereas in this

word the *α* is constant (examples, including the abbreviations *ἀρ*, *α*, very numerous) vs. the regular *έ* in *ἐφεργάσατο*, etc.

Consonantal ι (ι)

56. Original consonantal ι (IE *γ* with the value of *γ* in Eng. *yet*; for Greek we use the symbol ι) almost wholly disappeared from Greek in prehistoric times, giving 'or, rarely, ζ initially, as in *δς* (Skt. *yas*), *ἦπαρ* (Lat. *iecur*), *ζυγόν* (Skt. *yugam*), etc., yielding various results in combinations with a preceding consonant (74, 81, 82, 84), and being dropped between vowels, as in *τρεῖς* from **τρέιες* (Skt. *trayas*), etc. But between ι and a following vowel, as in *ίππος*, it always existed as a natural glide in pronunciation, and in a few dialects this is expressed in the spelling. So, by the repetition of ι, in Pamphylian, as *διιά*, *ἡιαροῖσι*, etc., frequently in early Argive as *Πολυιάδι*, *Σικελίας*, *Θιοῖν*, *δαμιοργῶι*, and occasionally elsewhere, as Ion. (Priene) *Διοφάνης*, Sicyon. *Σεφουφόνιος*. Cf. also Ion. *Τήμιοι*, etc. (37.2), Arg. *Ἀθαναίαις*, *Καρνείας*, *Ἐράττιος*. In Cyprian a special character, which we transcribe *j*, is generally employed, though not uniformly, as in the Idalium bronze (no. 23) regularly before *α*, but not before *ε* or *ο*, e.g. *ἰατῆραν* but *ἰερῆφίαν*, *Ἰέπιχα* but *θιόν*.

The Spiritus Asper. Psilosis

57. The spiritus asper generally represents an IE initial *s* (59) or *γ* (56), but in some words is of secondary, and sometimes obscure, origin, e.g., *ίππος* (cf. Lat. *equus*; *ίππος* regularly as the second part of compounds, *Ἀλκιππος*, *Ἀντιππος*, etc., rarely *Ἀνθιππος*), *ἡμεῖς*, *ἄμές* (cf. Skt. *asmān*) with ' after the analogy of *ὅμεῖς* (with ' from *γ*). The sound was denoted by *Η* (earlier *θ*) until the introduction of the Ionic *η* = *η*, after which it was generally left undesignated.³ But see 4.7.

³ In quoting forms from inscriptions, wherever the sign for the spiritus asper appears in the original it is transcribed *h*, to be distinguished from ' , which is supplied as a purely diacritical sign, like accent marks, and the employment of which is, in many special cases, of doubtful propriety. That is, the evidence is often insufficient to determine whether the omission of the sign of the asper is merely graphic, in which case we should transcribe the form with ' , or due to an actual loss of the sound, in which case we should transcribe with *h*. As a working rule we employ the lenis

Psilosis, or the loss of the spiritus asper, is characteristic of East Ionic (whence the sign was left free for use as *η*; see 4.6), Lesbian, Elean, Cyprian, and Cretan.

a. Psilosis is shown, not only by the absence of *Η* = *h*, but by the presence of phrases and compounds in which a preceding stop is not changed to the aspirate, e.g., East Ion. *ἀπ' ἐκίστου*, *ἀπ' οὐ*, *κατάπερ*, El. *κατισταίε*, Cret. *κατιστάμεν*. But psilosis is no bar to the retention of aspirated stops in phrases and compounds which were formed prior to the loss of the asper. For they would be affected, if at all, only by the analogical influence of the simplex, as Cret. *κατιστάμεν* by *ιστάμεν*. Hence East. Ion. *κάθοδος*, El. *ποθελόμενος*, etc. Cf. Mod. Grk. *καθίσταμαι* (of the written puristic language), *ἀφού*, etc., in spite of the loss of the spiritus asper.

b. The denial, by some, of Cretan psilosis is unwarranted, certainly for Central Cretan. In the early inscriptions the letter *θ*, *Η* is used only for a vowel, never also = *h* as was the case at Rhodes, Thera, and Melos. Examples of aspiration, as *χίρηνα*, *ἀφ' ἄς* are late and may be due to external influence, which is evident in other matters. The late inscriptions of Hierapytna and Drerus (as nos. 119, 120) are generally edited with supplied (*οι*, *δτι*, etc.).

c. Even in Central and West Ionic, where *θ*, *Η* for the spiritus asper is frequent in archaic inscriptions, it ceased to be so used at an early period. So in no. 7 (Andros) only once (*ηελέσθδ*) vs. 26 cases of omission in no. 8 (Ceos) not at all, in no. 14 (Oropus) only once *Η* = *he* vs. over 30 cases of omission. Even the archaic *Βύβων* inscription at Olympia (Ditt. Syll. 1071), which the combined evidence of forms and script shows to be based on a West-Ionic dialect (cf. also Eub. names *Βύβα*, *Βύβαλκος*), has psilosis, and in the case of *τέτῆρεῖ* with the attendant crasis it is impossible to attribute this to an Elean engraver.

58. Even in those dialects which generally preserve the spiritus asper, and which, in distinction from those with psilosis, we may call the *h*-dialects, there are many irregularities, partly in special words, where by-forms evidently existed, partly due to the weak pronunciation of the sound in general (cf. the variations in Latin spelling).

a. In several dialects the forms of the article, *δ*, *ᾱ* etc., appear regularly or frequently without *h*, showing that in these proclitic forms it was either wholly lost or more weakly sounded than elsewhere. So in Locrian (nos. 57-59) always *δ*, never *ho* (cf. also *κ' δ*), also *δδε*, fem. twice *ᾱ*, once *ho* (B 53); Thess. *κοί* = *καί οι*; *δ* likewise in some early inscriptions of

in quoting forms without *h* from inscriptions which have the character or are of a period when it was certainly in common use.

Boeotia, Pamphylia, Syracuse, Metapontum, and Sybaris. Cf. also Boeot. $\delta\varsigma = \delta\varsigma$ (no. 38.5) and Delph. $\delta\varsigma$ (no. 52 A 28) beside usual $\eta\delta$, $\eta\delta\sigma\tau\iota\varsigma$, etc.

b. Other forms which regularly have the spiritus asper, but for which by-forms with the lenis are to be recognized, are: $\eta\mu\epsilon\rho\alpha$, but even in Attic inscriptions frequently $\epsilon\mu\epsilon\rho\alpha$, and Argol., Lac., Mess., Ther. $\alpha\mu\epsilon\rho\alpha$, Delph., Locr. $\alpha\mu\alpha\rho\alpha$. $\iota\epsilon\rho\delta\varsigma$ ($\eta\iota\epsilon\rho\delta\varsigma$, $\eta\iota\alpha\rho\delta\varsigma$, in numerous dialects), but with lenis in Rhodian and Argolic, as Rhod. $\epsilon\pi' \iota\epsilon\rho\omega\varsigma$, Arg. $\iota\alpha\rho\mu\epsilon\nu\alpha\mu\epsilon\nu\epsilon\varsigma$ (nos. 81, 82, with $\eta\omega$, etc.), Epid. $\iota\alpha\rho\mu\epsilon\nu\alpha\mu\epsilon\nu\epsilon\varsigma$ (no. 89, with $\eta\omega\mu\epsilon\nu\alpha\iota\varsigma$, etc.), Aegin. $\iota\alpha\rho\epsilon\delta\varsigma$ (beside $\eta\omega\iota\kappa\omega\varsigma = \delta\ \omega\iota\kappa\omega\varsigma$, $\chi\delta = \kappa\alpha\iota\ \delta$). So $\epsilon\pi' \iota\alpha\rho\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$ in the Megarian inscription no. 99, in contrast to $\eta\iota\alpha\rho\epsilon\nu$ at Selinus, is probably due to the Epidaurian engraver. $\eta\mu\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ (see 57), in Doric dialects $\alpha\mu\epsilon\varsigma$ (Lac. $\mu\epsilon\theta' \alpha\mu\epsilon$, Heracl. $\mu\epsilon\theta' \alpha\mu\epsilon\varsigma$), but also $\alpha\mu\epsilon\varsigma$ (Coan $\mu\epsilon\theta' \alpha\mu\epsilon\omega\nu$, etc.), Att. $\epsilon\sigma\tau\eta\kappa\alpha$, but also Thess. $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\sigma\tau\alpha\kappa\omicron\nu\tau\alpha$, Mess. $\kappa\alpha\tau\epsilon\sigma\tau\alpha\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\iota$.

c. Conversely, several words which regularly have the lenis show secondary forms with the asper in various dialects. Thus $\xi\tau\omicron\varsigma$ (from $\xi\tau\omicron\varsigma$), but Heracl. $\pi\epsilon\nu\tau\alpha\text{-}\eta\epsilon\tau\eta\rho\iota\delta\alpha$ (beside $\xi\tau\omicron\varsigma$), Aetol. $\eta\tau\epsilon\omega\nu = \eta\epsilon\tau\epsilon\omega\nu$, Epid. $\pi\epsilon\nu\theta' \xi\tau\eta$, and frequently $\kappa\alpha\theta' \xi\tau\omicron\varsigma$, etc., in the $\kappa\omicron\iota\nu\eta$ (cf. Mod. Grk. $\xi\tau\omicron\varsigma$). $\iota\sigma\omicron\varsigma$ (from $\iota\sigma\omicron\varsigma$), but Heracl. $\eta\iota\sigma\omicron\varsigma$ beside $\iota\sigma\omicron\varsigma$, and $\epsilon\pi' \iota\sigma\eta\varsigma$ in the $\kappa\omicron\iota\nu\eta$. Locr. $\epsilon\nu\tau\epsilon$ (cf. $\epsilon\sigma\tau\epsilon$), but Delph. $\eta\epsilon\nu\tau\epsilon$. Heracl. $\eta\omicron\kappa\tau\omega$, $\eta\omicron\kappa\tau\alpha\kappa\alpha\tau\iota\omicron\iota$, $\eta\epsilon\nu\tau\epsilon\alpha$, Delph. Ther. $\eta\epsilon\nu\tau\omicron\varsigma$, all after $\epsilon\pi\tau\alpha$. Ther. $\eta\iota\kappa\alpha\delta\iota = \epsilon\iota\kappa\alpha\delta\iota$. $\alpha\chi\rho\omicron\varsigma$, but Corcyr. $\kappa\alpha\theta' \alpha\chi\rho\omicron\nu$, Heracl. $\eta\alpha\chi\rho\omicron\sigma\kappa\iota\rho\iota\alpha\varsigma$. Boeot. $\eta\iota\rho\alpha\nu\alpha$, late Cret. $\chi\iota\rho\eta\nu\alpha$ vs. usual $\iota\rho\alpha\nu\alpha$, $\epsilon\iota\rho\eta\nu\alpha$. Epid. $\epsilon\gamma\kappa\alpha\theta\iota\delta\omega\nu$ with θ from present $\kappa\alpha\theta\omicron\rho\omega$. Delph., Locr. $\epsilon\phi\iota\omicron\rho\kappa\epsilon\omega$, occurring also in $\kappa\omicron\iota\nu\eta$ inscriptions, with ϕ by anticipation of the asper in $\delta\rho\kappa\omicron\varsigma$, like $\phi\rho\omicron\upsilon\rho\delta\varsigma$ from $\ast\pi\rho\omicron\text{-}\eta\omicron\rho\delta\varsigma$ (or blend of $\epsilon\pi\iota\omicron\rho\kappa\epsilon\omega$ and $\ast\epsilon\phi\omicron\rho\kappa\epsilon\omega$). In Att. $\delta\rho\omicron\varsigma$ ($\eta\delta\rho\omicron\varsigma$ very frequent) the asper is probably secondary vs. Corcyr. $\delta\rho\phi\omicron\varsigma$ (so, not $\eta\delta\rho\phi\omicron\varsigma$; see IG IX.ii.695), Heracl. $\delta\rho\omicron\varsigma$, Arg. $\delta\rho\omicron\iota$ (no. 85.26), $\delta\rho\omicron\varsigma$. In Delph. $\epsilon\phi\alpha\kappa\epsilon\iota\sigma\theta\omega\nu$, Arg. $\epsilon\phi\alpha\kappa\epsilon\sigma\sigma\alpha\theta\delta$ vs. Att. $\alpha\kappa\omicron\varsigma$, $\alpha\kappa\omicron\epsilon\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ the asper is, by a probable etymology, original. So also in Arg. $\eta\iota\delta\iota\omicron\varsigma$ (from $\ast\sigma\omega\iota\delta\iota\omicron\varsigma$; cf. Arg. $\phi\eta\delta\iota\epsilon\sigma\tau\alpha\varsigma = \iota\delta\iota\omega\tau\eta\varsigma$), Thess. $\kappa\alpha\theta' \iota\delta\delta\iota\alpha\nu$ (similar forms in late inscriptions of several dialects, even Attic) vs. usual $\iota\delta\iota\omicron\varsigma$, $\iota\delta\iota\omicron\varsigma$. In Thess. $\alpha\nu\gamma\rho\epsilon\omega$ ($\epsilon\phi\alpha\nu\gamma\rho\epsilon\nu\theta\epsilon\iota\nu$) = Lesb. $\alpha\gamma\rho\epsilon\omega$, etc. (162.2) the asper, as well as the ν , is probably due to a blend with some other word.

d. Besides such special cases as have been noted above, there are in some dialects irregularities which seem to be due to confusion in spelling consequent upon the asper being weakly sounded or on the verge of disappearance. This is especially noticeable in Arcadian and Locrian, to some extent in Heracleian and Argolic.—In Arcadian the early no. 16 has no η , and no. 17 only once (and this unetymological if $\eta\epsilon\sigma\kappa\lambda\alpha\rho\omicron\varsigma = \ast\epsilon\kappa\kappa\lambda\eta\rho\omicron\varsigma$), but $\iota\epsilon\rho\omicron\iota$, $\delta\sigma\epsilon\omicron\iota$, $\epsilon\lambda\alpha\omicron\nu$. The somewhat later no. 18 has η uniformly in $\eta\iota\epsilon\rho\alpha$, $\eta\iota\epsilon\rho\epsilon\nu$, etc., $\eta\epsilon\beta\delta\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$, $\eta\epsilon\kappa\omicron\tau\omicron\nu$, $\eta\iota\kappa\omicron\nu\tau\alpha$, $\pi\alpha\rho\eta\tau\alpha\epsilon\alpha\text{-}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$, but $\xi\mu\iota\sigma\upsilon$ three times without η vs. once $\eta\epsilon\mu\iota\sigma\upsilon$, $\upsilon\sigma\tau\epsilon\rho\alpha\varsigma$, $\delta\tau\iota$, $\alpha\nu = \alpha\nu = \alpha$, and conversely $\eta\alpha\nu = \alpha\nu$.—The early Locrian inscriptions nos. 57-59 have usually $\nu\omicron\tau\iota$, $\eta\delta\sigma\tau\iota\varsigma$, $\eta\delta\sigma\tau\iota\varsigma$, $\eta\delta\sigma\tau\iota\varsigma$, $\eta\delta\sigma\tau\iota\varsigma$, (but in no. 59 $\delta\tau\iota\nu$ beside $\eta\delta\tau\iota$, $\eta\delta\sigma\tau\iota\varsigma$), $\eta\upsilon\pi\delta$, $\eta\upsilon\pi\omicron\kappa\alpha\mu\iota\delta\iota\omicron\varsigma$, (but in no. 59 $\upsilon\pi\alpha\pi\rho\omicron\sigma\theta\iota\delta\iota\omicron\varsigma$).

$\eta\delta\kappa\omicron\nu$, $\eta\delta\kappa\omicron\mu\omicron\tau\alpha\varsigma$, but $\pi\epsilon\nu\tau\omicron\rho\kappa\iota\alpha\nu$, $\eta\iota\alpha\rho\delta\varsigma$, $\iota\alpha\rho\delta\varsigma$ (both in no. 58), $\eta\epsilon\kappa\alpha\tau\omicron\nu$ (no. 57) but $\chi\epsilon\kappa\alpha\tau\omicron\nu$ (no. 59); further without η (beside α , $\delta\delta\epsilon$, $\alpha\mu\alpha\rho\alpha$, for which see above, α , δ) $\xi\mu\iota\sigma\omicron\nu$ (no. 59), $\upsilon\delta\rho\iota\alpha$ (vs. $\eta\upsilon\pi\delta$), $\iota\sigma\tau\iota\alpha\iota$, $\kappa\alpha\tau\iota\theta\omicron\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\nu$; unetymological η in $\eta\alpha\gamma\epsilon\nu$, $\epsilon\phi\alpha\gamma\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ (vs. $\delta\pi\alpha\gamma\omicron\nu$), $\eta\omicron\pi\omicron\nu\tau\iota\delta\omega\nu$ vs. usual $\eta\omicron\pi\omicron\nu\tau\iota\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$, etc.—The Heracleian Tables have more examples of η than any other single inscription, and most of them correct. But (besides the cases mentioned above, c) unetymological η in $\eta\iota\omicron\sigma\omicron\nu\tau\iota$, $\eta\alpha\rho\eta\eta\sigma\iota\varsigma$.—Argolic has η regularly in $\eta\omega$, $\eta\alpha$, $\eta\alpha\iota$, $\eta\iota$, $\eta\iota\omega\iota$ (= $\omega\iota\varsigma$), $\eta\delta\mu\alpha\iota$, $\eta\delta\mu\iota$, $\eta\iota\delta\iota\omicron\varsigma$, $\eta\epsilon\mu\iota\sigma\alpha$, $\eta\epsilon\pi\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ (all these in no. 85), etc., but also (besides $\iota\alpha\rho\mu\epsilon\nu\alpha\mu\epsilon\nu\epsilon\varsigma$, above, δ) $\iota\epsilon\tau\alpha\varsigma$ (no. 80), $\alpha\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\nu$ (no. 89, four times beside words with η), $\epsilon\lambda\omicron\iota\epsilon\nu$ beside $\eta\epsilon\lambda\delta\mu\epsilon\varsigma$ (no. 85), and conversely unetymological η in $\eta\epsilon = \eta$ 'or' and $\eta\iota\sigma\kappa\lambda\alpha\pi\tau\iota\epsilon\iota$.

σ. Loss of Intervocalic σ

59. Original initial s became the spiritus asper in proethnic Greek, as in $\epsilon\delta\omicron\varsigma$ (Lat. *sedeo*, Skt. *sad-*), $\epsilon\pi\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ (Lat. *sequor*, Skt. *sac-*), etc. At the same time intervocalic s was changed in the same way and then lost, as in $\gamma\epsilon\nu\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$ (Skt. *janasas*, Lat. *generis*), etc. Nevertheless there are many Greek words with intervocalic σ , either retained by analogy as in the aorist, or of secondary origin as σ from τ (61).

This Greek intervocalic σ was subjected to a similar process, namely, became η and was later lost, in Laconian, Argolic, Elean, and Cyprian.

1. Laconian. Early $\epsilon\pi\omicron\iota\epsilon\theta\epsilon$, $\nu\iota\kappa\alpha\eta\alpha\varsigma$, $\epsilon\nu\eta\epsilon\beta\delta\eta\alpha\iota\varsigma$, $\Pi\omicron\eta\omicron\iota\delta\alpha\nu$, $\Lambda\upsilon\delta\iota\pi\pi\omicron\nu$, $\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\theta\upsilon\nu\iota\alpha$, etc.; later $\Pi\alpha\eta\iota\phi\alpha\iota$, $\pi\rho\omicron\beta\epsilon\iota\pi\alpha\eta\alpha\varsigma$, $\pi\alpha\eta\iota\nu$, $\nu\iota\kappa\alpha\varsigma$, $\eta\omicron\nu\alpha\iota\tau\epsilon\lambda\eta\varsigma$ ('*Onasi-*'), $\Pi\epsilon\iota\kappa\lambda\epsilon\iota\delta\alpha$ (*Pi-*), $\beta\alpha\iota\lambda\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$ (*basileos*), etc. Cf. also 97.5a. In Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* occur similar forms with omission of σ ($\mu\omega\alpha$, $\pi\alpha\alpha$, etc.), also $\gamma\epsilon\rho\omega\chi\iota\alpha$ representing $\gamma\epsilon\rho\omega\eta\iota\alpha$, which, though not as yet quotable, is the correct native form for which the Attic writers substitute $\gamma\epsilon\rho\upsilon\sigma\iota\alpha$ or $\gamma\epsilon\rho\omicron\nu\tau\iota\alpha$ (Xen.). This was a characteristic of Laconian speech from the earliest known period, and is faithfully represented in the spelling of most of the early inscriptions. But it was felt as a provincialism and ignored in the spelling of some of the early and the majority of the later inscriptions.

2. Argolic. Mycen. $\Phi\rho\alpha\eta\iota\alpha\rho\iota\delta\alpha\varsigma$, Arg. $\epsilon\pi\omicron\iota\epsilon\theta\epsilon$, $\eta\epsilon\pi\iota\epsilon\theta\epsilon$, $\eta\epsilon\pi\iota\epsilon\theta\epsilon$, etc. Later, mostly in Arg. inscriptions of the third century B.C., numerous examples of total loss (sometimes with σ -forms in

the same inscription), e.g., $\theta\eta\alpha\upsilon\rho\delta\varsigma$ (= $\theta\eta\sigma\alpha\upsilon\rho\delta\varsigma$), $\chi\rho\eta\iota\varsigma$ (= $\chi\rho\eta\text{-}\sigma\iota\varsigma$), $\epsilon\mu\pi\alpha\iota\varsigma$ (= $\epsilon\mu\pi\alpha\sigma\iota\varsigma$), $\epsilon\mu\epsilon\tau\rho\eta\epsilon$ (= $\text{-}\eta\sigma\epsilon$), $\sigma\tau\epsilon\phi\alpha\nu\omega\iota$ (= $\text{-}\omega\sigma\alpha\iota$), etc. But several early Arg. inscriptions (as nos. 81, 83, 84, 85, 86) show only σ -forms, as $\theta\epsilon\sigma\alpha\upsilon\rho\delta\varsigma$, etc., and so many of the later ones.

a. The explanation of the fluctuation is the same as that given for Laconian. See above, 1 and 275. Significant of this is the contemporaneous appearance of $\kappa\nu\delta\iota\omicron\varsigma$ and $\kappa\nu\delta\iota\alpha\nu$ in different drafts of the same document (see no. 85 with note).

On present evidence this change of intervocalic σ seems to belong only to Argos and the vicinity, in contrast to the towns of the Acte, where we find only σ from the earliest times ($\mu\epsilon\theta' \epsilon\sigma\alpha\nu\varsigma$ Methana, sixth century B.C.). The only apparent exceptions, $\nu\iota\kappa\alpha\eta\alpha\rho\iota\sigma\tau\alpha$ and $\kappa\tau\epsilon\beta\eta\lambda\alpha\varsigma$ in dedications found at Epidaurus, may be names of Argives, like the $\eta\epsilon\pi\iota\epsilon\theta\epsilon$ of the same source (IG IV¹.i.137, 138, 140).

3. Elean. In no. 65 (middle of fourth century) $\alpha\delta\epsilon\alpha\lambda\tau\omega\eta\alpha\iota\epsilon$, $\phi\upsilon\gamma\alpha\delta\epsilon\upsilon\alpha\nu\tau\iota$ (aor. subj.), beside $\delta\alpha\mu\omicron\sigma\iota\omega\mu\epsilon\nu$, $\delta\alpha\mu\omicron\sigma\iota\omicron\alpha$. In no. 66 $\mu\omicron\iota\eta\alpha\sigma\sigma\alpha\iota$ ($\mu\omicron\iota\eta\alpha\sigma\sigma\alpha\theta\alpha\iota$), $\mu\omicron\iota\eta\alpha\tau\alpha\iota$ (aor. subj.), beside $\alpha\nu\alpha\theta\epsilon\sigma\iota\omicron\rho$, etc. In all the earlier inscriptions intervocalic σ is unchanged.

4. Cyprian. $\phi\rho\omicron\nu\epsilon\delta\iota$ ($\phi\rho\omicron\nu\epsilon\omega\sigma\iota$), $\mu\omicron\epsilon\chi\omicron\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\nu$ ($\mu\omicron\sigma\text{-}\epsilon\chi\omicron\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\nu$), also in sentence combination (cf. 97a), as $\kappa\alpha\ \alpha\ \nu\iota\text{-}\tau\iota$ ($\kappa\alpha\varsigma\ \alpha\nu\tau\iota$), $\tau\alpha\ \upsilon\chi\epsilon\rho\omicron\nu$ ($\tau\alpha\varsigma\ \upsilon\chi\epsilon\rho\omicron\nu$). But generally σ is written in the inscriptions. Several glosses in Hesychius show loss of intervocalic (and also initial) σ .

a. In Arcadian the unique $\mu\omicron\sigma\epsilon\sigma\tau\iota$ (no. 22.12) for $\mu\omicron\sigma\epsilon\sigma\tau\iota$ is probably a special case of dissimilatory loss of the first σ .

Rhotacism

60. Rhotacism, or change of σ to ρ , is found in Elean, late Laconian, and Eretrian, rarely elsewhere.

1. Elean. Final ς appears uniformly as ρ in the later inscriptions, nos. 65, 66, e.g. $\tau\iota\rho$, $\alpha\iota\mu\alpha\tau\omicron\rho$, $\delta\pi\omega\rho$, $\mu\omicron\delta\iota\omicron\rho$. Most of the earlier inscriptions show $\text{-}\varsigma$ and $\text{-}\rho$ side by side without any apparent system. Rhotacism of intervocalic σ is unknown (cf. 59.3).

a. In the earlier inscriptions ρ is relatively most frequent in forms of the article and the indefinite or the relative pronoun, e.g., $\tau\omicron\iota\rho$, $\tau\iota\rho$, $\delta\rho$, and possibly the rhotacism began in such enclitic and proclitic forms. But even here there is great fluctuation in the spelling.

2. Laconian. Rhotacism of final ς is seen in very late inscriptions, e.g., $\nu\iota\kappa\alpha\rho$, $\beta\omicron\upsilon\alpha\chi\omicron\rho$, etc. (nos. 75-78), confirmed by numerous glosses, and in the spurious Timotheus decree.

3. Eretrian. Rhotacism of intervocalic σ is frequent in inscriptions of Eretria and Oropus, e.g., Eretr. $\epsilon\chi\omicron\upsilon\rho\iota\nu$, $\theta\upsilon\omega\rho\iota\nu$, $\epsilon\pi\iota\delta\eta\mu\epsilon\omega\rho\iota\nu$, $\sigma\upsilon\nu\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\theta\epsilon\rho\omega\rho\alpha\nu\tau\iota$, $\mu\epsilon\theta\iota\nu$, $\sigma\iota\tau\eta\rho\iota\nu$, $\eta\alpha\rho\tau\epsilon\mu\iota\rho\iota\alpha$, Orop. $\delta\eta\mu\omicron\rho\iota\omega\nu$. But there are many exceptions, and the use of ρ is gradually given up under Attic influence. Although Plato, Cratylus 434 C, remarks that the Eretrians say $\sigma\kappa\lambda\eta\rho\omicron\tau\eta\rho$ for $\sigma\kappa\lambda\eta\rho\omicron\tau\eta\varsigma$, there is no inscriptional example of ρ for final ς except once $\delta\pi\omega\rho\ \alpha\nu$, for which see 97a.

4. Rhotacism of σ before a voiced consonant is seen in Eretr. $\mu\iota\rho\gamma\omicron\varsigma = \mu\iota\sigma\gamma\omicron\varsigma$, late Cretan (Gortyn) $\kappa\omicron\rho\mu\omicron\iota = \kappa\omicron\sigma\mu\omicron\iota$, Thess. $\theta\epsilon\omicron\rho\delta\delta\tau\epsilon\iota\omicron\varsigma$, Lac. $\theta\iota\omicron\kappa\omicron\rho\mu\iota\delta\alpha\varsigma$. In most dialects σ in this position was pronounced as a voiced sound (z), and in late times often indicated by ζ , as $\psi\eta\phi\iota\zeta\mu\alpha$.

Change of τ to σ

61. τ is changed to σ very frequently before ι , and sometimes before υ . The more precise conditions are uncertain, and the change is in part independent of dialectal variation, τ being retained in some words in all dialects, e.g., $\alpha\nu\tau\iota$, and in some words becoming σ in all dialects, e.g., most words like $\beta\alpha\sigma\iota\varsigma$ (Skt. *ga-ti-s*), $\sigma\tau\alpha\sigma\iota\varsigma$, etc.

But in a considerable class of words there is a distinct dialectal distribution of the τ - and σ -forms, the retention of τ being a notable characteristic of the West Greek dialects, in which Boeotian, Thessalian, and Pamphylian also share.

1. Verb forms with the endings $\text{-}\tau\iota$, $\text{-}\nu\tau\iota$, as $\delta\iota\delta\omega\tau\iota$, $\phi\epsilon\rho\omicron\nu\tau\iota$ = $\delta\iota\delta\omega\sigma\iota$, $\phi\epsilon\rho\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota$ (Arc. $\phi\epsilon\rho\omicron\nu\sigma\iota$, Lesb. $\phi\epsilon\rho\omicron\iota\sigma\iota$). Examples are plentiful in all the West Greek dialects and Boeotian ($\text{-}\tau\iota$, $\text{-}\nu\theta\iota$), and for Thessalian and Pamphylian (in which no 3 sg. $\mu\iota$ -forms are yet quotable) the third plural forms are attested. See 138.2, 4.

2. The numerals for 20 and the hundreds, (F) $\iota\kappa\alpha\tau\iota = \epsilon\iota\kappa\omicron\sigma\iota$, $\text{-}\kappa\alpha\tau\iota\omicron\iota = \text{-}\kappa\omicron\sigma\iota\omicron\iota$ (Arc. $\text{-}\kappa\alpha\sigma\iota\omicron\iota$). See 116, 117.2.

3. Some nouns and adjectives in $\text{-}\tau\iota\varsigma$, $\text{-}\tau\iota\omicron\varsigma$, etc. Att.-Ion. $\text{-}\sigma\iota\varsigma$,

etc. Boeot. Εὔτρητις (shown by Εὔτρητιδεῖς and Εὔτρητίφαντος; see no. 38.5), the native name of the town vs. Εὔτρησις in Homer. Delph., Coan ἐνιαύτιος = ἐνιαύσιος. Arg. ῥύτιον (no. 86.41; cf. Troez. ῥυτιάζω), Boeot. πλατίος, lit. Dor. (Epich.), Epid. πλατίον = πλεσίος, πλεσίον. Ἀρταμίτιος, Ἀφροδίτιος in many West Greek dialects. Rhod., Thess. ἐναράτιον = ἐνηρόσιον.

4. Corinth. ΠοτΕδᾶῖονι, ΠοτΕδᾶνι Ποτειδᾶν with similar τ-forms in Cretan, Rhodian, Coan, Delphian, Boeotian, and Thessalian, also Ποτοιδᾶνι of uncertain dialect (Schwyzer 642), all = Hom. Ποσειδᾶων, Ion. Ποσειδέων, Att. Ποσειδῶν, Lesb. Ποσειδᾶν, Arc. Ποσειδᾶν (49.1). Lac. Ποιοιδᾶν (cf. also Ποιοιδᾶναι) is plainly from the pre-Doric form represented by Arc. Ποσειδᾶν. So perhaps from another pre-Doric σ-form the Ποσειδᾶν occurring in Argolic (Argos, no. 86.15; later at Mycenae, Calauria, Epidaurus) and in later inscriptions of various dialects, as Arcadian (no. 22.57), Cretan, Rhodian, etc. But one suspects that in some of the late occurrences it may be merely a hybrid, influenced by the familiar Ποσειδῶν, as conversely Thess. Ποτειδοῦνι with native τ but -οῦνι from Att. -ῶνι.

a. The distribution of West Greek προτι, ποτί vs. Att.-Ion., Lesb. πρόσ, Arc.-Cypr. πός is like that in 1-4 above, except that Homer has πρότι, ποτί beside πρόσ. But here there are no forms in -σι, and it is a question whether the -ς of πρόσ, πός comes from -σι by elision and apocope or is a different ending, original -ς.

5. Lit. Dor. τύ, Boeot. τού = Att.-Ion., Lesb. σύ. Cret. ἡμιτυς (in ἡμιτυέκτω; cf. also Epid. ἡμίτεια) = Att.-Ion., Arc. ἡμισυς, Lesb. αἰμισυς, with suffix -τυ- beside -τφο- in ἡμισσον, etc. (81).

β, δ, γ

62. In general β, δ, γ remained simple mediae, but in some dialects there are indications of their pronunciation as spirants, which eventually prevailed even in Attic (cf. Mod. Grk. β = Eng. v, δ = Eng. th in then, γ guttural spirant). Such are:

1. The use of β for F in later Laconian, etc. 51.
2. The occasional representation of δ by ζ, as in three of the very earliest Elean inscriptions, e.g., ζέ, ζέκα, ζίκα, ζίφυιον, ζαμιοργία, Φειζός, also early Rhod. τόζ' = τόδε (no. 100), early Arg. Φισζείε (for σζ see 89.1) = εἰδείη, and Phlias. ζέκα =

δέκα (SEG II.275).—Cret. ρ from ρδ (86.6). Cret. ἀντρήιον (= usual ἀνδρήιον) with τ indicating retention of stop after a nasal (as in Mod. Grk. ἀντρας pronounced *andras*), perhaps Cret. σποFδδᾶν (89.4).

3. The occasional omission of γ or substitution of ι, as in Boeot. ἰώ, ἰών (Ar., Corinna) = ἐγώ, Pamph. μῃείαλαν, μῃείαλετι, etc. (μεγάλος), Arc. ἐπιθιάνε (ἐπιθιγγάνη), Mess., Arc. Φιάλεια beside Φιγάλεια, and ὀλίος (ὀλίγος) in late inscriptions of various places. The occasional representation of γ by ζ in Cyprian, as ζᾶ (γᾶ), ἄζαθός (ἀγαθός).

φ, θ, χ

63. In general, φ, θ, χ remained true aspirated stops, and in the earliest type of the alphabet, which had a sign for θ but none for φ or χ, these two were represented by πh and κh, as at Thera, or, where a sign for h was not in use, simply by π and κ, as in the Gortyn Law Code (e.g., κρόνος = χρόνος, πυλά = φυλή). Spellings like γέγραφα, δεδόχθαι are mostly late, an exceptionally early example being Delph. λεκχοῖ (no. 52 D 13; dat. sg. of λεχώ).

But the pronunciation as spirants (Eng. f, th in thin, Germ. ch), which eventually prevailed even in Attic, existed at a much earlier period in some dialects. Such a pronunciation of θ is certainly presupposed by Lac. σ = θ (64), probably by El. σσ = σθ (85.2), late Cret. θθ = σσ (Fέτεθθι), Thess. φεῶν, φύοντες (68.5), and possibly by some other spellings which, however, may be variously interpreted.

64. Laconian σ = θ. The use of σ by Aristophanes in the Lysistrata to indicate the sound of the Laconian θ (and there is no good reason to doubt that this belongs to the original text) shows that it had become a spirant which would strike the Athenian ear as σ, even if not yet fully identical with it. The Laconians themselves retained the spelling θ in all the earlier inscriptions, but ἀνέσηκε (ἀνέθηκε) and πῶ (θεοῦ) occur in a fourth century inscription, and in very late inscriptions ἀνέσηκε, Βωρσέα (Φορθία), κασσηρατόριν beside καθθηρατόριον, etc.

Interchange of Voiceless and Voiced Stops and Aspirates

65. Dissimilation and assimilation of aspirates, or transposi-

tion of the aspiration. The dissimilation seen in τίθημι from *θίθημι, τρέχω from *θρέχω (cf. θρέξομαι), etc., belongs to the proethnic period. But there are some examples of later, dialectal assimilation. So Cret. θιθέμενος = τιθέμενος, θύκα (i.e., θύχα) = τύχη, West Ion. (Cumae) θυφλός = τυφλός, Arc. (also early Att. inscr.) παρθένος = παρθένος, Thess. Φερσεφόνα = Περσεφόνη, Boeot. φεφύλαχσο = πεφύλαξο, Lac., Epid., Thess. θεθμός, Locr. θέθμιον = τεθμός, τέθμιον, Att. θεσμός, θέσμιον (164.4), Att. (inscr.) ἐνθαῦθα = usual Att. ἐνταῦθα. Ion. ἐνθαῦτα is the more original form (from ἐνθα), whence Att. ἐνταῦθα through transposition of the aspiration and influence of ταῦτα. Cf. also Eub. ἐντοῦθα like τοῦτα (124), El. ἐνταῦτα, Argol. ἐντάδε = ἐνθάδε, influenced by ταῦτα, τάδε (but cf. also 66). Regular dissimilation in Arc. μεσακόθεν vs. Att. πανταχόθεν, etc., and in Arc. ἐσκεθῆν, Lesb. ὑποσκέθην vs. Hom. σχεθέειν, etc. For transposition cf. also Ion. ἄχαντος = ἄκανθος, Cret. καυχός = χαλκός, Thess. Πετθαλός from Φετταλός (68.2).

66. There are scattered examples of variation between stop and aspirate and between voiceless and voiced stops, especially before a nasal. Locr. τέκνα = τέχνη, Cret. τνατός, τετναχός = θνητός, τεθνητός (also ἀντροπος, Pamph. ἀτροπος), Heracl. διακνόντων beside διαγνόντων, Eretr. ἀποδείγνυσθαι, Ther. ἐνδειγνύμενος to δείκνυμι, Aetol. ἀχνηκότας beside ἀγνηκώς (ἀγνέω = ἄγω). Ion. πρήγμα = πρήγμα, μέλιγμα = μελιγμα, Epid. φάργμα = φράγμα, πάρδειγμα = παράδειγμα, Arg. ῥηχμός = ῥηγμός (-σμα, -σμος). Cf. τέχνη from *τέκονα. (So perhaps Delph., Locr., Arg. ἐχθός from *ἐχτός, this from *ἐκσ-τός. Cf. early Att. ἔδοχε, etc.)

In Pamphylian ντ became regularly νδ (influenced by languages of Asia Minor in which the change of nt to nd is widely attested), with ν not written (69.2), as πέδε = πέντε, ἐξάγδιδι = ἐξάγωντι. Cret. ἀβλοπία, καταβλάπεται = ἀβλαβία, etc., Mess. κεκλεβός (κλέπτω), Arg. γεγράβανται = γεγράφται, are examples of analogical interchange in roots ending in a labial, owing to common forms in ψ. So also Coan στέπτω = στέφω. Locr. φρίν = πρίν and Arc., Cret., Pamph. Πύτιος = Πύθιος, are obscure.

El. πάσχω = πάσχω is probably due to the influence of other verbs in -σχω (but possibly like στ = σθ, cf. 85.1). For Att.-Ion.

δέχομαι other dialects (and Ionic in part) have the original δέχομαι (cf. Att. δωροδόκος), οὐδείς, μηδείς are replaced by οὐθείς, μηθείς, with θ from δ + the spiritus asper of εἰς, in later Attic and elsewhere.

a. Very late inscriptions show numerous examples of confusion, not confined to any special conditions, as ἀδελπός = ἀδελφός, φρεσβύτερος = πρεσβύτερος, Lesb. ὑπάρκουσαν = ὑπάρχουσαν, Delph. βρυτανεῖον (also Cretan), βρυτανεῖω = πρυτανεῖον, etc., and Βαλλάντιον = Παλλάντιον. Some such forms as these last, reflecting occasional colloquial pronunciation, presumably underlie the too sweeping statement of Plutarch (Mor. 292E) that the Delphians used β in place of π.

Interchange of π and πτ

67. Of the Homeric by-forms of πόλις and πόλεμος, πτόλις is found also in Cyprian, and in Thess. οἱ πτολίαρχοι, ἀρχιπτολιάρχεντος (πτ from πτ, 86.2) and Arc. Πτόλις (place name), Cret. Πτολίκοις; πτόλεμος is found in Cyprian (gloss) and in proper names like the Maced. Πτολεμαῖος and others from various places.

Interchange of Labials, Dentals, and Gutturals

68. 1. Those sounds of the parent speech which are called labiovelars and are here designated as k^w, g^w, g^wh, appear in Greek regularly as (1) labials before the back vowels α, ο, ω and before consonants, (2) dentals before the front vowels ι, ε, η, (3) gutturals before and after υ. Thus ποῦ, πόθεν (Lat. *quod*, cf. Osc. *pod*), ὅποιος, but τίς (Lat. *quis*), τε (Lat. *que*), Cret. ὄτειος, — πεμπάς, πέμπτος, but πέντε (Lat. *quinque*), — λύκος (Eng. *wolf*), γυνή (Eng. *queen*) beside Boeot. βανά. But before ι usually β, φ, e.g. βίος (Lat. *vīvus*), with δ only in Heracl. ἐνδεδιωκότα = ἐμβεβιωκότα. Many exceptions are due to leveling between related forms, e.g., βέλος after βάλλω, etc. Instead of πρέσβυς, with analogical β, several dialects have forms with γ, which is regular before υ, e.g., Cret. πρεῖγυς, Boeot. πρισιγείες, etc. (see 86.3). Examples of the normal relation are Arc. δέλλω = βάλλω, West Greek δήλομαι, δέλομαι (75) = βούλομαι, West Greek and Arc. ὀδελός = ὀβολός (but if from the rare early Att. ὀβελός, β is analogical, as in ὀβελίσκος. Boeot. ὀβελός, Thess. ὀβελός may belong under 2, below), Dor. βλήρ = δέλεαρ.

2. But it is a notable characteristic of the Aeolic dialects that they very frequently show a labial even before a front vowel, where the dental is regular elsewhere. Thus Lesb., Thess. πέμπε = πέντε. Lesb. πέσσυρες (Hesych., cf. Hom. πύσσυρες), Boeot. πέτταρες, πέττατος, πετταμείνιον, Thess. πεττατηρίς = τέτταρες, etc. Thess. πεῖσαι, ἀππεισάτου, Boeot. ποταποπισάτω = τεῖσαι, etc., Lesb. πήλυι (Sappho), Boeot. Πειλε-στροτίδας to τῆλε. Thess. βέλλομαι, Boeot. βείλομαι = West Greek δήλομαι, δέλομαι. Lesb. Βέλφοι (gloss), Boeot. Βελφοί = Δελφοί, Thess. Βέλφαιον = *Δέλφαιον. Boeot. βέφυρα = Cret. δέφυρα, Att. γέφυρα (for γ see 88), Lesb. φήρ (gloss), Thess. πεφειράκοντες = θήρ, τεθηρακότες (though this is a case of original *ghw* not *g'h*). Boeot. Φετταλός, whence Thess. Πετθαλός with transposition of the aspiration (65) = Att. Θετταλός, Ion. Θεσσαλός. Yet some words always have the dental, e.g., τε, τις, τιμά, the reason for this being obscure.

a. An apparently similar case is Lesb. σπέλλω = στέλλω (fut. κασπολέω Sappho 42 Diehl; Hesych. κασπέλη· στορνύει, σπελλάμεναι· στελλάμεναι, σπολεία· σταλεία), with Thess. σπόλος 'stake.' But στέλλω is almost certainly from a root **stel-* with original dental (seen also in Lesb. στάλλα), and we have to do with two parallel roots στελ- and σπελ-.

b. Cypr. πείσει = τείσει is in striking agreement with the Aeolic forms quoted above. But if it is the result of the same phonetic change (and not with π by analogy of ποινά, etc.), and so to be reckoned as an Aeolic element in Arcado-Cyprian, it is quite isolated in this development in contrast to that seen in Arc. ἀπυτειασάτω, δέλλω, Cypr. Τελεφάνδ and in Arc. σις, Cypr. σίς, etc. (below, 3).

3. In Arcado-Cyprian there is evidence of a sibilant pronunciation before a front vowel. Cypr. σις = τις (no. 23), σί = τί (Hesych.). Arc. δζις = δτις (no. 16), and in no. 17 (written with a special letter, 4.4) σις = τις, εἴσε = εἴτε, ὁσέοι = ὅτεω. Further, τζετρακάτιαι = τετρακάτιαι in no. 70, due to the Arcadian engraver. Cf. also the gloss ζέλλω (Hesych.) beside inscriptional δέλλω = βάλλω, and ζέρεθρον (Strabo) = δέρεθρον, βάραθρον.

a. The σ occurs also for an original dental in ἀπυσεδομένος = ἀπδεδομένος. But this is probably a special case of dissimilation like that in 'Αρκασιδης = 'Αρκαδιδης. Otherwise the dentals appear without change in the same inscription, e.g., δέ, τότε, etc. The

sibilant development is definitely linked with labiovelar origin, and this goes well with the preservation of the old labiovelar voiceless stop in the pre-Arcado-Cyprian of Cretan script (p. 8, footnote). The fact that in Arcadian the sibilant appears only in early inscriptions is like the case of El. ζ = δ only in the earliest inscriptions, then replaced by the usual (see 275).

4. There are some pronominal forms with κ in place of the usual π or τ. Thus Ion. κῶς = πῶς, κότερος, etc. (in texts of Ionic authors; in inscriptions only once δκοῖα, otherwise π), Thess. κίς, διέ κί, πὸκ κί = τίς, etc.

a. Thess., Cypr. δαύχνα in συνδαυχναφόροι, Δαυχναφόριος (cf. δαυχμός in Nicand., Hesych.) is from *δαυκονά (cf. 66) belonging with δαῦκος, δαῦκον, a plant much like the δάφνη (cf. δαῦκον δαφνοειδές, Theophr.). The form δαύχνα then served as the equivalent of the similar though unrelated δάφνη.

5. A change of θ to φ, that is, doubtless, of spirant *th* to *f*, is seen in φεῶν, φύοντες = θεῶν, θύοντες, of an inscription found at Dodona.

Nasals and Liquids

69. Nasal before consonant. The nasal was always assimilated to the character of the following consonant, but was less distinctly sounded than in the intervocalic position. With this are connected the following facts.

1. The letter ν is freely used for the guttural and the labial nasal, as well as for the dental, e.g., 'Ολύμπιος, ἀντί, λανχάνω.

2. The nasal is omitted in the spelling, occasionally in all dialects, and regularly in Cyprian and Pamphylian, as Cypr. ἀτί = ἀντί, Pamph. πέδε = πέντε.

3. Complete assimilation to a following stop, though not regular in any dialect, sometimes occurred in careless pronunciation, as shown by occasional, and mostly late, spellings, e.g., Att. ξυββάλλεσθαι, Boeot. 'Ολυππίχην (late κοινή inscription), Delph. 'Αθαββος, σύββολον, λαββάνοντες. From Crete, where in general consonant assimilation is most extensive (86), there are several examples, as ποππάν = πομπάν, ἀφφάνω = ἀμφάνω, and the assimilated form was usual in the name of the town Lappa, whose coins show Λαππαίων. In some cases the dissimilative influence of a preceding or following nasal was probably a factor, e.g., Delph.

ἀνεκκλήτως = ἀνεγκλήτως, ἐπάνακκον (παρυτ.) = ἐπάναγκον, Locr. ἐκκλημα = ἐγκλημα, ἀνακκάζηι = ἀναγκάζηι, Thess. ἐξξανακάδεν = ἐξαναγκάζειν.

4. A special case is Boeot. ἐππασις (uniformly so spelled) = ἐμπασις. This is from *ἐμ-ππᾶσις as also Boeot. ἀππασάμενος (Corinna) from *ἀν-ππᾶ-. So also Boeot. τὰ ππάματα. See 162.12.

a. Assimilation of a nasal to the character of the preceding stop is perhaps to be seen in Coan 'Αρίσταλχος = 'Αρίσταλχος, and, Cret. δαρχνά = δαρχμά, δαρχμή. Cf. Mod. Grk. Πάτνος from Πάτμος, λαχνός from λαχμός.

70. Transposition of a liquid, or loss by dissimilation.

1. Transposition within the same syllable. Cret. πορτί = προτί, 'Αφορδίτα = 'Αφροδίτη, also κάρτος, σαρτός, etc., for which see 49.2a. Pamph. περτ', 'Αφορδίσιους, Πρείας = Περγαίας, Ther. Καρτι-, Σαρτο-.

2. Transposition between different syllables. Heracl. τράφος, Amorg. τράφη = τάρφος, τάρφη, Syrac. δρίφος = δίρφος (Hesych.).

3. Loss by dissimilation. Cypr. Φρέτα = ρήτρα, El. Φράτρα, Epid. ρόπτον = ρόπτρον, φατρία or φάτρα in various dialects = φρατρία, Hom. φρήτηρ, conversely φρήταρχος at Naples.

71. Cretan υ from λ. In Cretan the λ was a deep guttural *l* closely resembling *u* (cf. French *autre* from Lat. *alter*, etc.), and the spelling υ is fairly common. So ἀδευπιαί = ἀδελφειαί (once in Law-Code beside usual ἀδελπιός, etc.), Φευμένας = Φελμένας, καυχός = καλχός, αὐφίτων = ἀλφίτων, ἐπευθών, πορτήυθον = ἐπελθών, προσήλθον (further examples in Hesychius).

a. Cret., Epid. μαίτυρες (hence nom. Cret. μαίτυρς, μαίτυς) = μάρτυρες, with Sicil. ματιυρήση (SEG 4.31, with p. 141) are apparently to be explained as due to dissimilation of the two ρ's with palatalization of the first.

b. A palatalized λ is indicated by the spelling λε, which is frequent in Cos, and occurs also in Melos, Thasos, and Cnidus. Thus Coan ξύλα, ξύλεων = ξύλα, ξύλων, κοτύλαι = κοτύλαι, Παμφύλεων beside Πάμφυλοι. Φιλεωνίδας, etc., Thas. Φιλεωνίδας, Mel. Φιλεων, etc.

c. The change of λ to ρ before a consonant, regular in popular Mod. Grk. (ἀδερφός = ἀδελφός, etc.) appears in occasional forms from the second century A.D. on, e.g., Delph. Δερφοί, Att. ἀδερφοί.

72. ντ, νθ from λτ, λθ. Several examples occur in West Greek and Arcadian. Φίντων (Φίλων) or Φιντίας in many West Greek

dialects and Arcadian. Arg. Μίντων (Μίλων), κέντο (κέλτο) in Alcman, φίντατος (φίλτατος) in Epicharmus, βέντιστος (βέλτιστος) in Theocritus. Cyren. τένται from *τέλται = τέλειται = ἔσεται. ἐνθεῖν (ἐλθεῖν) is most widespread, occurring in Doric writers and in Corcyrean, Cyrenaean, Arcadian, late Delphian, late Cretan. Meg. ἐντίδες = ἐλπίδες stands alone.

Double Liquids and Nasals in Lesbian and Thessalian

73. The combinations discussed in 74-76, also 77.1, 79, have in part a common history, since they all become double liquids and nasals in Lesbian and Thessalian, but in other dialects a single liquid or nasal accompanied by lengthening of the preceding vowel.

a. This doubling is observed regularly only in Lesbian and Thessalian, and is one of the most distinctive Aeolic characteristics, one that is familiar in Lesbian poetry and in some Homeric forms (ἐμμε, ἐμμεν, etc.). But there are scattered examples elsewhere, which are relics of an Aeolic element. Thus from the once Aeolic Chian region (cf. 184) Πελιναῖον, 'Αργεννον, Φαννόθεμις, Lac. Φάβεννος, Φαβέννα, Arc. (Orchomenos) ὀφέλλω (vs. ὀφήλω Tegea), Ἐκριννα; Ther. ἐλλύτα = Boeot. εἰλύτα 'a kind of cake' (from εἰλύω 'roll').

74. ρ, ν, + λ, when preceded by any other vowel than α or ο. From *φθέρω, Lesb. φθέρρω (gram.), Att. etc. φθείρω, Arc. φθίρω. From *κρίνω, Lesb. κρίννω (gram.), Thess. κρίννω (18), Att., etc., κρίνω. From *κτένω, Lesb. κτέννω (gram.), Att., etc. κτείνω.

a. But if α or ο precedes, epenthesis takes place, the result being the same in all dialects, e.g., χείρω from *χαριώ, μοῖρα from *μόρεα, βαίνω from *βάνω.

b. λ gives λλ in nearly all dialects, e.g., ἄλλος (Lat. *alius*), στέλλω from *στέλιω. But Cyprian has αλλος (beside ἀλ(λ)ά) and 'Απειλδν = 'Απέλλων, and Elean once αλλότρια (beside ἄλλα, στέλλω).

75. λν or/and λσ. Lesb., Thess. στάλλα, Dor. στάλα, Att.-Ion. στήλη, Lesb. βόλλομαι, βόλλα, Thess. βέλλομαι, Att.-Ion. βουλή, βούλομαι, Boeot. βωλά, βείλομαι, West-Grk. βωλά, βουλά, δήλομαι, δείλομαι, Lesb. ἀπέλλω (gloss), Ion. εἴλω, εἰλέω, Delph. εἰλέσθω, El. ἀποΦελέοι, -έοιαν, Heracl. ἐγφληθίλωντι (in these forms the meaning is 'shut out' or 'prevent'; cf. also Att. δίκη ἐξούλης 'action of ejection'). Cret. Φευμένας = Φελμένας and καταΦελμένδν are

perf. pass. participles, like Hom. ἐελέμενος but meaning 'assembled' (cf. ἀολλής, etc. 55), Lesb., Hom. ὀφέλλω 'owe' (also Arc., 73a), Att. ὀφέλω, Arg., Cret., Arc. ὀφῆλω.

a. The dialectal relations are clear, but whether the original consonant group was λν or λσ has been a matter of dispute. From the point of view of word formation a ν-suffix is distinctly the most probable in most cases, e.g., στάλλω, etc., from *σταλ-νᾶ, εἶλω from *Fέλ-νω. The conflicting λλ of Att. ἐλλῶμι may be explained as a later treatment of a restored *δλνῶμι, parallel to that in Att. ἐνῶμι vs. Ion. εἰνῶμι with the normal development of σν. (Some other cases of λλ, apparently from λν, are not so easy.)

But the group βούλωμαι, etc. (also Hom., Eretr., Arc.-Cypr. βόλωμαι without suffix), is now generally believed to be based on an λσ (perhaps an aor. subj.) form, with the same development as in Lesb. ἐστελλα, Att. ἐστελλα, etc. (79).

76. i. Medial σ + liquid or nasal. From *χέσλιοι (cf. Skt. *śasra-*), Lesb., Thess. χέλλιοι, Ion. etc., χείλιοι, Lac. χήλιοι (Att. χῆλιοι, see 25e). From *χεσρ- (cf. Hitt. *kessar* and *kessras* 'hand'), Lesb. χέρρας (Alc., Theocr.), elsewhere χείρ or χήρ. From *έσμι (Skt. *asmi*), Lesb. έμμι, Thess. έμμί, elsewhere εἰμί or ήμί (25). From *άσμε (cf. Skt. *asmān*), Lesb. άμμε, Thess. άμμέ, elsewhere άμέ, Att.-Ion. ήμέας. From *σελάσνᾶ (σέλας), Lesb. σελάννᾶ, elsewhere σελάνᾶ, Att.-Ion. σελήνη.

a. Initial σλ, etc., became λλ, etc., later simple λ, etc. The earlier stage is represented by occasional early spellings with λη, etc. (cf. Fh, 51b, c), e.g., Aegin. λιαβών (cf. εἰληφα, Hom. εἰλαβε, below), Corcyr. ρηοφαῖσι (cf. Skt. *śraṇa* = Eng. *stream*). But also where there is no trace of an initial s in cognates (some assume an initial 'laryngeal'), Corcyr. Μηείσιος, Meg. Μηεγαρεύς, Pamph. μηειάλαν, Att. μεγάλῃ in an early inscription.

2. Compounds and augmented or reduplicated forms of such words only rarely show the development proper to intervocalic σλ, etc., as Att. εἰληφα from *έσλᾶφα. Usually this was checked by the analogical influence of the simplex, and the subsequent development was to λλ, etc., later (under the continued influence of the simplex and of words with original initial λ, etc.) simply λ, etc., e.g., Hom. έ-λλαβε, έ-λληκτος, έ-ρρεον, έ-ννεον, φιλο-μμειδής, later έλαβε, etc. Locr., Delph., Cret. άμφιλλέγω, Arc. άμφίλλογος, from άμφισ-λ-, whence Meg. άμφέλλεγον as if from άμφιλλέγω. But ρρ usually remained, e.g., Att. έρρύην beside έλαβε, Dor. -ερρύῶ, though here there is considerable variation, especial-

ly in compounds (Att. παραρύματα and παραρρύματα, etc.). Cf. ρρ from Fp, 55a.

νς

77. i. Original intervocalic νς. From *μηνσός (cf. Lat. *mēnsis*), Lesb. μῆννος (also μῆνος), Thess. μειννός (also μεινός), Att. etc. μηνός (in this word the vowel was already long). From *έκρινσα, Lesb. έκριννα, Att., etc., έκρίνα. From *έμενσα, Thess. έμεννα, Att., etc. έμεινα. From *έφανσα, Dor., etc., έφᾶνα, Att.-Ion. έφηννα. Similarly μς, as, from *ένεμσα, Lesb. ένεμμα (gram.), Att., etc., ένειμα.

a. The dat. pl. of ν-stems, as ποιμέσι, δαίμοσι, is not formed from -ενσι, -ονσι, but from -ασι (cf. φρασί Pindar) with substitution of the vowel of the other cases. But in Arc. ηερομνάμονσι the ν also is introduced from the other cases, and this secondary νς is retained (cf. 3).

2. νς + consonant lost its ν in proethnic Greek without effect on the preceding vowel, e.g., κεστός from *κενστός (cf. κεντέω), συσκευάζω, etc., from συν-. So also later in Thess. όστροφά from *όνστροφά = άναστροφή. But ν might be restored by analogy, with resulting treatment of νς as in 3. Att. έσπείσται from *έσπενσται, Lesb. είκοιστος, etc. (116 with a), Arg. ποιγραψάνσθω, etc. (140.3b).

3. Secondary intervocalic νς, in which σ comes from τκ, dental + σ, or τ before ι, had an entirely different history from that of original νς, which was changed before the new νς came into existence. This νς is retained in Cretan (i.e., Central Cretan, cf. 273), Argolic (mainly Argive, cf. 251), Thessalian, and Arcadian, while in other dialects it loses the ν with lengthening, in Lesbian and Cyrenaean with diphthongization, of the preceding vowel. Thus from *πάντκ, Cret., Arg., Thess., Arc. πάνσα, Att., etc., πᾶσα, Lesb., Ther., Cyren. παῖσα. From *μόντκ, *μόνσα (not yet quotable), Lesb. μοῖσα, elsewhere μοῦσα or μῶσα. From nom. sg. fem. pres. part. -ντ-κ, Cret. έχονσα, άγονσα, έβιονσα, etc. (but ύπάρχωνσα, etc., in East and West Cretan), Thess. ένσα, λειτορεύσανσα, άπελευθερεσθένσα, Arc. μίνονσα, etc., Arg. άντιτύχονσα, etc., Lesb. έχοισα, άρμόζοισα, δάμεισα, etc., Cyren. έκοῖσα, καθάραισα, etc., elsewhere -ουσα or -ωσα, -ᾶσα, -εισα. From dat. pl. of the ντ-stems, Cret. έπιβάλλονσι, έλόνσι, νικάσανσι, etc., Arg.

θύονσι, άπανσι, Arc. πάνσι, πολιτεύονσι, Cyren. έμμένοισι, πλέοισι, etc., elsewhere -ουσι, -ωσι, -ᾶσι, etc. From aor. *έσπενδσα, Cret. έσπενσα, Att., etc. έσπεισα. From 3 pl. -ντι (West Greek φέροντι, etc.), Arc. κρίνωνσι, ποίενσι, etc., Lesb. έχοισι, γράφωισι, τίθεισι, etc. (so also Chian λάβωισιν, πρήξοισιν, cf. 184), Att., etc., φέρουσι. Observe that 3 pl. -νσι is exclusively Arcadian, since this is the only dialect which belongs both to the νς and the σι from τι (61) groups.

a. In derivatives in -σις from verbs in -νω, νς is kept in all dialects, e.g., not only Cret. άπανσις = άνάφανσις, Epid. θλινσις, but Att. πρόφανσις, ύφανσις, etc., owing to the influence of the verbs.

78. Final νς. Since νς + consonant lost its ν in proethnic Greek (77.2), the same would be true of final νς in close combination with a following word beginning with a consonant. Hence there arose doublets such as (1) before vowel τόνς, τάνς, (2) before consonants τός, τάς. Such doublets are found in Cretan, the Gortyn Law-Code still adhering very closely to the original distribution in the case of the article, e.g., τόνς έλευθέρονς, but τός καδεστάνς. But elsewhere the use of one or the other set of forms has ceased to depend at all upon the initial of the following word.

Accusatives in -ος, -ας are the regular forms in Thessalian, Arcadian (so probably Cyprian -ος not -ός), Theran, Cyrenaean, Coan, and are occasionally found in other Doric dialects and in literary Doric (e.g., frequent in Theocritus). Other dialects have -ονς, -ανς, or forms coming therefrom by the same development as that seen in the case of secondary intervocalic νς (πάνσα, etc., 77.3), e.g., Argol. -ονς, -ανς, -ινς (less commonly -ος), Lesb. -ός, -áis, in most dialects -ούς or -ώς (25), -ᾶς. Only Elean, though medially it has πᾶσα not παῖσα, has here a development similar to the Lesbian, namely, -αις (and presumably -οις, but no o-stem acc. pl. forms occur in the inscriptions which have -αις), and later -αιρ, -οιρ. But there are also early forms in -Ας, -Ος, later -Ορ, of which the proper transcription and relation to the preceding are uncertain (short-vowel forms parallel to Cret. -ος beside -ονς?).

Similarly the preposition ένς, whence ές or εις. Cret., Argol. ένς and ές. ές in most Doric dialects (Lac., Heracl., Rhod., Coan,

Ther., Cyren., but also εις in some, mostly from the κοινή). Ion., Att.-Ion. ές and εις (both in Homer; Ion. mostly ές, Att. mostly εις), Lesb. εις (but here with genuine diphthong like τοίς).

Cf. also the treatment of final νς from -ντ-ς, e.g., nom. sg. part. Cret. νικάσανς, καταθένς, Argol. ποιφέσανς, Heracl. καταλυμακώθης, Att., etc., τιθείς, Lesb. στοίχεις, Thess. εύεργετές, Arc. ηεροθυτές, Ther. αίρεθές, Cyren. κοιμαθές, πωληθές.

λσ, ρσ

79. From *έστελσα, Lesb., Thess. έστελλα, Att., etc., έστειλα, Cret. έστηλα. Cf. also Lesb. βόλλομαι, Att. βούλωμαι (75 with a). From *έφθερσα, Att., etc., έφθειρα.

80. But in another set of words λσ and ρσ did not have this development, but remained unchanged in most dialects, while in several this ρσ was assimilated to ρρ. Cf. Hom. κέλσαι, έκερσεν, ώρσε, άρσην, θάρσος, the widespread έρσην (49.2), and θάρσος or θέρσος in most dialects (partly in proper names only).

The assimilation to ρρ is Attic as άρρην, θάρρος, etc. (so in the earliest inscriptions; ρσ in early Attic writers is Ionic), West Ionic as άρρενικός (Cumae), άγαρρις (Naples), Θαρριπίδης, etc., Arcadian as φθέραι (for φθέρραι corresponding to φθέρσαι, like φθέρσαντες in Lycophron, not to φθείραι, which would be φθῆραι in Arcadian), άρρέντερος, Elean as θάρρος, θαρρῆν (ερσ in later έρσenaίτερος is due to κοινή influence), Theran as ([ά]ρενα dubious), Θαρῆς, Θαρυμάγρος, etc. (all archaic; in later άρσην, θάρσων, ρσ is due to κοινή influence). Proper names with ρρ = ρσ occur also in several other dialects, e.g., Delph. Θαρρίκων, Θάρρανδρος, Amphiss. Θάρρος, Boeot. Θάροψ, Meg. Χερρίας, *Ορριππος, Corinth. Δαμοθέρρης. Cf. also κάρρων from *κάρσων (Cret. κάρτων, 81), in Alcman, Epicharmus, Sophron, Plut. Lyc., etc.

a. Even in dialects which regularly have ρρ, ρσ may be retained by analogy, e.g., Att. θηρσί after other datives in -σι, καθαρσί etc. after other nouns in -σις. So Arc. πανάγορσις. But even in these words there is sometimes assimilation, as Att. δέρρις, West Ion. άγαρρις.

σσ, ττ

81. Att. ττ = Ion. σσ comes from κκ, χκ, and in the following categories also from τκ or θκ (but see 82a). So in presents like

φυλάττω, φυλάσσω (χι), κορύττω, κορύσσω (θι), in feminines like γλῶττα, γλῶσσα (χι), μέλιττα, μέλισσα (τι), and in comparatives like ἤττων, ἥσων (χι), κρείττων, κρέσων (τι). τφ gives the same result. So τέτταρες, τέσσερες (cf. Lat. *quattuor*, Skt. *catvāras*; see 114.4), and ἡμισσον (also ἡμισον, 89.6) in many dialects (Arc., Locr., Delph., Arg., Meg., etc.), Boeot. ἡμίττα, εἰμίττον (nos. 39 and 42), from *ἡμι-τφο- beside ἡμι-τυ- in a Cret. compound and Att.-Ion. ἡμισυς (61.5). Inscriptions show that Attic had ττ from the earliest times, the σσ of earlier writers being due to Ionic influence. But in the later κοινή, σσ is more common than ττ. Most of the dialects agree with Ionic, but ττ, as in Attic, is also Boeotian (φυλάττω, θάλαττα, πέτταρες, ἡμίττα), Cretan (ἱάττα = Arg. ἑασσα, κάρτων from *κάρττων), and Euboean, at least in Styra, Eretria, Oropus (ἐλάττων, πρήττω, Κιττιής).

a. Late Cret. σσ in πράσσω, θάλασσα, ἡμισσον, also in ὄσος, δασσάσθωσαν belonging under 82, is due to (Attic-Ionic or Doric) κοινή.

b. Late Cret. θθ in words of this class, as θάλαθθα, ἱαθθα, also in ἰθαῖον, Ἀρκάθθι belonging under 82, and even for original σσ in Φέτεθθι. For σθ it is earlier and more frequent (83).

c. Although the Thessalian inscriptions usually have σσ, there is some evidence that the dialect had ττ originally, or at least in certain localities. Aside from θάλαττα, πίττα, which are quoted as Thessalian, cf. the proper names Κόττυφος, Φαύττιος, etc., and especially Πετθαλός from Φετταλός (65).

σ, σσ, ττ

82. τι and θι give Att. σ not ττ, and Ion. σ (early σσ often in poetry, but never in inscriptions) in ὄσος, ὀπόσος (τι), μέσος (*μέθιος, cf. Skt. *madhyas*). A dental + σ gives precisely the same result, e.g., ἐκόμισα, ἐδίκασα, etc. In all such cases most dialects have σσ (but σ, as Att.-Ion., in Arcadian, as μέσος, ὄσος, ἐδικάσαμεν, δάσασθαι, elsewhere late), e.g., ὄσος, τόσος, Lesb. μέσος, ἐδίκασαν, Heracl. μέσος, ἐδασσάμεθα, Arg. ἡργάσαντο, ἐδίκασαν, ἥισατο, ἐσσάμενοι, Cyren. ἴσαντα, ἴσσάμενος. But Boeotian and Cretan have ττ, e.g., Boeot. μέττος, ὀπόττος, ἐψαφίττατο, ἀπολογίτταστη, Cret. μέττος, ὄττος, ὀπόττος, δάτταθθαι. In some very early Cretan inscriptions we find ζ, as ὄζος, ἀνδάζαθαι.

a. This is to be recognized as the normal development of τι and θι. The different result seen in the classes of words mentioned in 81 is due to the influence of the forms containing gutturals. After a consonant τι gives σ in all dialects; e.g., πᾶσσα, πᾶσα, from *πᾶνττα.

b. Forms of Dor. ἱσᾶμι (162.9) regularly show single σ. Only late Cret. ἱσᾶντες, ἱσᾶντι seem to point to σσ (unless Hom. ἱσᾶσι beside ἱσᾶσι stands for ἱσᾶσι), and these are not to be taken too seriously.

Original σσ

83. Original σσ, which becomes σ in Attic (ἐτέλεσα, γένεσι), is retained, as in Homer, etc., in most dialects (cf. ὄσος, etc., 82), e.g., Lesb. ἑσσονται, Thess. ἑσσεσθαι, Heracl. ἑσσηται, Ther. ἑσσεῖται, dat. pl. -εσσι in numerous dialects, Heracl. -ασσι (107.3). For late Cret. Φέτεθθι see 81b.

ζ, δδ

84. Attic-Ionic ζ, the early pronunciation of which was zd and which comes from zd (ὄζος, cf. Germ. *Ast*; Ἀθήναζε from -α(ν)ς-δε) or, more often, from γι (μείζων, μέζων) or δι (πεζός), is also ζ in the majority of other dialects. Lesb. σδ, found in our literary texts and in a few late inscriptions, is only another spelling of the same sound, adopted perhaps because ζ was used with the value of z in ζά = διά, etc. (19.1).

But assimilation to δδ, initial δ, is Boeotian, Thessalian, Elean, Cretan, Laconian, and Megarian (?). Boeot. γραμματίδδω, ψαφίδδω, δοκιμάδδω, ἱαρείάδδω, τρέπεδδα, δῶω (ζῶω), Δεύς, δύγαστρον, μέδδονος (= μέζονος), Thess. ἐξξανακάδεν (no. 35; the only example, so possibly δδ only in Thessalitis, but there is no evidence against its being general Thessalian). El. δικάδω, χραίδω, Cret. δικάδδω, ψαφίδδω, ἐργάδδωμαι, φροντίδδω, δῶω, δῶς, δυγόν, Δῆνα (Ζῆνα), Lac. γυμνάδδωμαι, etc. in Ar. Lys., μικκιχιδόμενος, ὀπιδό[μενος], Δεύς in inscriptions. Δεύς occurs also on a vase from Rhodes, and is perhaps genuine Rhodian. Cf. the occasional assimilation of σδ in external combination in Rhodian (97.4). Meg. δδ is doubtful (Ar. Ach. μάδδα, χρήδδω, but only ζ in inscriptions).

In Cretan and Elean the spelling ττ is also found, as Cret. φροντίττω, ἐσπρεμμίττω (ἐκπρεμνίζω), ἀπολογίττω (but see also

below, a), Ττῆνα, Τῆνα (Ζῆνα), El. νοστίττω (νοστίζω), ἀττάμιος (ἀζήμιος).

a. There is some interchange between presents in -σσω or -ττω and those in -ζω or -δδω, owing to the identity of their future and aorist forms. Thus Att. σφάττω = Ion. σφάζω, Boeot. σφάδδω, Boeot. φράττω (Corinna) = Att. φράζω, Thess. ἐμφανίσσω = Att. ἐμφανίζω, and, conversely, Cret. πράδδω, συνεσάδδω = Att. πράττω, -σάττω, Cret. ἀλλάδδω, Locr. ἀλάζω (regular from γι, cf. ἀλλαγή) = Att. ἀλλάττω, Ion. ἀλλάσσω.

σθ

85. 1. στ = σθ. The use of στ for σθ is mainly characteristic of Northwest Greek. It is the regular spelling in Locrian, as ἡλέσται, ἡρέσται, and early Elean, as χρῆσται, λυσάστω, and occurs with some frequency in Phocian, as Delph. πρόστα, ἡλαζάστω, later γινέστω, etc., Stir. θέστων, ἀποπολιτεύσασται. It occurs also in Boeotian, in late inscriptions of Orchomenus (ἀπολογίτταστη, etc.), where it is perhaps due to Aetolian influence, and rarely in Thessalian (πεπείσται, ἐλέσται, πρόσται). But there are some early examples in other dialects, as Cret. μιστός, Lac. ἀποστρυβῆσται, χρῆσται, Arc. (probably) ἀφάσται, and in late times it is found in many parts of Greece, even at Athens.

2. σσ = σθ. This is found in late Elean, as ἀποδόσσαι (no. 65), ποιήσσαι (no. 66).

3. θθ = σθ. This is regular in Central Crete, e.g., πρόθθα, ἀποφειπάθθω, πράδεθθαι, δατέθθαι, etc. (numerous examples in Law-Code, always θθ or θ), also rarely τθ as δέκεθθαι, χρῆθθαι (no. 118), ἀπολογιτέθθω. But σθ occurs in some of the earliest inscriptions, and also (here probably from the κοινή) in the late inscriptions from other parts of Crete.

Assimilation, Dissimilation, and Transposition of Consonants

86. Assimilation in consonant groups. Many of the changes belonging under this head have been given already, e.g., under 55a, 69.3, 74-76, 77.1, 80, 84, 85.2, 3. See also under external combination 96-100. No notice is taken of assimilation which is common to all dialects and presumably proethnic, as δλ to λλ, etc.; nor of the partial assimilation involved in the familiar

shift of voiced to voiceless before voiceless or conversely (but ζμ, ζβ, ζγ, ζδ, for σμ, etc., though widespread, are mostly late).

This class of phenomena is one in which the difference between colloquial and careful speech is most noticeable, as may readily be observed in English. While some assimilations are so uniformly effected that the unassimilated form is completely displaced and forgotten, others remain colloquial only, the unassimilated form being still preferred in careful speech and writing. This accounts for much of the lack of uniformity in the evidence as regards some of the changes mentioned in this and the other sections. In some cases the spelling varies greatly even in the dialects where the change is best attested. Sometimes the assimilation is uniform in certain dialects, but evidently existed colloquially in others also and only sporadically made its appearance in the spelling. Assimilation is most extensive in Cretan.

1. κτ > ττ in Cretan. νυτί = νυκτί, ἐσπράτται = ἐκπράτται, Λύττος = Λύκτος.

2. πτ > ττ in Cretan and Thessalian. Cret. ἔγρατται = γέγραπται, ἐττά = ἐπτά, πέντος (also Amorg., but here special case) = πέμπτος, Thess. Λεπτίνας (Λεπτίνας), οἱ τολλίαρχοι, ἀρχιτολιάρχεντος (πτόλις, 67), also ἄτ τᾶς, etc. in external combination (99.2). Cf. also Thess. Ἀθόνειος = Ἀφθόνιος.

3. σγ > γγ or γ (with graphic or actual simplification). Cret. πρεῖγδν, πρεῖγιστος (both in Law Code), πρεῖγυς, πρεῖγία, πρεῖγυτάς, πρεῖγυσάντων, Locr. πρεῖγα (no. 59.10), all from πρεῖσ-γ- seen in Boeot. (ι from ει, 29) πρισγῆς, πρισγεῖς (no. 40), πρισγούτερος (Ἀρχ. Δελτ. 14, πίναξ 4a, l. 48), beside πρεῖσ-β- in Thess. πρεῖσβεία and πρεῖσ-γ-, πρεῖσ-β- in Arg. πρεῖσγῆα (no. 85.39), later πρεῖσβῆα (hybrid form), Att.-Ion. πρεῖσβυς, etc.

a. The form πρεῖσ- is not from πρεῖσ-, but an independent parallel form (cf. Lat. *preiscus*, *priscus*, and *pris-* in Lat. *primus*, Pael. *prismu*). For the interchange of γ and β, see 68.1. Late Cret. πρεῖσγευτάς and πρεῖσγευτάς in inscriptions of Teos are hybrid forms. In late Cret. πρήγιστος and late Coan πρηγιστεύω the η is due to the late confusion of ει and η.

b. A parallel change of σκ to κκ is attested for late Laconian by glosses like ἀκκόρ· ἀσκόρ. Λάκωνες (Hesych.), in this case confirmed by the modern Tsakonian form.

4. στ > ττ. Examples in several dialects, beside usual spelling στ. Cret. μεττ' ἐς beside μέστα, Lac. βεττόν 'dress' (Etym. M.)

= **ῥεστόν*, Boeot. *ἔτε* = *ἔστε*, *ἔτω* (Ar., Plato) = *ἔσω*.

5. *ρν* > *νν*. Cret. *ἀννίαιτο* = *ἀρνέαιτο*, *δννιθα* = *δρνιθα*, *Ἐλευθενναῖος* = *Ἐλευθερναῖος*.

6. *ρδ* (through *ρρ*) > *ρ* with lengthening of the preceding vowel. Cret. *Ῥέροντι*, *Ῥηρόντων* (Gortyn) beside *Ῥέρδι* (Lato), *πῆριξ* · *πέρδιξ* Hesych.

7. *μν* > *μμ*. Cret. *ἐσπρεμνίτω* = *ἐκπρεμνίζω*.

8. *νμ* > *μμ*. Att. (inscriptions) *ὑφαμμα*, Cyren. *ποτιπλάμμα*, Troez. *πεπεμμένος* (from *πένομαι*). But usually replaced by analogical *σμ*, as *ὑφασμα*, etc.

9. *γμ* > *μμ*. Cret. *ψάφιμμα* = *ψάφιγμα* (142a).

10. *γν* > *ν*. *γίγνομαι* appears as *γίνομαι* in most dialects except Attic (here also, but late), or as *γίνυμαι* (Thess., Boeot.). *γινώσκω* = *γινώσκω* occurs in Lesbian and in Ionic prose writers (Att. *γινώσκω* very late), and in some late Doric inscriptions. This is not really assimilation, but loss of *γ* by dissimilation from the initial *γ*, supported, in the case of *γίνομαι*, by the *γεν* of other tenses.

87. Transposition in consonant groups. As *τίκτω* from **τίτκω*, so probably *δάκτυλος* from **δάτκυλος*, to which points Boeot. *δακκύλιος* (*κκ* from *τκ* as in Thess. *πὸκ κί* from *πὸτ κί*, whereas *κκ* from *κτ* would be contrary to all analogy, cf. 86.1). But most examples are of colloquial and transitory character, more or less frequently repeated slips of the tongue, or sometimes, without doubt, only graphic. Thus from Attic inscriptions *σχυναρχόντων* = *χσυν-* (*ξυν-*), *εὐσχάμενος* = *εὐχσάμενος*, *σφυχή* = *ψυχή*, *ἔγρασφεν* (often on vases) = usual *ἔγραφσεν*, *μεσόμνη* = *μεσόδμη* (*δμ* first to *νμ* by assimilation); Arg. *ξύλλεσθαι* = *σκούλλεσθαι*; Syrac., Cret. *ψέ*, *ψίν* (Cret. *ψέ αὐτόν*, *πσίν αὐτοῖς*) = *σφέ*, *σφίν*.

88. Assimilation, dissimilation, and transposition, between non-contiguous consonants. Except for the regular dissimilation of aspirates in proethnic Greek (65), these phenomena are of the same occasional character as the preceding (87). They are most frequently observable in the case of aspirates, or of liquids, for which see 65, 70. A nasal may interchange with an oral stop of its own class, by assimilation or dissimilation with another nasal, e.g., Cret. *νύναμαι* = *δύναμαι* (cf. Mod. Grk. *Μεντέλη* beside *Πεντέλη*, name of Mt. Pentelicus), or, conversely, Att.

τέρβινθος beside *τέρμινθος*, Att. *κυβερνάω* from **κυμερνάω* beside Cyp. *κυμερῆναι* and *βάρναμαι* = *μάρναμαι*, which occurs in certain inscriptions in epic style from Athens, Corcyra, etc. (nos. 94, 95). But Arg. *σπάδιον* = *στάδιον* is perhaps the earlier form, the Att. *στ* due to influence of *στάδιος*. Dissimilatory loss of the labial element in the labiovelars (68), as in *ἀρτοκόπος* from *-πόπος*, Att. *γέφυρα* (68.2), Dor. *γλέπω*, *γλέφαρον* = *βλέπω*, *βλέφαρον*, Ion. *γλήχων*, Dor., Boeot. *γλάχων* = Att. *βλήχων*. Transposition, e.g., Ion. *ἀμιθρέω* = *ἀριθμέω*, Arg. *φάλυρον* = *λάφυρον*, Delph., Epid. *βόλιμος* = *μόλιβος* (Att. usually *μόλυβδος*, *βόλυβδος*), also with assimilation Rhod. *βόλιβος* in *περιβολιβῶσαι*, Cret. *νεμονήια*, *Νεμονήιος* = *νεομηνία*, *Νεομήνιος*.

a. Among the examples of haplogy or syllabic loss by dissimilation (Att. *ἀμφορεύς* vs. Hom. *ἀμφορεύς*) some are dialectal. Epid. *ἡμίδιμνον* from *ἡμι(μέ)διμνον*, as Att. *ἡμέδιμνον* from *ἡ(μι)μέδιμνον*. Cret. *νεότας* 'body of young men,' gen. *νεότας* from *νεότα(το)ς*, acc. *νεότα* from *νεότατα*, Lac. *Σαφάναξ* from *Σα(φο)φάναξ*.

b. There are other cases of syllabic loss which do not come under the head of haplogy. Many Thess. proper names in *Ἄστο-* = *Ἄριστο-*, as *Ἄστοκράτης*, *Ἄστοδάμος*, etc., Thess. *Λασαῖος* (no. 32.19), *Λασαῖοι* (gen. sg.), also *Λάσαν* *τὴν Λάρισσαν* Hesych., beside usual *Λαρισαῖος*, etc. (or later *σσ*).

Doubling of Consonants, Simplification of Double Consonants, and Other Losses of Consonants

89. A single consonant is often written double, this indicating a syllabic division by which it was heard at the end of one syllable and the beginning of the next. But not all the examples below can be understood in this way.

1. *σσ*, *σκ*, *σζ*, *ξσ*, *ξξ*, etc. Such spellings as *Ἄριστο-*, *δοστις*, *Ἀσκληπιός*, *κόσμος*, *γράφμα* are frequent and not confined to particular dialects. Similarly *σζ* (= *zzd*) in Arg. *δικάσζω* (no. 84, early), Delph. *δουλίσζω*, etc.; *ξσ* (= *κσσ*) in Corinth. *φώρας*, Rhod. *κύλιξ*, *Πραξιόδο* (no. 101), Ion. *ἔξσ* (no. 4.5), Boeot. *ἀργυροτόξσοι*, Naxian *Ναξσιό*, *Φηράξσο*, *ἔξσοχος* (probably; see no. 6); *ξξ* in Thess. *ἔξξοι*, *ἔξξανακάδεν*, Locr. *ψάφιξξιν*, *δόξξαι*, *ἔξξόλλειαν*, *ἄξξιομάχως*, Arg. *Πολυξξένα*, etc. Cf. also Locr. *ἐκκπῶσαι*, Lesb. *ἐκκτός*, Ion. (Ephesus) *ἐκττη*, *ὀκττώ*, *ἡμίεκττα* (also *ἐκ ττῶν*, etc.).

2. *μν*, *τρ*. Epid. *μέδιμνον*, *ἡμίδιμνον*, *ἱερομνήμενες* (no. 89), Arg. *γυμνικός*, *πέττρινον*, Cret. *ἀλλόττριος*.

3. Doubling before consonantal *ι* in Thessalian. See 19.3.

4. Doubling between vowels (besides *ξξ*, for which see above, 1), mainly of nasals or liquids. Thess. *μναμμεῖον*, *Δαμμάτρειος*, *ὀβελλός*, *δούρραντα*, Lesb. *πραγρημμένω*, *φίλημμι*, *δίννηντες*, *διννάεις*, *ἀρότρωμμεν*, etc., Rhod. *εἴμμειν*, Dodon. *ἄμμεινον*, Boeot. *θάλλατταν*, Delph. *ἐλλευθερία*. Likewise in external combination (101.1). But also El. *ἀνταποδιῶσσα*, Cret. *σποFδδάν* (spirant *δ*?).

a. The frequency of such forms in Lesbian and Thessalian was promoted by the numerous cases of regular *μμ*, etc., from combinations (74-76).

b. Single *σ* is the correct early spelling of Cret. *Κνωσός* (single *σ* also confirmed by Arg. *Κνόηοι* = *Κνόσιοι*), and the Thessalian and Argive *Λάρισα*. The forms with *σσ* are late.

5. Doubling in hypocoristic proper names, where it originates in the vocative and is due to the emphatic utterance in calling. Examples, though found elsewhere, are by far most frequent in Boeotian, e.g., *Ἀγαθῶ*, *Βίωττος*, *Μένναι*, etc.

a. Similar to this "expressive" doubling in hypocoristic names is that in nursery words like *πάππα*, *ἄττα*, etc., and in some colloquial words like *γύννις* (from *γυνή*), Lat. *gibbus*, *liprus*, etc. Here lies the probable explanation of the widespread *μικκός* (Dor., Boeot., etc.; proper names *Μίικκος*, *Μικκιάδης*) formed from the *μικ-* of *μικρός*. Hence also with diminutive suffixes *μικκύλος* and Lac. **μικκίχός* implied by *μικ(κ)ικιχιδόμενος* (cf. nos. 75-78, note).

6. The simplification of double consonants is in part only graphic. For the writing of single for double consonants is common in early inscriptions, with varying degrees of frequency. Thus in the earliest Attic inscriptions it is the usual practice. In the Gortyn Law-Code, in case of the infinitives from *-σθαι* the proportion of *-θαι* to *-θθαι* is roughly 3 : 1, while in external combination the double consonants resulting from assimilation are so written in the majority of cases (97.3, 4, 5; 98). Graphic simplification is of course to be assumed in all cases of *θάλασσα* = *θάλασσα*, feminine adjectives in *εσα* = *-εσσα* (for *στονόφεσαν*, no. 94, there is the added metrical evidence), and many others. So for early examples of *ἡμισον* = usual *ἡμισσον* (e.g., Locr. no.

59.17, Arg. no. 85.7), in spite of the frequency in later times of *ἡμισον*, which was probably influenced by Att. *ἡμισους*.

7. But actual simplification occurs in Att.-Ion., Arc. *σ* from *σσ* in forms like *μέσος*, aor. *ἐδίκασα*, dat. pl. *γένεσι*, etc. (82, 83), more exceptionally in Arc. *φθέραι*, Boeot. *Θάροφ*, etc. (80). It is also probable in external combination and composition in the numerous cases like *κά τόν*, *πὸ τόν* from *κάτ τόν*, *πὸτ τόν*, El. *καδαλέοιτο*, *καθυτάς*, Arc. *κακρίνῃ*, *κακριθέῃ*, *κακειμένω*, *ἰνῆταν*, *ἰμέσουν*, *ἰμέσος*, (= *ιν-* *ιμ-*), *τὰ Fάδω* (= *τὰν Fάδω*), *συFουκία*, *κὰ Fουκίας τὰ δέ*, (96.5, 97.2), Lac. *τὰ σῶ* (= *τὰς σῶ*), Locr. *ἔ τὰς*, *ἔ δάμω*, *ἔ λιμένος*, etc., from assimilated *ἐκ* (100), Locr. also *αἶ τι*, *ἀνάτῶ*, *ἀδίκῶ* = *αἶ τις*, *ἀνάτῶς*, *ἀδίκῶς*, all before *συλῶι*, etc.

a. In many editions of texts it is the practice to expand the spellings, e.g., *θάλα(σ)σα*, *πὸ(τ) τόν*, etc. But in this book, with occasional exceptions to save comment, the simple consonants are left as in the original.

8. The loss of a consonant in groups of three is mainly prehistoric and general Greek, as in *γεγράφθαι* from **γεγράφθαι*. But there are some cases of loss in a secondary group of special dialectal forms. Att.-Ion., Delph., Epid. *παστάς* from **παρστάς*, *παρσστάς*, Thess. *πεστάντες* from **περστάντες* (= *περι-*), Arc. *θύσθεν* from **θυρσθεν* (133.1), Lesb. *ἔσλος*, Ion. (Chios), lit. Dor. (Pindar) *ἔσλος*, also *ἡσλός* (Olympia, dialect uncertain) = *ἔσθλος*, Lesb. *μάσλης* = *μάσθλης*.

9. The loss of final *ν*, frequent in inscriptions and papyri of Hellenistic times, is also seen in Pamph. *πόλι* beside *πόλιν*, *ι* = *ιν*. Some alleged early anticipations of this tendency are of uncertain significance, in part perhaps only graphic errors, e.g., Arg. *τελαμῶ* (no. 82) = *τελαμών*, and Arg. gen. dual *τοῖ Fανάχοι* (the *τοῖ* could be from *τοιν* by assimilation and simplification, like that in Arc. *τὰ Fάδω*, *συFουκία*, 96.5).

CHANGES IN EXTERNAL COMBINATION

90. The phenomena of external combination, or sentence phonetics, such as elision, crasis, consonant assimilation, etc., are found in all dialects. But in Greek, as in most other languages,

* Some matters which strictly belong under this head have been discussed elsewhere, as the rhotacism of final *ς*, treatment of final *νς*, etc.

there is a tendency to limit more and more the scope of such changes, and to prefer, in formal speech and its written form, the uncombined forms. The inscriptions, Attic as well as those of other dialects, differ greatly in this respect according to their time and character. The following general observations may be made.

1. The changes occur mainly between words standing in close logical relation. Thus oftenest in prepositional phrases, or between the article, adjective, or particle and the noun with which it agrees; frequently between particles like *καί*, *δέ*, *μέν*, etc., and the preceding or following word; less often between the subject or object and the following verb; and very rarely in looser combinations.

2. While the less radical changes, such as the elision of a short vowel or the simpler forms of consonant assimilation, are least restricted in scope and survive the longest, the more violent forms of crasis and of consonant assimilation are the most infrequent and the soonest given up. Thus, in the matter of consonant assimilation, the partial assimilation of a nasal to a following stop, especially a labial, as in *τάμ πόλιν*, is very common in all dialects down to a late period and sometimes observed even in loose combinations (cf. 96.1), but examples like *τὸλ λόγον*, *τοὺν νόμους*, etc., are comparatively infrequent and practically restricted to early inscriptions.

3. Although the dialects differ in the extent to which they exhibit these phenomena and in some details (e.g., Cretan shows the most extensive and radical series of consonant assimilations), the differences depend more upon the time and character of the inscription, the degree to which the language has been formalized.

4. There is no consistency in the spelling, even as regards the milder changes, combined and uncombined forms often standing side by side in the same inscription.

Elision

91. Elision is common to all dialects, but, as in Attic, subject to great inconsistency as regards the written form, which even in metrical inscriptions is very often not in accord with the

demands of the meter. In general, elision is most frequent in the conjunctions and particles such as *δέ* (*δέδε*, *οὐδέ*, etc.), *τε*, *κα*, *ἀλλά*, etc., the prepositions, and, among case-forms, in stereotyped phrases like *πόλλ' ἀγαθὰ*, etc. The elision of a diphthong, e.g., Locr. *δείλετ' ἀνχῶρεῖν*, is comparatively rare. For elision in place of usual crasis, see 94.

a. Elision in *περί* (Attic only before *ι*), as in Doric poetry, in Cypr. *περ' Ἐδάλιον*, and in compounds Delph., Lesb., Boeot. (also in Pindar) *πέροδος*, Locr. *Περόχθεος*, Boeot. *περαγέας* (Corinna). Cf. *πέρ* by apocope (95).

Aphaeresis

92. Examples of aphaeresis occur in various dialects. Ion. *ἦ'ς, μὴ' λᾶσσονες* (Chios, no. 4), Locr. *ἦ' δελφίων, ἦ' χεπάμδον*, *μὲ' ποστᾶμεν*, *ἦ' ν' πόλι*, *ἦ' ν' ἀποκλῆσαι*, El. *μὲ' νπῶι*, *μὲ' πιποεόντων*, *μὲ' πιθεῖαν*, Lesb. *σ[τάλλ]α' πι*, Cret. *ἦ' ν, ἦ' πί*.

Shortening of a Final Long Vowel

93. The shortening of a final long vowel before an initial vowel, so well known in poetry, may occasionally show itself in the spelling of inscriptions, e.g., Cret. *μὲ' ἐκηι* (*μὴ' ἐχη*), *μὲ' ἐνδικον*, etc., Meg. *ἐπειδὲ' Ἰκέσιος*.

Crasis

94. Crasis, mostly of *καί* or forms of the article with the following word, is found in the early inscriptions of all dialects, though the uncombined forms are more frequent. As between the "phonetic principle", where the result of crasis is in accordance with the regular laws of contraction, and the "etymological principle," with lengthening of the vowel as in Att. *ἄνῃρ* = *ὁ ἀνῃρ*, the former is almost, if not wholly, predominant outside of Attic.

1. *ο*, secondary *ῶ* (*ου*), *ω*, + *α* (cf. 44.1). Ion. *ὠνῃρ, τῶγῶνος* (*τοῦ ἀγῶνος*), with the regular contraction to *ω*, where Attic has *ἄνῃρ, τᾶγῶνος*. Similarly Lesb. (lit.) *ὠνηρ*, Arc. *κά τῶρρέντερον* (*κατὰ τὸ ἄρρέντερον*), Delph. *τῶπελλαίου* (*τοῦ Ἀπελλαίου*), *τῶπόλλωνι* (*τῶι Ἀπόλλωνι*), Boeot. *τῶπόλλωνι* (*τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνι*), Corinth. *τῶπέλωνι* (*τῶι Ἀπέλλωνι*), *τῶγαθόν* (*τὸ ἀγαθόν*), Meg. *ὄρχεδάμε* (*ὦ*

Ἀρχέδαμε), and so regularly in literary Doric. Elision, rather than crasis, according to the "etymological principle", is probably to be assumed in Arc. *τᾶπόλλωνι*⁶ (*τοῦ Ἀπ-*), Corinth. *τᾶριστερόν* (*τὸ ἀριστερόν*), Arg. *τᾶργεῖοι* (*τοῖ Ἀργεῖοι*), *τᾶργεῖο* (*τοῦ Ἀργεῖου*), Locr. *τᾶπόλογοι* (*τοῖ ἀπόλογοι*).

2. *ο* + *ο*, *ε* or *η* (cf. 44.2, 3, 4). Att.-Ion. *τοῦνομα*, Lesb. *ὠνίαυτος* (*ὁ ἐνίαυτος*), Locr. *ὀπάγδν* (*ὁ ἐπάγων*). Ion. *τῶμισυ* (*τὸ ἥμισυ*).

3. *α* + *ο* (cf. 41.2). Att., Dor. *χῶ* (*καὶ ὅ*), Ion., Cret. *κῶ* (*καὶ ὅ*), Lesb. (lit.) *κῶττι* (*καὶ ὅττι*), El. *κῶπόταροι* (*καὶ ὀπόταροι*). Cf. Aegin. *χῶλέφας* (*καὶ ὁ ἐλέφας*) with double crasis, like *χῶκ* (*καὶ ὁ ἐκ*) in Theocritus.

4. *α* + *ο* (cf. 41.4). Meg. *ᾄλυνπιάς* (*ᾄ Ὀλυνπιάς*).

5. *α* + *ε* (cf. 41.3). Locr. *ἡπιφοικία* (*ᾗ ἐπιφοικία*).

6. *α* + *ε* (cf. 41.1). Att.-Ion. *κᾶγῶ* (*καὶ ἐγῶ*), *καπί* (*καὶ ἐπί*), *τᾶν* (*τὰ ἐν*), etc., West Greek *κῆν*, *κῆκ*, *κῆπί* (*καὶ ἐν*, *καὶ ἐκ*, *καὶ ἐπί*), Boeot. *κῆπικᾶριτται* (Ar.), etc. So also in Thessalian (no. 35) *κῆν* and *τῆς* (*τὰ ἐς*). Lesbian has *κῆμέ* (*καὶ ἐμέ*) in an early inscription, while the texts of the Aeolic poets vary between *α* and *η* (see p. 343); and Arcadian has *κῆπί*. Elision before *ε* plus two consonants, Cret. *κῆρσενος*, Epid. *κῆνκαύσιος*, etc.

7. With words beginning with a diphthong. Delph. *κηῦκλεια* (*καὶ Εὐκλεια*), *κῶυτε* (*καὶ οὔτε*), Rhod. *δῶδάμῶ* (*ὁ Εὐδάμου*), Ion. *ῶισυμνήτης* (*ὁ αἰσυμνήτης*), like lit. *ωῦτός* (*ὁ αὐτός*) in Homer, etc., *κῶῦδέν* (*καὶ οὐδέν*) in Epicharmus, *ῶπῶλος* (*ὁ αἰπῶλος*), *τῶῦβούλοιο* (*τῶ Εὐβ-*) in Theocritus. But also with diphthong unchanged, that is, with what is really elision, as commonly in lit. Attic and Ionic (*κοῦ, κοῦτε, χοί* = *καὶ οἶ, κεῦ* = *καὶ εὔ*), Thess. *κοῖ* (*καὶ οἶ*), Ion. *τοῖκόπεδον* (*τὸ οἰκό-*), *κοῖνοπίδης* (*καὶ Οἶνο-*), Arc. *κεῖορ-κέντι* (*καὶ εὔ-*). The proper transcription of forms in the pre-Ionic alphabet is sometimes uncertain, but, in general, crasis is most common in early inscriptions, and it is probable that we should transcribe Thess. *κεῖοφργέταν* (no. 35), Boeot. *τεῦτρῆτι-φάντῶ* (no. 38.5), and Aegin. *ἡῶικος* (*ὁ οἰκος*).

⁶ We continue, as a matter of convention, to transcribe in the form of crasis when the combination belongs to those which commonly suffer crasis, even in cases where we believe the phenomenon is elision. For it is impossible to draw the line between crasis and elision with certainty. See also here under 7, 8, 9.

8. With words beginning with *ι* or *υ*. Cret. *κυῖτες* (*καὶ υῖτες*), El. *κῦπαδουχοί* (*καὶ ὑπα-*), Delph. *κιδιῶται* (*καὶ ιδιῶται*).

In such cases there is of course no evidence as to whether the *υ* or *ι* was lengthened, as usually in Attic-Ionic, but probably we have here simply elision.

9. In Elean in the forms of the article the final vowel or diphthong disappears, sometimes even the vowel with final consonant. Thus *τιάρῶν* (*τὸ ἱαρόν*), *τιάρῶ* (*τῶ ἱαρόν*), *τιάρῶι* (*τοῖ ἱαρόι*), *τέπιαροι* (*τοῖ ἐπιαροι*), and even *τῶρ ἱαρομάορ τῶλυνπιαί* (*τῶρ Ὀλυνπιαί*). This is clearly not crasis proper, but an extension of the principle of elision. Cf. *θυῶι* (*τῶι υῖῶι*) in an Attic inscription and Locr. (Halae) *τῶαροι* = *τοῖ ἱαροι*.

Apocope

95. Apocope of prepositions, while very rare in Attic-Ionic prose, is common in other dialects, with differences in frequency, chronology, and especially in the range of prepositions affected. Most widespread are *ἐν* (or *ὀν-*, *ὕν-*, 6, 22) and *πάρ*. — *κάτ* and (in the ποτί-dialects) *πότ* are common; in the West Greek dialects mostly before a dental (in Heracleian only so), and frequently with simplification of the double consonants (89.6), *κά τόν*, *πὸ τόν*, etc. But also before other consonants (like Hom. *κάκ κεφαλῆς, κάγ γόνυ, κᾶν νόμον*, etc.), as Boeot. *κάγ γᾶν, πὸκ κατόπτας*, Thess. *κάπ παντός, πὸκ κί*, Lac. *καββαλίκος, Καβάτα*, Lesb. *κάλλιπεν*, etc. Regularly *κά, κα-* in the early Arcadian and Elean inscriptions, as Arc. *κά μῆνα, κακρίνῃ*, El. *καδαλείοτο, καθυτάς*, etc.—Arc. also *πέ* from *πεδά* in *πέ τοῖς Φοικιάταις*. — *πέρ* from *περί* occurs in Delphian, Elean (*πάρ*), Thessalian, lit. Lesbian, and in proper names in Locrian (*Περφοβαριᾶν*), Laco-nian, Messenian and Cretan. — *ᾗπ*, *ἐπ*, *ὕπ* are (except for a few cases in compounds before a labial, as Hom. *ἀππέμψει, ὕββάλλειν*, Lesb. *ᾗπ πατέρων* (Alcaeus) only Thessalian, which in general has more extensive apocope than any other dialect, namely *ᾗν, πάρ, πέρ, κάτ, πότ, ᾗπ* (*ᾗτ τᾶς*), *ἐπ* (*ἐτ τᾶ, ἐτ τοῖ*), *ὕπ* (*ὕππρῶ*). Cf. also Thess. gen. sg. *-οι* from *-οιο*, doubtless first in the proclitic article.

a. There is an unimportant difference of practice in regard to the apocopated forms beginning with a vowel. In some editions of literary texts and inscriptions they are given without accent, on the analogy of *ἐκ, ἐν*,

etc., e.g., Lesb. ἀπ πατέρων, Thess. ἀτ τᾶς. But consistently with the prevailing reading of Hom. ἀμ πεδίων, etc., we read ἀτ τᾶς, etc.

Consonant Assimilation

(in part with further simplification of the double consonants. 89.6)

96. Assimilation of final ν.

1. To the class of a following labial or guttural. Cases like τῆμ πόλιν, τὸν κήρυκα, νῦμ μέν, are frequent in Attic inscriptions, and likewise in the other dialects. So also between object and verb as Delph. τόκιον φερέτω, Arc. πόσοδομ ποέντω, and in looser combinations as Att. ἐστὶμ περί, Arc. ἐν ἐπικρισίγ κατὰπερ, Arg. ποιοῖεγ κατὰ.

2. To σ. Att. ἐς Σάμωι, ἐᾷ Σαλαμίνι (= ἐᾷν Σ-), Ion. τῶς συμ- πάντων, Epid. τὸς σακόν. Cf. Ion. πασσυδίηι beside πανσυδίηι, and Lesb. πασσυδιάσαντος.

Before σ + consonant. Att. ἐς στήληι but oftener ἐ στήληι, also τὲ στέλῃν. So Rhod., Cret. ἐ στάλαι, El. τὰ στάλαν. These do not arise by assimilation but by regular loss of ν. See 77.2, 78.

3. To λ. Att. ἐλ λίμναις, τὸλ λόγον, Ion. ἐλ Λαρυσσῶι, Delph. τῶλ Λαβυαδᾶν, Lac. ἐλ Λακεδαίμονι, Epid. τὸλ λίθον, τῶλ λίθων. Cf. συλλέγω, ἀλλύω = ἀναλύω, etc.

4. To ρ. Att. ἐρ Ῥόδωι, τὸρ Ῥόδιον. Cf. συρρίπτω, etc.

5. To φ. Arc. συφουκία, τὰ φάδω = τὰν φάδω.

a. In Cyprian, where ν before a consonant is always omitted in the interior of a word, it is also frequently omitted in sentence combination as τὰ(ν) πτόλιν.

97. Assimilation of final ζ.

1. To ν. Delph. τὸν νόμους. Cf. Πελοπόννησος (Πέλοπος νῆσος), Arc. ταῖννυ, ταιννί (ταῖς-νυ, -νί), ταννί (τασ-νί, acc. pl.), τανί (gen. sg.).

2. To μ and φ. Cyp. φέπο μέγα = φέπος μέγα, τᾷ φανάσας = τᾶς φανάσας. In the same way arose κά = κάς (καί) in Cyp. κα μέν, Arc. κα Φουκίας.

3. To λ. Att. τὸλ λίθος, Cret. τοῖλ λείονσι, τὶλ λῆι, Lac. ἐλ Λακεδαίμονα (ἐλ = ἐς), τοῖ Λακεδαιμονίοις, Cyren. ἐλ Λιβύαν, Arg. κῆλ Λευκόπορον (καί ἐλ Λ-).

4. To δ. So regularly in Cretan, e.g., τᾷδ δαίσιος, τᾷδ δέ, ἐδ δικαστέριον, πατρὸδ δόντος τᾷ δίκας, τὸδ δ' ὀδελόνς. Rarely else-

where, but cf. Rhod. Ζεὺ δέ (no. 100), ματρὸ δέ, τὰ δευτέρως, Arc. τὰ δέ = τὰς δέ. Assimilation in the opposite direction is seen in Arg. βωλᾶς σευτέρως (no. 86). Partial assimilation in early Arg. τοῖζ δε. Cf. late Arg. πρεζβευτῶν, etc.

5. To θ. Cretan only, as τὰθ θυγατέρας. Cf. Cret. θθ = σθ medially (85.3).

a. Before a word beginning with a vowel final ζ may be treated as intervocalic, e.g., Lac. Διοικέτα, Διόλευθερίδ = Διὸς ἱκέτου, Διὸς ἐλευθερίου (cf. 59.1), Cyp. κα ἀ(ν)τί, τᾷ ὕχρον (59.4), Eretr. δπωρ ἄν (60.3).

98. Assimilation of final ρ to δ. So regularly in Cretan, e.g., ἀνὲδ δδῖ, πατὲδ δδῆι, and πατὲ δδῆι. Cf. Cnid. πα Δάματρα = παρὰ Δ-.

99. Assimilation of a final stop.

1. Final τ. The apocopated forms of κατὰ and ποτί, so far as they occur otherwise than before τ (cf. 95), are generally assimilated (sometimes with further simplification; see 89.7), e.g., Thess. κάπ παντός, πὸκ κί (πὸτ κί = πρὸς τί), Boeot. πὸδ Δάφνη, πὸκ κατόπτας, Lesb. κακ κεφάλας (Alcaeus), κάμ μέν (Sappho), etc. So in compounds, e.g., El. καδαλεοίτο, καθυτάς, Lesb. κάββαλλε (Alcaeus), καλλύοντος, Arc. κακειμέναν, κακρύνῃ, Lac. Καβάτα (Καταβάτου), καβαίνων (Alcman), etc. But -τ θ- is often unasimilated.

2. Final π. Thess. ἄπ, ἐπ = ἀπό, ἐπί are assimilated in ἄτ τᾶς, ἐτ τοῖ. Cf. 86.2.

3. Final κ. See 100.

100. ἐξ. In most dialects, as in Attic, ἐξ becomes ἐκ before a consonant, thus appearing often as ἐχ before an aspirate, and ἐγ before voiced stops and λ, μ, ν, φ, until late times, when ἐκ is usual before all consonants. The general rule is, then, ἐξ before vowels, and ἐκ (ἐχ, ἐγ) before consonants. But the antevocalic form ἐξ occasionally appears before consonants in various dialects (so regularly in Cyprian, as ἐξ τῶι, etc.).

In Locrian it is fully assimilated to all consonants, whence, with the simplification of double consonants, it appears simply as ἐ, e.g., ἐ τᾶς, ἐ δάμῳ, ἐ Φοινάνῳ, ἐ θαλάσας, ἐ λιμένος, ἐ Ναυπάκτῳ. Cf. also Mess. ἐ Φιαλείας.

In Thessalian, Boeotian, Arcadian, and Cretan the regular form before consonants is ἐς, e.g., Thess. ἐς τᾶν, ἐσδόμεν, Boeot. ἐς τῶν, ἐσλήνω (cf. also ἐσκηδεκάτη from ἐξ), Arc. ἐς τοῖ, ἐσδέλλοντες,

ἐσπερᾶσαι, Cret. ἐς τῶν, ἐσκλησία, Thess., Boeot., Cret. ἐσγονος = ἐκγονος. All these dialects have ἐξ before vowels except Boeotian, where ἐχς appears in an early inscription, but usually ἐςς, as ἐςς ἐφείβων, ἐσσειμεν. This is probably a transfer or the antecorsonantal form in an intermediate stage of its development (ἐξ, ἐςς, ἐς).

a. There are some traces of ἐς in other dialects which generally have ἐκ or ἐξ, e.g. Cyp. ἐς πόδ' ἔρπας· πόθεν ἦκεις (Hesych.), Arg. ἐ Σικελίας, ἐς πόλιος, Rheg. ἐσκλητος (no. 107, note), Delph. ἐς τοῦ δρόμου (no. 50), ἐσγονος (no. 52 C 45).

Consonant Doubling

101. 1. Before vowels. Cret. τὰνν ἐμίναν, συνν-ῆι, Boeot., Corinth. ἀνν-έθηκε, Att. ξυνν-όντι, lit. Lesb. ὄνν-ώρινε, ἀσύννετος, Delph. ἐλεύθερονν εἵμεν.

2. With ὅσστις etc. (89.1), compare Att. εἰςς τήν, Epid. ἐςς τό, etc., or Epid. τὸ σκέλος, Coan τοῦ στεφάνου. Ion. ἐξς (no. 4) like φάφξξις, Ion. ἐκ ττῶν like ὀκττώ (89.1), ἐκκ τοῦ in Attic inscriptions, etc.

ν Movable

102. The ν movable in the dative plural in -σι(ν) and in the verb forms in -σι(ν) and ε(ν) is a marked characteristic of Attic-Ionic, where it appears from the earliest inscriptions on with increasing frequency and before both vowels and consonants. (In Attic its use becomes gradually more and more uniform before vowels, and it is also somewhat more common before a pause in the sense than elsewhere.) In verb forms it is wholly unknown in the older inscriptions of other dialects, and where found is a sure sign of κοινή influence. But in the dative plural (where the ν is due to the analogy of pronominal datives like Att. ἡμῖν, Dor. ἀμῖν, Lesb. ἡμμιν beside ἄμμι in which the ν is inherited) it appears outside of Attic-Ionic at an early period. Thus Thess. χρέμασιν (no. 35), Locr. ἀνδράσιν, γονεῦσιν, παμάτεσιν (no. 59), Sicyon. φέρουσιν, Φουκίουςιν (no. 96); and so the later Lac. πᾶσιν, Heracl. ἐντασιν, etc., Arc. χρήμασιν, ἀναλώμασιν, need not necessarily be charged to the κοινή.

ACCENT

103. Of the dialects outside of Attic-Ionic, Lesbian is the only one of whose accentual peculiarities we have any adequate knowledge. This was characterized by the recessive accent, e.g., πόταμος, σόφος, βασιλεὺς, λεῦκος,

The Doric accent is said by the grammarians to be processive in certain classes of forms, e.g., ἐλάβον, στάσαι, αἴγες = Att. ἐλαβον, στῆσαι, αἴγες. But the statements are too meager to admit of generalization as to the system as a whole, nor is it known whether all Doric dialects had these peculiarities. Hence the practice now frequently adopted, and followed in this book, of giving Doric forms with the ordinary Attic accent, except in a few well-established forms like Ποτιδάν. In general our accentuation of dialect forms can be little more than a matter of convenience.⁶

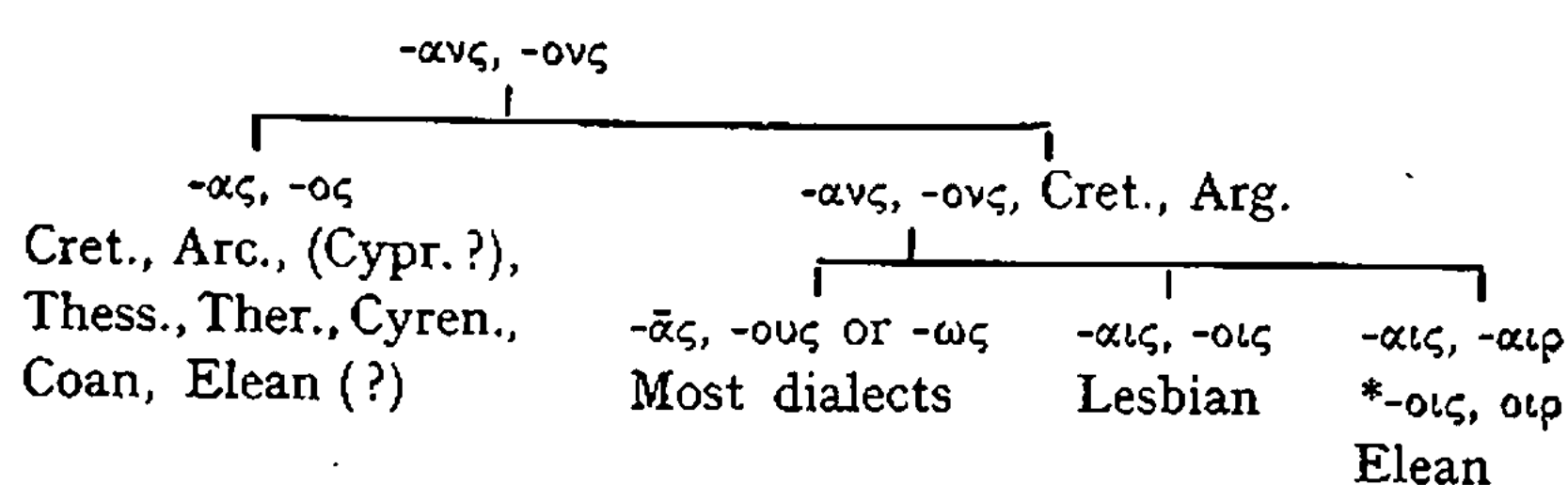
a. A question of detail, touching which there is considerable difference of practice among editors of dialect texts, is whether, in the case of inflectional forms which differ in their quantitative relations from the corresponding Attic forms, to adopt the actual accent of the Attic forms or to change the accent to accord with the Attic system, e.g., infin. κρίνεν like κρίνειν, or κρίνεν, acc. pl. φερόμενος like φερόμενους, or φερόμενος, Cret. κάρτονανς, στατήρανς like κρείττονας, στατήρας, or καρτόνανς, στατήρανς. The question of the true accentuation is a complicated one, differing in each class of forms, and impossible of any certain answer. But practical convenience favors the use of the Attic accent in some cases, as in the accusative plural to distinguish it from the nominative, and we adopt this alternative in all the cases mentioned.

b. The pronominal adverbs in -ει, -α, and -ω we accent as perisporomena, following here what the grammarians laid down as the Doric accent, since this affords a convenient working rule, and serves to distinguish, e.g., τούτῳ from γεν. τούτῳ. But it is far from certain that the accent was uniform, and that we should write, e.g., ἀλλεῖ, ἀλλᾶι, πανταῖ, as we do, and not, with some, ἄλλαι like Att. οἵκai, and ἄλλαι, πάνται like Att. ἄλλῃ, πάντῃ. And as between ὅπῃ and ὅπαι, etc., about which the grammarians were in doubt, we definitely prefer ὅπαι, ὅπαι, ὅπαι, ὅπαι (cf. Att. ὅπου beside ποῦ, in spite of αὐτοῦ, etc.). We accent ἐνδοί, ἐξοί, ἥχοι, etc., like οἴκοι, though ἐνδοί etc. (cf. ἐνταυθοῖ) may also be defended.

⁶ It has been urged that dialect forms and texts should be printed without accents. But, our ignorance being once for all admitted, the current practice is justified by its greater convenience for the reader.

INFLECTION
NOUNS AND ADJECTIVES
Feminine $\bar{\alpha}$ -Stems

104. 1. NOM. SG. $\bar{\alpha}$, Att.-Ion. $-\eta$.
2. GEN. SG. $\bar{\alpha}\varsigma$, Att.-Ion. $-\eta\varsigma$.—Arc. $-\bar{\alpha}\nu$ after the masculine, as $\omicron\iota\kappa\bar{\iota}\alpha\nu$, $\zeta\alpha\mu\bar{\iota}\alpha\nu$, but only at Tegea, and here $\bar{\alpha}\varsigma$ beside $\bar{\alpha}\nu$ in early inscriptions, and always $\tau\bar{\alpha}\varsigma$.
3. DAT. SG. $\bar{\alpha}\iota$, Att.-Ion. $-\eta\iota$, whence also $\bar{\alpha}$, $-\eta$, $-\epsilon\iota$. See 38, 39.—Boeot. $-\alpha\iota$ ($-\alpha\epsilon$, $-\eta$, 26), and this is to be assumed in the other dialects which have $-\alpha\iota$ (106.2)
4. ACC. SG. $\bar{\alpha}\nu$, Att.-Ion. $-\eta\nu$.
5. NOM. PL. $-\alpha\iota$ (Boeot. $-\alpha\epsilon$, $-\eta$, 26).
6. GEN. PL. $-\bar{\alpha}\omega\nu$, $-\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu$, $-\bar{\omega}\nu$, $-\bar{\alpha}\nu$. See 41.4.
7. DAT. PL. In early Attic $-\bar{\alpha}\sigma\iota(\nu)$, $-\eta\sigma\iota(\nu)$, sometimes $-\bar{\alpha}\iota\sigma\iota(\nu)$, $-\eta\iota\sigma\iota(\nu)$, after 420 B.C. $-\alpha\iota\varsigma$.—In Ionic usually $-\eta\iota\sigma\iota(\nu)$, rarely $-\eta\varsigma$, $-\eta\sigma\iota(\nu)$, also $-\alpha\iota\varsigma$.— $\bar{\alpha}\sigma\iota$ rarely elsewhere, as early Troez. $\Theta\acute{\epsilon}\beta\bar{\alpha}\sigma\sigma\iota$, Cret. (Drierus) $\pi\acute{\upsilon}\lambda\bar{\alpha}\sigma\iota$, $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\bar{\alpha}\sigma\iota$ (BCH 70.590, 597).— $\bar{\alpha}\iota\sigma\iota$ or $-\alpha\iota\sigma\iota$ in Lesbian (but $\tau\alpha\bar{\iota}\varsigma$), Pamphylian also Corcyrean ($\rho\eta\phi\alpha\bar{\iota}\sigma\iota$ poet.), and rarely in Cretan (beside rare $\bar{\alpha}\sigma\iota$ and usual $-\alpha\iota\varsigma$). The majority of dialects have $-\alpha\iota\varsigma$ from the earliest times.
8. ACC. PL. $-\alpha\nu\varsigma$, with the same development as has $-\alpha\nu\varsigma$ from α -stems, namely (see also 78):



9. NOM.-ACC. DUAL. Att. $\bar{\alpha}$ formed on the analogy of $-\omega$ in α -stems, but in pronouns usually $\tau\bar{\omega}$, etc., with α -stem form used

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also for feminine. Examples in other dialects are rare, but Corinth. $\pi\acute{\upsilon}\kappa\tau\bar{\alpha}$, and Boeot. $\delta\alpha\rho\chi\mu\bar{\alpha}\omega$ $\delta\acute{\upsilon}\alpha$, a blend of the two types.

10. GEN.-DAT. DUAL. Att. $-\alpha\iota\nu$, examples in other dialects rare. Locr. $\tau\acute{\omicron}\iota\nu$ $\kappa\acute{\omicron}\rho\alpha\iota\nu$ (with α -stem in the article, as in Attic), Arc. $\tau\acute{\omicron}\iota\varsigma$ $\kappa\rho\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\iota\nu$ (with pl. α -stem in article), and (AJA 1939, 196) $\tau\upsilon\delta\alpha\rho\iota\delta\bar{\iota}\alpha\iota\nu\varsigma$. Cf. Arc. $-\alpha\iota\nu$, 106.7.

11. The dual in general. The dual, which in Attic disappeared in the course of the fourth century B.C., and eventually everywhere, was lost at a still earlier period in some dialects. It is lacking in Ionic and Cretan inscriptions (cf. Cret. $\delta\acute{\upsilon}\alpha$ $\sigma\tau\alpha\tau\bar{\epsilon}\rho\alpha\nu\varsigma$). But dual forms are quotable from several dialects, as Arc. $-\omega$, $-\alpha\iota\nu$, $-\alpha\iota\nu$ (no. 20), Boeot. $\phi\alpha\gamma\acute{\alpha}\nu\omega$, $\delta\rho\alpha\chi\mu\bar{\alpha}\omega$, $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\beta\bar{\epsilon}\tau\epsilon$, all reinforced by $\delta\acute{\upsilon}\alpha$ (no. 39), Locr. $\tau\acute{\omicron}\iota\nu$ $\kappa\acute{\omicron}\rho\alpha\iota\nu$ (no. 60), El. $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\sigma\tau\alpha\tau\bar{\omicron}$, $\delta\upsilon\alpha\iota\omicron\iota\varsigma$, $\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\omicron\iota\omicron\iota\varsigma$ (also dual verbal forms), Delph. $\delta\acute{\upsilon}\alpha$ $\delta\delta\epsilon\lambda\bar{\omega}$, $\phi\rho\upsilon\kappa\tau\bar{\omega}$ (no. 53; but $\delta\acute{\upsilon}$ $\delta\delta\epsilon\lambda\bar{\omega}\varsigma$ in the earlier no. 51), Lac. $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\alpha}\kappa\omega$, $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\alpha}\kappa\omega\varsigma$ (nos. 72, 73), Corinth. $\pi\acute{\upsilon}\kappa\tau\bar{\alpha}$, Arg. $\lambda\acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\omega$, Coan $\omicron\iota\epsilon$ $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\omega$.

Masculine $\bar{\alpha}$ -Stems

105. 1. NOM. SG. $\bar{\alpha}\varsigma$ (with secondary ς , after the analogy of $-\alpha\varsigma$), Att.-Ion. $-\eta\varsigma$.

a. Forms without ς also occur, several in Boeotian, as $\kappa\alpha\lambda\lambda\bar{\iota}\alpha$, $\mu\omicron\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\alpha$, etc., and a few from other parts of Northwest Greece, as $\Sigma\phi\acute{\omicron}\pi\alpha$ (Halae), $\Phi\iota\lambda\omicron\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\delta\alpha$ (Dodona), etc. El. $\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}$ is a form in $-\tau\bar{\alpha}$ like Hom. $\iota\pi\acute{\omicron}\tau\alpha$.

2. GEN. SG. $-\bar{\alpha}\omega$ (with ω , in place of ς , after that of α -stems), whence Arc.-Cypr. $-\bar{\alpha}\nu$ (22), elsewhere $-\bar{\alpha}$, Ion. $-\epsilon\omega$, $-\omega$. See 41.4. Att. $-\alpha\iota$ is not from $-\bar{\alpha}\omega$, but the α -stem form taken over as a whole.

a. There are a few Cypr. examples of $-\bar{\alpha}$, beside usual $-\bar{\alpha}\nu$, as $\acute{\alpha}\mu\epsilon\nu\bar{\iota}\chi$ no. 23.19 vs. $\acute{\omicron}\nu\alpha\sigma\iota\gamma\acute{\omicron}\rho\alpha\nu$ II.1/2, 22.

b. $-\bar{\alpha}\omega$, in $\tau\lambda\alpha\sigma\iota\alpha\omega$, $\pi\alpha\sigma\iota\delta\alpha\omega$, of two metrical inscriptions from Corcyra and Gela (nos. 93, 105), is a reminiscence of the epic $-\bar{\alpha}\omega$ (the spoken form was already $-\bar{\alpha}$, which appears in other equally early inscriptions, as $\acute{\alpha}\rho\nu\acute{\iota}\alpha\delta\alpha$ no. 94, $\Delta\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\nu}\bar{\iota}\alpha$ no. 91) with the introduction of a non-etymological ω , either representing a glide sound before the following α (cf. $\acute{\alpha}\phi\upsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}\nu$, no. 94; see 32), or due to a false extension from forms with etymological ω , as $\lambda\bar{\alpha}\phi\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ = Hom. $\lambda\bar{\alpha}\phi\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ (cf. Ion. $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\sigma\alpha\delta\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\iota}\omega$, no. 9).

c. Forms in $-\bar{\alpha}\varsigma$, with the old ending unchanged and belonging with the nominatives in $-\bar{\alpha}$ (above, 1a) occur in scattered examples in Megarian as $\Phi\acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\varsigma$, etc. (no. 99) and from various parts of Northwest Greece, as $\Pi\rho\omicron\kappa\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\iota\delta\alpha\varsigma$ (no. 95).

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d. Att.-Ion. proper names in $-\eta\varsigma$, from the fourth century on, frequently form the genitive after the analogy of α -stems, e.g., Att. $\kappa\alpha\lambda\lambda\bar{\iota}\alpha\delta\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ (after $\Delta\eta\mu\omicron\sigma\theta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$, etc.), Ion. $\Lambda\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\delta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$, $\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon\iota\delta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$. This type spreads to other dialects, e.g., Rhod. $\mu\upsilon\omega\nu\bar{\iota}\delta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$.

α -Stems

106. 1. GEN. SG. $-\alpha\iota\omicron$ (from $*-\alpha\sigma\iota\omicron$, cf. Skt. $-\alpha\sigma\iota\alpha$) as in Homer, whence, with apocope, Thess. (Pelasgiotis) $-\alpha\iota$, as $\tau\acute{\omicron}\iota$, $\chi\rho\acute{\omicron}\nu\alpha\iota$, etc. Elsewhere, with loss of ι and contraction, $-\alpha\iota$ or $-\alpha$ (25).—In Cyprian $-\bar{\alpha}\nu$ beside $-\bar{\alpha}$ (at Idalium $\mu\iota\sigma\theta\bar{\alpha}\nu$, $\acute{\alpha}\rho\gamma\acute{\upsilon}\rho\bar{\alpha}\nu$, $\Phi\iota\lambda\omicron\kappa\upsilon\pi\rho\bar{\alpha}\nu$, etc.), and so usually $-\bar{\alpha}\nu$ in nouns, whether vowel or consonant follows; but also $\acute{\alpha}\rho\gamma\acute{\upsilon}\rho\bar{\alpha}$, $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\bar{\alpha}$, before a consonant, and always $\tau\bar{\alpha}$.

a. $-\alpha\iota\omicron$ is often employed in metrical inscriptions, in imitation of the epic, e.g., nos. 93, 94. But in Thessalian it also occurs in a few prose inscriptions, and the grammarians often refer to the Thessalian genitive in $-\alpha\iota\omicron$. This, together with the fact that apocope is more extensive in Thessalian than in any other dialect (see 95), makes obvious the derivation of the usual Thess. $-\alpha\iota$ from $-\alpha\iota\omicron$, probably starting in the article, which was of course proclitic like the prepositions. For the added ν in Cyprian no explanation that has been offered is adequate.

2. DAT. SG. $-\alpha\iota$ in most dialects, whence also $-\alpha$ (38; Thess. $\alpha\iota$, 23).— $\alpha\iota$ in Arcadian (usually, but in no. 20 $\tau\acute{\omega}\iota$, $\tau\omega\iota\bar{\nu}\iota$, $\tau\acute{\omega}\iota\nu\alpha$ beside $\beta\omicron\upsilon\sigma\sigma\acute{\omicron}\tau$, etc.), Elean, Boeotian ($-\alpha\epsilon$, $-\alpha$, $-\epsilon\iota$, 30), and in later inscriptions from various parts of Northern Greece (Delphi, Aetolia, Acarnania, Epirus, Cierium in Thessaly, Euboea).

a. In Euboea $-\alpha\iota$ replaces earlier $-\alpha\iota$ and may be derived from it, like $-\epsilon\iota$ from $-\eta\iota$ (see 39). But in general $-\alpha\iota$ is rather the original locative (cf. $\omicron\iota\kappa\omicron\iota$) in use as the dative. In some dialects the history of the dative is obscure, owing to the lack of early material or the ambiguity of $-\alpha\iota$ in the pre-Ionic alphabets.

3. NOM. PL. $-\alpha\iota$ (Boeot. $-\alpha\epsilon$, $-\alpha$, 30).

4. DAT. PL. $-\alpha\iota\sigma\iota(\nu)$, as in Homer, in early Attic, Ionic, where it lasts somewhat longer than in Attic (but some early examples of $-\alpha\iota\varsigma$, especially in West Ionic), Lesbian (but here always $\tau\acute{\omicron}\iota\varsigma$), Pamphylian, and sometimes Cretan (but rare vs. $-\alpha\iota\varsigma$), Argive (only early), and Syracusan.—Elsewhere only $-\alpha\iota\varsigma$ (Boeot. $-\alpha\epsilon$, $-\epsilon\iota\varsigma$, Elean $-\alpha\iota\varsigma$).

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5. ACC. PL. $-\alpha\nu\varsigma$, with the same development as $-\alpha\nu\varsigma$. See 78, 104.8.

6. NOM.-ACC. DUAL. $-\omega$. This is by far the most frequently attested dual form.

7. GEN.-DAT. DUAL. $-\alpha\iota\nu$ as in Homer, whence $-\alpha\iota\nu$ in most dialects in which the form occurs. But El. $-\alpha\iota\omicron\iota\varsigma$, $-\alpha\iota\omicron\iota\varsigma$. Arc. (no. 20) $\iota\mu\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\sigma\upsilon\nu$ $\tau\acute{\omicron}\iota\varsigma$ $\Delta\iota\delta\acute{\upsilon}\mu\omicron\upsilon\nu$ (cf. the preceding $\tau\acute{\omega}$ $\Delta\iota\delta\acute{\upsilon}\mu\omega$), like the $-\alpha\iota\nu$ in $\bar{\alpha}$ -stems (104.10).

a. The unique Arcadian forms seem to contain an inherited μ connected with the μ -diphthong to which the Sanskrit and Slavic dual forms point (Skt. $\iota\alpha\gamma\omicron\varsigma$, ChSl. $\iota\alpha\gamma\mu$), but the detailed analysis is highly uncertain.

Consonant Stems in General

107. 1. ACC. SG. $-\alpha\nu$ in place of the usual $-\alpha$, with ν added after the analogy of vowel stems, occurs in Cypr. $\iota\alpha\tau\bar{\epsilon}\rho\alpha\nu$, $\acute{\alpha}(\nu)\delta\rho\iota\acute{\alpha}(\nu)\tau\alpha\nu$, Thess. $\kappa\iota\omicron\nu\alpha\nu$, El. $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\lambda\mu\alpha\tau\omicron\phi\bar{\omega}\rho\alpha\nu$ (but possibly $-\phi\bar{\omega}\rho\alpha\nu$ from nom. $-\phi\bar{\omega}\rho\alpha\varsigma$), and among late inscriptions of various dialects.

2. NOM. PL. $-\epsilon\nu$ for usual $-\epsilon\varsigma$ occurs in late Cretan, having originated in pronominal forms. See 119.2a.

3. DAT. PL. $-\epsilon\sigma\sigma\iota$, as in Hom. $\pi\acute{\omicron}\delta\epsilon\sigma\sigma\iota$ (either based on the $-\epsilon\sigma\sigma\iota$ of σ stems or, as many prefer, formed to nom. pl. $-\epsilon\varsigma$ after the analogy of $-\alpha\iota\sigma\iota$, $-\alpha\iota\sigma\iota$ to $-\alpha\iota$, $-\alpha\iota$ is characteristic of the Aeolic dialects, Lesbian, Thessalian (but also $\chi\rho\bar{\epsilon}\mu\alpha\sigma\iota\nu$, $\acute{\upsilon}\pi\acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\omicron\nu\sigma\iota$), and Boeotian, also Pamphylian, Delphian, Locrian (no. 59 $\pi\alpha\mu\bar{\alpha}\tau\epsilon\sigma\iota\nu$ beside $\acute{\alpha}\nu\delta\rho\acute{\alpha}\sigma\iota\nu$, etc.; East Locr. $\chi\rho\eta\mu\acute{\alpha}\tau\epsilon\sigma\sigma\iota$, etc.; but $-\alpha\iota\varsigma$ in nos. 57, 58, 60), Elean ($\phi\upsilon\gamma\acute{\alpha}\delta\epsilon\sigma\sigma\iota$ no. 65; elsewhere $-\alpha\iota\varsigma$), with occasional forms in Cyrenaean ($\acute{\epsilon}\upsilon\epsilon\sigma\pi\epsilon\rho\bar{\iota}\delta\epsilon\sigma\sigma\iota$), and Corinthian colonies.—Heracleian has $-\alpha\sigma\sigma\iota$ in pres. pple. $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\alpha\sigma\sigma\iota\nu$ (a blend of $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\alpha$ with $\acute{\alpha}\sigma\sigma\iota$ = Skt. $satsu$, see 163.8), $\pi\rho\alpha\sigma\sigma\acute{\omicron}\nu\tau\alpha\sigma\sigma\iota$, etc.— $-\alpha\iota\varsigma$, as $\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma$, etc., after the analogy of α -stems, is characteristic of Locrian (otherwise no. 59, see above), Elean, and the Northwest Greek $\kappa\omicron\iota\nu\eta$, whence it finds its way into various dialects in later times. So in late inscriptions of Messenia, Laconia, Crete, and Tauromenium.

4. ACC. PL. $-\epsilon\varsigma$ in place of $-\alpha\varsigma$, i.e., the nom. for the acc., perhaps first used in the numeral $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\tau\omicron\rho\epsilon\varsigma$ owing to the influence

of the indeclinable πέντε, etc., is seen in Delph. δεκατέτορες, τέτορες, Δελφίδες (nos. 49, 51), and regularly in Elean ([τέτορ]ες, sixth century, πλείονερ, χάριτερ, no. 66, etc.) and Achaean (ἐλάσσονες, δαμοσιόφυλακες, etc.), also in the very late inscriptions of various dialects, even Attic.

Cret. -ανς beside -ας, e.g. θυγατέρανς, δρομέανς, κύνανς, after the analogy of -ανς, -ας from $\bar{a}$ -stems (104.8).

σ-Stems

108. 1. All dialects except Attic have the uncontracted forms. Gen. sg. in most dialects -εος, whence -ιος in Boeotian, Cretan, etc. (9), -εως in later Ionic, Rhodian, etc. (42.5). Acc. sg. masc. and acc. pl. neut. -εα, or contracted η (42.1). Acc. pl. masc. fem. -εας in most dialects (Cyren. τριήρης, 42.1), Att. -εις (nom. used as acc.), also late in other dialects.

a. Proper names in -κλέης, -κλής. Cypr. -κλέῖς, whence -κλέης in Attic (beside -κλής), Boeotian (-κλέῖς, -κλίῖς) till about 400 B.C., and regularly in Euboean (gen. -κλέω, 2), but in the other dialects regularly -κλής. Gen. sg. Cypr. -κλέῖος, Boeot. -κλείος (= Hom. -κλήος, cf. 16), Att. -κλέους, but in most dialects -κλέος.

For names in -κλέῖς instead of -κλέης, see 166.1.

2. Proper names often have forms which are modeled after the analogy of the masc. $\bar{a}$ -stems, and this not only in Attic-Ionic (e.g., Att. Σωκράτην, Σωκράτου, Eretr. gen. Εὐκράτω, Τιμοκλέω), where the agreement in the nom. -ης was especially favorable to this, but also in other dialects. Thus acc. sg. in -ην (-ην: -ης = $\bar{a}$ ν: $\bar{a}$ ς), e.g., Boeot. Δαμοτέλειν, Arc. Ἐπιτέλην, and even in appellatives, e.g., Lesb. δαμοτέλην, Cypr. ἀτελέν.—Dat. sg. in -ηι, Lesb. Καλλίικληι, Cret. Δαμοκούδηι.—Gen. sg. in -η (like $\bar{a}$) in Lesb. Θεογένη, Thess. Φιλόκλει, Cret. Ἀλκιμένη, etc.; also, perhaps, -ης (like $\bar{a}$ ς, 105.2b) in Thess. Ἰπποκράτεις, Φερεκράτῃς (no. 35; or Φερεκράτε(ο)ς?).—Voc. sg. in -η (like $\bar{a}$) in Arc. Ἀτέλη, etc., Delph. Πολυκράτη; in -ε (like $\bar{a}$ in Δίκα) in Lesb. μελλιχόμειδε.

The numerous Boeotian hypocoristic names in -ει as Μέννει, Φίλλει, Θάλλει, Ξέννει, are also best understood as vocatives of this type used as nominatives. They correspond to names in -ης,

-ητος, in other dialects, but in Boeotian follow the analogy of σ -stems (gen. sg. -ιος, acc. sg. -ειν).

ι-Stems

109. 1. In all dialects except Attic-Ionic, and, for the most part, in Ionic too, the regular type of declension is that with ι throughout, namely, -ις, -ιος, -ι, -ιν, -ιες, -ιων, -ισι, -ις (Arg. Cret. -ινς) or -ιας (rare).

2. The type in -ις, -εως (from -ηος, as in Homer), -ει, pl. -εις, etc., is almost exclusively Attic. In Ionic πόλεως occurs in early inscriptions of Chios (no. 4) and Thasos, and Δυνάμει in Teos (no. 3). But otherwise in Ionic, and always in other dialects, forms of this type are late and to be attributed to Attic influence. In general, the Attic datives, -ει and -εσι, are the first to be adopted, next the nom.-acc. pl. -εις, and lastly the gen. sg. -εως. Thus in the later inscriptions of many dialects it is common to find gen. sg. -ιος, but dat. sg. -ει.

The nom. pl., originally -ειες whence Att. -εις, in other dialects only in the numeral Cret. τρέες, Ther. τρής, etc.

A gen. sg. πόλεος is found in the κοινή and in later inscriptions of various dialects.

3. Lesbian has a nom. pl. -ις (πόλις, no. 25), perhaps the accusative used as nominative.

4. Cyprian has such forms as gen. sg. Τιμοχάριφος, dat. sg. πτόλιφι. The ϕ is certainly not original here, and is perhaps due to the analogy of υ - and η -stems (gen. -υφος, -εφος).

5. A transfer to the type -ις, -ιδος, as frequently in Attic, is characteristic of Euboean proper names in -ις, as Δημοχάριδος.

υ-Stems

110. Nearly all the inscriptional forms occurring are the usual ones of the type -ῦς, -υος. Boeot. [F]άστιος (ι from ϵ , 9) agrees with the ἄστος of non-Attic literature. For υῖος see 112.2.

Nouns in -εως

111. The stem is $\eta\upsilon$, $\eta\phi$ throughout, nom. sg. -εως (from -ηυς, 37.1), gen. sg. -ηφος, etc.

1. The original forms in -ηφος, -ηφι, etc., are preserved, with or without the ϕ , in Cyprian (βασιλέφος, Ἐδαλιῆφι, Ἐδαλιῆφες), Lesbian (βασιλέος, etc.), Boeotian (Πτολιῆφι, γραμματεῖος, etc.), Thessalian (βασιλεῖος, etc.), and Elean (βασιλέας), as also in Homer.

2. Attic only are βασιλέως, βασιλέα, with quantitative metathesis. But from the beginning of κοινή influence, βασιλέως is one of the Attic forms most widely adopted by other dialects.

3. Most dialects, namely, Ionic and the West Greek dialects except Elean, have βασιλέος, βασιλεῖ, etc., with shortening of the η . Generally these are the forms of even the earliest inscriptions (Cret. Φοικέος, etc.), but we find Coan ἱερῆι, Πολιῆι, etc. (no. 108; later always ἱερεῖ, etc.), and once Rhod. Ἰδαμενῆος (cf. Ποντωρηῖδος). Beside -εος sometimes -εως (cf. 42.5), as Meg. ἱαρεῦς, but owing to the confusion with the nominative, this spelling is far less common than in the genitive of σ -stems.

Acc. Sg. -έα in Ionic, Locrian, Cretan. But in Delphian and most of the Doric dialects -ῆ is the regular form, e.g., Delph. ἱερῆ, βασιλῆ, Lac. βασιλῆ, Mess. ἱερῆ, Meg. ἱερῆ, Mycen. Περσῆ (no. 81, fifth century B.C.), Arg. βασιλῆ, Rhod. βασιλῆ, γραμματῆ, Coan βασιλῆ, etc. In these dialects -εα is of later occurrence, and due to κοινή influence.

Nom. Pl. -έες in Cretan (e.g., δρομέες) and elsewhere, but usually contracted to -εῖς. Also -ῆς (in part at least directly from -ῆες) in early Attic, Coan (τεταρτῆς), Laconian (Μεγαρῆς, etc., no. 69), and Arcadian (Μαντινῆς). At Cyrene occurs nom. and acc. pl. ἱαρέες, and dat. pl. Μεγαρέεσι, etc. (cf. δρομέσι Callim.).

Acc. Pl. -έας in Ionic and Doric (Cret. δρομέανς, cf. 107.4), when not replaced by -εῖς of the κοινή.

4. Arcadian has nom. sg. in -ῆς, as ἱερῆς, γραφῆς, φονῆς (Cyprian also once ἱερῆς, but usually -εῖς), acc. sg. ἱερῆν (cf. 108.2), nom. pl. Μαντινῆς, gen. pl. Τορθυνῶν, Μετιδριῶν. Some proper names in -ῆς = -εῖς are also found elsewhere.

5. In Miletus and colonies occurs nom. sg. ἱερεως, gen. sg. ἱερεω, likewise at Ephesus gen. sg. Φλέω belonging to Φλεῖς.

a. The feminine OI-stems, most widely attested in proper names. Nom. sg. mostly -ω, but also -ωι, as Cyren. λεχώι, Corinth. Σοφάι, Φιλάι, etc. (OI regularly on old Corinthian vases; -ω beside -ωι in grammarians).

Gen. sg. -οος, -ους, -ως (Cret. Λατῶς), but Cyren. λεχός (no. 115.109), Rhod. Φιλτός (IG XII.1.719), Delph. Λατός (so probably, not Λατῶς, Schwyzer 325.8). Dat. sg. Delph. λεχχοῖ, Cret. Λατοῖ, Λατῶι. Acc. sg. -οα, -ώ. Also inflection with ω throughout, parallel to $\bar{a}$ -stems, as Boeot. Cret. -ώ, -ῶς, -ῶι, -ῶν.

Some Irregular Nouns

112. 1. Ζεύς. Ζεύς or Δεύς (84). Δι(φ)ός, Δι(φ)ί, Δι(φ)α in most dialects. An old dative Διεί (cf. Oscan *Diúvet*) occurs alone, but rarely, and in Att. Διειτρέφης, Cypr. Διφείθεμις, Διφείφιλος (Hom. διφίλος). Also in various dialects (attested for East Ion., Coan, Ther., Cret., El.), as in Homer, Ζηνός, Ζηνί, Ζῆνα (Cret. Δῆνα, Τῆνα, etc., 84). See 37.1. There are some unexplained forms with α (or $\bar{\alpha}$?), as Ion. Ζάς, gen. Ζανός.

2. υῖός, υῖός. Aside from the σ -stem forms, the inscriptional occurrences are as follows, mostly from a stem υῖν-:

NOM. SG. υῖός Cret., Lac., Att. (Att. also ὑός, ὕς).

GEN. SG. υῖέος Cret., Att.; Thess. ηυῖος (no. 35).

DAT. SG. υῖεῖ Argol., Phoc., Att.

ACC. SG. υῖόν Arc., Cret., Locr., etc.

NOM. PL. υῖέες Cret. (as in Hom.); Att. υῖεῖς.

DAT. PL. υῖάσι Cret. (as in Hom.), after analogy of πατράσι, etc.

ACC. PL. υῖόνς Arg., Cret.; Att. υῖεῖς.

3. μῆν. Stem *μηνσ- (cf. Lat. *mēnsis*), whence (77.1) Lesb. μῆννος, Thess. μειννός, Att. etc. μηνός. The nom. *μῆνς became *μῆνς (vowel-shortening before ν + cons., but later than the assimilation of medial $\nu\sigma$), whence regularly (78) Ion., Corcyr., Meg. μείς, Epid., Heracl. μῆς. In Attic, μείς was replaced by μῆν formed after the analogy of original ν -stems in -ην, -ηνος. Elean μεῖς is perhaps due to the analogy of Ζεύς, Ζηνός (above, 1).

4. λᾶς, Hom. λᾶς. Originally a neuter σ -stem τὸ λᾶς, becoming ὁ λᾶς, ὁ λᾶς, after the analogy of ὁ λίθος etc. Hence in genitive beside λᾶος also Att. λᾶου (Soph.), Cret. λᾶῶ.

5. Cret. *Ῥῆμα* nom.-acc. sg. = εἶμα, but gen. sg. τᾶς *Ῥῆμας* from a stem in -μα. So also Cret. *ἀμφίδημα 'ornament' (cf. διάδημα), but gen. sg. ἀμπιδήμας.

6. χοῦς, which in Attic is declined as a consonant stem (gen. sg. χοός), is properly a contracted σ -stem (from χόφο-) like πλοῦς,

and remains so in Ionic, e.g., acc. sg. χοῦν, gen. pl. χῶν.
7. χεῖρ, χήρ. See 25, 76.

Comparison of Adjectives

113. 1. Beside μελίων and κρείττων, both with anomalous ει, we find the normal μέλιων (from *μέλιων) in Ionic and Arcadian, and κρέσσων (from *κρέτιων) in Ionic. For Dor. κάρρων, Cret. κάρτων (both from *κάρτιων) see 49.2 with a, 80, 81.

2. Beside πλέων, pl. πλέονες, σ-stem forms, like Hom. πλέες, πλέας, occur in Lesbian (πλέας no. 25) and Cretan (e.g., Gortyn. πλίες, πλίανς, πλία, beside πλίονος, πλίονα, πλίον. πλίαν, Drerus, is in origin a ν-stem form, cf. 77.1a). Cf. also Arc. πλός (from *πλέος, 42.5g) adv. = πλέον.

Heracl. πόλιστος = πλεῖστος is formed directly from πολύς.

The rare μεῖστος, superlative of μέλιων and parallel to πλεῖστος, is now confirmed by the Locr. adv. μεῖστων (no. 59.9).

3. El., Lac. ἄσιστα (ἄσσιστα also in Aesch.) = ἄγχιστα, is formed from the compar. ἄσσον (this regularly from *ἄγχιον).

NUMERALS

Cardinals and Ordinals

114.1-10. 1. Nom. sg. masc. Att., etc. εἷς, Heracl. ἡῖς (cf. Lac. οὐδές), Cret. ἕνς (ἐνδ δ- = ἕνς δ-, Law-Code IX.50; see 97.4), from *ἕνς. Cf. 78.—Fem. μία, but, of other origin, Lesb., Thess., Boeot. ἱα, as in Homer (so Lesb. μηδεῖα = μηδεμία). Also ἰός in Hom. dat. sg. neut. ἰῶ and Mess. (probable reading) τόν γ' ἰὼν ἐνιαυτόν 'the one (= same) year,' and in Cretan, but here with pronominal force 'that one' = ἐκεῖνος.

Att.-Ion., Arc.-Cypr., Lesb. πρῶτος, Thess. προῦτος, West Greek and Boeot. πρᾶτος. Cf. also Att.-Ion. πρώτιστος, Cret., Coan, Ther., Cyren. πράτιστος.

a. The still frequently stated derivation from a *πρόατος or *πρόφατος is untenable. Apart from the fact that such uncontracted forms do not exist, the supposed contraction of ο + α > Dor. ᾱ is contrary to the other evidence (44.1). πρῶτος and πρᾶτος are parallel forms from πρω- and πρᾶ-, the latter probably a weak grade, such as is seen in Skt. *pūrvas* and Lith. *pirmas*. For such parallel forms, cf. Lat. *primus*, Pael. *prismu* vs. Umbr. *promom*, from *pris-* and *pro-* respectively.

2. δύο in most dialects, δῶα beside δύο in Homer, etc. Chalcid. δύο (with glide, 53b). Boeot. δύο, δούο, and διού (24) attested before consonant as well as before vowel. Eretr., Aetol. δύο, Lac. δύο, with the third declension ending. Gen.-dat. Att.-Ion. δύοιν, late Att. δυεῖν, El. δυοῖς. Plural forms in various dialects, as Ion. (Hdt. and Chios), Cret., Heracl. δῶων, Thess. δῶας, Cret. δυοῖς, late Att. δυοί(v).

δεύτερος in all dialects so far as known, and quotable in many.

3. τρεῖς, Cret. τρέες, Ther. τρής (also Lesb., gram.), from *τρέιες. See 25, 45.5.—Acc. τρεῖς, Cret. τρίνς (for τρίνς with ι introduced anew from τριῶν, etc.). Under the influence of the indeclinable numerals, the nominative or the accusative is used for both cases in some dialects, namely, nom. τρεῖς in Attic and elsewhere, and acc. τρεῖς in Heracleian, Delphian, and Troezenian.

τρίτος, Lesb. τέρτος (18a).

4. Att. τέτταρες, Ion., Arc. τέσσερες (also τέσσαρες in Ionic and κοινή), Boeot. πέτταρες, Lesb. πέσσαρες (Hom. πίσυρες), Thess. πετροετηρίς = τετρο-, West Greek τέτορες. From **tetwer-* (cf. Lat. *quattuor*, Skt. *catvāras*), the differences being due to inherited variations in the second syllable (*twer*, *twor*, *tur*, *twr*), and to the divergent development of *k** (68) and *tw* (54f, 81).

τέταρτος, Hom. τέτρατος, Boeot. πέτρατος, Arc. τέτορτος (49.2a, 5).

5. πέντε, Lesb., Thess. πέμπε (68.3), Pamph. πέδε (66, 69.2). πέμπτος, Cret., Amorg. πέντος (86.2). Arc. πέμποτος after δέκοτος.

6. ἑξ, Cret., Delph., Heracl. ἑξ. See 52b. Boeot. ἐσκηδέκατος, like ἐς from ἑξ (100).

ἑκτος, Cret. once ἑκτος.

7. ἐπτά, Cret. once ἐττά (86.2).

Att.-Ion. ἑβδομος, West Greek ἑβδεμος (attested directly in Delph., Cyren., Aetol., by derivatives in Heracl., Epid.).

8. ὀκτώ, Lesb. ἑκτο, Boeot. ὀκτό (like δύο), Heracl. ἡοκτώ (58c), El. ὀπτό (with π from ἐπτά).

ὄγδοος, from ὄγδοφος now attested in Aetol. [ὄγ]δῶφα (IG IX². i.152).

9. ἐννέα, Delph., Rhod., Coan, Cyren. ἐννῆ (42.1), Heracl. ηεννέα (58c).

Att. ἑνατος, Ion. εἵνατος, Arg., Cret., Cyren. ἥνατος, from *ἐνφατος (54), Delph., Ther. ἡένατος (58c), Lesb. ἑνοτος (6, 116a).

10. δέκα, Arc. δέκο.

δέκατος, Arc., Lesb. δέκοτος (6, 116a).

115.11-19. ἑνδεκα, rarely δέκα εἷς (e.g., Heracl. δέκα ἑν).—Att. and Hom. δώδεκα, but in most dialects δωδέκα, rarely δυδέκα (e.g., Boeot. δυδέκατος), Delph., Heracl. δέκα δύο (also late Attic).—τρεῖς καὶ δέκα, also indecl. τρεῖσκαῖδεκα (Attic after 300 B.C.) and τρισκαῖδεκα (Boeotian, etc.; cf. 114.3); also δέκα τρεῖς, especially when the substantive precedes (so Attic even in fifth century).—Similar variations for 14-19.

ἐνδέκατος, δωδέκατος, δυωδέκατος, δυοδέκατος (see above—13th-19th, Att. τρίτος καὶ δέκατος, etc., but τρεῖσκαῖδεκατος or τρισκαῖδεκατος, etc., in East Ionic, Boeotian, and Lesbian (-δέκοτος).

116.20-90. εἴκοσι (from *ε-ἑλκοσι) in Attic, Ionic, Lesbian, Arcadian (no occurrence in Cyprian), but ἑκατι, ἱκατι (cf. Ther. ἡκάδι, Thess. ἱκάδι) in West Greek, Boeotian, Thessalian and Pamphylian (φίκατι), with ι not ει, and τ retained (61.2). The ει of Heracl. ἑκατι beside ἑκατι is due to the influence of Att. εἴκοσι.—Att. etc. τριάκοντα, Ion. τριήκοντα.—τετταράκοντα, τεσσαράκοντα, πετταράκοντα (see 114.4), Sicil. West Ion. τετράφοντα (SEG 4.64), Dor., Delph. τετρώκοντα (so doubtless in all West Greek dialects previous to Attic influence).—πεντήκοντα, ἐξήκοντα (ἑξήκοντα), etc., with η in all dialects (Ion. ὀγδώκοντα, 44.2).—Delph., Heracl. ἡεβδεμήκοντα, Heracl. ἡογδοήκοντα, ἡενηήκοντα. See 114.7-9.—Gen. τεσσ[ερ]ακόντων, πεντηκόντων, etc. in Chios, where the use of such inflected genitives (also δέκων) is one of the Aeolic features of the dialect (cf. πέμπων, δέκων in Alcaeus, also τριηκόντων in Hesiod).

Att., Ion. εἰκοστός etc., Boeot. ἑκαστός (-καστός doubtless in all West Greek dialects also; but Thess. ἱκοστός), Lesb. εἰκοιστος, τριακοιστος, ἐξήκοιστος).

a. The earliest form of the ordinals is that in -καστος (from **kmt-to-*, cf. Skt. *triṅcat-tama-*, etc.). Under the influence of the cardinals in -κοντα

this became -καστος in Attic, etc. Under the same influence also *κονστος, the probable source of Lesb. -κοιστος, with the regular Lesbian development of secondary νσ (77.3, 78). For a different view of the Lesbian forms, see 20a. To the same analogy is due the ο of εἴκοσι, and of the hundreds in -κόσιοι (e.g., τριακόσιοι after τριάκοντα), instead of the more original α in ἑκατι (Skt. *vinṣati-*, Lat. *viginti*), -κάτιοι, -κάσιοι (cf. ἑκατόν, Skt. *śatam*, Lat. *centum*). It is possible that a still further extension of this analogical ο is to be assumed in explanation of Arc. ἡκοτόν, Arc., Lesb. δέκοτος, Arc. δέκο, Lesb. ἑνοτος.

117. 1. 100. Att. etc. ἑκατόν, Arc. ἡκοτόν, See 6, 116a.

2. 200-900. Att.-Ion., Lesb. -κόσιοι, West Greek, Boeot., Thess. -κάτιοι (Thess. ἐξεικάτιοι, SEG 2.264), Arc. -κάσιοι (with East Greek σ, but West Greek α). See 61.2, 116a.

The α of τριάκόσιοι (Ion. τριηκόσιοι) is extended to διακόσιοι (Ion. διηκόσιοι), and the α of τετρακόσιοι, ἐπτακόσιοι, ἑνακόσιοι to πεντακόσιοι, ἑξακόσιοι, ὀκτακόσιοι. But Thess. ἐξεικάτιοι with (ει=) η as in ἐξήκοντα. Lesb. ὀκτωκόσιοι.

3. 1000. Att. χίλιοι (25e), Ion. χεῖλιοι, Lac., Cyren. χήλιοι, Lesb., Thess. χέλλιοι, from *χέσλιοι. See 76.1.

PRONOUNS

Personal Pronouns¹

118. SINGULAR. 1. The stems, except in the nominative, begin with: 1. ἐμ- or μ-. 2. Original *tw-*, whence East Greek σ-, West Greek τ- (τέος, τίν, τέ). But enclitic τοι is from a form without *tw* (cf. Skt. *te*), and occurs also in Ionic (Hom., Hdt., etc.). Hom. τοῖο and τείν are from the possessive stem **teino-* (120.2).—3. Original *sw-*, whence F- in some dialects (ἴεος, φοι, φίν), otherwise '.

2. NOM. ἐγώ, ἐγών (Boeot. ἰώ, ἰών, 62.3).—Att.-Ion., Lesb., Arc. σύ, Dor. τύ, Boeot. τοῦ. See 61.5.

3. GEN. a. -εἰο (Hom. ἐμεῖο, etc., like τοῖο), whence -εο, later Ion. -ευ, Att. -ου.—b. -εος in West Greek, as lit. Dor. ἐμέος, τέος, Locr. ἴεος.—c. -θεν in lit. Lesb. ἐμεθεν, σέθεν, ἴεθεν, Hom. ἐμέθεν, σέθεν, ἔθεν, Epid. ἔθεν, Syrac. μεθέν (Sophron).

¹ As the personal pronouns, especially in the singular, are of comparatively rare occurrence in inscriptions, some forms are added which are quotable only from literary sources, but only a few out of the great variety, for which see Kühner-Blass I, pp. 580 ff.

4. DAT. *a.* -οι, as ἐμοί, μοι, σοί, σοι (lit. Dor. τοί, τοι, lit. Ion. τοι), οἱ, οἱ (Arg., Cret., Delph., Cypr., Lesb. φοι).—*b.* -ιν in West Greek (where also -οι, but mostly in the enclitic forms, as μοι, never ἐμοί, φοι, οἱ, and τοι, though also τοί), as Cret., Calymn., Rhod., Delph., and lit. Dor. ἐμίν, lit. Dor. τίν, Cret. φίν.

5. ACC. 1. ἐμέ, με.—2. Att.-Ion., Lesb. σέ, lit. Dor. τέ (Cret. τφέ, written τρέ, in Hesych.); also lit. Dor. and Epid. τό (nom. used as acc.)—3. ἐ (φέ); also lit. Dor. and Epid. νίν.

119. PLURAL. 1. The forms of the first and second persons contain, apart from the endings, ἀσμ- (cf. Skt. *asmān*, etc.) and ὕσμ- (cf. Skt. *yusmān*, etc.), whence Lesb., Thess. ἀμμ-, Lesb. ὕμμ-, elsewhere ἄμ- (Att.-Ion. ἡμ-) or ἄμ-, ὕμ-. See 76.1, and, for the spiritus asper or lenis in the first person, 57, 58b.

2. NOM. -ες in all dialects except Attic-Ionic, where it was replaced by -εις. Lesb. ἀμμες, ὕμμες, Dor. etc. ἀμές, ὕμές.

a. In late Cretan ἀμές was frequently replaced by ἀμέν under the influence of 1 pl. verbal forms in which Dor. -μες was often replaced by the κοινή -μεν. That is, ἀμέν for ἀμές after φέρομεν for φέρομες. From ἀμέν, -εν was extended to other pronouns and to participles, as ὕμέν, τινέν, ἀκούσαντεν, etc.

3. GEN. -ειων (Hom. ἡμείων), whence -εων, -ων (9), -ῶν. Lesb. ἀμμέων, Thess. ἀμμέουν, El. ἀμέων, Dor. ἀμέων, ἀμίων (Cret.), later ἀμῶν.

4. DAT. -ι(ν), Lesb. ἀμμιν, ἄμμι, etc., Dor. ἀμίν, ὕμιν, Att.-Ion. ἡμῖν, ὕμῖν. So Dor. σφιν, σφι, Cret., Syrac. φιν (87), but Att.-Ion. σφίσι, Arc. σφεις, the latter not satisfactorily explained.

5. ACC. -ε in all dialects except Attic-Ionic, where it was replaced by -έας, -ᾶς. Lesb. ἄμμε, ὕμμε, Thess. ἀμμέ, Dor., etc. ἄμέ, ὕμέ, Dor., etc. σφέ, Cret., Syrac. ψέ (87).

Possessives

120. 1. ἐμός.—Pl. Dor., etc., ἄμός (Lesb. ἄμμος) and ἄμέτερος (Lesb. ἀμμέτερος, Att.-Ion. ἡμέτερος).

2. *a.* *teuo-*, Att., etc., σός. *b.* **teuo-*, Dor., Lesb. τός, Boeot. τίος (all in literature only). Both forms in Homer.—Pl. ὕμός and ὕμέτερος.

3. *a.* **seuo-*, Att., etc., δς, Cret. φός. *b.* **seuo-*, Dor. (lit.), Thess. έός. Both forms in Homer.—Pl. σφός and σφέτερος.

Reflexive Pronouns

121. Aside from the reflexive use of the forms of the personal pronouns as given in 118, 119, especially that of the third person, which is itself a reflexive in origin, various forms of expression are employed, as follows:

1. Combinations of the personal pronouns with αὐτός, each keeping its own inflection, as in Homer (σοὶ αὐτῷ, etc.). So Epid. αὐτοῦ ἔθεν, Cret. φιν αὐτοῖ, ψέ αὐτόν, πσίν αὐτοῖς. Cf. also, with the possessive, Cret. τὰ φὰ αὐτᾶς = τὰ ἑαυτῆς.

2. Compounds of the same elements, with only the second part declined. Att. ἑμαυτοῦ, σεαυτοῦ or σαυτοῦ, ἑαυτοῦ or αὐτοῦ (also late ἑατοῦ, ἄτῶν, with ᾱ from αῦ); Coan ἡτῶν with ἡ from εα; Thess. εὔτοῖ, εὔτοῦ, εὔτάς; Cret. φιαυτῷ; Ion. (lit.) ἑμεωυτοῦ etc. The forms found in Ionic inscriptions are like the Attic.

3. αὐτός alone, as sometimes in Homer. Thus Delph. αὐτοῦ = ἑμαυτοῦ, El. αὐτᾶρ = ἑαυτῆς (no. 66.17), Lac. αὐτῷ = ἑαυτοῦ (no. 71.7, 16 ff.), Corinth. περὶ τᾶς αὐτοῦ γᾶς (no. 95), Thess. αὐτᾶ = ἑαυτῆ, Boeot. αὐτάν = ἑαυτῇ.

4. αὐτὸς αὐτός, either with each declined separately, or, oftener merged into compounds of somewhat varying form.

This combination is comparatively late, replacing the earlier types mentioned under 1-3. It is most frequent in Delphian and Boeotian, but is found in several of the other West Greek dialects, and probably even in Attic (Kühner-Blass I, p. 600, anm. 5).

a. αὐτὸς αὐτός. Delph. αὐτοὶ ποτὶ αὐτούς, Boeot. κατ' αὐτὸ (= αὐτοὶ) αὐτῶν.

b. αὐτοσαυτός. Delph. αὐτοσαυτοῦ, etc., Boeot. ὑπὲρ αὐτοσαυτῶ, Heracl. μετ' αὐτοσαυτῶν, Cret. αὐτοσαυτοῖς, etc., Corcyr. αὐτοσαυτόν.

c. αὐσαυτός. Delph. αὐσαυτοῦ, etc., Cret., Argol. (Calauria) αὐσαυτᾶς, Arc. ὑπὲρ αὐσαυτόν.

d. ἀσαυτός. Boeot. ἀσαυτῷ.

e. αὐσωτός. Delph. αὐσωτᾶς, etc.

f. αὐταντός. Heracl. αὐταντᾶς (as in Sophron and Epicharmus), Aegin. αὐταντόν.

g. Sicil. gen. sg. αὐτοῦτα (Segesta), gen. pl. αὐτῶντα (Thermae). Probably from αὐτατοῦ, αὐτατῶν (cf. late ἑατοῦ, above, 2), with transposition of the last two syllables.

Demonstrative Pronouns

122. The article. Nom. pl. τοί, ταί, as in Homer, in the West Greek dialects except Cretan, and in Boeotian. Att. etc. οἱ, αἱ, after the analogy of δ, ἡ. For δ, ἡ in some dialects which in general have ' , see 58a. Thess. οἱ, but τοί at Pharsalus (Schwyzer 566).

Forms with added ι, used like ὅδε, are found in Elean (το-ῖ, τα-ῖ) and Boeotian (ταν-ῖ; τοι-ῖ, τυ-ῖ).

For the relative use, see 126.

a. Just as in Homer the use as article is less frequent than the demonstrative and the article is often lacking where it is obligatory or usual in later times, so (apart from certain categories in which the absence of the article is usual) in inscriptions of some dialects. So frequently in headings, like that of no. 67, Συνθήκη καὶ Συμμαχία (but El. ἀ φράτρα nos. 61-63, etc.). With names of official bodies or officials, e.g., Cret. δδ' ἔφαδε πόλι (no. 116), Arg. (no. 85) βῶλᾶ ἐπαγέτω, ἀ (φρέττει) βῶλᾶς, ἀλιαλαί ἔδοξε, ἐπὶ κόσμος, Epid. ἔδοξε βουλᾷ καὶ δάμωι, κατάλογος βουλᾶς, Locr. (no. 59.10/11) ἐν πρεῖγαι ἐν πόλι ἔ'ν ἀποκλῆσται. (In Att. fifth century inscriptions there are a few examples of βῶλᾶ without article, but much more commonly with the article).

123. Thess. δ-νε, Arc. δ-νί, Arc.-Cypr. δ-νυ = ὅδε. Thess. τόνε, τάνε, and, with both parts inflected (cf. Hom. τοῖσδεσι), gen. sg. τοῖνεος, gen. pl. τοῖννεουν.—Arc. τωνί (gen. sg.), τωινί, ταινί (dat. pl. fem.), ταννί, τανί (gen. sg., gen. pl., and acc. pl. fem.). Cf. also Boeot. προτηνί (136.1).—Cypr. δνυ, τόνυ, Arc. τάνυ (acc. pl. neut.), τῶννι (gen. pl.), τῶνυ (11 times in no. 20 vs. once τωινί), also by an alien engraver τάννυ, τόννυ. Cf. Hom., Boeot., Cypr. νυ.

From ὅδε, cf. also Arg. τῶνδεονέν, ταδέν with addition of emphatic -ην (ἦν, Lat. *en*).

124. οὗτος. Nom. pl. τοῦτοι, ταῦται, like τοί, ταί, in West Greek (examples from Cos, Delphi, Rhodes, Selinus). Att. etc. οὔτοι, αὔται, after οὗτος, etc. Boeotian, with τ replaced by ' throughout, οὔτον, οὔτων, etc.—Interchange of αυ and ου. Att. gen. pl. fem. τούτων after masc.-neut.; conversely El. neut. ταύτων, due to influence of ταῦτα. ου throughout is Boeotian (οὔτο, οὔτα) and Euboean (τοῦτα, τούτει, also ἐντοῦθα = ἐν-ταῦθα), also οὔτα = ταῦτα in Sophron. So also Delph. τοῦτα, τούτας (but also ταῦται). For the spelling with O instead of OV, see 34a.

125. 1. ἐκεῖνος. Ion. κεῖνος, Lesb., Cret., Rhod., Coan κῆνος, both from *κε-ενος. Cf. 25.—τῆνος, of different origin (cf. Hom. τῆ), in Delphian, Heracleian, Argolic (Aegina), Megarian, as well as in Sicilian Doric writers (Theocr., Sophron, Epicharmus).

2. αὐτός. Neut. αὐτόν in Cretan, as sometimes in Attic inscriptions.

Relative, Interrogative, and Indefinite Pronouns

126. The relative δς occurs in all dialects. But the relative use of forms of the article, frequent in Homer and Herodotus, is usual in Lesbian (so always in the earlier inscriptions and nearly always in Alcaeus and Sappho; δς in later inscriptions is due to κοινή influence, as shown by the spiritus asper, καθ' ὃν, etc.), Thessalian (τά, καττάπερ; ἐν τοῦ 'in which', no. 33.27, but also δς in an early metrical inscription), and Arcado-Cyprian (Arc. δπερ, ταῖ, τοῖς, etc., Cypr. δ, τόν, etc., but also Arc. ἄν, Cypr. δι, οἷ). So also in Boeotian in a fourth-century inscription (no. 40), but later only δς (cf. Lesbian). It is also Heracleian (τόν, τά, etc.; so often in Epicharmus), and Cyrenaean (δ, τό, τά), but in most West Greek dialects it occurs, if at all, only in later inscriptions (so in late Delphian, Elean, and Cretan, never in the earlier period).

For the demonstrative use of δς, cf. Heracl. ἡἱ μὲν... ἡἱ δὲ (no. 79.82).

127. Cret. δτερος 'which of two' is the true relative correlative of πότερος (cf. Skt. *yataras* beside *kataras*), and so related to the usual ὁπότερος as οἷος to ὁποῖος, ὅτε to ὁπότε.

128. τίς, τις. Cypr. σις, Arc. σις, δζις, see 68.3. Thess. κίς, κίς, κινες, see 68.4. The inflection with ν, gen. sg. τινός, etc., presumably based on the original acc. sg. *τίν, is widespread. But forms of the earlier type, without ν, like Hom. τεο, δττεο, τεφ, ὁτέοισιν, Att. του, τω, ὅτοις, are seen also in Lesb. τίωι, τίοισι (9.2), Arc. ὁσέοι (68.3), gen. sg. Lesb. ὅττω, Boeot. ὅττω, Meg. σά (from *τιᾶ), Att.-Ion. ἄττα, ἄσσα (from *ἀτιᾶ), Cret. dat. sg. τῖμι in δτιμι, from *τι-σμι with the same pronominal *sm* as in Skt. *kasmin*, Umbr. *pusme*, etc.

129. The indefinite relative ὅστις, ὅτις.

1. *ὅστις*, with both parts declined, Att.-Ion., also in various dialects, e.g., Locr. *ὁῖτινες*, Cret. *οῖτινες*, Boeot. *ὥστινας*.

2. *ὅτις*, with only the second part declined, Att.-Ion., also in various dialects, e.g., Arc. *ὅτις*, *ὅζις*, *ὁσέοι* (68.3), Cret. *ὅτιμι* (128), Delph. *ὅτινος*, *ὅτινι*.—Further, with *τι* spread from the neut. *ὅττι* (*δδ-τι), Lesb. *ὅττις*, *ὅττινας*, *ὅττω*, etc. (cf. also *ὅππα*, *ὅππως*, etc.), Boeot. *ὅττω*, Arg. *ὅττινες*.

a. Locr. *ὅτι* (no. 58.6), at variance with all other evidence, is almost certainly an error for *ὁῖτι* (so nos. 57, 59, as in other dialects).

3. Neuter forms in *-τι*, with only the first part declined, in Cretan, e.g., *ἄτι* = *ἄτινα*, *ὅτι* = *οὔτινος*.

130. Cret. *ὁτεῖος* = *ὁποῖος*, but used like adjectival *ὅστις*, as *ὁτεῖος δέ κα κόσμος μὴ βέρδῃ, γυνὰ δτεῖα κρέματα μὲ ἔχει, δτεῖαι δέ (sc. γυναικί) πρόθ' ἔδωκε*. Here also Boeot. dat. sg. fem. *μηδοσίῃ* (= *μηδοτείῃ*). For the form (also Hesych. *τεῖον* 'ποῖον, Κρήτες'), cf. Hom. *τέο*, *τέφ*, etc., and Lesb. (lit.) *τέουτος τοιούτος* (with loss of *ι* 31).

131. Interrogative pronouns used as indefinite relatives. So regularly in Thessalian, e.g., *κίς κε γινύετται* = *ὅστις ἂν γίγνηται*, *διὲ κί* (in form *διὰ τί*) = *διότι*, *πόκ κί* (in form *πρός τί*) = *ὅτι*, *φυλᾶς ποίας κε βέλλετται* = *φυλῆς ὁποίας (ἡστινός) ἂν βούληται*. Elsewhere the use of *τίς* = *ὅστις* is, with some rare exceptions in literature, found only in late Greek.

ADVERBS AND CONJUNCTIONS

Pronominal Adverbs and Conjunctions of Place, Time, and Manner

132. 1. *-ου*. Place 'where.' Att.-Ion. *ποῦ*, *δπου*, *αὐτοῦ*, *όμοῦ*, etc. These are of genitive origin, and are specifically Attic-Ionic.

2. *-ει*. Place 'where.' These are the usual equivalents of Att.-Ion. *-ου*, occurring in West Greek dialects and Boeotian, e.g., *εἰ*, *πεῖ*, *πει* (Cret. *αἰ* *πει* = Att. *εἰ* *που*), *δπει*, *τεῖδε*, *τουτεῖ*, *τηνεῖ*, *αὐτεῖ* (Boeot. *αὐτῖ*), *ἀλλεῖ*, *ἀμεῖ*, *μηδαμεῖ*. Here also Arg. *ἡῖ*, *ἰ* (25c) 'where' and 'when.' By analogy, Locr. *παντεῖ* 'everywhere,' Heracl., Arg. *ποτεχεῖ* = *προσεχῶς*, Delph. *ἐπεχεῖ* = *ἐφεξῆς* (beside Arg. *ἐπεχές*, Ach. *ποτεχές*, etc.), Cret., Heracl. *διπλεῖ* 'doubly.'

3. *-οι*. Place 'where' and (so usually in Attic) 'whither.' *οἷ*,

ποῖ, *δποι* in many dialects, and with *-ς*, Delph. *οἷς*. Cf. Lesb. *αἷ* *ποι* = Att. *εἰ* *που*. By analogy Lesb. *ὕποι* or *ἰποι* (cf. *ὕψι*), Orop. *ἡχοι* (from *ἡχι*, below, 6), also (133.3-5) *ἐνδοι*, *ἐχθοι*, *ἐξοι*.

4. *-υι*. Place 'where' and 'whither.' Cret. *ὕ* 'where' (Hierapytna, e.g., no. 119.16, 22), Cret. *δπυι*, Arg., Cyren. *δπυι* (Arg. 'for whatever purpose'); in *-υις* or *-υς*, Rhod. *ὕς* 'as far as' (no. 104.3), Arg. *ὕς* (IG IV.498.4 'whither', 'to whom'), Rhod. *δπυς*, lit. Dor. (Syrac.) *ὕς*, *πῦς*. Cf. also Cret. *πλῑυι* (to *πλῑες*, 113.2), lit. Lesb. *τυῖδε*, *ἐλλῑυι*, *πῆλῑυι*.

5. *-ᾱι* (Att.-Ion. *-ηι*). Place 'where' or (mostly Delph.) 'whither,' and especially manner. Thus *ᾱι*, *δπαι* in many West Greek dialects and Boeotian (*δπη*). In Cretan used also as final, and (*ᾱι*) temporal conjunctions. Cret., Corcyr. *ἄλλᾱι* 'otherwise,' Heracl. *παντᾱι* 'in all directions,' Lesb. *πάνται*. The indefinite *παι* (cf. Corcyr. *ἄλλᾱι* *παι* 'in any other way') is used in Cyprian as a strengthening particle (*κᾱς παι* 'and indeed,' *ἰδέ παι* 'then indeed,' no. 23.4, 12).

6. *-ᾱ* (Att.-Ion. *-η*). Uses as in the preceding. Delph., Cyren. *ᾱδε*, Cret. *ᾱδε* (no. 116) 'in this way,' Lac. *ταυτᾱ* *ἡτ'* 'in such a way as,' *ἡμᾱ* 'likewise,' Locr. *ταυτᾱ* 'in the same way.' Locr., Cyren. *ᾱ κα* 'in case that' (nos. 60.19; 115.93), lit. Dor. *ᾱχι* = Hom. *ἡχι* 'where,' Lesb. *δππα* 'where,' *ᾱλλα* 'elsewhere' (no. 27.49 beside dat. sg. *-αι*, and so better here than under 5, above).

7. *-η*. Place 'where,' time 'when,' etc. Cret. *ῆ*, Heracl., Cyren. *ῆ* (this accent preferred here, vs. *ῆ* 'or, than' but practice varies), 'when' (so Heracl., Cyren., Cret.; Cret. also 'where', 'in case that') Cret. *δπῆ*, Cyren. *δπη* 'where,' Lac. *ῆοπῆ* 'in such a way as,' Thess. *δπει* (*ει=η*) 'when' (no. 33.26; cf. *δπειδεί*, *ibid.* l. 12, in form a blend of *δπει* and *ἐπειδεί*, in sense = *ἐπειδή*). Lac. *πέποκα* = *πώποτε*. El., Meg., Ther., Eretr. *τεῖδε* 'here,' El. *ταυτῆ* 'here.' Meg. *ᾱ(λ)ᾱε*, Cyren. *ᾱλλῆ* *πη* 'elsewhere,' Cret. *ῖκατέρῃ* 'in each place.'

8. *-ω*. Place 'whence.' Lit. Dor. *ὦ*, *πῶ*, *δπω*, Cret. *ὦ*, *δπῶ*, Locr. *ῆῶ*, *ῆόπῶ*, Cret. *τῶδε*, Cret., Coan *τουτῶ*. Syrac. *τηνῶ*, *τηνῶθε*, Meg. *τηνῶθεν*. Similarly Delph. *φοῖκω* 'from the house.'

a. These adverbs are not to be confounded with another class, mostly from prepositions, meaning place 'where' or 'whither' and occurring in Attic-Ionic also, as *ἐνω*, *κάτω*, *ἐξω*, etc. Here belong Delph. *ἐνδω* 'within,' Coan *ἐκατέρω* 'on each side of.'

9. *-θεν*. Place 'whence.' Att.-Ion. *όθεν*, *πόθεν*, etc. This *-θεν*,

which though formally related must be distinguished from the *-(σ)θεν*, *-(σ)θε* of adverbs like *ἐνωθε(ν)*, *πρόσθε(ν)* without the 'whence' sense (133.1), is mainly Attic-Ionic in pronominal adverbs (such forms in Doric, in place of the usual *-ω*, are rare). But in adverbs derived from place names it is also West Greek, as *φορινθόθεν*, *Κνωσόθεν*, *Μυκανέᾱθεν*, *Θήρᾱθεν*, *Γορτύνᾱθεν*, *Φλει-Φόντᾱθεν*.

10. *-ως*. Manner. *ὡς*, *πῶς*, *δπως*, etc. in all dialects. *ὡς* also 'when' and in some dialects 'where.'

a. *ὡς* and *δπως* are also the most widespread final conjunctions. The final use of *ῖνα*, originally 'where,' developed in Attic-Ionic, but spread to other dialects (appearing mostly in late inscriptions; in the early Rhod. no. 100 clearly due to epic influence. Early Cretan had none of these, but only *δπαι* or *ᾱι* in final sense (above, 5).

11. *-τε*, *-τα*, *-κα*. Temporal, *ὅτε*, *τότε*, *πότε* in Attic-Ionic and Arcado-Cyprian (Arc. *τότε*, *όπότε*, *οὔποτε*, Cyp. *δτε* *μέποτε*) but Att. *εἴτα*, *ἐπειτα*, Ion. *εἴτεν*, *ἐπειτε*, *ἐπειτεν*.—*δτα*, *πότα*, *ἄλλοτα* in Lesbian.—*δκα*, etc., in West Greek and Boeotian, as Boeot. *πόκα*, Cret. *δκα*, *τόκα*, *ποκα*, Cyren. *δκα*, *τόκα*, *όπόκα*, Rhod. *δκα*, Lac. *πέποκα*, El. *τόκα*, Delph. *δκα*, *οὔδέποκα*, *μηδέποκα*. The form *δκα* (from *δκα κα*) occurs in Laconian, Megarian, Rhodian, Coan, and literary Doric.

12. Other temporal conjunctions. Besides *ὅτε*, etc. (above, 11), *ἐπεῖ*, and the occasional temporal use of forms in *-ει*, *-αι*, *-η*, *-ως* (above 2, 5, 6, 8), there are various words for 'so long as, while,' and 'until' (conjunction and preposition). *ἕως*, *ἕς* (41.4)—*ἕστε*, Boeot. *ἕττε*, Locr. *ἔντε*, Delph. *ἔντε* (135.4)—*μέχρι*, *ἄχρι*—Cret., Cyren. *μέστα* (Cret. also *μέττ'* *ἕς*), Arc. *[μέ]στε* (probable, *-τε* as in *ὅτε*, etc.), *μέστ'*, Thess. *μέσποδι*, Hom. *μέσφα*, all having in common *μές* now attested in Thess. preposition *μές* (no. 33.6)—*εἰς(ἕς)* *δ*—Boeot. *ἐν τάν* (sc. *ἀμέραν*), 136.1.

Prepositional and Other Adverbs

133. 1. *-(σ)θεν*, *-(σ)θε*, *-(σ)θα*. Att.-Ion. *ἄνωθεν*, *ἄνωθε*, *ὑπερθεν*, *ὑπερθε*, etc., Arc. *μεσακόθεν* (65), Heracl. *ἄνωθα*. With *-σθεν*, etc. Att.-Ion. *πρόσθεν*, *πρόσθε*, Lesb. *πρόσθε* (so in inscriptions, in lyric also *πρόσθεν*), Thess. *πρόσθεν* (85.1), Dor. *πρόσθα* (gram.), Heracl., Arg. *ἐμπροσθα* (but also Troez. *ἐμπροσθε*, *δπισθε*, and

once Meg. *πρόσθε*, Cret. *πρόσθα* (85.3), Delph. *πρόστα* (85.1), Arc. *προσθαγενές*. Arc. *θύσθεν* 'outside of' from **θυρ-σθεν* (cf. *θύρδα*, 2).

a. Also *-θι*, as in Hom., etc. So Arc. *δοι*, *όπόθι*, *μηδεπόθι*, *ισόθι*, *αὐθι*.

2. *-δε* (*-ζε*), *-δα*. Arc. *-δα* is seen in *θύρδα-ἕξω* = Hom. *θύραζε*.

3. For Delph., Locr., Arg. *ἐχθός* = *ἐκτός*, see 66. Hence, after the analogy of other adverbs in *-ω* (132.8) and *-οι* (132.3), Delph., Epid. *ἐχθω*, Epid. *ἐχθοι*.

4. From *ἐνδον* are formed—besides Att.-Ion. *ἐνδοθεν*, *ἐνδοθι*, Ion. *ἐνδόσε* (Ceos)—Cret., Delph., Meg., Syrac., *ἐνδός* (after *ἐντός*), Delph. *ἐνδω*, Lesb., Epid., Syrac., Cyren. *ἐνδοι*.

5. Beside *ἕξω* (132.8a) are formed, after the analogy of other adverbs, Lac. *ἕξει*, Thess., Cret., Syrac., Cyren. *ἕξοι*, Dor., Delph. *ἕξος* (after *ἐκτός*, etc., cf. *ἐνδός*).

6. *-ις*, *-ιν*, *-ι*. Forms with adverbial *-ς* or *-ν* sometimes interchange with each other and with forms without either *-ς* or *-ν*, as the numeral adverbs in *-κίς*, *-κιν*, *-κι*. Thus in most dialects *-κίς*, sometimes *-κι*, but *-κιν* in Lac. *τετράκιν*, *ἐπτάκιν*, *ὀκτάκιν*, Cret. *ὀθθάκιν* = *ὀσάκιν*. Likewise *-ιν* in other adverbs of time (cf. Att. *πάλιν*), as Cret. *αὐτίν*, Rheg. *αὐθιν* = Ion., Arc. *αὐτίς*, Att. *αὐθίς*. Cret. *αὐταμέριν* = Att. *αὐθημερόν*, Lesb., Coan *αὐταμερόν*, Locr. *αὐταμαρόν* (accents uncertain), El. *ὕσταριν* = *ὕστερον*. Here also Thess. *αῖν*, Arc. *αῖ*, Lesb. *ᾱι* (also *αῖιν* Hdn.), Ion. *αῖλ* (also *αῖδαμος* 'under perpetual lease' = usual *αἰές*, *αἰεί*, *αἰέν* (all from **αἰφί*, **αἰφίν*, **αἰφές*, etc., cf. Cyp. *αἰφεί*), while a corresponding form in *-ις* is to be seen in Cyp. *ὕφαίς* 'forever,' a combination like Att. *εἰς αἰεί*, containing *ὕ* = *ἐπὶ* and *αἰς* from **αἰφίς* (omission of *φ* peculiar, but cf. *παῖς*, 53).

Cf. also Epid. *ἄνευ*, El. *ἄνευς* = *ἄνευ* (Meg. *ἄνις*, also at Tauro-menium, and in late poets, is formed after *χωρίς*), Dor. *ἐμπᾶν* (Pindar) beside *ἐμπᾶς* = *ἐμπής*, Coan, Rhod., Ther. *ἑξᾶν* = *ἑξῆς*.

7. A combination of *-ιν* with *-δην*, *-δᾶν* (cf. *-δα*, *-δον*, etc.). Att. *ἀριστίνδην*, *πλουτίνδην*, *ἀγχιστίδην*, Locr. *ἀριστίνδαν*, *πλουτίνδαν*, but *ἀγχιστέδαν*, formed from the stem *ἀγχιστιγ-* of *ἀγχιστεύς*.

134. 1. The conditional conjunction. *εἰ* in Attic-Ionic and Arcadian; *αἰ* in Lesbian, Thessalian, Boeotian (*ῆ*), and all the West Greek dialects; *ῆ* (*ῆ*) in Cyprian.

2. *ἄν*, *κε*, *κα*. *ἄν* is only Attic-Ionic and Arcadian. In all other

dialects the unrelated $\kappa\epsilon$, $\kappa\alpha$ is used— $\kappa\epsilon$ in Lesbian (also $\kappa\epsilon\nu$), Thessalian, and Cyprian, $\kappa\alpha$ in the West Greek dialects and Boeotian.

a. Arcadian once had $\kappa\epsilon$, like Cyprian, and a relic of this is to be seen in the κ which appears, where there would otherwise be hiatus, between $\epsilon\iota$ and a following $\delta\nu$, which had regularly replaced $\kappa\epsilon$ as a significant element (probably through prehistoric Ionic influence, cf. p. 4). Thus regularly $\epsilon\iota \kappa' \delta\nu$, or better $\epsilon\iota\kappa \delta\nu$, since $\epsilon\iota\kappa$ has become a mere by-form of $\epsilon\iota$ (like $\omicron\kappa$ beside $\omicron$), but $\epsilon\iota \delta' \delta\nu$. Once, without $\delta\nu$, $\epsilon\iota\kappa$ $\epsilon\pi\iota$ $\delta\delta\omicron\mu\alpha$ $\pi\upsilon\rho$ $\epsilon\pi\omicron\iota\sigma\epsilon$, where some assume a significant κ' , in place of usual $\delta\nu$, but best classed with the subjunctive clauses without $\delta\nu$ (174).

b. In Attic-Ionic, $\epsilon\iota$ combines with $\delta\nu$ —in Attic to $\epsilon\delta\nu$ or $\delta\nu$, in Ionic to $\eta\nu$.

c. The substitution of $\epsilon\iota$ for $\alpha\iota$ belongs to the earliest stage of Attic ($\kappa\omicron\iota\nu\eta$) influence in the West Greek dialects, but that of $\delta\nu$ for $\kappa\alpha$ only to the latest, being rarely found except where the dialect is almost wholly $\kappa\omicron\iota\nu\eta$. Hence the hybrid combination $\epsilon\iota \kappa\alpha$ is the rule in the later inscriptions of most West Greek dialects.

3. $\kappa\alpha\iota$. Arc.-Cypr. $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ (also $\kappa\acute{\alpha}$, for which see 97.2), the relation of which to $\kappa\alpha\iota$ is obscure (antevocalic $\kappa\alpha(\iota) + \varsigma$). In Arcadian this occurs only in the early Mantinean inscription, no. 17, elsewhere $\kappa\alpha\iota$. See 275.

4. $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$. Thessalian uses $\mu\acute{\alpha}$, related to $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$, for $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$, e.g. $\tau\omicron \mu\acute{\alpha}$ $\psi\acute{\alpha}\phi\iota\sigma\mu\alpha$, $\tau\acute{\alpha}\mu \mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu \iota\alpha\nu$... $\tau\acute{\alpha}\mu \mu\acute{\alpha} \acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\alpha\nu$ (no. 32.22; $\tau\acute{\alpha}\nu \delta\acute{\epsilon} \acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\alpha\nu$ l. 45 is due to $\kappa\omicron\iota\nu\eta$ influence).

5. $\nu\upsilon$, identical with $-\nu\upsilon$ in Arc.-Cypr. $\delta\nu\upsilon = \delta\delta\epsilon$ (123), and with Hom. $\nu\upsilon\nu$, $\nu\upsilon$ occurs as an independent particle in Cyprian and Boeotian, e.g., Cypr. $\delta\upsilon\phi\acute{\alpha}\nu\omicron\iota \nu\upsilon$, $\delta\omicron\kappa\omicron\iota \nu\upsilon$, Boeot. $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\omicron\upsilon\rho\acute{\upsilon} \nu\upsilon \epsilon\nu\theta\omega$.

Cf. $\nu\iota$ in Arc. $\tau\omega\nu\iota$, etc. (123), Boeot. $\pi\rho\omicron\tau\eta\nu\iota$ (136.1), Pamph. $\kappa\alpha\iota \nu\iota$.

6. $\iota\delta\acute{\epsilon}$, in form = Hom. $\iota\delta\acute{\epsilon}$, occurs in Cyprian introducing the conclusion of a condition ($\iota\delta\acute{\epsilon} \pi\alpha\iota$ 'then indeed,' $\iota\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ 'then,' no. 23.12, 25), or a new sentence ($\iota\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ 'and' no. 23.26).

7. $\nu\alpha\iota$, $\nu\eta$. Arc. $\nu\epsilon\iota$ ($\nu\epsilon\iota \tau\omicron\nu \Delta\iota\alpha$). Cf. $\epsilon\iota$, $\alpha\iota$, η , above, 1.

PREPOSITIONS

Peculiarities in Form

135. 1. For apocope of the final vowel, see 95.

2. For assimilation of final consonants, see 96, 97, 99.— $\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma =$

$\acute{\epsilon}\kappa$, 100. For $\omicron\nu = \acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\alpha}$, see 6.— $\iota\nu = \acute{\epsilon}\nu$, 10.— $\acute{\alpha}\pi\upsilon = \acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron$, 22.— $\kappa\alpha\tau\upsilon = \kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha}$, 22.

3. $\acute{\upsilon}\pi\acute{\alpha}$, $\acute{\upsilon}\pi\acute{\alpha} = \acute{\upsilon}\pi\omicron$, formed after the analogy of $\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha}$, in Lesbian, Boeotian, and (quotable examples only compounds) Locrian ($\acute{\upsilon}\pi\alpha\pi\rho\omicron\sigma\theta\iota\delta\iota\delta\omicron\nu$ no. 59 vs. $\eta\upsilon\pi\omicron\kappa\eta\mu\iota\delta\iota\delta\omicron\nu$ no. 57) and Elean ($\acute{\upsilon}\pi\alpha\delta\upsilon\gamma\iota\omicron\iota\varsigma$, $\acute{\upsilon}\pi\alpha\delta\upsilon\kappa\iota\omicron\iota\varsigma$).

4. $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$, $\acute{\epsilon}\iota\varsigma$. The inherited use of $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ with the accusative (cf. the use of Lat. *in*) is retained in the Northwest Greek dialects (and in the Northwest Greek $\kappa\omicron\iota\nu\eta$, 279) together with Boeotian and Thessalian, and in Arcado-Cyprian ($\iota\nu$). Elsewhere this was replaced by an extended form $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\text{-}\varsigma$, whence $\acute{\epsilon}\iota\varsigma$, $\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma$ or (from $*\iota\nu\text{-}\varsigma$) $\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ in Pamphylian and at Vaxus. See 78.

Similarly $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\epsilon = \acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\epsilon$ in Locrian, Delphian ($\acute{\eta}\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\epsilon$, 58c) and the Northwest Greek $\kappa\omicron\iota\nu\eta$. But Boeotian, in spite of $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$, has $\acute{\epsilon}\tau\tau\epsilon = \acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\epsilon$.

5. $\mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}$, $\mu\epsilon\delta\acute{\alpha}$. $\mu\epsilon\delta\acute{\alpha}$, unrelated to $\mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}$ in origin, is used in its place in Lesbian, Boeotian (probably in Thessalian too, though not yet quotable), Arcadian ($\mu\acute{\epsilon}$, 95), Argolic, Cretan, and Thera. (Most of these dialects show also $\mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}$, but at a time when $\kappa\omicron\iota\nu\eta$ influence is probable.) So also in compounds, as Lesb., Cret., Cyren. $\mu\epsilon\delta\acute{\epsilon}\chi\omega$, Arg. $\mu\epsilon\delta\acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\gamma\omicron\nu$, $\mu\epsilon\delta\acute{\alpha}\phi\omicron\iota\kappa\omicron\iota = \mu\acute{\epsilon}\tau\omicron\iota\kappa\omicron\iota$, Epid. $\mu\epsilon\delta\alpha\phi\omicron\rho\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$, and proper names, as Boeot. $\mu\epsilon\delta\acute{\alpha}\kappa\omega\nu$, Arg. $\mu\epsilon\delta\acute{\alpha}\chi\rho\iota\tau\omicron\varsigma$. The name of the month $\mu\epsilon\delta\alpha\gamma\epsilon\iota\tau\nu\omicron\varsigma$ or (by blend with $\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\text{-}$) $\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\gamma\epsilon\iota\tau\nu\omicron\varsigma$ (or $-\iota\omicron\varsigma$) = Att. $\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\gamma\epsilon\iota\tau\nu\iota\omega\nu$ occurs in Rhodes, Cos, Calymna, Megara, Sicily, and Magna Graecia, where $\mu\epsilon\delta\acute{\alpha}$ alone is not attested.

a. The same blend of $\mu\epsilon\delta\alpha\text{-}$ and $\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\text{-}$ as in the month-name is also to be recognized in Del. Orop. $\mu\epsilon\tau\epsilon\upsilon\rho\omicron\nu$ 'notice-board, tablet' (so $\mu\epsilon\tau\epsilon\upsilon\rho\omicron\nu$ at Erythrae), elsewhere (with v.l. $\mu\epsilon\tau\epsilon\upsilon\rho\omicron\nu$) 'roosting-perch, springboard,' etc., cpd. like Lesb. $\mu\epsilon\delta\acute{\alpha}\phi\omicron\iota\kappa\omicron\iota$, Att. $\mu\epsilon\tau\epsilon\upsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma$ ($\epsilon\upsilon$ as in Thas. $\theta\epsilon\upsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma = \theta\epsilon\omega\rho\omicron\varsigma$, 41.4a).

6. $\pi\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$. There are two independent series of forms, one with and one without the ρ , each with variation between final $-\varsigma$ and $-\tau\iota$ (61.4a)—1. $\pi\rho\omicron\tau\acute{\iota}$ (= Skt. *prati*) in Homer (beside $\pi\omicron\tau\acute{\iota}$ and usual $\pi\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$), quoted as Doric (Apoll. Dysc.), restored in Alcman, and almost certainly attested for Argive ($\pi\rho\acute{\omicron}\tau'$ Schwyzer 84.3) Cret. $\pi\omicron\rho\tau\acute{\iota}$ (70.1), Pamph. $\pi\epsilon\rho\tau'$ —Att.-Ion., Lesb. $\pi\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$.

2. $\pi\omicron\tau\acute{\iota}$ (= Avest. *pa'ti*) with $\pi\acute{\omicron}\tau$, $\pi\acute{\omicron}$ (95) in the West Greek dialects with Thessalian and Boeotian.—Arc.-Cypr. $\pi\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$.

Still another form, $\pi\omicron\iota$, occurring mostly, though not exclusively, before dentals (hence possibly to be explained as coming from $\pi\omicron\tau\acute{\iota}$ by dissimilatory loss of τ) is frequent in Argive and Delphian, with scattered examples in Locrian (no. 58.14) and elsewhere. Numerous examples before dentals, as $\pi\omicron\iota \tau\omicron\nu$, etc. But also Arg. $\pi\omicron\iota\gamma\rho\alpha\psi\acute{\alpha}\nu\sigma\theta$, Epid. $\pi\omicron\iota \rho\acute{\omicron}\phi\tau\omicron\nu$, Delph. $\pi\omicron\iota\kappa\epsilon\phi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\alpha\iota\omicron\nu$, $\pi\omicron\iota \gamma\acute{\alpha}\nu$, and a few others before non-dentals.

a. $\pi\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ occurs also several times in inscriptions of Phrygia and Pamphylia, where it has been plausibly explained as introduced from Pamphylia (though a Pamph. $\pi\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ is not actually attested) and so ultimately belonging with the Arc.-Cypr. $\pi\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$.

7. $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\nu$, $\xi\acute{\upsilon}\nu$. $\xi\acute{\upsilon}\nu$, as in Homer, in early Attic, elsewhere $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\nu$. But Ion. $\xi\acute{\upsilon}\nu\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ from $*\xi\acute{\upsilon}\nu\text{-}\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$. Cypr. $\xi\acute{\upsilon}\gamma\gamma\epsilon\mu\omicron\varsigma$ $\sigma\upsilon\lambda\lambda\alpha\beta\acute{\eta}$ (Hesych.).

8. Cypr. $\acute{\upsilon} = \acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota$, e.g., $\acute{\upsilon} \tau\acute{\upsilon}\chi\alpha = \acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota \tau\acute{\upsilon}\chi\eta$, $\acute{\upsilon}\chi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omicron\nu = \acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\chi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omicron\nu$. Probably cognate with Skt. *ud*, Eng. *out* (cf. $\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\text{-}\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma =$ Skt. *uttaras*). There are traces of the same prefix in a few Rhodian and Boeotian proper names.

Peculiarities in Meaning and Construction

136. 1. Dative instead of the usual genitive construction in Arcado-Cyprian. (1) $\acute{\alpha}\pi\upsilon$. Arc. $\acute{\alpha}\pi\upsilon \tau\alpha\iota$ (sc. $\acute{\alpha}\mu\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha\iota$). Cypr. $\acute{\alpha}\pi\upsilon \tau\alpha\iota \zeta\acute{\alpha}\iota$.—(2) $\acute{\epsilon}\xi$. Arc. $\acute{\epsilon}\xi \tau\omicron\iota \acute{\epsilon}\rho\gamma\omicron\iota$, Cypr. $\acute{\epsilon}\xi \tau\alpha\iota \zeta\acute{\alpha}\iota$.—(3) $\pi\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota}$. Arc. $\pi\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota} \tau\omicron\iota\text{-}\nu\iota$, Cypr. $\pi\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota} \pi\alpha\iota\delta\acute{\iota}$.—(4) $\acute{\upsilon}\pi\acute{\epsilon}\rho$. Arc. $\acute{\upsilon}\pi\acute{\epsilon}\rho \tau\alpha\iota \tau\acute{\alpha}\varsigma \pi\acute{\omicron}\lambda\iota\omicron\varsigma \acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\theta\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\alpha\iota$.—(5) $\acute{\upsilon}\pi\omicron$. Arc. $\acute{\upsilon}\pi\omicron \pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\omega\nu \tau\acute{\omega}\nu \gamma\epsilon\gamma\omicron\nu\omicron\tau\omega\nu \acute{\upsilon}\pi\omicron \tau\alpha\iota \pi\acute{\omicron}\lambda\iota$.—(6) $\pi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}$. Arc. $\pi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha} \tau\alpha\iota \iota\delta\acute{\iota}\alpha\iota \pi\acute{\omicron}\lambda\iota$ 'from their own city.'—(7) $\mu\epsilon\delta\acute{\alpha}$. Arc. $\mu\epsilon\delta\acute{\alpha} \tau\omicron\iota\varsigma \phi\omicron\iota\kappa\iota\acute{\alpha}\tau\alpha\iota$ [c].—(8) $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota$. Arc. $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota \iota\epsilon[\rho\omicron\mu\acute{\alpha}\nu\omicron\mu\omicron\sigma\iota \tau\omicron]\iota\varsigma$.

$\acute{\epsilon}\xi$ with dative occurs also in Pamph. $\acute{\epsilon}\xi \delta\acute{\epsilon} \phi\upsilon\sigma\epsilon\lambda\alpha\iota$; $\pi\rho\acute{\omicron}$ with dative in Boeot. $\pi\rho\omicron\tau\eta\nu\iota$ 'formerly,' i.e., $\pi\rho\acute{\omicron} \tau\alpha\iota\text{-}\nu\iota$ (sc. $\acute{\alpha}\mu\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha\iota$). Cf. Thess. $\acute{\upsilon}\pi\pi\rho\acute{\omicron} \tau\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ (sc. $\acute{\alpha}\mu\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha\varsigma$) 'just previously,' and Boeot. $\acute{\epsilon}\nu \tau\acute{\alpha}\nu$ (sc. $\acute{\alpha}\mu\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha\nu$) 'until,' no. 43.49).

a. This growth, at the expense of the genitive, of the dative (locative) construction, which in the case of most of the above-mentioned prepositions was also an inherited one (cf. $\pi\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota}$, $\acute{\upsilon}\pi\omicron$, etc., with dative), and its extension even to $\acute{\alpha}\pi\upsilon$ and $\acute{\epsilon}\xi$, was probably furthered by the influence of the most frequent locative construction, that with $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ (iv).

2. $\pi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}$ 'at, with,' with accusative instead of dative. Though

occasional even in Attic writers and elsewhere, this is especially common in the Northwest Greek dialects, including Thessalian and Boeotian, e.g., Thess. $\tau\omicron\iota \pi\alpha\rho' \acute{\alpha}\mu\mu\acute{\epsilon} \mu\omicron\lambda\iota\tau\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$ (no. 32; corresponding to $\tau\omicron\upsilon \pi\alpha\rho' \acute{\omicron}\mu\acute{\iota}\nu \mu\omicron\lambda\iota\tau\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$ of Philip's letter in the $\kappa\omicron\iota\nu\eta$), Boeot. $\acute{\alpha} \sigma\omicron\upsilon\gamma\gamma\rho\alpha\phi\omicron\varsigma \pi\acute{\alpha}\rho \phi\iota\phi\acute{\iota}\alpha\delta\alpha\nu$, Delph. $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\mu\epsilon\iota\nu\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega \delta\acute{\epsilon} \text{Νικῶ παρὰ Μνασίξενον}$, El. $\mu\epsilon\mu\omicron\lambda\iota\tau\epsilon\upsilon\kappa\omega\rho \pi\alpha\rho' \acute{\alpha}\mu\acute{\epsilon}$.

a. Much later, and rarely seen in dialect inscriptions, is the more general confusion between the dative with verbs of rest and the accusative with verbs of motion, and the final supremacy of the accusative construction, as $\acute{\epsilon}\mu\epsilon\iota\nu\alpha\nu \acute{\epsilon}\iota\varsigma \tau\omicron\nu \omicron\iota\kappa\omicron\nu$.

3. $\pi\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ 'by, in the sight of,' with accusative instead of genitive, in Elean $\pi\acute{\omicron}$ (= $\pi\omicron\tau\acute{\iota}$). $\acute{\omicron}\mu\acute{\omicron}\sigma\alpha\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma \pi\acute{\omicron} \tau\omicron\nu \theta\epsilon\acute{\omicron}\nu \tau\omicron\nu \text{Ὀλύμπιον}$,— $\delta\tau\iota \delta\omicron\kappa\epsilon\acute{\omicron}\iota \kappa\alpha\lambda\iota\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omicron\varsigma \acute{\epsilon}\chi\acute{\epsilon}\nu \pi\acute{\omicron} \tau\omicron\nu \theta\epsilon\acute{\omicron}\nu$,— $\phi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\acute{\epsilon}\nu \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\nu \pi\acute{\omicron} \tau\omicron\nu \Delta\iota\alpha$ 'he shall be judged guilty in the eyes of Zeus.' In a later Elean inscription (no. 65) the same idea is expressed by $\phi\epsilon\nu\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\tau\omega \pi\acute{\omicron}\tau \tau\acute{\omega} \Delta\iota\omicron\rho \tau\acute{\omega}\lambda\upsilon\mu\pi\acute{\iota}\omega \acute{\alpha}\iota\lambda\mu\alpha\tau\omicron\rho$ where both the genitive construction and the use of $\phi\epsilon\upsilon\gamma\omega$ instead of the genuine Elean $\phi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\rho\omega$ are concessions to Attic usage. This Elean use is only a step removed from that of $\pi\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ 'in relation to' with accusative.

4. El. $\acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma = \acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\upsilon$, with accusative instead of genitive, as $\acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma \beta\omicron\lambda\acute{\alpha}\nu$.

5. $\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha}$ 'according to' with genitive instead of accusative, in Locrian. $\kappa\alpha\theta' \acute{\omicron}\nu = \kappa\alpha\theta' \acute{\alpha}$,— $\kappa\acute{\alpha} \tau\acute{\omicron}\nu\delta\epsilon = \kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha} \tau\acute{\alpha}\delta\epsilon$,— $\kappa\acute{\alpha} \tau\acute{\alpha}\varsigma \sigma\upsilon\nu\beta\omicron\lambda\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$, $\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha} \xi\epsilon\nu\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$.

6. $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota$ with the dative of the deceased person, in epitaphs. This occurs in a few early epitaphs in Lesbian, Phocian, and Locrian, but is especially common in Boeotian, e.g., $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota \phi\eta\kappa\alpha\delta\acute{\alpha}\mu\omicron\varsigma \acute{\epsilon}\mu\acute{\iota}$, $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota \text{Ὀκίβας}$. In most dialects the name of the deceased appears in the nominative.

7. $\acute{\alpha}\mu\phi\acute{\iota}$. In most dialects $\acute{\alpha}\mu\phi\acute{\iota}$ is obsolete. In the phrase $\acute{\alpha}\mu\phi\acute{\iota} \tau\iota\nu\alpha$, which survives also in Attic prose, it occurs in Argive and Rhodian; in Argive also once in purely local force. In Cretan it is used freely in the meaning 'about, concerning' (as in Homer), with dative or accusative, e.g., $\alpha\iota \delta\acute{\epsilon} \kappa' \acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\iota \delta\acute{\omicron}\lambda\delta\iota \mu\omicron\lambda\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu\tau\iota$ 'if they contend about a slave.'— $\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\iota \tau\acute{\alpha}\nu \delta\acute{\alpha}\lambda\omega\nu$ 'about the division.'

8. $\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\iota$. The original local meaning 'in the face of, in front of, before' (cf. Lat. *ante*) is preserved in Cret. $\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\iota \mu\alpha\iota\tau\acute{\upsilon}\rho\omicron\delta\omega$ 'before witnesses', Locr. $\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\iota \tau\acute{\omicron} \acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\acute{\omicron}$ 'before the magistrate' (no. 59.19),

Att. ἀντὶ τοῦ Μινωταύρου, and a few other Att. examples. Hence the sense 'in return for' and the early and usual 'instead of.' This is sometimes weakened to denote mere equivalence ('in place of' = 'as, for'), e.g., Hom. ἀντὶ . . . ἱκεταό 'as a suppliant'. From 'in return for' arose a freer distributive use seen in Arc. τρεῖς ὁδελὸς ὀφλὲν ἀντὶ Φεκάστου 'shall pay a fine of three obols for each (wagon)'. Further, Delph. ἀντὶ Φέτεος (no. 52 A 45), Arc. ἀντ' ἐνιαυτοῦ (IG V.ii.266), Boeot. ἀντ' ἐνιαυτῶ (cf. BCH 60.183), all meaning 'by the year, yearly,' and even Coan ἀντὶ νυκτός 'by night' (no. 108.42). Cf. Hesych. ἀντέτους· τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἔτους. Λάκωνες, ἀντὶ μῆνα· κατὰ μῆνα, and ἀνθ' ἡμέρας· δι' ὅλης τῆς ἡμέρας.

9. ἔξ. An extension of the regular use of ἔξ (or ἀπό) with the genitive to denote material and source, is seen in certain expressions of amount or value, e.g., Att. στεφάνῳ ἀπὸ χιλίων δραχμῶν 'with a crown worth 1000 drachmas'.—Ion. στεφανῶσαι Μαύσσῳ λον μὲν ἐκ δαρεικῶν πεντήκοντα, Ἀρτεμισίην δὲ ἐκ τριήκοντα δαρεικῶν 'crown Maussolus with a crown worth fifty darics, Artemisia with one worth thirty'.—Att. κριθῶν . . . πρᾶθεισῶν ἐκ τριῶν δραχμῶν τὸν μέδιμνον ἑκάστον 'barley purchased at three drachmas a medimnus,' and even more freely Ther. πυρῶν ἐγ μεδίμνου καὶ κριθῶν ἐγ δύο μεδίμνων 'a medimnus of wheat and two of barley'.

10. ὑπέρ 'in behalf of' with accusative instead of genitive, in late Locrian, Delphian, Epidaurian, Arcadian, Rhodian, e.g., Delph. ὑπὲρ τὰν πόλιν. Cf. above, 2 with α.

11. ὑπὸ instead of usual ἐπὶ with genitive in expressions of dating occurs with genitive in Elean (no. 66.2), and with accusative in Laconian (no. 71.66).

12. Noteworthy combinations are Thess. ὑπρό 'just before', and Arc. ἐπὲς from ἐπὶ and ἐς = ἔξ (cf. ὑπέκ, διέκ, παρέκ), meaning 'for and on occasion of, with reference to.'

VERBS

Augment and Reduplication

137. Most peculiarities are such as are due to divergence in the form of contraction where a consonant has been lost (εἰχον or

ἤχον, cf. 25), or in the treatment of consonant groups, as Att. εἰληφα, Phoc. εἰλάφει, from *σέσλᾱφα (76.2), but Ion., Epid., Arc. λελάβηκα after λέλουπα, etc., with original initial λ, Arg. FeFpēμένα, but Att.-Ion. εἴρηκα after forms like εἰληφα (55a), Cret., El. ἔγραμμαι = γέγραμμαι, like Ion. ἔκτημαι = Att. κέκτημαι, ἔγνωκα in all dialects. Note also Cret. ἤγραμμαι, with which compare ἤβελον, ἤβουλόμεν.

Active Personal Endings

138. 1. Second singular. The original primary ending -σι (Skt. -si) is preserved in Hom., Syrac. ἐσσί, also in Epid. συντίθῃσι, and so perhaps regularly in West Greek dialects (inscriptional examples of the second singular are, naturally, very rare), the retention of intervocalic σ being due to the analogy of ἐσσί. But in the East Greek dialects, where 3 sg. τίθητι became τίθησι (61.1), τίθης, etc., with secondary ending, were employed.

Thematic primary -εις (with genuine ει) in nearly all dialects, but Cypr. ἔρπες, etc. (Hesych.), Dor. συρλίδες, etc. (Theocr.).

Also -σθα, starting from οἶσθα, ἦσθα, with the original perfect ending -θα, is widely used in literary Lesbian and Doric, as in Homer (τίθησθα, βάλοισθα, etc.).

a. Occasional examples of -ης (also -ης) in literary Lesbian and Doric texts, beside the normal -εις, are almost certainly corruptions, due to the grammarians' false extension of η = secondary ει.

2. Third singular. The original primary ending -τι (Skt. -ti) is preserved in West Greek, Boeot. τίθητι, δίδωτι, etc., whence East Greek τίθησι, δίδωσι. See 61.1. Thematic primary -ει (with genuine ει), secondary -ε in all dialects.

a. Herodian quotes as Aeolic τίθη, δίδω, ζεύγνυ, that is, with secondary ending as in ἐτίθη, etc. There is some confirmation of such forms, e.g., δείκνυ in Hesiod, δάμνᾱ (correction of the impossible δάμνησι) in Alcaeus.

3. First plural. West Greek -μες (cf. Skt. -mas, Lat. -mus from -mos), originally the primary ending,—East Greek -μεν, originally the secondary ending. See 223a.

4. Third plural, primary. West Greek -ντι (Skt. -nti), East Greek -(ν)σι. Thus, in thematic verbs, West Greek φέροντι, Pamph. ἐξάγῳδι (= ἐξάγωντι, see 66), Arc. φέρονσι, Lesb. (and Chian) φέροισι, Att.-Ion. φέρουσι. See 61.1, 77.3.

So also in μι-verbs, West Greek ἐντί, φαντί, τίθεντι, δίδοντι, whence Att.-Ion. εἰσί, φᾶσί, Ion. (with the accent of contract forms, see 160) τιθεῖσι, διδοῦσι. But Att. τιθέσσι, διδόσσι, etc., represent a later formation, with -αντι (-ᾶσι) added to the final vowel of the stem, as also in Boeot. perf. δεδόανθι. Cf. Boeot. ἔθεαν, etc., below, 5.

In the perfect the earliest type is that in -ᾶτι (-ᾷτι, Skt. -ati in redupl. pres. *dadhati*), whence also -ᾶσι. Thus Phoc. ἱερητεύκατι, Delph. καθεστάκατι, Aetol. γεγόνατι, Rhod. ἀνατεθήκατι, Hom. πεφύκασι, Arc. [Fō]φλέασι, ἐσλελοίπασι. But this is commonly replaced by -αντι, as Dor. κεχάναντι (Sophron), Phoc. ἀνατεθέκαντι, Delph. ἐπιτετελέκαντι, Arg. ἐπιμεμηνάκαντι, Rhod. ἀπεστάλκαντι, etc., Att.-Ion. -ᾶσι. Late inscriptions of various dialects have also the secondary -αν, as Cret. ἔσταλκαν.

Boeotian and Thessalian have -νθι, as Boeot. οἷσονθι, ἴωνθι, δῶωνθι, ἀποδεδόανθι, etc., Thess. ὑπάρχονθι, κατοικεῖονθι (but also -ουντι at Phalanna). Similarly imv. -νθω in Boeot. ἐνθω, δαμίωνθω, etc., and θ in middle endings (139.2). Two different explanations have been suggested, (1) that the type started with a *ἐνθί derived from *ἐντί (163.2) by transposition of the aspiration, (2) that the θ started in the middle endings under the influence of -μεθα, -σθε.

5. Third plural, secondary. -ν (from -nti) in ἔφερον, etc. So also in the μι-forms, as ἔθεν, ἔδον, which are retained in most dialects, as in Homer. Likewise pass. ἐλύθεν, ἐλέγεγ (from -ηντ, with regular shortening), but also sometimes -ην (with η from the other persons), as Hom. μιάνην, Cret., Epir. διελέγην, Corcyr. ἐστεφανώθην, Delph. ἀπελύθην.

But Attic-Ionic has ἔθεσαν, ἔδοσαν, ἐλύθησαν, etc., with -σαν taken over from the σ-aorist, as also ἦσαν, where most dialects have ἦν (163.3, 4). Similarly -ν is replaced by -αν (also, mainly after aorist forms like ἔλυσαν or ἦνικαν) in Boeot. ἀνέθεαν, ἀνέθειαν, ἀνέθιαν (9.4), παρεῖαν, Locr. ἀνέθεαν, Arc. συνέθεαν, Cypr. κατέθειαν (9.6); and in Thessalian by -εν (an inherited ending seen in Hom. ἦεν, or perhaps from -αν, cf. 7, 27), as ἐδούκαεμ (ἔδωκαν), ὄνεθείκαεν (beside ὄνέθεικαν), and, with diphthongal αι from αε, ἐτάξαιεν (similarly ἐδῶκαιεν, probably due to Thessalian

influence, in a Delphian inscription), also once even in a thematic form, ἐνεφανίσσασεν = ἐνεφάνιζον.

a. In the κοινή the ending -σαν spread even to thematic forms and to the optative, and such forms occur in late inscriptions of various dialects, e.g., Delph. ἐλέγασαν, ἔχουσαν, etc. Similar forms in LXX and NT.

6. Third dual, secondary. Att.-Ion. -την, elsewhere -τᾶν, e.g., Arc., Boeot., Epid. ἀνεθέταν, El. λεοίταν. Similarly 1 sg. mid. Att.-Ion. -μην, elsewhere -μᾶν.

Middle Personal Endings

139. 1. Third singular. Primary -ται, Boeot. -τη (26), Thess. -τει (27). Arcadian has -τοι (perhaps also Cyprian, but not quotable), due to the influence of the secondary -το (before its change to -τυ), e.g., γένητοι, δέατοι, βόλῃτοι. Cf. also 2 sg. κεῖτοι = κεῖσαι, and 3 pl. διαδικάσωντοι.

Secondary -το, Arc.-Cypr. -τυ.

2. Third plural. Usually -νται, -ντο (Arc. -ντυ). But also -αται, -ατο, mostly in the perfect and pluperfect after a consonant (e.g., γεγράφαται), but also after a vowel in Boeotian (-αθη, see below); and so regularly in Ionic in the perfect (e.g., Hom. βεβλήαται, later εἰρέαται, contracted εἰρήαται), pluperfect, and optative, and even in unthematic presents and imperfections, e.g., τιθέαται and also δυνέαται, κινέαται, to δύνημι, κίρνημι (with suffix νᾶ, weak νᾶ), after the analogy of τιθέαται to τίθημι. Arg. γεγράβανται has -ανται for -αντι like -αντι for -ατι (138.4).

Boeotian and Thessalian have θ in these, as in the active, endings. Boeot. ἀδικίωνθι (-νται), ἐστροτεύαθι, μεμισθῶαθι (-αται), ἐποιείσανθο, ἀπεγράψανθο, etc. Thess. ἔλκονθαί, ἐπαγγέλουθαί (subj.), ἐγένονθο, εἶλονθο, also ἐφάνγρενθεν = ἐφαιρῶνται, βέλλουνθεν = βούλωνται, with ει from αι (27) and an added ν (perhaps the active secondary ending; cf. the double pluralization in the imv. -ντων).

Imperative Active and Middle

140. In the third plural the dialects exhibit the following types.
1. The same form as the third singular. Rare, and only in the

middle. Corcyr. κρινέσθω, ἐκδανειζέσθω, Calymn. ἐπισαμινέσθω, Coan αἰρείσθω, Thas. θέσθω, Rhod. ἐπιμελέσθω.

2. *a.* -των, formed from the third singular by the addition of the secondary ending -ν. ἔστων, as in Homer, in Ionic only. A corresponding thematic φερέτων is unknown.

b. -σθων, similarly formed from the third singular. φερέσθων, τιθέσθων, etc., the usual form in most dialects.

3. *a.* -ντω, formed after the analogy of 3 pl. indic. -ντι. φερόντω, τιθέντω, etc., in Arcadian, Boeotian (-νθω, 139.2), Locrian, and the Doric dialects except Cretan, Thera, Cyrenaean.

Later Doric inscriptions often show the Att. -ντων beside -ντω. Conversely the later Delphian inscriptions often have the general Doric -ντω beside -ντων, which is the form of the earliest Delphian (likewise later Cret. -ντω vs. earlier -ντων.)

b. -νσθω, formed to act. -ντω and with the treatment of secondary νσ (77.2). Arg. ποιγραψάνσθω, χρόνσθω, Corcyr. ἐκλογιζούσθω, and so to be read with long vowel Epid. φερύσθω, Lac. ἀνελδύσθω, Heracl. ἐπελάσθω (159) (-ᾱ-όνσθω). Similarly -δσθων in type 4*b*.

4. *a.* -ντων, with double pluralization, a combination of types 2 and 3. φερόντων, τιθέντων, as in Homer, in Attic-Ionic, Delphian, Cretan, Thera, Cyrenaean.

b. -(ν)σθων, formed to act. -ντων. Early Att. ἐπιμελδύσθων, χρύδσθων, etc., Locr. δαμευδύσθων, El. τιμόδστων.

c. The coexistence of act. -ντω, but mid. -σθων (where the pluralizing final ν was more essential) is found in several dialects (Arc., Locr., Aetol., Meg., Coan, Rhod.).

5. -ντον, -σθον. This is the regular type in Lesbian, e.g., φέροντον, κάλεντον, ἐπιμέλεσθον, and Pamphylian (e.g., ὄδυ = ὄντον), and also appears, probably through Pamphylian influence, in an inscription of Phaselis which is otherwise in the Rhodian dialect, and in a Rhodian decree at Seleucia in Cilicia.

6. -τωσαν, -σθωσαν, with -ν replaced by -σαν (cf. 138.5). Att. ἔστωσαν, φερέτωσαν (more rarely φερόντωσαν), ἐπιμελέσθωσαν, etc., after abuot 300 B.C., hence in later inscriptions of various dialects.

Future and Aorist

141. "Doric future" in -σεω. Except for a few middle forms in Attic-Ionic (Hom. ἔσσειται, Att. πλεουσόμεναι, etc.), this type is confined to the West Greek dialects (examples in most of the Doric dialects and in Delphian; in Locrian and Elean no futures occur). Thus, from the very numerous examples, Delph. ταγευσέω, κλεψέω, Cret. σπευσίω (ι from ε, 9), πραξίμεν, βοαθησίοντι, τεισῆται, πραξῆται, Epid. βλαψείσθαι, Coan, Cnid. ποιησεῖται, Rhod. ἀποδωσεῖντι, Cyren. δησῆται, παισεῖται, ἐκτιμασέντι (42.5*e*). Ther. θησέοντι, πραξοῦντι (with Att. ου, as often in the Doric κοινή, see 278), Arg. ἐμφανιζόντας (cf. 42.5*d*).

a. The 3 sg. forms in -σει, though in themselves ambiguous, are rightly assumed to belong here and accented -σεῖ in dialects which show unambiguous forms of this type.

b. Heraclian shows the -σεω type unmistakably in ἐργαζῆται, καρπευσῆται, ἔσσηται, etc., and so presumably the 3 sg. act. κοψεῖ, etc., is to be so accented. But the 3 pl. forms are act. κοψοντι, hoisonτι, etc., mid. ἐργαζονται, ἔσσονται, etc. According to the current view, these belong to the -σω future and are accented κόψοντι, ἔσσονται, etc. But co-existence of the two types (barring the frequent intrusion of κοινή forms) with such a precise distribution is unknown elsewhere, and is difficult to credit. It now seems preferable to revert to the older view (Ahrens, Meister, IG XIV. 645) and assume that, despite the ι for ε after liquids (ἀναγγελέοντι, etc.), we have here the same change of ε to ο before ντ that was formerly known only in parts of Crete but is now so well attested by Arg. κοινανόντι, etc., including the fut. pple. ἐμφανιζόντας (42.5*d*).

142. ξ in the future and aorist of verbs in -ζω. The extension of ξ, which is regular in the case of guttural stems, to other verbs in -ζω, which regularly have σσ, σ (δικάσω, ἐδίκασα), is seen in some isolated examples even in Homer (πολεμίζομεν, as, conversely, ἦρπασε beside ἦρπαξε) and Hesiod (φημιξέωσι). But as a general phenomenon it is characteristic of the West Greek dialects, together with Thessalian and (in part) Boeotian, and Arcado-Cyprian. Thus, from the countless examples, Cret. δικάσσει, Rhod. διωρίζαντο, Coan ἐργάξασθαι, Ther. δέλπιξεν, Meg. ἐτερμόνιξαν, Corcyr. ἀπολογίζασθαι, Heracl. ἐτέρμαξαν (ξ in forms of 12 verbs, but also κατεσώσαμες, probably influenced by ἔσωσα from σώω), El. ποταρμόδαίτο, (Locr. ψάφιξις, see below, *a*),

Delph. ἀγωνίζατο, Thess. ψαφίζασθαι, ἐργάξατο, Arc. παρετάζωνσι, ποινίζασθαι, Cypri. ἐξορύξῃ.

But in Argolic the ξ formation is avoided when a guttural preceded, e.g., Arg. ἐδίκασαν, ἐργάσαντο, Epid. ἐργάσασθαι, ἀναχίσσαι, beside ἀγωνίζασθαι, προσεφάνιξε, ἐμφανιζόντας. Similarly Arc. ἐδικάσαμεν, δικάσασθαι, ἀναγκάσαι (but also ὠρισαν) beside παρετάζωνσι, etc.

Boeotian has, from different localities, both ξ and ττ (= Att. σ, 82), e.g., ἐκομιζάμεθα, ἐπεσκεύαξε, ἐμέριξε, ἱαρειάξασα, and κομιττάμενοι, κατασκευάττη, ἐψαφίττατο, ἀπολογίτταστη, καταδουλίτταστη.

a. A similar extension of guttural stems is sometimes seen in other forms, e.g., Heracl. ποτικλαίγω = προσκλείω, Argol., Mess. κλάιξ (as in Theocr.), κλαικτός, Lac. κλέξ = κέλης, Dor. ὄρνιξ, gen. ὄρνιχος (lit. Dor., Coan, Cyren.) = ὄρνις, ὄρνιθος, Cret. ψάφιγμα (also ψάφιμμα) = ψήφισμα, Lesb. ψάφιγγι = ψηφίδι, and especially the frequent abstracts in -ξίς = -σις, as Aetol. ψάφιξις, Locr. ψάφιξις (89.1), Corcyr. χεῖριξις, Cret. ἀπολάγαξις, χρημάτιξις.

143. σσ in the future and aorist of verb stems ending in a short vowel. The Homeric extension of σσ from ἐτέλεσ-σα to ἐκάλεσ-σα is an Aeolic characteristic. Lesb. [καλε]σσάτωσαν, ὁμόσσαντες, Boeot. σουνκαλέσσαντες. Other dialects may have σσ from stems ending in σ or a dental, as ἐτέλεσσα or ἐδίκασσα (Boeot. ττ), ἔδασσάμην (Cret. ττ), later with one σ (82, 83), but always ἐκάλεσα, ὤμοσα.

144. Aorist in -α. εἴπα and ἦνεγκα, ἦνεικα, or ἦνικα in various dialects. Arc. pple. ἀπυδόας = ἀποδούς, Lesb. ἔχευα, elsewhere ἔχεα (e.g., Ion. συγχέαι, no. 2). In late times this type is extended to many other verbs, e.g., ἦλθα, γενάμενος.

a. ἦνεικα or ἦνικα, not ἦνεγκα, is the form of most dialects except Attic, e.g., Ion. ἦνεικα (Hom., Hdt.), ἐνεικάντων (Chios), also ἐξενιχθῆ (Ceos); Lesb., Delph., Argol., Calymn. ἦνικα, Boeot. ἐνειχθαίει (ι probably original, not = ει) and 3 pl. ἐνιξαν, the latter a blend with the σ-aorist.

b. Aorist in -ᾱ (beside the familiar ἔδρᾱν, etc.). Epid. ἐξεργῶ, Lac. ἀπεσσοῦ, 3 sg. subj. Calymn. ἐγρῶ, Cyren. μιᾷ, ἰσᾷ.

c. Aorist of ἴζω. Corcyr. ἡσάτο, Arg. ἰσάτο, Cyren. ἴσαντα, ἰσάμενος vs. Hom. καθείσα, ἐφέσαι, Arg. ἦσαντο, ἔσάμενος, from ἔζω.

d. σ-aorist forms with thematic vowel instead of the usual α by extension. Like Hom. ἐβήσεντο, etc., are Pamph. ἐβόλασεντο and 3 pl. imv. κατεφερδόντο.

145. Future passive with active endings. Rhod. ἐπιμεληθῆ-σεῦντι, ἀποσταλησεῖ, σταθησεῖ, Ther. συναχθησοῦντι, Cret., Carpath. ἀναγραφησεῖ, Astyp. ἐπιμεληθησεῖ, and φανησεῖν, δειχθησοῦντι in Archimedes. Although the inscriptional examples are, as yet, confined to the Doric islands, it is not improbable that this was a general Doric or West Greek characteristic. Forms with middle endings, like Ther. ἀνατεθησεῦνται, are from the κοινή with local coloring.

Perfect

146. 1. κ-perfect. This is usual for vowel stems in all dialects. But there are some few forms without κ, outside the indicative singular, like Hom. βεβάσαι beside βέβηκας, κεκμηώς beside κέκμηκας, etc., e.g., Boeot. ἀποδεδόανθι, καταβεβάνων, δεδώωση = δεδωκυῖαι, Feφυκονομείοντων = φύκονομηκότων, πεπιτευόντεσσι, πεποιόντεσσι, καταβεβλειώσας, ἀπειλθείοντες, Arc. [Fῶ]φλέασι (but pple. Fῶφλέασι).

The gradual extension of the κ-type to other than original vowel stems is by no means confined to Attic (cf., e.g., Arc. ἐφθορκώς; Att. ἐφθορκα but also ἐφθορα), and some verbs which usually have the strong perfect show dialect forms with a vowel stem and κ. So ἀνδάνω, λαμβάνω, with usual ἔαδα, εἴληφα (εἰλᾶφα), but Locr. FεFαδῆκῶτα, Ion. ἄδηκε (Hippon.), Arc., Ion., Epid. λελάβηκα, from the vowel stem which is present in many verbs in -άνω (cf. τετύχηκα, μεμάθηκα, etc.). Usual ἐλήλυθα, but ἦλθηκα in Boeot. διεσσείλθεικε (pple. ἀπειλθείοντες without κ, see above), Arc. κατηνθηκότι. Similarly from a secondary ᾱ-stem, Lesb. ὑπαδεδρόμᾱκε (Sappho), Arg. ἐπιμεμνηνάκωντι (η from aor.; cf. μεμνᾶνός Archim., Att. μεμνήκα). For secondary forms in -ωκα, see 162.3.

2. Aspirated perfect. This is mainly an Attic-Ionic development. But there are some examples of aspirated forms of the κ-perfect, which even in Attic are only late (εἴρηκα, etc., in papyri), Syrac. ἐκρατερίχημες (Sophron), Arg. δέδωχε, Arc. ἱερίτευχε.

3. Dialectal variations in the grade of the root (49) are not infrequent, as Cret. ἀμπεληλεύθεν, Cyren. κατεληλευθῖα (vs.

Hom. εἰλήλουθα, εἰληλουθῶς), Heracl. ἐρρηγεῖα = Att. ἐρρωγυῖα, Dor. ἔωκα = Att. εἰκα from ἔημι (cf. ἐρρωγα from ῥήγνυμι), also in the middle, Heracl. ἀνθεῶσθαι, Arc. ἀφεῶσθω (so ἀνέωνται Hdt., ἀφέωνται NT).

4. For the reduplication, see 137; for the 3 pl. ending, see 138.4.

5. Heracl. γεγράφαι (no. 79.121) and subj. μεμισθωσῶνται (no. 79.106) have generally been taken as perfect forms, with difficult explanation. But they are rather future perfect forms, suitable to the context and much easier to explain. γεγράφαι has simply taken over the ending of the perfect γεγράφαι. μεμισθωσῶνται is precisely the form to be expected as subj. of 3 pl. indic. fut. perf. μεμισθωσόνται (on the accent, which would be the same as in the future, see 141b). To be sure, our grammars give an optative but no subjunctive for the future perfect, but both were given in the old τύπτω paradigm (cf. Uhlig, Dionysius Thrax, p. 125 ff., where the 3 pl. mid. fut. perf. subj. τετύφονται is (apart our assumption of -σέω type and consequent accentuation) just what we assume for μεμισθωσῶνται.

147. Thematic forms in the perfect. Aside from the subjunctive, optative, and imperative, which regularly have thematic inflection, we find:

1. Indicative. Forms inflected like presents are often employed by the Sicilian Doric writers, e.g., Theocr. δεδοίκα, πεπόνθεις, πεφύκει, Epich. γεγάθει, Archim. τετμάκει, and occur in some inscriptions of Rhodes, Cnidus, and Carpathus, e.g., τετιμάκει, γεγόνει, ἐστάκει, and occasionally elsewhere, as Phoc. εἰλάφει.

2. Infinitive. Forms in -ειν (-εν, -ην) instead of -εναι (-εμεν, etc.) are found in Lesbian and in some West Greek dialects, e.g., Lesb. τεθνάκην, τεθεωρήκην, Delph. ἀποτετεῖκεν, Cret. ἀμπεληλεύθεν, Calymn., Nisyr. δεδώκεν, Rhod. γεγόνειν, Epid. λελαβήκειν. So Pindar κεχλάθειν, Theocr. δεδύκειν.

Cf. also Heracl. πεφυτευκῆμεν, etc., from -ε-εμεν instead of simply -εμεν.

3. Participle. The thematic inflection is regular in the Aeolic dialects, e.g., Lesb. κατεληλύθοντος, κατεστακόντων, Thess. πεφειράκοντες, ἐπεστάκοντα, Boeot. Feφυκονομειόντων, δεδώωση (146.1). Cf. Hom. κεκλήγοντες.

a. There are some feminine forms in -ουσα in later Delphian (e.g., δεδωκούσας), and elsewhere, but these represent a more restricted phenomenon, quite independent of the preceding. Cf. also Ion. ἐστεῶσα, Att. ἐστῶσα.

148. The participle in its regular (unthematic) form usually has the feminine in -υῖα. But forms in -εῖα are found in late Attic and elsewhere, e.g., Heracl. ἐρρηγεῖα, Ther. ἐστακεῖα.

Subjunctive

149. The subjunctive of thematic forms. The mood sign is η/ω, to which the personal endings were added directly. So originally the second and third singular in -ης, -η, but replaced in the majority of dialects by -ης, -ηι on the analogy of the indicative -εις, -ει. Thus 3 sg. -ηι from the earliest times in Attic-Ionic, Phocian (φάρει, ἄγῃ, etc.), Locrian (ἀποθάνει, etc.), Cretan (πάθει, φέρηι, etc.) and so generally in the Doric dialects (or later -ει).

But the earlier type with 3 sg. -η prevails in Arcadian (Cyprian examples lacking) and is also attested elsewhere. Thus Arc. λέγε, νέμει, ἔχη, etc. (so uniformly), Thess. θέλει, Boeot. πῖει (and so later Thess., Boeot. -ει probably = η, 16, though could also = ηι), El. ἐκπέμπει (α = η, 15), Lac. ζέει (no. 70, due to the Arcadian engraver? cf. ἀποθάνει in the same inscription and usual Lac. -ηι). Other scattered examples of -η, beside usual -ηι or -ει, may be merely graphic variants of the latter and are dubious representatives of the early type. Thus Lesb. ἐμμένη (no. 26, but -ηι in the earlier no. 25), Heracl. ἀμμισθωθῇ (once beside -ηι or usual -ει), Mess. ἐξάγη (beside χρήζηι in the same inscription), Corcyr. λίπη, Epid. πέτη, Coan λάθη, and many others.

Arc. 1 sg. ἀψευδήων (no. 21) is unique and variously explained. Probably -ω with addition of secondary ending, like Hom. subj. ἐθέλωμι, etc., with addition of the primary ending.

150. The subjunctive of the σ-aorist. As in the case of other unthematic formations (cf. Hom. ἵομεν to indic. ἵμεν), this was originally a short-vowel subjunctive in ε/ο, and only later came to follow the more common long-vowel type in η/ω. Besides Hom. βήσομεν (cf. βᾶσομεν Pindar), etc., the old short-vowel forms are widely attested for the σ-aorist and occur also in the α-aorist.

East Ion. ποιήσει, κατάξει, ἐκκόψει (no. 3, Teos), ἀποκρύψει, ἐξομόσει, ἐπάρει, κατείπει, κατακτείνῃσιν (that is, -ουσιν, not -ωσιν), Chian πρήξουσιν (no. 4; with Lesb. οἰσ from ονσ, 77.3). Lesb. ἀποτείσει, κωλύσει, ἀποπεράσει, χαλάσσομεν, and (with extension to the thematic aorist) τέκοισι. Cret. δείξει, ἀδικήσει, etc. (hence the forms of the Law-Code are to be transcribed -ει, not -εῖ), ἐκσανήσεται, ὁμόσονται, etc., Coan ὑποκόψει, Astyp. δόξει. Cyren. ἄρξεσται, καταγγήλει, ἐνίκει.

a. Heracl. ἀρτύσει, πράξει, etc., do not belong here, but have -ει from -ηι as in the thematic forms ἀποθάνει, λάβει (with pres. subj. φέρει, νέμει, etc.). The long-vowel type is shown clearly in 3 pl. ἀρτύσονται, etc.

b. The early Locr. forms ἀποτείσει, διαφθείσει, φυτεύσει, though ambiguous, may well belong here, being much earlier than the Delph. forms, which show only the long-vowel type, ἀποτείσει, κωλύσονται, etc.

c. A still earlier type, with the ending added directly to the short vowel without the secondary ι of the usual forms (and so agreeing with the type Skt. -sas, -sat) is seen in Cyren. 2 sg. ποιήσεις and [ἐ]ρείσεις (nos. 115.9, 119). In view of this positive evidence we should probably transcribe Aegin. σπασΕς (IG IV.177) as σπᾶσες (for Argol. -ης would be anomalous). But Cypr. Φείσες (Schwyzer 685), is more probable than Φείσεσ (cf. meter, and Arc. -στάση, etc.). There is no similar evidence of a corresponding 3 sg. -σε (parallel to Skt. -sat). It is only a possibility that the Cypr. forms which are usually transcribed λῶσε, ἐξορύξε, and the early Arc. forms with Ε, should be read with ε, in spite of the later Arc. -στάσης, -βλάψης, etc.

151. The subjunctive of unthematic vowel stems. There are two distinct types.

1. The endings are added directly to the long vowel of the stem. This type is found mostly in those forms of which the corresponding indicative has the short vowel. So especially in the middle, e.g., Cret. δύνᾱμαι, νύνᾱται, νύνᾱνται, Lesb., Cyren. δύνᾱνται beside indic. δύνᾱμαι, Arc. ἐπισυνίσταται beside indic. ἰσᾱτάται, δᾱᾱτοι (cf. Hon. δᾱᾱτο). But also, when the indicative also has a long vowel, Cret. πέπᾱται, ἐστετέκνῳται, Ther. πέπρᾱται. Further, in the active, Mess. τιθηντι beside indic. τίθεντι (hence also, beside ἐντί, Mess. ἦνται = ῶσι, Delph. ἦται = ῆ), γράφηντι beside indic. ἔγραφεν, Cret. ἰσᾱντι, Cyren. ἰσᾱι, also (beside indic. α) Cyren. μιᾱι, Calymn. ἐγρυᾱι (cf. 144b).

After the relation of ἰσᾱτάται to ἰσᾱτάται there arose also an aor.

subj. σᾱ beside indic. σᾱ, e.g., Cret. παρθύσᾱται, Arc. βωλεύσᾱνται, likewise in Elean, with loss of σ (59.3), φυγαδεύᾱντι (no. 65), ποιῆᾱται (no. 66).

2. The usual type is that in which the long vowel of the stem was followed by the short vowel subjunctive sign ε/ο, this being generally replaced by the more usual η/ω (cf. 150). Further change is due to the shortening, in the majority of dialects, of the long stem vowel before the following vowel (43). Hom. θήομεν (θείομεν), θήης, δώομεν, δώη, Boeot. καθιστάει, ἀποδώει, Delph. δώη, ἀντιπριάηται, Heracl. φᾶντι (from *φᾶωντι), Thess. δυνᾶῖται, but with shortening Ion. θέωμεν, Att. θῶμεν, Cret. ἐνθίωμεν (ι from ε), etc. Similarly in the aorist passive, Hom. δαμῆης, μιγῆης, Boeot. κουρωθείει, ἐπιμελειθείει, κατασκευασθείει, ἐνενίχθειει, Arc. κακριθέει, but with shortening Ion. λυθέωμεν, Att. λυθῶμεν, Cret. πειθθίωντι (cf. ἐνθίωμεν), Heracl. ἐγῆληθίωντι, Rhod. ἐργασθῶντι, etc.

3. Subjunctive of εἶμι. Att.-Ion. ἔω, etc., with weak grade of the root. But Cret. εἴει, ἐνσ-εἴει, Cyren. ἐπέιηι, Syrac. εἴω (Sophron).

Optative

152. 1. Arc. 1 sg. ἐξελαύνοια represents a form long since assumed by comparative grammar (*-οι-η, whence -οια with ι retained under the influence of -οις, etc.), but generally replaced by -οιμι.

2. In the third plural *-οιαν (cf. 1) was replaced by -οιεν (after εἰεν, etc.), for which sometimes late -οιν, e.g., Delphian θέλοιν.

3. Unthematic type in contract verbs. See 157b.

4. σ-aorist. Most dialects show the secondary type with αι (α spread from the indicative). But the old unthematic mood sign seen in present εἶην, etc., appears in Cret. 3 sg. κοσμησίει, διακκασίει, 3 pl. φέρκσιεν. The type -εας, -ειε (perhaps starting in a 1 sg. -εια parallel to Arc. ἐξελαύνοια), more common than the αι-forms in Homer and early Attic writers, is also attested in Tean ἀ[ποκ]τείνει[ε] (no. 3.10, probable reading), Lesb. [δ]ιαδέξειε (IG XII.ii.527.57), El. κατιαραύσειε, ἀδεαλτώσαιε. Arc. διακωλύσει (no. 19.6/7) and ὑνιερόσει (no. 16) would be variants of this type.

Infinitive

153. The infinitive of thematic forms.

1. -ειν or -ην, according as the dialect has ει or η from ε + ε (25). So Att.-Ion., Thess. (Thessaliois), Locr., Corinth., Meg., Rhod. -ειν, but Lesb., El., Lac. -ην.

2. -εν. So in Arcadian (but -ην at Lycosura, Orchomenos) Cyprian (or -εν?), Delphian, and many of the Doric dialects (Heracl., Argol., Cret., Ther., Cyren., Coan, etc.), also once in a late East Locr. inscription (IG IX.i.267).

3. Some of these dialects have -εν even from verbs in -εω, e.g., Ther. διοικέν, Cyren. πλέν, εὐτυχέν (cf. also mid. δωρέσθαι, ὠνέσθαι), Coan δειπνέν, Calymn. μαρτυρέν, Arg. πωλέν, Delph. ψαφοφορέν, ἐνοικέν (but usually -εῖν).

154. The infinitive of unthematic forms.

1. -ναι. So in Attic-Ionic and Arcado-Cyprian, e.g., Att.-Ion. εἶναι, δοῦναι, Cypr. δοφέγει (-Fεναι, like -μεναι; or δοF-έναι going with δοFάνω, 162.5?), κυμερέναι, Arc. ἦναι.

2. -μεναι. So in Lesbian, as in Homer, e.g., ἔμμεναι, θέμεναι, δόμεναι. But see 155.2, 3.

3. -μεν. εἶμεν, etc., in Thessalian, Boeotian, and most of the West Greek dialects.

4. -μην. Cret. ἡμην, etc.

5. -μειν. εἶμειν, etc. in Rhodes and vicinity (Carpathus, Telos) and the Rhodian colonies (Phaselis in Pamphylia; Gela and Agrigentum in Sicily; also at Tauromenium, Rhegium, Croton, and in Epicharmus).

a. Cret. -μην, Rhod. -μεν are probably formed from -μεν with the vowel influenced by the thematic type, Cret. *-ην (before it was replaced by -εν), Rhod. -ειν.

155. Interchange of thematic and unthematic types of infinitive.

1. -μεν is extended to thematic forms in Boeotian and Thessalian (Pelasgiotis), as sometimes in Homer (cf. εἰπέμεν, and εἰπέμεναι), e.g., Boeot. φερέμεν, Thess. ὑπαρχέμεν. Cf. also Cret. προφειπέμεν in an early inscription of Lyttus.

2. The aorist passive infinitive, which is regularly unthematic (Att. γραφῆναι, Dor. γραφῆμεν), follows the thematic type in

Lesbian, e.g., ἐπιμελήθην, ὀντέθην, etc. This belongs with the following.

3. In Lesbian the present infinitive of unthematic vowel stems, as well as of the contract verbs, which otherwise follow the unthematic type (157), ends in -ν, not -μεναι, e.g., δίδων, κέρναν, ὁμνῶν, κάλῃν, στεφάνων, κατεῖρων (καθιεροῦν). Once also aor. infin. πρόσταν (but usually -μεναι, as θέμεναι, δόμεναι).

4. For thematic forms of the perfect infinitive in various dialects see 147.2.

5. For Euboean τιθεῖν, etc., and even εἶν beside εἶναι, see 160.

156. The infinitives in -σαι and -σθαι. Thessalian (Larissa) has ὀνγράψαι, δεδόσθαι, ἔσσεσθαι, πεπεῖσθαι, ἐλέσθαι, etc., with -ει from -αι (27), and ν added after the analogy of other infinitives. Boeot. -σθῃ, -σθῃ with η from αι (26), and στ = σθ (85.1).

Unthematic Inflection of Contract Verbs

157. The μ-inflection of contract verbs, sometimes known as the Aeolic inflection, is characteristic of Lesbian, Thessalian, and Arcado-Cyprian, e.g., Lesb. κάλῃμι, φίλῃμι, κάλεντον, κατάγρεντον, εὐεργετέντεσσι, [δ]μονόντες, προσμέτρεις, στοίχεις (78), Thess. ἐφάνγρενθαι = ἐφαιρούνται, εὐεργετές (78), στραταγέντος, Arc. ποίενσι, ποέντω, ἀδικέντα, κύνεσαν, ἱεροθυτές (78), ζαμιόντω, καταφρονῆναι, Cypr. κυμερέναι. μi-forms are also quoted as Boeotian by the grammarians, but the inscriptions show only the usual type (στραταγίοντος, etc.).

a. The stem ends in a long vowel, which is regularly shortened before ντ (though also, with analogical η, Lesb. κατοικήντων in contrast to usual εὐεργετέντεσσι, etc., and προνόνηται, διασάφνηται, δίννητες, like Att. δίζνηται, in contrast to Thess. ἐράνγρενθαι), but is otherwise retained throughout, e.g., Lesb. αἵτηται, κάλῃσθαι, ἐπιμελήσθω, ζαμιώσθω, ποιήμενος, προαγρημένω, Thess. ἀπελευθερούσθαι, διεσαφείμενος, Arc. ἀδικήμενος, ζαμιώσθω. This type, then, follows the analogy of that seen in ἐβλήν, βλήτο, βλήμενος, δίζημαι, etc., rather than that of τίθημι, τίθεμεν, τιθέμενος, with vowel-gradation. But even the latter sometimes shows an extension of the long vowel from the singular active, e.g., Lesb. [προστέ]θησ[θον], δίδωσθαι, like Hom. τιθήμεναι, τιθήμενος.

b. But also thematic forms. Thess. ἐρουταί, ἡλυδρέοντος (no. 35), Lesb. ποτέονται, ὀγκυαλέοντες, 2 sg. ὀπταις, χαύνους, 3 sg. ἄγρει, τίμαι, βόαι (also γέλαι, νίκαι gram.).

ΤΟΜΕΑΣ ΚΛΑΣΙΚΩΝ ΣΠΟ

c. The more limited extension of the μ-inflection to the optative of contract verbs, as in Att. φιλοῖην, μισθοῖην, etc., is occasionally found elsewhere. Ion. ἀνωθεοῖη beside ποιοῖ, El. συλαῖε, δαμοσιόα (= -οῖη) beside δοκέοι, ποιέοι, ἐνπῶι, Arg. οἰκέη. Cf. also the infinitives El. δαμοσιώμεν, Cret. δαμιόμεν.

Middle Participle in -ειμενος

158. The middle participle in -ειμενος (or -ημενος) from verbs in -εω, as if from -ε-ειμενος instead of -ε-ομενος, is characteristic of the Northwest Greek dialects and Boeotian, e.g., Locr. ἐνκαλείμενος, Delph. καλείμενος, ποιείμενος, χρεῖμενος, etc., Boeot. δειμέμενος (and so under Boeotian influence ἀφικνεμένων at Oropus), El. καδαλέμενος. But also Cret. χρήμενος, Cyren. χρεῖμενος (no 115.8; or here the Delph. form?). This is due to the analogy of forms which regularly had ει (or η) from ε-ε, as the infinitive καλεῖσθαι. Cf. Phoc. ποιεῖνται = ποιοῦνται, formed after ποιεῖσθε, Delph. συντελείντω.

a. Lesb. καλήμενος, Arc. ἀδικήμενος, Thess. διεσαφείμενος probably do not belong here, but among the other μi-forms of these dialects. See 157a.

Type -ήω, -ώω, also -ᾶω

159. Forms in -ήω, -ώω, with the long-vowel stem of the other tenses extended to the present, are found in various dialects. Lesb. ἀδικήει, ποθήω, Arc. ἀψευδήων, Thess. κατοικεῖουνθι (3 pl. subj.), Delph. στεφανώέτω, δουλώηι, ποιήουσα, Phoc. κλαρώειν, Boeot. δαμιώμεν, δαμιώοντες, στεφανώέμεν (only in late inscriptions, and perhaps due to Aetolian influence).

A parallel type in -ᾶω is to be recognized in certain forms with ᾶ from ᾰο or ᾱε (vs. Dor. ω or η from the -αω type). Syrac. ὀπτάντες (Epich.), ἐπεγγυάμενοι (Sophron), γελᾶντι, παρελᾶντα (Theocr.), and so to be read with ᾶ Epid. διεγᾶ, καταγᾶμενος, and (ἐλᾶ vs. Hom. ἐλάω = ἐλαύνω) Coan ἐλᾶντι, ἐλᾶντω, Arg. ποτελᾶτῶ, Locr. ἀπελᾶνται, Heracl. ἐπελᾶσθω. Here also τιμᾶντι (dat. sg. pple.) in an inscription of Dodona, and probably Thess. ἐρουταί, Lesb. τίμαι, βόαι.

a. Further probable, though less certain, examples of the -ωω type are Coan καρπῶντι, ἱερώσθω, Calymn. ἐξορκῶντω, ἀζῶι, Astyp. στεφανῶι, στεφανῶν (στεφανῶι also at Gela and Thera), since in these dialects the contraction of ο + ο or ε usually appears as ου (cf., e.g., Coan ἀξιοῦντι,

ζαμιούντω). Heracl. πριῶι (subj.) may belong here, but there is nothing against its derivation from -οει or -οη (cf. ω from ο + ε in λωτήριον, 44.4). The forms attributed above to γελᾶω, ἐλᾶω are taken by some as formed directly from unthematic stems γελα-, ἐλα-, in that case to be read with short α.

Transfer of μi-Verbs to the Type of Contract Verbs

160. The transfer of certain forms of μi-verbs to the inflection of contract verbs is found in various dialects, as Att. ἐτίθει, ἐδίδου, Delph. ἀποκαθιστάοντες, διδέουσα, but is most widespread in Ionic. With τιθεῖ, etc. in Homer and Herodotus, compare διδοῖ (Miletus) and the Euboean infinitives τιθεῖν, διδοῦν, καθιστᾶν, and even εἶν beside εἶναι. εἶν is also Chian. Cyren. καττιθέν, διδῶν, beside θέμεν, δόμεν.

Some Other Interchanges in the Present System

161. 1. Verbs in -εω form their present in -ειω in Elean, as φυγαδείην = φυγαδεύειν, beside aor. φυγαδεύαντι, also (with α after ρ, 12a) κατταράων = καθιερεύων, beside aor. κατταράουσαι, and λατραι[όμενον], λατρεῖόμενον = λατρευόμενον. So also μαστεύει = μαστεύει, in an inscription of Dodona. This represents the normal phonetic development from -εFῃω, the usual -εω being due to the influence of the other tenses.

2. Verbs in -αω show forms in -εω in various dialects, but, with few exceptions, only where the ε is followed by an ο-vowel, e.g., aside from literary examples (as Hom. μενοίνεον, Alcman. ὀρέων, Theocr. ὀρεῦσα), Delph. συλέοι, συλέοντες (but συλῆν, συλήτω), ἐπιτιμέοντες, θωεόντων (Att. θῶν, Locr. θῶεστο), Aetol. νικεόντοισι, Rhod. τιμοῦντες and also τιμεῖν (Agrig.), Boeot. τιμῶσα, El. ἐνεβέοι, Cret. (with ι from ε, 9.7) ἐβίδον, ἐπαριόμενον, μοικιδῶν (μοιχᾶω). Cyren. παρβεῶντας, ἐπαρεῶμενοι (cf. 42.5 b), σιγῶν. According to many, this rests upon an actual phonetic change of αο to εο, the αο (ω) in Attic and elsewhere being a restoration due to leveling with the αε forms. But we may have to do simply with a transfer to the -εω type, which was mainly favored where it offered uncontracted forms (in most dialects εο was uncontracted until late, but εε contracted; in all forms like Rhod. τιμοῦντες the ου is an Attic substitution for εο).

a. Conversely -αω = usual -εω. πονᾶω in Sappho, Pind., Theocr., πτοᾶω in Sappho, etc., φωνᾶω in Pind. Thess. δούρραντα from *δωράω =

δωρέω. Pamph. 3 sg. aor. ἐβόλασεν, from βόλαομαι, denominative of βολά, but pres. pple. βολέμενος, like Cret. χρήμενος (158).

3. Spread of -ω type, especially in non-present forms. Boeot. ἐπίθωσε = ἐπεισε (Boeot. pres. not quotable; πίθω = πείθω, or πιθόω?), Heracl. 3 sg. subj. πριῶι, fut. πριωσεί (cf. πεπριωμένος Hippoc., πρίωμα Hesych.) vs. usual πρίω, El. τετίμῳνται, τιμόστων, Att. ἡτίμωσα, Ion. δοκιμάσαι, Lesb. δοκίμωμι, δοκίμοι (= usual δοκιμάζω), Meg., Cret. ἐπεσκεύωσαν, Delph. κατεσκεύωται, Ther. κατεσκεύωκε, etc. (such forms, as if from σκεύω = σκευάζω, are widespread), Cyren. ἐφορευωκότων, ἱαριτεωκότων, from usual -εω presents.

4. -ίζω = -ω, especially in West Greek. Boeot., Phoc. δουλίζω (Delph. δουλόω intrans. = Att. δουλεύω), Delph., Thess. ἀπελευθερίζω, Delph., Rhod., Mess., Cret. ὀρκίζω (but also Ionic and Attic sometimes), Dor. στεφανίζω (ἐστεφάνιζα Ar.). Cf. also -ίζω = usual -εύω in late Mess. γραμματίζω, Boeot. γραμματίδδω beside Ach., Boeot., Delph., Epir. γραμματιστάς (also -τής Hdt.) = usual γραμματεύς.

5. -αω = -ω. Lesb. ἀξιάω (ἀξιάσει), Thess., Dor. κοινάω, Heracl. ἀράω (ἀράσονται) = ἀρόω. Cf. Cret. ἀρατρον = ἀροτρον.

162. Other more individual peculiarities in form or use (others in Glossary).

1. ἀγνέω = ἄγω in perfect forms. Aetol. ἀγνηκώς, ἀγνηκότας (66), Lac. ἀγνηκε (Hesych. emend.), διεξαγνηκέναι. Cf. also ἀγνεῖν ἄγειν. Κρήτες, Hesych.

2. Lesb., El. ἀγρέω, Thess. ἀνγρέω (58c) = αἰρέω. Cf. also Lesb. ἄγρεσις, Thess. ἀνγρεσις, Coan ἀγρεταί, Hom. ἄγρει, αὐτάγρετος, etc. Pamph. ἀνθαγλέσθω (blend with a form like Cret. αἰλέω?).

3. ἀνδάνω = δοκέω 'be approved, voted.' Cret. ἔφαδε, Ion. ἔαδε, Locr. Φεφαδεῖν. Cf. Ion. ἄδος 'decree,' and Hesych. ἄδμα, ἄδμημα, ἄδισμα defined by ψήφισμα, δόγμα, also Φάδιξις (γάδι-ξίς), Tarent. ἄδιξις. ὁμολογία (cf. ψάφιξις, 142a).

4. Boeot., Thess. γίνυμαι = γίνομαι.

5. Cypr. δωάνω (cf. Lat. *duim*) and δώκω (from ἔδωκα, cf. στήκω in NT) = δίδωμι.

6. ἐρπω 'go, come' (as sometimes in Att. poetry) in many dialects, Arc., Cypr. (Hesych.), Epid., Cret., etc.

7. El. Φάρρω, Φέρρω, Locr. Φέρρω (Att.-Ion. ἔρρω; cf. ἔρρε, 'begone!') used as a legal term like Att. φεύγω. Cf. the similar use of Arg. τρέω (no. 85.5).

8. For Att. ζῶ, 3 sg. ζῇ (from *ζήει) most dialects have ζώω (Boeot., Cret. δώω), as in Homer.

9. Dor. ἴσᾱμι = οἶδα and formed from its 3 pl. ἴσαντι, Hom. ἴσᾱσι (this with σ from forms like ἴστε). Attested in Cret. Φισάμην, ἴσᾱντι (subj.), ἴθθαντες (82b), Cyren. ἴσᾱι (subj.), and in literary Doric (Pind., Epich., Theocr.).

10. Compounds of λαίνω, λειάνω, or λειόω 'make smooth' (from λείος 'smooth') used as financial terms. Boeot. ἀπο-, δια-, ἐσ-λίνω, act. 'cancel,' mid. 'have cancelled,' Arc. ἀπυλίωναι probably 'discharge, settle' (no. 22.20). Cf. ἀπολειόω 'erase'.

(11) West Grk. λείω, λέω = θέλω. Cret. λείοι, λείοντι, etc., also λείοι, subj. λῆι, Cyren. λέων, subj. λῆι, El. 3 dual. opt. λείοιταν. Contracted forms λῶ, λῶμες, subj. λῆι, λῶντι, etc., attested in most Doric dialects and in Doric writers (Epich., Theocr., etc.).

12. πάομαι in sense = κτάομαι, aor. ἐπάσάμην, perf. πέπαμαι. Verb forms or derivatives in many West Greek dialects, also Arcadian, Lesbian, Boeotian, and probably common to all non-Att.-Ion. dialects (in Attic poetical, rarely in prose). Cret. perf. subj. πέπαται, aor. subj. πάσεται, πᾶμα = κτήμα (also Arg., Boeot., Arc.), πᾶστας 'owner,' Heracl. πᾶμωχεῖ, Locr. ἐχεπάμδον, πᾶματοφαγείσται 'be confiscated' (cpd. with the root of ἐφαγον, originally 'share in,' whence 'partake of, eat'), El. πεπάσθω, Delph. πεπάσθαι, Arg. ἐνπιπάσχομαι 'acquire,' Lesb. (in Homer) πολυπάμων, Delph., Meg. ἐμπᾶσις, Arc. ἱμπᾶσις, Boeot. ἐπᾶσις. Root πᾶ- from πᾶ- (this probably from an IE *kwā-* with ππ from *kw* as in ἵππος), seen in Boeot. τὰ πᾶματα, Τυνό-πᾶστος, Θιό-πᾶστος, ἐπᾶσις, from *ἐμ-πᾶσις, ἀπᾶσάμενος (Corinna) from *ἀν-πᾶσάμενος.

a. The ἐγκησις which occurs in late inscriptions of Crete, Sparta, etc., is from the κοινή. Late Corcyr., Epir., Troez. ἐγκησις, Thess. ἐντασις is probably to be read with α (not α as weak grade of η) and explained as a blend of ἐγκησις with native ἐμπᾶσις.

13. χρεόμαι, forms of Chalced. χρεείσθω, El. χρεῖσται, Boeot. χρεειῖσθαι, Arc. χρέεσθαι, Att.-Ion., Heracl. χρεῖσθαι, Cret. χρεῖσθαι (85.3), Locr. χρεῖσθω, χρεῖσται, Lac. χρεῖσται, Arg. χρέονσθω (140.3b).

Ion. χρεώμενος, Att. χρώμενος, Dodon. χρεόμενος, Cret. χρήμενος, Delph., Cyren. χρεῖμενος (158).

14. χρήζω, χρήζω, χρήζω (37.2) often simply 'wish' = θέλω or βούλομαι, so even in Attic (ἰθ' ὅποι χρήζεις Ar., etc.) and in inscriptions of Delphi (no. 52 A 38), Argos (no. 86.24), Troezen, Rhodes, Cos, Cnidus, Nisyros, Thera, etc.

15. Το πεύθομαι, ὠνέομαι, ἐλεύσομαι Cretan has the active forms πεύθω 'inform,' ὠνέω (ὠνῆν, ὠνίοι) 'sell,' ἐπελευσεῖ 'will bring' (cf. Hesych. ἐλευσιώ-οἶσω), aor. ἐπελεῦσαι, etc.

The Verb εἰμί

163. 1. First singular present indicative. *ἐσμί, whence Lesb. ἐμμι, Thess. ἐμμί, elsewhere εἰμί or ἤμμι. See 76.

2. Third plural present indicative. *ἐντί (cf. Skt. *santi*, Osc.-Umbr. *sent*), whence, with substitution of ε after the analogy of the other forms, West Greek ἐντί, Att.-Ion. εἰσί. See 61.1, 77.3.

3. Third singular imperfect. ἦς (from *ἦσ-τ, cf. Ved. Skt. *ās*) is attested for various West Greek dialects (Acarn., Corcyr., Delph., Epid., lit. Doric), Boeotian, Lesbian, Arcadian, and Cyprian, and is probably the form in all dialects (for Locr. ἔν, see no. 57.9, note) except Attic-Ionic, where it was replaced by ἦν (Hom. ἦεν), the old third plural (from *ἦσεν, cf. Skt. *āsan*).

4. Third plural imperfect. Most dialects had ἦν (see above, 3), examples of which are found in literary Doric, Delphian, and Locrian. For Boeot. παρείαν, Att.-Ion. ἦσαν, see 138.5.

5. Third singular imperative. ἔστω in most dialects. But late ἦτω, with ἦ of ἦν etc. after the analogy of, e.g., στήτω to ἔστην. El. ἦστω, also with analogical η but with retention of σ.

6. Third plural imperative. Arg. ἐντῶ, Boeot. ἐνθω (138.4), Cret. ἐντων, formed from 3 pl. indic. ἐντί. Also thematic ἐόντων, ἐόντων, e.g., in Delphian. Ion. ἔστων, Attic ὄντων, and late ἔστωνσαν.

7. Present infinitive. The difference in the form of the ending (154) and also in the development of σ + nasal (76) explains the great variety of forms, Attic-Ionic εἶναι (also Eub. εἶν, 160), Arc. ἦναι, Lesb. ἔμμεναι, Thess. ἔμμεν, West Greek and Boeotian εἶμεν or ἦμεν (25), Rhod. ἦμεν, Cret. ἦμην.

8. Present participle. ἔών in most dialects, Att. ὢν. But also unthematic forms. Heracl. ἐντες, dat. pl. ἐντασσιν (blend with *ἄσσι = Skt. *satsu*), Arg., Lac. (Alcman) παρέντων, Thess. ἐνσα (*ἐντα, 77.3), all with ἐντ- for ἐντ- as in ἐντί (above, 2). Lesb., Epid., Troez. ἔσσα (also in some Doric writers; cf. ἐσσία = οὐσία Plato, Crat. 401 C), Arc., Mess. ἔασσα, Cret. ἱαττα, ἱαθθα, all from *ἄττα = Skt. *satī*, with the substitution or prefixing of ε after the analogy of the other forms.

a. Other similar unthematic feminine forms are ἱεσσα (Hesych.), ἱασσα in Ἐπίασσα, Cyren. κατίασσα = λοῦσα, and Cyren. ἑκασσα (beside ἐκοῖσα) = ἐκοῦσα, and in Hesych. ἀέκασσα, γέκαθα, the last presumably for a Cret. Φέκαθα.

9. Middle forms, as imperf. ἦμην etc., are late. Cf. 3 sg. subj. ἦται at Delphi, 3 pl. subj. ἦνται at Andania, ἦμην in the κοινή, ἦμεθα in NT.

a. The middle inflection spread until, in Modern Greek, all the present and imperfect forms are of this type, except 3 sg., pl. pres. εἶναι, which is from ἐνι = ἐνεστι, with vowels after the other forms.

10. Confusion between third singular and third plural present (favored by expressions corresponding to Eng. *there are*, Fr. *il y a*). ἐντι as third singular in Rhodian (no. 103.10) and later Doric inscriptions and literature (frequent in Archimedes). ἐσσι as third plural in late Lesbian, as ἔτοιμοί ἐσσι, ἐσαφίσμενοί ἐσσι (cf. also διαδεδίχασται αἱ δίκαι).

WORD-FORMATION

ON THE FORM AND USE OF CERTAIN SUFFIXES AND CERTAIN PECULIARITIES OF COMPOSITION

164. 1. -εἰος, -ήιος. The Att. adjectives in -εἰος, -ήιος and the nouns in -εἶον, -εἰον, and -εἶα are in many cases from earlier -ήιος (three syllables, also written -ήιος, but later sometimes -ηος; see 37.2), etc., these again in part from -ήφιος, etc. (cf. Boeot. Καρυκεῖϊο, Cypr. ἱερῆϊϊαν). The earlier forms with η, besides the many in Homer, etc., are widely attested, e.g., ἱερήιον, ἱαρήιον in many dialects, Ion., Lesb., Cret. πρυτανήιον, Ion. βασιλήιος, φοινικήια, Delph. παιδήια, ἐντοφήια, Cret. οἰκήιος, ἀνδρήιον, ἀρχήια, πρεϊγήια, νυμφήιον, ἀγνήια, πολιτηία. Forms with ι lost, e.g., Ion. ἱερήον, Delph. ἀνδρήος, Cyren. ἐταιρήα, Arg. μαντήιον, μαντήα, στρατήα, πρεσγέα, πρεσβήα.

2. Adjectives of the type χαρίεις are from -Fεντ- (Skt. -vant-). The feminine was originally -Fατια (like Skt. -vatī, from the weak stem -wntī-; cf. ἕασσα 163.8), whence, with the substitution of ε for α from the analogy of the forms in -Fεντ-, arose -Fετια, this yielding -(F)εσσα or -(F)εττα (81). Cf. Boeot. χαρίFετταν, Corcyr. στονόFε(σ)σαν, Pamph. τιμάFε(σ)σα (for F cf. also ΦλειFόν-τᾶθεν). The genuine Attic forms have ττ, as μελιτοῦττα (Ar.), Μυρρινοῦττα (inscr.), those with σσ being poetical and in origin Ionic. Most adjectives of this type are poetical only, except in substantive use, especially the numerous place-names in -δεις, for which see also 44.4.

3. -τις, -σις. See 61.3. For -ξίς see 142a. We find -σσις instead of usual -σις in Arg. ἀλιάσσιος, Epid. στεγάσσιος, Troez. ἐρμάσσιος, Boeot. ἀγόρασσιν. Probably *-ασ-τις, normal from dental stems (cf. πίστις), became -ασ-σις, with -σις after the analogy of the common type. Similarly Troez. ἱμασσία.

4. -σμος, -σμα. In most words σ has replaced, by analogy, an earlier dental, which is sometimes preserved, as in Hom. ὀδμή = Att. ὀσμή. So for Att. θεσμός, θέσμιος we find West Greek τεθμός,

Locr. also τεθμός, Lac., Epid., Thess. θεθμός, El. θεθμός. Boeot. τέθμιον, Locr. θέθμιον (65). Locr., Sicil., Naxian δαιθμός (from δαίω) = usual δασμός (from δατέομαι). Other variations of -μα forms, partly unexplained, are Lesb. ὄππα (Sappho) = ὄμμα, γρόππα (Babilla) = γράμμα. Also θμ in ὄθμα (Aeolic in Hesych.; also in Call. and Nic.) = ὄμμα, στέθμα (Hesych.) = στέμμα, Arg. γράθμα but also γράσσμα (after ψάφισμα) = γράμμα. For Cret. ψάφιγμα, ψάφιμμα = ψάφισμα see 86.9, 142a.

Also from ν-stems usually -σμα, as ὕφασμα, μίασμα, πίαςμα. But Att. also (inscriptions) ὕφαμμα, Cyren. ποτιπίαμμα. Analogical -σμος in Arc. ἀπυδοσμός = ἀπόδοσις.

5. -τηρ = -της(-τᾶς). As a productive suffix of nouns of agency the older -τηρ has been very largely displaced by -της(-τᾶς), but most fully in Attic prose. As forms with -τηρ = usual -της(-τᾶς) are not infrequent in poetry, e.g., Hom. ἐθελοντήρ, Hes. αὐλητήρ, so they occur also frequently in the dialects, e.g., Locr., Delph., Pamph. δικαστήρ, Argol. κριτήρ, τελεστήρ, ἐγδοτήρ, Lac. ἐγδοτήρ, Arc. ἐσδοτήρ, Locr., Delph., Aetol. βεβαιωτήρ, Corcyr. διορθωτήρ, Cyren. οἰκιστήρ, τιματήρ. Cf. also Cypr. ἱατήρ like Hom. ἱητήρ = usual ἱατρός. But Cretan has -τᾶς from the earliest period, as δικασ-τᾶς, πάστας, τίτας, etc., the few examples of -τηρ (κοσμητήρ, νικατήρ) being late.

6. -ιος = -εος. In adjectives of material Lesbian and Thessalian have -ιος (phonetic change supported by parallel suffix; cf. 9.2), as Lesb. χρύσιος, χάλκιος, ἀργύριος, Thess. λίθιος (cf. Hom. λίθεος, in most dialects λίθινος; conversely Boeot. λίνινος = λίνεος).

7. -ήν = -ων. Personal names in -ήν (short names, hypocoristic in origin) instead of usual -ων, e.g., Ἀρχήν, Τιμήν vs. usual Ἀρχων, Τίμων, occur occasionally in Delphi, Megara, Epidaurus, Corinth, etc., but are conspicuously frequent in the Corinthian colonies of Apollonia and Epidamnus.

8. -ώνδας, -όνδας. Beside the usual (originally patronymic) personal names in -ίδης etc., forms in -ώνδας, or less commonly -όνδας, are most frequent in Boeotian, like the familiar Ἐπαμει-ώνδας, but occur also in Thessalian, Phocian, Megarian, and (-ώνδης) Euboean, rarely elsewhere.

9. The diminutive -ιχος, as in ὀρετάλιχος, ὄσσιχος and names

like Σίμμικος, is to be recognized in Lac. παιδιχός beside usual παιδικός, δαριχίς, and μικκιχός implied by μικκιχιδδόμενος.

10. Individual cases of dialectal variation in suffix are of course frequent. So, for example, Thess. λίθιος = λίθινος (cf. above, 6), Ion. νόμαιος, Locr. νόμιος = νόμιμος, Thess. ὀνάλα (but also ὀνάλουμα) = ἀνάλωμα (cf. also Boeot. ἄλωμα), Boeot., Epir. ποθόδωμα (after ἀνάλωμα) = πρόσσος, Delph., Mess. κεφάλωμα = κεφαλαῖον, Heracl. ἐπιζαμίωμα beside ἐπιζάμιον, Thess. συνκλείς (stem -κλη-τ-, cf. προβλής, etc.) = σύγκλητος ἐκκλησία, Cret. ἡμίνα (also Cypr. gloss) = τὸ ἡμισυ (also Sicil. ἡμίνα, used, like Epid. ἡμίτεια, in the sense of ἡμίεκτον), Cret. θῆνος (from *θῆ-ινος formed from θῆος after the analogy of ἀνθρώπ-ινος), ξνθῆνος = θεῖος, ἐνθεος, Att. ἀδελφός but ἀδελφεός in other dialects, Delph. γάμελα (cf. γαμέτης) = γαμήλια. Arc. γνῶσία, τιμασία, παναγορία = γνῶσις, etc.

11. Nouns in -ιος, -ιον appear frequently as -ις, -ιν in late inscriptions. See 45.6.

165. 1. -τερος. Noteworthy examples of the use of this suffix to denote contrasted relations (not merely those of degree as in the comparatives), as in δεξιτερός, ἀριστερός, are Arc. ἀρρέντερος, El. ἐρεναίτερος (for αἰ cf. γεραίτερος, παλαιτερος), θηλύτερος.

2. -ιδιος forming adjectives from adverbs or adverbial phrases, as αἰδῖος, ἐπιθαλασσιδῖος. So El. προσθιδῖος (προστιζίδων), Locr. ὑπαπροσθιδῖος, Cret. ἐνδοθιδῖος (ἐνδοθιδίαν δόλαν 'household slave'), Epid. ἐνδοσθιδῖος (ἐνδοσθιδία 'entrails'; so ἐντοσθιδία Arist., Hipp.), Cret. ἐξαρχιδῖος = ἐξ ἀρχῆς γινόμενος.

3. -τρον. From words like λύτρον 'means of release,' hence 'ransom,' the suffix came to be used freely in words denoting reward or amount paid, as νίκαστρον 'reward of victory,' Epid. ἱατρα 'perquisites for healing,' Ion., Coan τέλεστρα 'expenses of inauguration' (of the priest. Cf. Coan τελέω 'inaugurate'), Cret. κόμιστρα 'gifts' (more specific?), and, even from a numeral, Cret. τρίτρα 'the threefold amount.'

4. -εων, -ων in nouns denoting place, as ἀνδρών (Ion. ἀνδρεών, Pamph. ἀ(ν)δριόν), ἀμπελών, νεκρών, ὀρνιθών. To this large class belong Heracl. τοφιών (6, 9.9) = ταφεών 'burial place,' γαιών 'mound of earth' (cf. γαεών from Halaesa), βοών 'cow-shed,' Ion. στεφών 'ridge.'

This class is not to be confused with nouns of agency in Ion. -εών but Dor. etc., -άων, -άν, as Ion. ξυνεών, Dor. κοινάν. See 41.4.

166. 1. Personal names in -κλέας, instead of -κλέης, -κλῆς, as Ἴπποκλέας, are most common in Thessalian, but also occur in Boeotian, Locrian, Phocian, Aetolian, and Megarian (here in the form -κλέας). -κλέας is a modification of -κλέης under the influence of hypocoristics in -έας.

2. Διόζωτος (i.e., Διός-δοτος, cf. Διός-κουροι) and Θεῖοςδοτος Θεόςζωτος, Θεόςζωτος, Θεόςζωτος (formed after Διός-δοτος, cf. Θεόςδοτος in Hesiod), instead of usual Διόδοτος, Θεόδοτος, are frequent in Boeotian, and Thessalian also has Θεόςζωτος, Θεόςζωτος, and Θεορδότης (60.4). Elsewhere such forms are rare and doubtless imported.

167. The interchange of different vowel stems in the first member of a compound, or before a derivative suffix, is sometimes dialectal. Thus Τιμοκλῆς, Τιμοκράτης, etc., in most dialects, but Ion. Τιμηκλῆς, Τιμηκράτης, Cnid. Τιμακλῆς, Rhod. Τιμακράτης, Τιμάπολις, likewise Rhod. Τιμᾶναξ (*Τιμά-(F)αναξ) instead of usual Τιμῶναξ (*Τιμό-(F)αναξ). Thess. ὑλῶρός (ὑλῶρεόντος) from *ύλο-Forός and so related to Att. ὑλωρός (late poet. ὑλῶρός) from ὑλᾶ-as ὑλοτόμος to ὑλᾶτόμος.

Arc., Locr., Thess. οἰκιάτας (or Φοικιάτας) from οἰκία, for usual οἰκέτης from οἶκος (Φοικεύς, fem. Φοικέα, are the forms used in Cretan). Ion. πολήτης, Cret., Epid. πολιάτας (also Pindar), Cret. πολιᾶτεύω, Arc. πολιᾶτις, for usual πολίτης, etc.; cf. Heracl. πολιανόμος, Ion. πολιήχορος (Epic), Lac. πολιᾶχος (but Att. πολιούχος with -οῦχος from κληροῦχος etc.). Cret. ὀφέλωμα after ἀνάλωμα.

Late Att. ἱερᾶτεύω, Locr., Phoc. ἱερητεύω (also in some κοινή inscriptions), Lesb. ἱρητεύω, Cret., Cyren. ἱαριτεύω, Mess. ἱεριτεύω, Chalced. ἱερωτεύω, ἱερωτεία (cf. Att. ἱερῶσυνη).

Carpath. δαμέτας, like οἰκέτης, for usual δαμότας, δημότης, as conversely οἰκότης in an Attic inscription. So Cret. βίετος (cf. Astyp. Βίετος) = βίοςτος, Arg. κωμέτας, Rhod. κτεινέτας, beside κτεινάτας, after φυλέτας. Dor. ἀνδρεφόνης (Hdn.), Locr. ἀνδρεφονικός for usual ἀνδρο-, Rhod. Ἰππέδαμος = Ἰππόδαμος, but Rhod. Ἀρχοκράτης = Ἀρχεκράτης, Cret. Μενοκράτης = Μενεκράτης.

After the analogy of names containing inherited ι-stems arose

also forms like Ἀρχίλοχος, Ἀρχίδαμος, etc. (cf. ἀρχιτέκτων), in various dialects, Rhod. Μενίδαμος, El. Σαίικλαρος, Coan, Nisyr., Mel. Λαίστρατος, Nisyr. Λαισθένης.

Parallel forms *δᾱμιο-Φεργός and *δᾱμιο-Φοργός (attested by the verbal Arc. δαμιοΦοργῆ, no. 16). From the former, Hom. δημοεργός, and with contraction Att. δημιουργός (though of course this could equally well come from the second form), with elision δαμιοεργός, occurring at Cyrene, Astypalaea, and Nisyros. The much more common δημιουργός (Ion.), δᾱμιοργός (Arc., El., Locr., Delph. and most Doric dialects), could come also from *δᾱμιοΦεργός (cf. Locr. Ὀπόντιοι, Meg. Σελινόντιοι, from -ο-Φεντ, 44.4), but more easily with elision from *δᾱμιοΦοργός.—Other compounds in this group, Boeot. γᾱΦεργός (cf. 3 sg. fut. γᾱΦεργείσι, no. 42.11), Lac. γᾱΦεργός (Hesych.), frequently -εργός, rarely -οργός (ἀλοργός Sicil., Hesych., cf. Ion. ἀλοργής, ἀλοργίη), most commonly contracted -οργός, also -ωργός; cf. Heracl. ἀμπελωργικός). Att. γεωργός from *γᾱ-(F)οργός (cf. Thess. γαοργεῖμεν) or γᾱο-φ- (as in γεωγραφία, etc.)?

a. The well-known lengthening of the initial vowel of the second member of compounds, as in ἀνώνυμος, πανήγυρις, is seen in Ion. ἀνηρίθευτος = Att. ἀνερὶθευτος, Att., Cret. εὐθυωρία, Heracl. εὐθυωρεία (vs. Arc. εὐθυωρία), Arc. δῖωρος (like δι-ώβολος). To the analogy of forms like ἐπάκοος, ἐπήκοος, which are of the same kind, is due to the ἐπᾱ- of Cret., Boeot. ἐπᾱβολά 'share' (cf. Hesych. ἐπηβολή·μέρος) and Att.-Ion. ἐπήβολος. Cf. κατηβολή in Euripides.

168. Use of a patronymic adjective instead of the genitive singular of the father's name. Though occasionally found in literature, as in Hom. Τελαμώνιος Αἴας, this is the regular practice in prose only in the three Aeolic dialects. Thus Lesb. Μέλανχρος Πιθώνειος, Ἀρχίππα Ἀθανάεια, Thess. Σύχρον Ἀντιγό-νειας, Νικόλαος Ἀγαισίαιος, Boeot. Θιόπομπος Ὀλυμπίχιος, Ἐρμᾱίος Νικιῆος. Examples in other dialects are rare.

a. When the father's name is itself a patronymic form in -δας or -ιος, the genitive is regularly employed in Boeotian; so also in early Thessalian, but later the adjective forms like Ἐπικρατίδαιος, Τιμονιδαιος are usual.

b. Under κοινή influence the use of the adjective was given up in favor of the ordinary genitive construction. Thus in Boeotian the genitive is usual after about 250 B.C. and occasionally found earlier. There is some evidence that the Plataeans adopted the Attic usage at an early date. See no. 41, note.

SYNTAX

169. Although the syntax of the dialects deserves fuller investigation than it has received, yet syntactical differences between the dialects are much less striking than those of phonology and inflection. To a considerable extent they consist merely in the conservation in some dialects of early forms of expression which have become rare or obsolete in literary Greek, and in a less strict formalization of usage. Some peculiarities have already been mentioned in connection with the forms, e.g., in the use of certain pronouns (121-31), adverbs and conjunctions (132-34), and in the meaning and construction of prepositions (136). It is necessary to add here only a few comments on certain uses of the cases and the moods. Some other, more isolated, peculiarities are observed in the notes to the inscriptions.

CASES

The Genitive

170. Genitive of time. The genitive of the 'time within which' is especially frequent in the early Cretan inscriptions, although ἐν with the dative is already the more usual expression. Cf. Law Code, I.25 λαγάσαι τᾶν πέντ' ἡμερᾶν 'release within five days'; but I.6 ἐν ταῖς τρισὶ ἡμέραις, in another Gortyn inscription τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ 'within the year.' So also, but without the article, as in early Attic inscriptions, Cret. δέκα Φετίδων (no. 116), Locr. τριδὼν μὲνδων beside ἐν τριάφοντα ἡμέραις, Boeot. τριῶν ἡμερᾶων (no. 42.16).

Aside from the adverbial phrases νυκτός, etc., the use of the genitive of time is most persistent in dating, as μηνός ἐβδόμου, etc., the usual expression in most dialects. More noteworthy is the phrase καὶ πολέμου (-ω) καὶ εἰρήνης (-ας) which is common in the proxeny decrees of various dialects, though eventually replaced in many by ἐν πολέμῳ καὶ.

c. There are also examples in Thessalian and Boeotian of adjectives in agreement with appellatives, in place of a genitive of possession. Thess. Πολυξεναία ἐμὶ (sc. ἡ στάλλα), etc. See the following.

d. A genitive may be used in apposition to that implied by the adjective, as in Hom. Γοργαίη κεφαλὴ δεινοῖο πελώρου. Boeot. Καλλιὰ ἐμὶ (sc. ἡ κύλιξ) τῷ Κέντρωνος, Γοργινός ἐμὶ ὁ κότυλος καλὸς κ[αλ]ῶ, Lesb. σ[τάλλ]α 'πὶ Σθενείαι ἐμὶ τῷ Νικαίῳ (dat.) τῷ Γαυκίῳ (gen.) 'the son of Nicias, the son of Glaucus,' where Γαυκίῳ is also a patronymic adjective, but in apposition with the genitive implied in Νικαίῳ. Thess. Ἀνφιωνεία στάλα τοῦ φρόνητος (τοῦ Εὐφρόνητος).

δενιυ

εισισ

The genitive of time is used distributively in various dialects; as also in Attic, e.g., τὰς ἡμέρας or τὰς ἡμέρας Φεκάστας 'daily,' beside κατ' ἡμέραν.

171. Genitive of the matter or person involved. Besides the familiar genitive of the charge or penalty, the genitive is also used more broadly to denote the matter or person involved, e.g., Cret. καταδικαστῷ τῷ ἐλευθέρῳ δέκα στατῆραν, τῷ δόλῳ πέντε 'shall condemn him to a fine of ten staters in the case of a freeman, five staters in the case of a slave,' ἃι Φεκάστῳ ἔγραπται 'as is prescribed for each case.' Such genitives may serve as headings, like Ἰασιῶν no. 115.110. In the long cult-inscription of Andania most of the headings are in the simple genitive, beside a few cases of περὶ with genitive.

The Dative

172. The adnominal dative is more common than in literary Greek, and is especially frequent in the introduction to inscriptions or their separate sections, e.g., El. ἡ Φράτρα τοῖς Φαλείοις, Locr. τὸ τέθμιον τοῖς Ὑποκναμιδίοις Λοφροῖς, Phoc. ὁμολογία τῷ πόλει Στειρίων καὶ τῷ πόλει Μεδεωνίων, Boeot. διαγραφὰ Νικαρέτη, Att. ἀπαρχὴ τῷ θανάτῳ, γραμματεὺς τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δάμῳ.

For the dative instead of the genitive construction with various prepositions in Arcado-Cyprian, see 136.1.

The Accusative

173. The accusative absolute of participles is common enough in literature (Hdt. +), but mostly in impersonal constructions. Examples of personal construction in the dialects are worth noting. Thus Arc. εἰ μὲ παρηταξαμένος τὸς πεντέκοντα ἔ τὸς τριακοσίους 'unless the Fifty or the Three Hundred approve.' This is an extension from instances where the participle agrees with the accusative of a preceding clause, as Arc. μὲ νέμεν μέτε ξένον μέτε Φαστόν, εἰ μὲ ἐπὶ θοῖαν ἡκοντα. Cf. also Arc. κατὰπερ τὸς ἐπισυνισταμένους... γέγραπτοι 'as is prescribed in the case of those who conspire,' Coan αἰρεθέντας ἑκατέρων δέκα 'ten of each being chosen.' Such use is increasingly common in late Greek and led to the modern indeclinable participle in -οντα(ς).

The Subjunctive

174. The subjunctive without $\alpha\upsilon$ or $\kappa\alpha$ in conditional, relative, and temporal clauses, where the particle is regularly employed in Attic prose, though frequently omitted in Homer and sometimes elsewhere (Kühner-Gerth II, pp. 426, 449, 474), is attested for several dialects, though always as the less common construction. Locr. $\alpha\iota\ \delta\epsilon\iota\lambda\epsilon\tau'$ $\alpha\upsilon\chi\omicron\rho\epsilon\iota\nu$, $\alpha\iota\ \tau\iota\varsigma\ \alpha\upsilon\chi\omicron\rho\epsilon\iota$ (no. 57.7, 26; ten examples with $\kappa\alpha$ in the same inscription), Arc. $\epsilon\iota\ \delta\epsilon\ \tau\iota\varsigma\ \epsilon\pi\iota\theta\iota\gamma\alpha\nu\epsilon$, $\epsilon\iota\kappa\ \epsilon\pi\iota\ \delta\omicron\mu\alpha\ \pi\ddot{\upsilon}\rho\ \epsilon\pi\omicron\iota\sigma\epsilon$ (no. 18.21; other probable examples in no. 16) in contrast to usual $\epsilon\iota\kappa\ \alpha\upsilon$ (see 134.2a), Cypr. $\delta\ \epsilon\zeta\omicron\rho\acute{\upsilon}\zeta\epsilon$, $\alpha\iota\ \dots\ \dot{\iota}\delta\omicron\iota$ (no. 23.25, 31), Cret. $\theta\upsilon\gamma\alpha\tau\rho\iota\ \epsilon\ \delta\iota\delta\omicron\iota$ 'in case one gives it to the daughter' (Law-Code VI.1). Examples are not infrequent in later Locrian, Phocian, and Delphian inscriptions.

The Optative

175. In Elean the optative with $\kappa\alpha$ is the usual form of prescriptions, e.g., $\sigma\upsilon\nu\mu\alpha\chi\iota\alpha\ \kappa'\ \epsilon\alpha\ \epsilon\kappa\alpha\tau\omicron\nu\ \phi\acute{\epsilon}\tau\epsilon\alpha$ 'let there be alliance for a hundred years,' $\zeta\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\alpha\ \mu\upsilon\nu\alpha\iota\varsigma\ \kappa\alpha\ \alpha\pi\omicron\tau\iota\nu\omicron\iota\ \phi\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\alpha\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$ 'let each pay a fine of ten minae.' Similarly, but without the particle, Arc. $\epsilon\zeta\omicron\lambda\omicron\iota\tau\upsilon$ 'shall be put to death' (no. 16), Cypr. $\delta\acute{\omicron}\kappa\omicron\iota\ \nu\upsilon\ \beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$ 'the king shall give.'

The subjunctive without $\kappa\alpha$ is used in the same sense in a late Elean inscription (66.32, 36).

176. 1. The optative in conditional clauses survives in several dialects, although, except in Elean, it is much less frequent than the subjunctive, and indeed is almost wholly eliminated in favor of the subjunctive in Attic-Ionic inscriptions, and in the majority of dialects. Where the optative survives, it is sometimes used with a still recognizable differentiation from the subjunctive, but oftener without such. In the Gortyn Law Code which offers the fullest material, there are in conditional clauses about 50 optatives to about 80 subjunctives. Some of these occur where the contingency is obviously one more remotely anticipated (e.g., VII.9 'but if there should not be any free persons,' as contemplated in the preceding subjunctive clauses; I.11 'but if

one should deny'), others as mere variants of the subjunctive for parallel or even identical contingencies (e.g., opt. IX.18 = subj. VI.25). In Locrian nos. 57 and 58B have the subjunctive only, but nos. 58A and 59 the optative only. In Delphian, no. 52 has the subjunctive usually, but $\alpha\iota\ \delta'$ $\epsilon\phi\iota\omicron\rho\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\iota\mu\iota$ A17, also $\alpha\iota\ \delta'$ $\epsilon\phi\iota\omicron\rho\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\iota$ C6, in an oath, where Attic also would have the optative, and $\alpha\iota\ \delta\epsilon\ \tau\iota\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omega\nu\ \pi\alpha\rho\beta\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\iota\tau\omicron$ C25, C50, D17; and in the numerous Phocian and Delphian manumission decrees the optative is of very frequent occurrence. The optative, beside the subjunctive, occurs also in Corcyraean, Achaeae, and in the Northwest Greek $\kappa\omicron\iota\nu\acute{\eta}$ (e.g., no. 67). In Argolic, the archaic nos. 83 and 85 have the optative only, and this occurs in some of the later inscriptions. In Arcadian, nos. 17 and 18 have the subjunctive only, but in no. 19 there are some examples of the optative. Even in the same clause the alternation of subjunctive and optative is not infrequent, e.g., Delph. $\epsilon\iota\ \delta\epsilon\ \kappa\alpha\ \mu\grave{\eta}\ \pi\omicron\iota\epsilon\iota\ \grave{\eta}\ \mu\grave{\eta}\ \pi\alpha\rho\alpha\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\iota$ or $\epsilon\iota\ \delta\epsilon\ \mu\grave{\eta}\ \pi\omicron\iota\epsilon\iota\ \grave{\eta}\ \mu\grave{\eta}\ \pi\alpha\rho\alpha\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\eta$.

2. In relative and temporal clauses of future time, the predominance of the subjunctive is even more marked. Noteworthy is the Tean curse, no. 3, where $\delta\sigma\tau\iota\varsigma$ with the optative is used in the curse proper, ll. 1-34, while in the postscript warning against harming the stele on which the curse is inscribed, ll. 35-40, we find $\delta\varsigma\ \alpha\upsilon$ with the subjunctive. There are a few examples of the optative in Cretan (Law Code IV.14/15, and a few others), Locrian ($\phi\acute{\omicron}\tau\iota\ \sigma\upsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}\sigma\alpha\iota$ no. 58.5, $\hbar\omicron\sigma\sigma\tau\iota\varsigma\ \delta\epsilon\ \delta\alpha\iota\theta\mu\omicron\nu\ \epsilon\nu\phi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omicron\iota$ no. 59.10 vs. $\hbar\omicron\tau\iota\ \delta\epsilon\ \kappa\alpha\ \phi\upsilon\tau\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$ 1.6), Delphian, and elsewhere (see also 177).

3. But in Elean the optative is regularly employed in conditional, relative, and temporal clauses. For examples in conditional and relative clauses, see nos. 61-64. In the later no. 65 the subjunctive occurs once in a conditional clause with future perfect force, and in relative clauses.

4. In final clauses the optative occurs, e.g., Heracl. Tab. I.53 ff. $\epsilon\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\sigma\alpha\mu\epsilon\varsigma\ \dots\ \alpha\nu\chi\omega\rho\acute{\iota}\zeta\alpha\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma\ \dots$, $\hbar\omega\varsigma\ \mu\grave{\eta}\ \kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\lambda\upsilon\mu\alpha\chi\omega\theta\eta\varsigma\ \alpha\delta\eta\lambda\omega\theta\epsilon\iota\eta$, Lesb. no. 26.13 ff. $\epsilon\pi\iota\mu\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota\ \dots$, $\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha}\gamma\rho\epsilon\nu\tau\omicron\nu\ \dots$, $\acute{\omega}\varsigma\ \kappa\epsilon\ \dots\ \epsilon\mu\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\iota\epsilon\nu$. But it is very rare, and most dialects have only the subjunctive with or without $\alpha\upsilon$ ($\kappa\alpha$, $\kappa\epsilon$), or sometimes the future indicative.

177. There are some examples of $\kappa\alpha$ with the optative in conditional and other clauses as sometimes with $\kappa\epsilon$ or $\kappa\alpha$ in Homer, Pindar, etc., e.g., Locr. $\alpha\iota\ \kappa'\ \alpha\delta\acute{\iota}\kappa\omicron\ \sigma\upsilon\lambda\acute{\delta}\iota$ (no. 58.4), Cret. $\alpha\iota\ \kappa\alpha\ \dots\ \mu\grave{\eta}\ \nu\upsilon\nu\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma\ \epsilon\iota\eta$, Epid. $\alpha\iota\ \kappa\alpha\ \delta\gamma\iota\grave{\eta}\ \nu\iota\nu\ \pi\omicron\iota\eta\sigma\alpha\iota$ (no. 90.60), Delph. $\epsilon\iota\ \delta\epsilon\ [\tau\iota\varsigma]\ \kappa\alpha\ \epsilon\phi\acute{\alpha}\pi\tau\omicron\iota\tau\omicron$, $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\iota\ \kappa\alpha\ \tau\iota\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\theta\omicron\iota$, Corcyr. $\acute{\alpha}\phi'$ $\omicron\upsilon\ \kappa'$ $\acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\acute{\alpha}\ \gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\iota\tau\omicron$, Ach. $\epsilon\sigma\tau\epsilon\ \kappa\alpha\ \alpha\pi\omicron\delta\omicron\iota\epsilon\nu$, Arg. $\alpha\iota\ \kappa\alpha\ \delta\iota\kappa\acute{\alpha}\sigma\sigma\alpha\iota\epsilon\nu$.

The Imperative and the Infinitive

178. Both the imperative and the infinitive are freely used in prescriptions, often side by side in the same inscription. In general the infinitive is more frequent in early, the imperative in later, inscriptions. For the use of the optative with the same force, see 175.

WORD ORDER

179. A peculiarity of word order which is worthy of mention is the position of $\tau\iota\varsigma$ before $\kappa\alpha$ in the phrase $\alpha\iota\ \tau\iota\varsigma\ \kappa\alpha$, $\alpha\iota\ \delta\epsilon\ \tau\iota\varsigma\ \kappa\alpha$. This is the regular order in the West Greek dialects, as contrasted not only with Att.-Ion. $\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\nu\ \tau\iota\varsigma$, $\eta\nu\ \tau\iota\varsigma$, but with Arc. $\epsilon\iota\ \delta'\ \alpha\upsilon\ \tau\iota\varsigma$, Cypr. $\epsilon\ \kappa\acute{\epsilon}\ \sigma\iota\varsigma$, Lesb. $\alpha\iota\ \kappa\acute{\epsilon}\ \tau\iota\varsigma$, Thess. $\alpha\iota\ \mu\acute{\alpha}\ \kappa\acute{\epsilon}\ \kappa\iota\varsigma$, Boeot. $\eta\ \delta\epsilon\ \kappa\alpha\ \tau\iota\varsigma$. Boeot. has also, though less frequently, the West Greek order $\eta\ \tau\iota\varsigma\ \kappa\alpha$.

SUMMARIES OF THE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SEVERAL GROUPS AND DIALECTS

180. The following summaries, while not exhaustive, are intended to call attention to the most important characteristics of each group and dialect. These are indicated in the briefest manner, sometimes by a mere example, sufficient to identify, but not always to define, the phenomenon in question, and these brief indications are always to be interpreted in the light of the sections to which reference is made in each case. Several features that are only occasional or late, though noted in the main texts, are ignored here.

To avoid needless repetition, many phenomena which are peculiar from the standpoint of Attic or Attic-Ionic, but are common to all or most of the other dialects, are usually omitted, e.g.:

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. Original $\bar{\alpha}$ unchanged. 8 | 9. 3 pl. $\epsilon\theta\epsilon\nu$, $\epsilon\delta\omicron\nu$, etc. 138.5 |
| 2. $\bar{\alpha}$ from $\bar{\alpha}\omicron$, $\bar{\alpha}\omega$. 41.4 | 10. $\eta\varsigma = \eta\nu$. 163.3 |
| 3. η from $\alpha + \epsilon$. 41.1 | 11. $\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu = \acute{\omicron}\nu$ 163.8 |
| 4. $\sigma\sigma =$ Att., Cret., Boeot., Eub. $\tau\tau$ in $\phi\upsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}\tau\tau\omega$, etc. 81 | 12. $\alpha\iota = \epsilon\iota$. 134.1 |
| 5. $\sigma\sigma =$ Att. σ , Cret., Boeot. $\tau\tau$ in Att. $\delta\sigma\omicron\varsigma$, $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\omicron\varsigma$, $\epsilon\delta\acute{\iota}\kappa\alpha\sigma\alpha$. 82 | 13. $\acute{\alpha}\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma = \acute{\epsilon}\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma$. 13a |
| 6. $\sigma\sigma =$ original $\sigma\sigma$, Att. σ . 83 | 14. $\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\iota}\alpha = \epsilon\sigma\tau\acute{\iota}\alpha$. 11 |
| 7. $\pi\acute{\omicron}\lambda\iota\varsigma$, $\pi\acute{\omicron}\lambda\iota\omicron\varsigma$, etc. 109.1 | 15. $\gamma\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\mu\alpha\iota = \gamma\acute{\iota}\gamma\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ 86.10 |
| 8. $\acute{\alpha}\mu\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma$, $\acute{\upsilon}\mu\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma$, acc. $\acute{\alpha}\mu\acute{\epsilon}$, $\acute{\upsilon}\mu\acute{\epsilon} = \acute{\eta}\mu\epsilon\iota\varsigma$, etc. 119.2, 5 | 16. $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\omicron\mu\alpha\iota = \delta\acute{\epsilon}\chi\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$. 66 |
| | 17. $\delta\nu\omicron\mu\alpha = \delta\nu\omicron\mu\alpha$. 22b |
| | 18. $\eta\nu\epsilon\iota\kappa\alpha$, $\eta\nu\epsilon\iota\kappa\alpha = \eta\nu\epsilon\gamma\kappa\alpha$. 144a |
| | 19. $\pi\acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha = \kappa\tau\grave{\eta}\mu\alpha$. 162.12 |
| | 20. $\acute{\iota}\kappa\omega = \eta\kappa\omega$. Glossary |

EAST GREEK

ATTIC-IONIC

181. Important characteristics of Attic-Ionic (1-7 specific Att.-Ion., 8-9 in common with Arc., 10 with Arc.-Cypr.):

1. η from $\bar{\alpha}$. 8
2. Quantitative metathesis (λεώς, etc.). 41.4, 43
3. ν -movable. 102
4. $\eta\mu\epsilon\iota\varsigma$, acc. -έας, -ᾶς. 119.2, 5
5. $\pi\omicron\upsilon$, $\delta\pi\omicron\upsilon$, etc. 132.1
6. $\epsilon\theta\epsilon\sigma\alpha\nu$, $\epsilon\delta\omicron\sigma\alpha\nu$, etc. 138.5
7. $\eta\nu$ 3 sg. imperf. of $\epsilon\iota\mu\iota$. 163.3
8. Conjunction $\epsilon\iota$. 134.1
9. Particle $\delta\upsilon$. 134.2
10. Infin. -ναι. 154.1
11. Very early loss of ϕ . 50

Ionic

182. The chief characteristics of Ionic, as compared with Attic, are as follows. Some few of these are Ionic only (notably 1, also 8, 9, 14, 20, 22), but most are common to various other dialects, some indeed to all except Attic, being repeated here from 180 to bring out the contrast with Attic more fully. A few peculiarities which are not general Ionic, but are common to all branches except West Ionic, are included.

1. η from $\bar{\alpha}$ even after ϵ , ι , ρ . 8
2. $\epsilon\alpha$, $\epsilon\omicron$, $\epsilon\omega$, $\epsilon\omicron\iota$ usually uncontracted. 42.1, 5, 6
3. $\epsilon\upsilon$ = $\epsilon\omicron$, from fourth century on. 42.5
4. Crasis of $\omicron$, δ ($\omicron\iota$), ω , + α = ω , as $\tau\acute{\omega}\gamma\omega\nu\omicron\varsigma$. 94.1
5. ω from $\omicron\eta$. 44.2
6. $\xi\epsilon\iota\nu\omicron\varsigma$, $\kappa\omicron\upsilon\rho\eta$, etc. 54 with α
7. $\sigma\sigma$ = Att. $\tau\tau$. 81
8. $\rho\sigma$ = Att. $\rho\rho$. 80
9. $\eta\nu$ = Att. $\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\nu$, $\acute{\alpha}\nu$. 134.1b
10. $\bar{\alpha}$ -stems, gen. sg. m. - $\epsilon\omega$, - ω , gen. pl. - $\epsilon\omega\nu$, - $\tilde{\omega}\nu$, dat. pl. - $\eta\iota\varsigma$ (ν). 41.4, 104.7
11. $\pi\acute{\omicron}\lambda\iota\varsigma$, $\pi\acute{\omicron}\lambda\iota\omicron\varsigma$, etc. 109.1, 2
12. $\beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$, -έος, etc. 111.3
13. - $\kappa\lambda\eta\varsigma$, - $\kappa\lambda\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$. 108.1a
14. $\mu\iota$ -verbs inflected like contracts, as $\tau\iota\theta\epsilon\iota$, $\tau\iota\theta\epsilon\iota\nu$. 160
15. 3 pl. $\tau\iota\theta\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\tau\alpha\iota$, etc. 139.2
16. $\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu$ = Att. $\tilde{\omega}\nu$. 163.8
17. Suffix - $\eta\iota\omicron\varsigma$ = Att. - $\epsilon\iota\omicron\varsigma$. 164.1
18. $\beta\acute{\omicron}\lambda\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ = $\beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$. 75b
19. $\iota\rho\acute{\omicron\varsigma}$ ($\iota\rho\acute{\omicron\varsigma}$) beside $\iota\epsilon\rho\acute{\omicron\varsigma}$. 13.1
20. $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\zeta\omega\nu$ = Att. $\mu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega\nu$. 113.1
21. $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\nu\tilde{\omicron}\mu\iota$ = Att. $\delta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\kappa\nu\tilde{\omicron}\mu\iota$. 49.1
22. $\kappa\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\varsigma$ = Att. $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\varsigma$. 125.1
23. $\xi\upsilon\nu\acute{\omicron\varsigma}$ = Att. $\kappa\omicron\iota\nu\acute{\omicron\varsigma}$. 135.7
24. $\kappa\alpha\rho\tau\epsilon\rho\acute{\omicron\varsigma}$ = Att. $\kappa\rho\alpha\tau\epsilon\rho\acute{\omicron\varsigma}$, in meaning = $\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$. 49.2a, Glossary
25. $\delta\eta\mu\iota\omicron\rho\gamma\acute{\omicron\varsigma}$ = Att. - $\omicron\upsilon\rho\gamma\acute{\omicron\varsigma}$. 167
26. $\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\iota}\alpha$ ($\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\iota}\alpha$) = Att. $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\acute{\iota}\alpha$. 11
27. $\eta\eta\nu\epsilon\iota\kappa\alpha$, $\eta\eta\nu\epsilon\iota\kappa\alpha$ = Att. $\eta\eta\nu\epsilon\gamma\kappa\alpha$. 144a
28. $\iota\theta\acute{\upsilon\varsigma}$ = Att. $\epsilon\upsilon\theta\acute{\upsilon\varsigma}$. Glossary

183. East Ionic is further characterized by:

1. Psilosis. 57.
 2. $\alpha\omicron$, $\epsilon\omicron$ = $\alpha\upsilon$, $\epsilon\upsilon$ from fourth century B.C. on. 33.
 3. Short-vowel subj. of σ aorist. 150.
184. Chian. The dialect of Chios contains a few special characteristics, which are of Aeolic origin:
1. 3 pl. $\lambda\acute{\alpha}\beta\omega\iota\sigma\iota\nu$, $\pi\rho\acute{\eta}\zeta\omega\iota\sigma\iota\nu$, etc., with $\iota\sigma$ from $\nu\sigma$. 77.3.
 2. Inflected cardinals, $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\omega\nu$, $\pi\epsilon\nu\tau\eta\kappa\acute{\omicron}\nu\tau\omega\nu$, etc. 116.
- Note also $\gamma\epsilon\gamma\omega\nu\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ 'call aloud,' as in Homer.

a. The Aeolic doubling of nasals (73 ff.) is seen in the names of the mountain $\Pi\epsilon\lambda\iota\nu\nu\alpha\iota\omicron\nu$ in Chios and the promontory Ἀργεννον opposite Chios, also in the personal name $\Phi\alpha\nu\acute{\nu}\theta\epsilon\mu\iota\varsigma$ in an inscription of Erythrae. Likewise Aeolic is the Phocaeen Ζιονύ(σιος) , 19.1. All these features are relics of a time when the line between the Aeolic and the Ionic colonies was farther south than in the historical period.

185. Central Ionic differs from East Ionic in having the spiritus asper in early inscriptions. 57c. Note also the restricted use of η as a vowel, i.e., only η from $\bar{\alpha}$, in the early inscriptions of some of the islands. 4.6.

186. West Ionic, or Euboean, differs from the other divisions of Ionic as follows.

1. $\tau\tau$ as in Attic, not $\sigma\sigma$. 81
2. $\rho\rho$ as in Attic, not $\rho\sigma$. 80
3. $\xi\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\varsigma$, etc. as in Attic, not $\xi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\varsigma$. 54
4. - $\epsilon\iota$, - $\omicron\iota$ from - $\eta\iota$, - $\omega\iota$ (in Eretria about 400 B.C.). 39a
5. $\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\alpha$, $\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon\iota$, $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\omicron\upsilon\theta\alpha$ = $\tau\alpha\upsilon\tau\alpha$, $\tau\alpha\upsilon\tau\eta\iota$, $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\alpha\upsilon\theta\alpha$. 124
6. - $\kappa\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\eta\varsigma$, gen. - $\kappa\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omega$. 108.1a
7. Proper names in - $\iota\varsigma$, gen. - $\iota\delta\omicron\varsigma$, as often in Attic (East and Central Ion. - $\iota\omicron\varsigma$). 109.5
8. $\acute{\epsilon}\iota\nu$ beside $\acute{\epsilon}\iota\nu\alpha\iota$. 160

187. Eretrian. In addition to the other Euboean peculiarities, the dialect of Eretria, seen in inscriptions of Eretria and Oropus, is specifically characterized by the rhotacism of intervocalic σ , as $\acute{\epsilon}\chi\omicron\upsilon\rho\iota\nu$ = $\acute{\epsilon}\chi\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\nu$, 60.3. The use of $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ (Oropus), $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\nu$ (Eretria) is due to Attic influence.

188. Attic influence. Ionic was the first of all dialects to yield to Attic influence, and after the fifth century B.C. there are few inscriptions that are wholly free from Attic forms. See 277.

ARCADO-CYPRIAN¹

189. Special characteristics of Arcado-Cyprian.²

1. $\iota\nu$ = $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$. 10
2. Gen sg. - $\alpha\upsilon$. 22
3. $\pi\acute{\omicron\varsigma}$ = $\pi\rho\acute{\omicron\varsigma}$. 135.6
4. $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ = $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}$ (but Arc. usually $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}$). 134.3
5. $\sigma\iota\varsigma$, $\sigma\iota\varsigma$ = $\tau\iota\varsigma$. 68.3
6. Mid. endings - $\tau\upsilon$, - $\nu\tau\upsilon$. 22
7. $\delta\upsilon\upsilon$ = $\delta\delta\epsilon$. 123
8. Dat. with $\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron$, $\acute{\epsilon}\zeta$, etc. 136.1
9. - $\kappa\rho\acute{\epsilon}\tau\eta\varsigma$ = - $\kappa\rho\acute{\alpha}\tau\eta\varsigma$. 49.2

190. Common to Arcado-Cyprian and various other dialects (1 Att.-Ion., 2 Ion., 3-6 Aeol., 7 N.W. Grk.).

1. Infin. in -ναι. 154.1
2. $\beta\acute{\omicron}\lambda\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ = $\beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$. 75b
3. $\acute{\alpha}\pi\upsilon$ = $\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron$. 22
4. $\delta\upsilon$ ($\tilde{\upsilon}\nu$) = $\acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\alpha}$. 6, 22
5. $\omicron\rho$ = $\alpha\rho$. 5
6. $\mu\iota$ -inflect. of contract vbs. 157
7. $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ ($\iota\nu$) = $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$. 135.4
8. η , ω = secondary $\tilde{\epsilon}$, $\tilde{\omicron}$. 25
9. $\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma$ = $\acute{\epsilon}\zeta$ before cons. (but Cyp. also $\acute{\epsilon}\zeta$). 100
10. Masc. σ -stems, acc. sg. - $\eta\nu$ (Arc. also voc. sg. - η). 108.2
11. $\iota\epsilon\rho\acute{\omicron\varsigma}$ = $\iota\epsilon\rho\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$, etc. (but usual only in Arc.). 111.4
12. Subj. - $\eta\varsigma$, - η . 149
13. Article as relative. 126
14. Opt. in prescriptions. 175
15. $\pi\acute{\omicron}\lambda\iota\varsigma$. 67

191. Noteworthy is the considerable number of words or meanings which are otherwise known only, or with rare exceptions, as poetical, mainly Homeric. Some of the most striking examples are

1. In Arcadian and Cyprian, $\alpha\lambda\iota\sigma\alpha$ 'share' (also Arg.), $\omicron\lambda\iota\sigma$ 'alone,' $\epsilon\upsilon\chi\omega\lambda\acute{\alpha}$ 'prayer' or 'imprecation.'
2. In Arcadian. $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\mu\alpha\iota$, $\acute{\alpha}\pi\upsilon\omega$ 'summon,' $\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\theta\omicron\varsigma$ 'road,' $\delta\acute{\omega}\mu\alpha$ 'temple,' $\acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha\rho$ (but see no. 17.22, note), $\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\sigma\omega$ 'behold.'
3. In Cyprian. $\acute{\phi}\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\zeta$, $\acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\omega}\gamma\omega$, $\acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\tau}\alpha\rho$, $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ 'meadow,' $\iota\lambda\alpha\tau\eta\rho$, $\kappa\alpha\sigma\acute{\iota}\gamma\eta\eta\tau\omicron\varsigma$ (also Lesb.; Thess. $\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\iota}\gamma\eta\eta\tau\omicron\varsigma$), $\chi\rho\acute{\alpha}\upsilon\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ 'border on' (Hom. $\chi\rho\acute{\alpha}\upsilon\omega$ 'graze'), $\iota\delta\acute{\epsilon}$, $\nu\upsilon$ (also Boeot. 134.5).

¹ Several of the characteristics cited below under the head of Arcadian or of Cyprian, for which corresponding forms are lacking or ambiguous in the other dialect, probably are also Arcado-Cyprian. See also 199.

² In this and similar captions "special" is not to be taken too rigorously. Some few peculiarities of which occasional examples are found elsewhere are included, e.g., in this section, $\iota\nu$ = $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$, which is regularly found only in Arcado-Cyprian, but of which there are a few examples elsewhere.

Arcadian

192. Arcado-Cyprian characteristics. See 189/91.

193. In common with various other dialects (1, 2 Att.-Ion., 3 Lesb., 5 Aeol., etc., 6, 16 West Greek).

1. Conjunction $\epsilon\iota$. 134.1
2. Particle $\acute{\alpha}\nu$. 134.2
3. $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\omicron\tau\omicron\varsigma$ = $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$. 6
4. $\eta\eta\theta\omicron\nu$ = $\eta\lambda\theta\omicron\nu$. 72
5. $\pi\epsilon\delta\acute{\alpha}$ ($\pi\acute{\epsilon}$) = $\mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}$. 135.5
6. $\pi\alpha\rho\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omega\nu\iota$, etc. 142
7. $\rho\rho$ = $\rho\sigma$. 80
8. $\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\sigma\alpha$, etc. 77.3
9. Acc. pl. - $\omicron\varsigma$, nom. sg. pple. $\eta\iota\epsilon\rho\theta\upsilon\tau\epsilon\varsigma$. 78
10. $\eta\mu\iota\sigma\sigma\omicron\nu$. 81
11. Dat. sg. - $\omicron\iota$. 106.2
12. Subj. $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}\tau\omicron\iota$, etc. 151.1
13. Infin. - $\epsilon\nu$ and - $\eta\nu$. 153.2
14. 3 pl. imv. - $\nu\tau\omega$. 140.3a; mid. - $\sigma\theta\omega\nu$. 140.2b
15. Adverbs in - $\theta\iota$ place 'where,' as $\acute{\omicron}\pi\acute{\omicron}\theta\iota$, etc. 132.9a
16. $\delta\delta\epsilon\lambda\acute{\omicron\varsigma}$ = $\delta\beta\omicron\lambda\acute{\omicron\varsigma}$. 49.3
17. $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau$ 'until.' 132.10
18. Peculiarities in the use of the spiritus asper. 58d
19. ϕ in early inscr. initially and after cons., but lost between vowels; initially till about 300 B.C. 52, 53, 54

194. Special Arcadian.

1. Gen. sg. fem. - $\tilde{\alpha}\upsilon$ (Tegea). 104.2
2. 3 pl. - $\nu\sigma\iota$. 77.3
3. 3 sg. mid. - $\tau\omicron\iota$ = - $\tau\alpha\iota$. 139.1
4. $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\omicron$, $\eta\epsilon\kappa\omicron\tau\omicron\nu$ = $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\alpha$, $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\alpha\tau\omicron\nu$. 6
5. Numerals in - $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\sigma\iota\omicron\iota$ = - $\kappa\acute{\omicron}\sigma\iota\omicron\iota$. 117.2
6. ι from ϵ before front vowels, and ι from $\epsilon\iota$. 9.5
7. $\delta\acute{\nu}\iota$ = $\delta\delta\epsilon$. 123
8. $\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\upsilon}$ = $\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha}$. 22, 95
9. $\pi\lambda\acute{\omicron\varsigma}$ = $\pi\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\nu$. 113.2
10. $\epsilon\iota\kappa$ $\acute{\alpha}\nu$. 134.2a
11. $\acute{\alpha}\pi\upsilon\delta\acute{\omicron\varsigma}$ = $\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\delta\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$. 144
12. $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\iota\omega$ = $\tau\acute{\iota}\nu\omega$. 162.14
13. $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\lambda\omega$ = $\beta\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omega$. 68.1
14. $\Pi\omicron\sigma\omicron\iota\delta\tilde{\alpha}\nu$ = $\Pi\omicron\sigma\epsilon\iota\delta\tilde{\omega}\nu$. 49.1, 61.5
15. Dual forms in - $\alpha\iota\nu$, - $\omicron\iota\nu$. 106.6

195. External influence in the dialect. The fact that $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ and $\sigma\iota\varsigma$, $\delta\acute{\zeta}\iota\varsigma$, agreeing with Cyprian, are found only in the early inscriptions (nos. 16, 17), while all others have $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}$ and $\tau\iota\varsigma$, is probably due to external influence, though not specifically Attic. See 275. The Tegean building inscription (no. 19) of the fourth century B.C. shows some few Attic $\kappa\omicron\iota\nu\eta$ forms, as $\pi\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\nu$ instead

of *πλός*, once gen. sg. -ου, etc. From the latter part of the third century on, when the chief Arcadian cities belonged to the Achaean League, or in some cases were controlled by the Aetolian League, most of the inscriptions are in the Doric or the Northwest Greek *κοινή*, e.g., one from Stymphalus (IG V.ii.359) with forms like *κα*, *δα*, *τετρώκοντα*, *πότ*, *τοῦ*, *τούς*, *δόντω* and *έν* = *εἰς*. But a decree of Megalopolis (Ditt. Syll. 559), of about 200 B.C. in the time of a temporary revival of the Arcadian League, is mainly in the native dialect (*iv*, acc. pl. -ος, *ποίενσι*, *τοσύν*). Curious is the occasional late occurrence of the Lac. σ = θ (68), as *Σιοῦ* = *Θεοῦ*, *Σίπομπος* = *Θεόπομπος*, etc.

Cyprian

196. Arcado-Cyprian characteristics. See 189-91.

197. In common with various other dialects.

1. *ι* from *ε* before vowels. 9.6
2. Glide sound after *ι* expressed, as *ἰγατέραν*. 56
3. *αἰλος* = *ἄλλος*. 74b
4. Psilosis. 57
5. *πείσει* = *τείσει*. 68.2a
6. *φ* in all positions. 52-55
7. Occasional omission of intervoc. and final σ. 59.4
8. Dat. sg. -ῶ, -ᾶ beside -ῶι, -ᾶι. 38
9. Acc. sg. *ἰγατέραν*, etc. 107.1
10. *βασιλεύς*, -ῆφος. 111.1
11. 3 pl. *κατέθιαν*. 138.5
12. *κε* = *άν*. 134.2
13. *ἔρπω* 'go, come.' 162.6
14. *ἡμίνα*. 164.10
15. See also in Glossary, *ἀκεύω*, *λιμήν*, *παῖς*.

198. Special Cyprian.

1. Gen. sg. -ῶν. 106.1
2. *πτόλι*, etc. 109.4
3. *φρέτα*, *φρετάω*. 55, 70.3
4. *ζᾱ* = *γᾱ*, etc. 62.4
5. *ῶ* = *ἐπί*. 135.8
6. *παι* 'indeed.' 132.5
7. *ῆ* = *εἰ*. 134.1
8. *δουάνω*, *δώκω* = *δίδωμι*. 162.5
9. See, in Glossary, *ἄλφον*, *ἰκμάμενος*, *ἰναλίνω*, *οἶρων*, *ῶγ-γεμος*.

199. It is uncertain whether the infinitive should be transcribed with -εν or -ῆν, the accusative with -ος, -ῶς or -ο(ν)ς. In the absence of any evidence to the contrary, we assume -εν and -ος in agreement with Arcadian. But the dative singular is to be

transcribed -ῶι, in spite of Arc. -οι, on account of the frequent omission of the final *ι* (38); and the third plural ending is transcribed with -σι, not -(ν)σι, in spite of Arc. -νσι, on account of *φρονέδι* (59.4).

Pamphylian

200. *ι* (in part)-8 in common with Arcado-Cyprian, or Aeolic, 9-15 with West Greek or Cretan.

1. *iv* (written *ι*) = *ἐν*, *ἰς* from **iv*ς = *εἰς*. 10, 135.4
2. *υ* from *ο*. 22a
3. Dative with *ἐξ*. 136.1
4. Particle *νι*. 134.5
5. Spelling *διά*, etc. 56
6. Omission of *ν* before consonants. 69.2
7. Dat. pl. of cons. stems -εσσι. 107.3
8. 3 pl. inv. -ντον (-δν). 140.5
9. *ιαρός*. 13.1
10. Retention of *τι*. 61.1, 2, 138.4
11. *φίκατι* = *εἰκοσι*. 51b, 61.2, 116
12. *δα*. 132.9
13. *τ* for *θ* in *ἄτροπος*, *Πύτιος*. 63
14. *Ἀπέλλων Πύτιος*. 49.3, 63
15. *Ἀφορδίσιος*. 70.1
16. *ι* from *ε* before vowels. 9.6
17. Secondary *ῶ*, by lengthening *ω*, by contraction *ου*. 25d
18. *μειάλαν*, etc. 62.3, 76b
19. *ὑπαρ* = *ὑπερ*. 12
20. *φ* preserved, expressed by two different letters. 51b
21. *περτί* = *πρός*. 61.4, 70.1, 135.6
22. *ἐβδλάσεν*, *βολέμενος*. 22a, 25d, 142c, 161b
23. Change of *ντ* to *νδ*, with *ν* not written. 66, 69.2
24. Final *ν* usually omitted. 89.9

AEOLIC

201. Aeolic characteristics, common to Lesbian, Thessalian, and Boeotian (6 also Delph., etc., 7 also Arc.-Cypr., 8 also Arc.).

1. Labial instead of dental in *πέμπε* = *πέντε*, etc. 68.2
2. Perf. act. pple. -ων, -οντος. 147.3
3. Patron. adj. instead of gen. sg. of father's name. 168
4. *ἰα* = *μία*. 114.1
5. *ρε* = *ρι*. 18
6. Dat. pl. *πόδεσσι*, etc. 107.3
7. *ρο* = *ρα*, etc. 5
8. *Θερσ-* = *Θαρσ-*. 49.2

* In some cases only East Thessalian (Pelagiotis). See 214.

202. Aeolic characteristics, common to Lesbian and Thessalian (4-7 also Arc.-Cypr.).

1. Double liquids and nasals in *ἐμμί*, *στάλλα*, etc. 74-76, 77.1, 79
2. *ἀγρέω* (*ἀνγρέω*) = *αἰρέω*. 162.2
3. *ι* from *ι* before vowels. 19
4. *μ*-inflection of contract verbs. 157
5. *δν* = *άν*. 6
6. *ἀπύ* = *ἀπό*. 22
7. *κε* = *άν*. 134.2

203. Characteristics common to Lesbian and Boeotian (2 also Arc., Cret., etc.).

1. *ἐκάλε-σσα*, etc. 143
2. *πεδά* = *μετά*. 135.5

204. Characteristics common to Thessalian and Boeotian only (of which, however, only 1, which is Homeric, belongs to the Aeolic elements of these dialects).

1. Infin. *φερέμεν*, etc. 155.1
2. 3 pl. -νθι, etc. 139.2
3. *ει* = *η*. 16
4. *γίνυμαι* = *γίγνομαι*. 162.4
5. *Θεόχοτος*. 166.2
6. *ἐλεξς* = *εἴπε* in the official language of decrees (but also Argive).
7. *ὑστερομει(ν)ία*. Glossary.

Lesbian

205. Characteristics in common with one or both of the other Aeolic dialects. See 201-3.

206. In common with various other dialects.

1. *η*, *ω* = secondary *ῆ*, *ῶ*. 25
2. Final -ᾱ, -η, -ω = *ᾱι*, *ηι*, *ωι*, from end of fourth century on. 38
3. Psilosis. 57
4. Early loss of *φ*. 50
5. *δέκοτος* = *δέκατος*. 6
6. Dat. pl. -αῖσι, -οῖσι. 104.7, 106.4
7. *βασίλευς*, -ηος, etc. 111.1
8. Masc. σ-stems, acc. sg. -ην, gen. sg. -η, etc. 108.2
9. Article as relative. 126
10. *ὑπά* = *ὑπό*. 135.3
11. Infin. -ην. 153.1
12. Perf. infin. -ην. 147.2
13. Pass. infin. -ην. 155.2
14. *παῖς* 'son.' Glossary

207. Special Lesbian (*ι* in part Elean and in part Cyrenaean).

1. *ισ* from *υς*, as *παῖσα*, etc. (also Cyren.), acc. pl. *ταῖς*, τοῖς (also El.), 3 pl. *φέροισι*. 77.3, 78
2. *αἴμις* = *ἡμῖς*, etc. 17
3. *αῶς*, *ναῦος*, etc. 35
4. *δα* = *δε*. 132.11
5. *δτι*, *δππως*, etc. 129.2
6. Infin. *ἐμμεναι*, etc. 154.2
7. Infin. *δίδων*, *κέρναν*, etc. 155.3
8. 3 pl. inv. -ντον, -σθον. 140.5
9. Recessive accent. 103
10. *εἰκοιστος*, etc. = Att. -κοστος. 116
11. *σπέλλω* = *στέλλω*. 68.2a
12. *ἔταλον* 'yearling.' 49.3
13. *ἀρνηάς* 'ewe,' *ἑπερος* 'sheep', *δικάσκοποι*, official title. Glossary
14. *πρότανις* (rarely Attic) = *πρύτανις*. Glossary

208. External influence in the dialect. From the Macedonian period on—and very few of the inscriptions are earlier—there is usually some admixture of *κοινή* forms, as *άν* beside *δν*, *μετά* beside *πεδά*, *δε* beside *δα*, etc. But in the main the dialect is employed in inscriptions till about the middle of the second century B.C. Its use in inscriptions of Roman imperial times (cf. no. 27) represents an artificial revival. See 280.

Thessalian

209. Aeolic characteristics in common with one or both of the Aeolic dialects. See 201, 202.

210. West Greek and Northwest Greek characteristics (cf. 223.1, 2, 3, 4, 6, and 226.1, 4).

1. Retention of *τ* in 3 pl. -ντι -νθι 61, 138.4
2. *ἔκατι* = *εἰκοσι*. 116
3. -κάτιοι (ἐξεικάττιοι). 117
4. *φαφίξασθιν*, etc. 142
5. *ιαρός* beside *ἱερός*. 13.1
6. *έν* = *εἰς*. 135.4
7. *στ* = *σθ* (rare). 85.1

211. In common with various other dialects.

1. *ι* from *ε* before vowels (but oftener *ε*). 9.3
2. *ει*, *ου* (but from *η*, *ω*) = secondary *ῆ*, *ῶ*. 25
3. Final -ᾱ, -ου (from *ω*), -ει (from *η*) = -ᾱι, -ωι, -ηι. 38
4. *ἔς* = *ἐξ* before cons. 100
5. *πάνσα*, etc. 77.3
6. Acc. pl. -ος. 78
7. *ττ* = *πτ*. 86.2
8. *πτόλις* beside *πόλις*. 67
9. *δδ* = *ζ*. 84

10. Doubling of ξ. 89.1
 11. Psilosis in article. 58a
 12. F init. till about 400 B.C.
 13. Gen. sg. -ᾱ, usually ᾱ. 41.4
 14. Gen. pl. -ᾱων, usually -ᾱν. 41.4
 15. βασιλεύς, -εῖος, etc. 111.1
 212. In common with Boeotian only. See 204.
 213. Special Thessalian.

1. ου = ω. 23
 2. Gen. sg. -οι (but see 214). 106.1
 3. κίς = τίς (but see 214). 68.4
 4. More extensive apocope than in any other dialect, namely in κάτ, πότ, πάρ, πέρ, ὄν, ἄπ, ἐπ, ὕπ. 95
 5. Consonant-doubling in πόλλιος, ἰδδῖαν, κῦρρον = κύριον, etc. 19.3
 6. διέ = διά. 7
 7. βέλλομαι = βούλομαι. 75
 8. ὁστροφά = ἀναστροφή. 77.2
 9. ὄνε (τόνε, τοίνεος, etc.) = ὄδε. 123
 10. Relative use of κίς, ποῖος. 131
 11. ὅπει, ὅπειδεί = ἐπεί, ἐπειδή. 132.7
 12. μές, μέσποδι 'until.' 132.12
 13. μά = δέ. 134.4
 14. τᾶμον 'of the present time.' Glossary
 15. 3 pl. ἐνεφανίσσοεν, ἐδούκαεμ, etc. 138.5
 16. Plural inflection of δῶω, as δῶας. 114.2
 17. Article as relative. 126
 18. παρά 'at, with,' with acc. 136.2
 19. Names in -κλέας. 166.1
 20. Φοικιάτας = οἰκέτης. 167
 16. 3 sg. mid. ἐψάφισται, etc. (Larissa). 27
 17. 3 pl. mid. ἐφάνγηθεν, etc. (Larissa). 27, 139.2
 18. Infin. δεδόσθαι, etc. (Larissa). 27, 156
 19. ἔνσα = οὔσα. 163.8
 20. πεστάντες = περιστάντες. 89.7
 21. Λασαῖος = Λαρισαῖος. 89b
 22. Ἄπλου = Ἀπόλλων. 49.3
 23. Πετθαλός = Θεσσαλός. 65, 68.2
 24. λίθιος = λίθινος. 164.6, 9
 25. δαύχνα = δάφνη. 68.4a
 26. δνάλα = ἀνάλωμα. 164.9
 27. λιμήν = ἀγορά 'market-place' (ἀγορά being = ἐκ-κλησία)
 28. κίων often used in place of στάλλα (στήλη)
 29. ταγός as title of a state or municipal official
 30. σπόλος 'stake.' 68.2a
 31. συνκλείς. 164.9
 32. λειτορεύω. Glossary

214. Differences within Thessalian. The form of Thessalian which is best known is that of Pelasgiotis, represented mainly

by inscriptions of Larisa, which show some special local peculiarities (213.8-10), Crannon, and Phalanna.⁴ The dialect of Thessalotis, represented mainly by inscriptions of Pharsalus and Cierium, differs from that of Pelasgiotis in two important respects, (1) gen. sg. of o-stems in -ῶ, -ου, not -οι, (2) pres. infin. of thematic verbs in -ῆν, -ειν, not -εμεν. The early inscription, no. 35, from Thetonium in the neighborhood of Cierium, shows, in addition to these two points of difference, τις not κίς, dat. pl. of consonant stems in -σιν (χρέμασιν) not -εσσι (as at Pharsalus as well as in Pelasgiotis), ἡλυθρόντος not -έντος, uncontracted gen. sg. in -αο, gen. sg. of father's name instead of patronymic adjective (? see no. 35.11, note). Late inscriptions of Cierium have dat. sg. -οι, -αι, though at Pharsalus we find -ου, -α, just as in Pelasgiotis, and in no. 35 ἐν ταγᾷ beside ἐν ἀταγῇ points to -ᾱι, -ῶι. On δδ = ζ in ἐξανακάδεν, no. 35, see 84; on ττ beside σσ, see 81c.

From Histiaeotis and Perrhaebia the material is very scanty. From Magnesia there are a few fragmentary archaic inscriptions, but most are late and in the Attic κοινή. An early inscription of Phthiotis (Μεθίστας Πιθούνιος Ἀπλου IG IX.ii.199) shows conclusively, what was only natural to expect, that its dialect was also Thessalian. But nearly all the inscriptions date from the period of Aetolian domination and are in the Northwest Greek κοινή (279.)

Many of the characteristics cited in the preceding sections are as yet attested only in the inscriptions of Pelasgiotis, but, except where there is evidence to the contrary as stated, it is to be assumed provisionally that they are general Thessalian. For the points of agreement are more pronounced than the differences.

215. External influence in the dialect. Occasional κοινή forms appear in the inscriptions of the third and second centuries B.C., especially ἀνά, ἀπό, περί, κατά, δέ, gen. sg. instead of patronymic adjective, η (not ει), γίνομαι (not γίνυμαι), etc. But the dialect as a whole is employed in inscriptions until about the end of the second century B.C. and occasionally later.

⁴ Really in Perrhaebia, so far as this was recognized as a distinct division of Thessaly, but in the part near Pelasgiotis.

Boeotian

216. Aeolic characteristics in common with one or both of the other Aeolic dialects. See 201, 203.

217. West Greek and Northwest Greek characteristics (cf. 223.1-10, and 226.1, 2, 4).

1. δίδωτι, etc., 61
 2. ἴκατι = εἴκοσι. 116
 3. πεντακάτιοι, etc. 116a, 117
 4. ἐπεσκεύαξε, etc. (but often-er ττ). 142
 5. τοί, ται = οἱ, αἱ. 122
 6. ἱαρός = ἱερός. 13.1
 7. Ἄρταμις = Ἀρτεμις. 13.2
 218. In common with various other dialects.
 1. ει (from η), ω = secondary ε, ὦ. 25
 2. ι from ε before vowels. 9.4
 3. ττ in θάλαττα, εἴμεττον, etc. 81
 4. ττ in μέττος, ἐψαφίττατο, etc. 82
 5. δδ, initial δ = ζ. 84
 6. ἐς = ἐξ before cons. (see also 220.1). 100
 7. πρισγεύς = πρεσβεύς. 68.1, 86.3
 8. F initial and intervocalic frequently (but not consistently) until nearly 200 B.C. 50, 53
 9. Nom. sg. m. -ᾱ beside -ᾱς. 105.1a
 10. Gen. sg. m. and gen. pl. in -ᾱο, -ᾱων (but τᾶν). 41.4
 8. κα = κε, ἄν. 134.2
 9. πόκα. 132.11
 10. πρᾶτος = πρῶτος. 114.1
 11. αὐτῖ, i.e. αὐτεῖ = αὐτοῦ. 132.2
 12. ἐν = εἰς. 135.4
 13. δείμενος = δεόμενος. 158
 14. παρά 'at, with,' with acc. 136.2
 11. Dat. sg. -αι(-η), -οι (-υ), 104.3, 106.2
 12. -εως, -εῖος, -έφι. 111.1
 13. αὐτοσαυτός, αὐσαυτός, etc. 121.4
 14. ταν-ί, etc. 122
 15. ὑπά = ὑπό. 135.3
 16. ἀντί 'during.' 136.8
 17. Article as relative (rare). 126
 18. 3 pl. ἀνέθειαν, ἀνέθειαν, etc. 138.5
 19. 3 pl. imv. -ντω (-νθω). 140.3a
 20. Perf. ἀποδεδόανθι, etc., without κ. 146.1
 21. ἔντω (ἐνθω) = ὄντων. 163.6
 22. Διοκλέας, etc. 166.1
 23. Consonant-doubling in hypocoristics. 89.5
 24. Names in -ώνδας. 164.8
 25. γραμματιστάς. 161.4

26. ποθόδωμα. 164.10
 27. λάζομαι (λάδδουσθη) = λαμβάνω. Glossary
 28. παῖς 'son.' Glossary
 29. εἰλύτα 'a kind of cake' = Ther. ἐλλύτα. 73a

219. In common with Thessalian only. See 204.

220. Special Boeotian. Most of the peculiarities of the vowel system (221) also belong here.

1. ἔς = ἐξ before vowels. 100
 2. ἐπασίς = ἔμπασις. 69.4
 3. οὔτος, οὔτα, etc. 124
 4. εἰνίξαν = ἡνεγκαν. 144a
 5. βείλομαι = βούλομαι. 75
 6. Hypocoristics in ει. 108.2
 7. ἄλωμα = ἀνάλωμα. 164.10
 8. γαεργός, 3 sg. fut. γαφέρ-γείσι = γεωργός, etc. 167
 9. ἐπίθωσε = ἐπεισε. 161.3
 10. -ληνω 'cancel.' 162.10
 11. Ἰστωρ 'witness.' 52d
 12. ἀφεδριατεύω. No. 41, note
 13. προτηνί 'formerly.' 123, 136.1
 14. πιτεύω 'irrigate.' Glossary
 15. περίσας 'left over, remaining.' Glossary
 16. Several new words for utensils in no. 39

221. The Boeotian vowel-system. The most striking and obvious characteristic of Boeotian lies in its vowel-system. One peculiarity consists merely in the retention of the original sound, namely, that of υ as u. But even this led to a change in spelling to ου, while on the other hand the υ with its Attic value of u as a basis was used to indicate approximately the sound, probably ὀ, which the diphthong οι had come to have. See 24, 30. The other peculiarities consist in changes of diphthongs to monophthongs and of more open to closer vowels, such as eventually prevailed everywhere and led to the Modern Greek pronunciation.

The chief orthographical peculiarities, with the approximate date of their introduction, are as follows:

- ι = ε before vowels. 9.4. Fifth century B.C. (in the epichoric alphabet ι, ε, ει, ι)
 ι = ει. 29. Fifth century B.C. (in the epichoric alphabet ι, ει, ι)
 η = αι. 26. Early fourth century B.C.
 ει = η. 16.
 ου = υ. 24. Early fourth century B.C., common after 300 B.C. (but great inconsistency is the spelling. υ = υ and οι = οι also frequent till near end of the third century),

- ου = υ. 24. About 300 B.C.
 υ = οι. 30. About 250 B.C.
 ει = οι. 30. Second century B.C. (rare)

222. External influence. Although Boeotia was for a short time in the Aetolian League, there are no Boeotian inscriptions in the Northwest Greek κοινή. But there are some scattered examples of the dative plural of consonant stems in -οις, as ἡγυς (αἷγοις), etc., and the appearance of στ = σθ (85.1) and δαμιώμεν, δαμιώντες (159) in some late inscriptions of Orchomenos is also probably due to Aetolian influence. The influence of the Attic κοινή becomes considerable toward the end of the third century B.C. and some inscriptions or portions of inscriptions are wholly in κοινή, e.g. the formal contract in the Nicareta inscription (no. 43.VI). But most of the inscriptions are substantially dialectal until the second half of the second century B.C.

WEST GREEK

223. General West Greek characteristics:

- | | |
|---|------------------------------------|
| 1. δίδωμι, etc. with retention of τ. 61. | 10. ὄπει, etc. 132.2 |
| 2. (F)ίκατι = εἵκοσι. 116 with α | 11. ὄπη, etc. 132.7 |
| 3. -κάτιοι = -κόσιοι. 116a, 117.2 | 12. ὄπω, etc. 132.8 |
| 4. ἐδίκαζα, etc. But restricted in Argolic. 142 | 13. φέρομεν, etc. 138.3 |
| 5. τοί, ταί = οί, αἱ. But Cret. οί, αἱ. 122 | 14. Fut. -σέω. 141 |
| 6. ἱαρός (ἱαρός) = ἱερός. 13.1 | 15. τέτορες = τέτταρες. 114.4 |
| 7. Ἄρταμις = Ἄρτεμις. But Cret. Ἄρτεμις. 13.2 | 16. τετρώκοντα = τετταράκοντα. 116 |
| 8. κα, τόκα, πόκα, ὄκα, γα. 132.11, 134.2 | 17. ἔβδεμος = ἔβδομος. 114.7 |
| 9. πῶτος = πῶτος. 114.1 | 18. ἐμίν = ἐμοί, etc. 118.4b |
| | 19. ἐμέος = ἐμοῦ, etc. 118.3b |
| | 20. ὀδεός = ὀβολός. 49.3 |
| | 21. δήλομαι, δείλομαι. 68.1, 75 |
| | 22. λείω, λέω = θέλω. 162.11 |
| | 23. Word-order αἶ τίς κα. 179 |

a. Although only a part of these characteristics are actually quotable from every one of the West Greek dialects, some indeed from only a few, it is probable that, except for the divergence of Cretan in 5 and 7, they

were common to all, and that the absence of examples in any dialect is accidental. Thus, forms like φέρομεν are attested for Phocian and most of the Doric dialects, but there is no occurrence of a first plural form in Locrian and Elean, and in Rhodian only from the time when -μεν had been introduced from the κοινή, just as it was at Delphi before the end of the fourth century B.C. The early substitution of the κοινή forms of the numerals and the rare occurrence of the personal pronouns in inscriptions, account for the incomplete representation of 2, 3, 15-19.

b. The first ten of these characteristics are also Boeotian (217), several also Thessalian (220), and a few also Arcadian.

224. There are various other phenomena which are common to the West Greek dialects, but are not confined to them even in the widest application of the term. Several of those mentioned in 180 are often casually referred to as "Doric," e.g., αἱ = εἱ, ἦς = ἦν, ἀμές, ἔθεν, πᾶμα, ἴκω, but none of them has any claim to be regarded as specifically West Greek, with the possible exception of ἦ from αἱ (41.1 with a).

a. Even of the peculiarities cited in 223 some consist merely in the retention of the original forms which must have been universal at one time; and that τοί, ταί or pron. datives like ἐμίν still existed in East Greek in the historical period is shown by their appearance in Homer. Some others also may prove to be of wider scope, e.g., ὄπει, since ὄπου is, so far as we know, only Attic-Ionic. But so far as the present evidence of inscriptions goes, the peculiarities given in 223 are distinctly characteristic of West Greek.

225. The declension of nouns in -εύς with gen. sg. -έος, acc. sg. -ῆ is common to Delphian and the majority, but not all, of the Doric dialects. See 111.5. The 3 pl. inv. -ντω is common to all the Doric dialects except Cretan, Theran, Cyrenaean, but the distribution of -ντω and -ντων does not coincide at all with the East and West Greek divisions. See 140.3, 4. There are various peculiarities which are West Greek in a limited sense, but demonstrably not general West Greek, e.g., τῆνος = ἐκεῖνος (125.1), αὐτοσαυτός (121.4), πρόσθα = πρόσθε (133.1), Ἀπέλλων (49.3), ντ, νθ = λτ, λθ (72).

NORTHWEST GREEK

226. The chief characteristics of Northwest Greek as distinguished from Doric, including however some which are not com-

mon to all the dialects of this group and some which are not strictly confined to them, are:

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. ἐν = εἰς. Also Thess., Boet., and Arc.-Cypr. (iv), 135.4 | 6. πάντοις, etc., dat. pl. But in Delph. only late and due to Aetolian influence, and in Locr. also other forms. 107.3 |
| 2. καλείμενος, etc. (El. -ημενος). Also Boeot., etc. 158 | 7. τέτορες, etc., acc. pl. El., Ach., but not Locr., and rare in Delph. 107.4 |
| 3. φάρω, etc. But rare in Delph. 12 | |
| 4. στ = σθ 85.1 | |
| 5. ἐντε, Delph. ἑντε = ἔστε. No example in El. 135.4 | |

a. There are various other peculiarities the scope of which coincides even less definitely with the Northwest Greek dialects proper, but the spread of which in the northern part of Greece is noticeable, e.g., masc. ā-stems with nom. sg. -ā, gen. sg. -ās (105.1a, 2a), personal names in -ώνδας or -όνδας (164.8), and in -κλέας (166.1).

Phocian (Mostly Delphian)

227. West Greek characteristics. See 223-25.

228. Northwest Greek characteristics. See 226.

229. Aeolic elements: πάντεσσι, etc. in all the earlier inscriptions. 107.3. Here also, perhaps, the words ταγός (also Thess., Cypr., and poetical), κεραῖω (also Hom.) = κεράννυμι, διδῆμι (also Boeot. and Hom.) = δέω 'bind'.

230. Characteristics mostly in common with various other dialects.

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. ει, ου = secondary ε, ο. 25 | 8. φατρία (Stiris) = φρατρία. 70.3 |
| 2. F initial till about 400 B.C. Intervocalic only in a sixth century inscription. | 9. ἀμφιλέγω. 76 |
| 3. Peculiarities in the use of the spiritus asper. 58a, b, c | 10. ρρ = ρσ in Θαρρίκων, etc. 80 |
| 4. ἐντοφήα. 6 | 11. ἡμισσον. 81 |
| 5. η from εα, in part. 42.1 | 12. Crasis in κῆν, κηῦκλεια, κωῦτε, etc. 94.6, 7 |
| 6. ἀποστράψαι. 49.2 | 13. Apocope in κάτ, πότ, πάρ, πέρ, and in compounds ἀν (ἀμμόνιον). 95 Elision in πέροδος. 91a. |
| 7. ἡμιρρήνιον. 55a | |

- | | |
|--|---|
| 14. τῶλ Λαβυαδᾶν, τοῦν νόμους, etc. 96, 97 | 30. ποεῖνται. 158 |
| 15. αὐτός as reflexive. 121.3 | 31. ἦται (late). 163.9 |
| 16. αὐτοσαυτός, αὐσαυτός. 121.4 | 32. παρά 'at, with,' with acc. 136.2 |
| 17. τοῦτοι = οὔτοι, τοῦτα = ταῦτα. 124 | 33. ἀντί 'during.' 136.8 |
| 18. τῆνος (in τῆνεῖ) = ἐκεῖνος. 125.1 | 34. ὑπέρ 'in behalf of' with acc. 136.10 |
| 19. ἄδε. 132.6 | 35. χρήζω 'wish.' 162.14 |
| 20. Φοίχω = οἰκόθεν. 132.8 | 36. γραμματιστάς. 161.4 |
| 21. ἐχθός, ἐχθω. 133.3 | 37. κεφάλωμα = κεφαλαῖον. 164.10 |
| 22. ἐνδός, ἐνδω. 133.4 | 38. πενταμαριτεύω. 12, no. 52 D 16, note |
| 23. ποί (beside πότ) = πῶς. 135.6 | 39. ἀζετώ 'convict.' No. 55.17 note |
| 24. 3 pl. perf. -ατι. 138.4 | 40. δαράται and γάμελα. No. 52 A 24, note |
| 25. 3 pl. inv. -ντων. 140.4a | 41. πατρία 'gens.' No. 52 A 25, note |
| 26. Infin. -εν. 153.2 | 42. See also, in Glossary, αἶνος, ἄλῖα, ἀμμόνιον, ἀρέσμιον, προτεράσιος, τέλειος. |
| 27. στεφανώω, etc. = -όω. 159 | |
| 28. συλέω = συλάω. 161.2 | |
| 29. ποιῶντι, ποιόντων, θεαρόντων. 42.5d | |

231. External influence in the dialect. The temple accounts of 353-325 B.C. show plain evidences of Attic influence. With the Aetolian domination (278-178 B.C.) a new element is added, that of the Northwest Greek κοινή (see 279), resulting in the striking mixture (e.g., dat. pl. πάντεσσι, πάντοις, πᾶσι) seen in the numerous proxy and manumission decrees, some of them as late as the first and second centuries A.D. There are even some few traces of Boeotian influence, as in ἱσάνθω, θέλωνθι, κλαρωσῖ (ῖ = εἶ) from Stiris, near the Boeotian boundary, and the spellings κῆ (= καί), ἄσουλον in a decree of the Phocians. The Amphictionic decrees immediately following the Aetolian conquest are in the pure Attic κοινή, but the dialect was gradually resumed, in the mixed form which it shows in the other classes of inscriptions.

Locrian

232. West Greek characteristics. See 223-25.

233. Northwest Greek characteristics. See 226.

234. In common with various other dialects.

1. E, EI, O, OV, later *ει*, *ου* = secondary *ε*, *ο*. 25*d*
2. καθαρός (Περφοθαριάν) = καθαρός. 6
3. Ὀπόεντι, Ὀποντίους. 44.4
4. F initial, rarely intervocalic. 52, 53
5. Peculiarities in the use of the spiritus asper. 58*a*, *d*
6. ἔμισον. 58*d*, 81, 89.6
7. Doubling of *ξ*. 89.1
8. τόραοι = τοι ἱαροί. (Halae). 94.9
9. Apocope, assimilation, and simplification in *κα τᾶς*, *κα τῶνδε*, *πὸ τοῦς*. 89.7, 95
10. ἀμφιλλέγω. 76
11. μεῖστον. 113.2
12. ταῦτᾶ, *ᾶ*. 132.6
13. ἀριστίνδαν, πλουτίνδαν, ἀγχιστέδαν. 133.7
14. ἐχθός = ἐκτός. 133.3
15. ὑπα- = ὑπο-. 135.3
16. ποί (once) = πρὸς. 135.6*b*
17. 3 pl. imv. -ντῶ; mid. -δοθῶν. 140.3*a*, 4*b*
18. ἐλᾶ- in ἀπελλάδονται. 159
19. Φέρρω = φεύγω. 162.7
20. τεθμός, τετθμός, θέθμιον = θεσμός, and δαιθμός = δασμός. 164.4
21. δικαστήρ. 164.5
22. οἰκιάτας = οἰκέτης. 167
23. τέλειος = κύριος 'valid.' Glossary
24. παῖς 'son,' κόρα 'daughter.' Glossary
25. πλέθα 'assembly.' Glossary

235. Special Locrian.

1. *έ* from *ék* in *έ δάμῶ*, *έ λιμέ- νος*, etc. 89.7, 100
2. αἶ τι συλῶι, etc. = αἶ τις. 89.7
3. ἡρέσται = ἐλέσθαι. 12
4. φρίν = πρίν. 66
5. ἀλάζω = ἀλλάσσω. 84*a*
6. κατὰ 'according to' with gen. 136.5
7. ἀνδρεφονικός. 167
8. ἐχεπάμῶν 'heir,' παματοφαιγείσται 'be confiscated.' 162.12
9. λιποτελέω. Glossary
10. πρέιγα 'council.' 86.3, no. 59.10
11. πεντάμεροι, title of officials. Glossary
12. ἀξιοδότας. No. 59*b*, note

236. The important inscriptions (nos. 57-59) are from the early fifth century B.C., and are from Western Locris. But one of these is presumably a copy of an original draft made at Opus. The other material, except for a few short inscriptions, is from

a much later period and in mixed dialect. The view that East and West Locrian were materially different in the early period is without adequate foundation and must be given up.

Elean

237. West Greek characteristics. See 223-25.

238. Northwest Greek characteristics. See 226.

239. In common with various other dialects.

1. *η*, *ω* = secondary *ε*, *ο*. 25
2. Psilosis. 57
3. δδ (also ττ) = ζ. 84
4. ρρ = ρσ. 80
5. Rhotacism of final *ς*. 60.1
6. Intervocalic *σ* > *h* or lost (late). 59.3
7. F init. even before consonants, rarely intervocalic; late βουκίαρ = οἰκίας. 51, 55
8. αἰλότριά = ἀλλότριά. 74*b*
9. Omission of *ι* in *ἐα* = *εἴη*, etc. 31
10. γροφεύς = γραφεύς. 49.2
11. Apocope in *κά*, *πό*, *πάρ* = *παρά*, and *πάρ* = *περί*. 95
12. Nom. sg. τελεστά. 105.1*a*
13. Dat. sg. -οι. 106.2
14. Acc. pl. -αις, -αιρ, -οιρ. 78
15. Dat. pl. φυγάδεσσι (but usually -οις). 107.3
16. βασιλεύς, -ῆος. 111.1
17. ἀσιστα = ἀγχιστα. 113.3
18. αὐτός reflexive. 121.3
19. τοῖ, ταῖ = τόδε, τάδε. 122
20. ταύτων = τούτων. 124
21. Article as relative (late). 126
22. ὑπα- = ὑπο-. 135.3
23. παρά 'at, with' with acc. 136.2
24. ὑπό with gen. in dating. 136.11
25. ἐγγραμένος = γεγραμμένος. 137
26. 3 pl. imv. -ντῶν; mid. -δοτῶν. 140.4*a*, 4*b*
27. 3 sg. subj. -ᾶ = -η. 149
28. Aor. subj. in *ᾶ* (φυγαδεύαντι, ποιήαντι). 151.1
29. 3 sg. aor. opt. -σειε, -ηαιε. 152.4
30. Infin. -ην. 153.1
31. μι-forms συλαίε, δαμοσιόια, δαμοσιῶμεν. 157*c*
32. Φάρρω, Φέρρω = φεύγω. 162.7

240. Special Elean.

1. *ᾶ* = *η*. 15
2. *α* = *ε*, not only before *ρ*, but after *ρ*, before final *ν*, etc. 12 with *a*
3. πόλερ, βενέοι. 18*b*
4. ζ = δ (only in earliest inscr.). 62.2
5. πάσχω = πάσχω. 66

6. σσ = σθ (late). 85.2
7. Extreme elision in article. 94.9
8. Gen.-dat. dual -οιοις, -οιοιρ. 106.7
9. μεύς = μῆν. 112.3
10. ὀπτῶ = ὀκτώ. 114.8
11. ὕσταριν = ὕστερον. 133.6
12. ἄνευς = ἄνευ, and used with acc. 133.6, 136.4
13. Verbs in -ειω (-αιω) = -ευω. 161.1
14. ἥστω = ἔστω. 163.5
15. Opt. with *κα* in commands; also subj. (late). 175
16. Opt. regularly in conditions etc. 176.3
17. For peculiar words and meanings, see, in Glossary, γράφος, δίκαια, δίφυιος, φράτρα, ἐπεμπάω, ἱαρόμαος, κατιαραίω, ἱμάσχω, θηλύτερος, ἐρσεναιτέρος.

241. κοινή influence. In the amnesty decree (no. 65), from the second half of the fourth century B.C., *αρ* from *ερ* is, with one exception (ὕσταριν), given up, as in θηλυτέραν, ἐρσεναιτέραν (note also ἐρσ- vs. earlier ρρ. 80), and περί (earlier πάρ, with apocope), though *ρα* from *ρε* is seen in κατιαραίω; πάσχω has its usual form (earlier πάσχω); the characteristic Elean words Φάρρω, Φέρρω = φεύγω in its technical sense, δίφυιον (ζίφυιον), and γράφος have given place to the usual φεύγω, διπλάσιον, and γράμμα. The Damocrates decree (no. 66), from the first half of the third century B.C., has *ερ*, never *αρ*, ὑπό not ὑπά, and shows considerable κοινή influence in the vocabulary, e.g., καθῶρ (καθώς), ἔγκτησις.

On the other hand most of the characteristics of the dialect persist, and, in contrast to earlier inscriptions, the rhotacism of final *ς* is uniformly observed. Some of the differences between these two inscriptions and the earlier ones are due to chronological and local variation within the dialect, e.g., in both σσ, not στ, = σθ, loss of intervocalic *σ*; in no. 65 ττ, not δδ, = ζ, dat. pl. φυγάδεσσι (not -οις); in no. 66 subj. in prescriptions. Even in the earlier inscriptions there are some indications of local differences, but it is impossible with the present material to define their scope.

The definite substitution of the Attic κοινή in public inscriptions of Elis belongs to the end of the third century B.C.

Doric

Laconian

242. West Greek characteristics. See 223-25.

243. Partly in common with various other dialects.

1. *η*, *ω* = secondary *ε*, *ο*. 25
2. *ι* from *ε* before vowels. 9.8
3. *η* from *ε* + *α*, in part. 42.1
4. Intervocal *σ* > *h* or lost. 59.1
5. Rhotacism of final *ς* (late). 60.2
6. *σ* = *θ* (late in inscr.). 64
7. Ποιοιδᾶν = Ποσειδῶν. 49.1, 61.4
8. Ἀπέλλων = Ἀπόλλων. 49.3
9. F initial till about 400 B.C.; intervocalic in early inscriptions; later sometimes β. 50-53
10. Apocope in *κάτ*, *κά*, *πότ*, *πό*, *πάρ*, *πέρ*. 95
11. αὐτός reflex. 121.3
12. τετράκιν, etc. 133.6
13. ταυτᾶ, hāt', πέποκα. 132.6, 7, 11
14. ἀσιστα = ἀγχιστα. 113.3
15. 3 pl. imv. -ντω; mid. -δοθῶ. 140.3*a*, 3*b*
16. Infin. -ην, -μεν. 153.1, 154.3
17. ἀγνέω = ἄγω. 162.1
18. βοῦαι, βουαγόρ, πρατοπάμπαις, ἀτροπάμπαις, μικιχιδόμενος, εἴρην, κελῦα, κασσρατόριν. Nos. 75-78, note.
19. See also, in Glossary, ἀπέλλα, βίδεοι, ὠβά.

244. κοινή influence. Inscriptions from the second century B.C. (from the fourth and the third there is very little material) and later are not even in the Doric κοινή (278), but substantially in the Attic κοινή, with but slight dialectal coloring. On the revival of the use of the dialect in some inscriptions of the second century A.D., probably representing crudely what still survived as a patois, see note to nos. 75-78.

Heracleian

245. West Greek characteristics. See 223-25.

246. In common with various other dialects.

1. *η*, *ω* = secondary *ε*, *ο*. 25
2. ἀνεπίγραφος. 49.2
3. καθαρός, τοφίων 6
4. *ι* from *ε* before vowels. 9.9
5. *η* from *ε* + *α*. 42.1
6. εω (*ιω*) from *εο*. 42.5*b*

7. τάμνω = τέμνω. 49.4
8. F initial, with some irregularities. 50b
9. Spiritus asper frequent, but with some irregularities. 58d
10. ἐγφηληθίωντι. 75, 151.2
11. Apocope in ἄν, πάρ, κάτ, πότ. 95
12. μής = μήν. 112.3
13. ἡῖς = εἷς. 114.1
14. τρίς as nom. pl. 114.3
15. αὐτοσαυτός, αὐταυτός. 121.4
16. τῆνος = ἐκεῖνος. 125.1
17. Article as relative. 126
18. ποτεχεῖ. 132.2
19. ἄνωθα, ἐμπροσθα. 133.1
20. 3 pl. imv. -ντω, mid. -σθω. 140.3a, 3b
21. ἀνθεῶσθαι. 146.3
22. Infin. -εν, -μεν. 153.2, 154.3
23. ἐλᾱ- in ἐπελάσθω. 159
24. πριῶι, πριωσεῖ. 161.3
25. ἔντες = ὄντες. 163.8

247. Special Heracleean.

1. προτερεῖα. 46.2
2. ἐνδεδιωκότα. 68.1
3. ἔντασσι, ποιόντασσι. 107.3
4. πόλιςτος = πλεῖστος. 113.2
5. ποτικλαίγω. 142a
6. γεγράφεται, μεμισθωσῶνται. 146.5
7. πεφυτευκῆμεν. 147.2
8. ἐρρηγεῖα = ἐρρωγυῖα. 146.3, 148
9. Special words or meanings, see, in Glossary, ἀμπώλημα ἄντομος, ἄρρηκτος, ἄφωνος, ἀρτύω, κάδδιξ, μασχάλα, μυχός, ὄρεγμα, πλάγος, ῥήτρα, ῥογός, σαρμεύω.

248. κοινή influence. κοινή forms appear now and then in the Heracleean Tables, especially in the numerals. Thus τρεῖς beside τρίς — τέσσαρες, τεσσαράκοντα beside τέτορες, τετρώκοντα — κόσιοι beside -κάτιοι — χίλιοι for χήλιοι — Φείκατι, with εἰ from εἵκοσι, beside Φίκατι — εἰ beside αἰ — ἡοι beside τοί.

Argolic

249. West Greek characteristics. See 223-25. But δικάσσαι, not δικάζει, 142.

250. Mostly in common with various other dialects (but several special features included here, notably 59).

1. η, ω in part, but also εἰ, ἔ, and ου = secondary ε̄, ὄ. 25c
2. ι from ε before vowels, sometimes. 9.10
3. βῶν = βοῦν. 37.1

4. η from ε + α. 42.1
5. ο from εο before ντ. 42.5d
6. γροφεύς, etc. 49.2
7. φάρχμα, φάρξις. 49.2a, 66
8. καταλοβεύς = καταλαβεύς. 49.3
9. τάμνω = τέμνω. 49.4
10. F in all positions in earliest inscriptions; initial till ca. 400 B.C. 52-55
11. ἡάλιος, δαμιοργοῖ, etc. 56
12. Spiritus asper with some irregularities. 58d
13. Intervocalic σ > h or lost. 59.2
14. ἐντάδε = ἐνθάδε. 65
15. ῥόπτον, θύρωτον, φάτρα. 70.3
16. Μίντων = Μίλτων. 72
17. πάνσα, ἐνς, -ονς, etc. 77.3, 78
18. ἡμισσον. 81
19. πεπεμμένος. 86.8
20. ξύλλεσθαι = σκύλλεσθαι. 87
21. βόλιμος, σπάδιον, φάλυρον. 88
22. ἡεμίδιμνον. 88a, 89.2
23. γυμνικός, πέτρινον. 89.2
24. Apocope in ἄν, πάρ, πό, κάτ, κά. 95
25. ἐς = ἐκ. 100a
26. Acc. pl. ανς, -ονς, -ινς (but also -ας, -ος, rarely -ως). 78, 104.8
27. μής = μήν. 112.3
28. ἔθεν, gen. sg. 118.3
29. τύ, acc. sg., νίν acc. sg. 118.5
30. αὐτοῦ ἔθεν, reflexive. 121.1
31. αὐσαυτός, αὐταυτός. 121.4c, f
32. τῆνος = ἐκεῖνος. 125.1
33. ποτεχεῖ, ἡῖ. 132.2
34. ἐχθω, ἐχθοι, ἐνδοι, ἀνευν. 133.3, 4, 6
35. πεδά = μετά. 135.5
36. ποί = πρόσ. 135.6
37. ὑπέρ 'in behalf of' with acc. 136.10
38. 2 sg. συντίθησι. 138.1
39. γεγράφανται. 66, 139.2
40. 3 pl. imv. -ντω; mid. -νσθῶ. 140.3a, 3b
41. κλαίξ, κλαικτός. 142a
42. ἔγεντο = ἐγένετο. No. 80, note
43. ἐξεργρά, aor. 144b
44. λελάβηκα, ἐπιμεμνηνάκωντι. 146.1
45. σῆσες, 2 sg. aor. subj. 150c
46. Infin. -εν, -μεν. 153.2, 154.3
47. οἰκείη, opt. 157c
48. διεγέλα, ποτελάτῳ. 159
49. ἔρω 'go,' ἐπιπᾶσσομαι 'acquire,' χρηρίζω 'wish.' 162.6, 12, 14
50. ἐντῶ = ὄντων, ἔντες = ὄντες, ἔσσα = οὔσα. 163.6, 8
51. μαντήα, πρεσγήα. 164.1
52. ἀλίσσας, etc. 164.3
53. θεθμός (65), γράσσημα, γράθημα. 164.4
54. ἡεμίτεια. 164.10
55. ἐνδοσθίδια. 165.2
56. ἱατρα. 165.3
57. καμέτας. 167

58. Opt. with κα. 177
59. ἀφρέτευε, ἀρήτευε 'presided.' 55b
60. ἔλεξε = εἶπε 'made the motion.' Glossary
61. Other special words or meanings, see, in Glossary, ἀλιαία, ἀμβόλιμος, ἀνεπιβασία, ἀρτύναι, δεμελεῖς, δενδρύω, δόκημα, Φηδιέστας, ἐπιπῆν, καλαῖς, ὀπτίλλος, τέλειος, τέλλω, τρέω.

251. There are some differences between the dialect of Argos and vicinity and that which appears in the inscriptions of Epidaurus and other places in the Acte. So the absence in the latter region of the typical Arg. term ἀρήτευε, of the Argive change of intervocalic σ (see 59.2 with a), the rarity of νσ (77.3, 78; only early ποιφέσανς Methana) which is usual in Argive inscriptions till within the second century B.C.; the infrequency of η, ω for secondary ε̄, ὄ (25c; only Epid. χηρός, χῆρα, ἀφήλετο, and gen. sg. -ω, acc. pl. -ως at Hermione). Some features are due to the fact that Attic influence was earlier and stronger in the East. Definite Attic forms are frequent in Epidaurian inscriptions of the early fourth century B.C. (see no. 90, note).

But more extensive early material from the Acte may alter the picture.

Corinthian

252. West Greek characteristics. See 223-25.

253. In common with various other dialects.

1. ευ from εο. 42.5
2. γροφεύς. 49.2
3. Ἀπέλλων. 49.3
4. F early in all positions. 52-55
5. ντ, νθ = λτ, λθ. 72
6. ρη, Mh. 76a
7. Apocope in ἄν, πάρ, πότ, πό (but more often full forms). 95
8. Φιλοκλέδα, nom. sg. 105.1a
9. Τλασίαφο, gen. sg. 105.2b
10. Προκλείδας, gen. sg. 105.2c
11. Dat. pl. of consonant stems in -εσσι. 107.3
12. Διεῖ, dat. sg. 112.1
13. μείς = μήν. 112.3
14. αὐτός, reflex. 121.3
15. αὐτοσαυτός. 121.4b
16. ποί = πρόσ. 135.6
17. 3 pl. imv. -ντω; mid. -σθω. 140.3a, b
18. ἵσατο, aor. of ἵζω. 144c
19. Infin. -εν, -μεν. 153.1, 154.3
20. Personal names in -ήν frequent. 164.7

254. Special Corinthian. Very early monophthongization of ει and ου and representation of both original ει and secondary ε̄ by E or EI (vs. β, Sicyon ζ = ε or η) and of original ου and secondary ὄ by OV. 25d, 28, 34.

255. After the early but brief inscriptions in the epichoric alphabet, there is but scanty material until the third and second centuries B.C., when the admixture of κοινή forms is considerable.

Megarian

256. West Greek characteristics. See 223-25.

257. In common with various other dialects.

1. E, ει, O, ου = secondary ε̄, ὄ. 25
2. E = original ει, rare. 28
3. ευ = εο, late. 42.5
4. τράφω = τρέφω. 49.2
5. F init. in fifth century B.C., otherwise lost.
6. Φίντων = Φίλτων. 72
7. Mh in Mheγαρεύς. 76a
8. ρρ = ρσ in Ὀρριππος. 80
9. ἡμισσον. 81
10. ἀμφιλέγω. 76
11. Apocope in ἄν, πάρ, κάτ, πότ. 95
12. Gen. sg. masc. Φάγας, etc. 105.2c
13. μείς = μήν. 112.3
14. τοῦτοι = οὔτοι. 124
15. τῆνος = ἐκεῖνος. 125. τῆ-νῶθεν. 132.8
16. τῆδε, ἀ(λ)ῆ. 132.7
17. ὄκκα. 132.11
18. ἐνδός. 133.4
19. ἄνις. 133.6
20. 3 pl. imv. -ντω; mid. -σθων. 140.3a, 2b
21. Infin. -εν, -μεν. 153.1, 154.3
22. ἐπεσκεύωσαν. 161.3
23. Names in -κλίας, as Εὐκλίας. 166.1
24. λάζομαι = λαμβάνω. Glossary
25. τελαμών = στήλη. No. 82, note

258. Special Megarian.

1. Θέδωρος, Θοκλείδας, etc. most frequent. 42.5f
2. ἐνπίδες = ἐλπίδες. 72
3. σά = τινα. 128
4. αἰσιμνάτας, αἰσιμνάω = αἰσ-υμνήτης, etc. 20. Apart from the difference of vowel, the words are peculiar to Megarian and Ionic.

259. Except for the early inscriptions of Selinus and a few

third and second centuries, and in the Doric κοινή as described in 278.

Theran and Cyrenaean

267. West Greek characteristics. See 223-25.

268. In common with various other dialects.

- I. η, ω = secondary ε, δ, but also sometimes ει and (T.) ου. 25b
2. αυ from ευ sometimes (T.). 33a
3. η from ε + α. 42.1
4. ευ from εο. 42.5
5. εω (C.) from εο. 42.5b
6. ὠδός (C.) = Att. ὁδός. 54
7. F lost in earliest times. 50
8. ντ, νθ (C.) from λτ, λθ. 72
9. Type παῖσα (C., traces in T.). 77.3.
10. Final νς, loss of ν without change of preceding vowel. 78
11. ρρ = ρσ (early T., later C. ρσ). 80
12. Crasis of ο + α to ω. 94.1
13. Assimilation of final ν to following initial λ (C.). 96.3
14. Assimilation of final σ to following initial λ. 97.3
15. Article as relative (C.). 126
16. μέστα 'until.' 132.12
17. Pron. advs. αὐτεῖ (C.), ὅπου (C.), ἄδε (C.), ὅπη (C.), ὅκα (C.). 132.2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 11
18. ἐνδοί, ἐξοί (C.), ἐξάν (T.). 133.4, 5, 6
19. 3 pl. imv. -ντων. 140.4a; mid. -σθων. 140.2b
20. Aorist of ἔζω (vs. ἔζω) ἔσαντα, ἰσάμενος. 144c
21. Aorist in -ᾱ, 3 sg. subj. μιᾷ, ἰσαῖ (Cyren.). 144b, 151.1
22. Fut. pass. with act. endings (T.). 145
23. Perfect forms as if from -εὐώ, ἐφορευωκότων (C.), κατεσκεύωκε (T.). 161.3
24. Perf. act. pple. fem. -ούα (C.) vs. -εῖα (T.). 148
25. Short vowel subj. of σ- and α-aor. (C.) 150
26. Long vowel subj. of unthematic vowel stems, δύνανται, etc. (C.) 151.1
27. Pres. subj. of εἰμι, ἐπείη (C.). 151.3
28. Infin. of thematic forms, -εν. 153.2, 3
29. Mid. pple. χρεόμενος (C.). 158
30. Transfer of -αω to -εω type (C.). 161.2
31. Pres. pple. fem. in unthematic form (C.) 163.8a
32. ἰσαῖ. 162.9
33. -ηιο- = Att. -ειο- (C.). 164.1
34. -τηρ in agent nouns = Att. -της. 164.5
35. δαμιεργός (C.) vs. more common δαμιουργός. 167

269. Special Cyrenaean.

1. ε from εο before ντ. 42.5e
2. βάβᾱλος = βέβᾱλος. 46.1
3. Nom. pl. and acc. pl. ἱαρές, dat. pl. Μεγαρέσσι, etc. 111.3
4. λεχός gen. sg. of λεχῶι (C.). 45, 111.5a
5. ἐς νέω = εἰς νέωτα (C.)
6. Forms of μιᾶνω, 3 sg. fut. μιανεῖ (trans.), μιασεῖ (pass.), aor. subj. μιᾷ (pass.)
7. παισεῖται = Att. πείσεται,
- fut. mid. of πάσχω (with α apparently from that of πάσχω, ἔπαθον).
8. ποτιπιάμμα. 164.4
9. Some other special words or meanings (C.) ἀδηζῶν 'protecting,' δεκατός 'subject to a tithe,' ἱκνυς 'ashes' (?), οἰκισία 'settlement,' κοιτᾶτήριον = κοιμητήριον, ὄροφος 'house,' κολοσός 'plastic figure,' ἔκαμε 'died'

Cretan

270. West Greek characteristics. See 223-25. But οἱ, αἱ, not τοί, ταί, and Ἄρτεμις not Ἄρταμις.

271. In common with various other dialects.

- I. η, ω = secondary ε, δ. 25 with α
2. ι from ε before vowel. 9.7
3. βδς, βδν = βοῦς, βοῦν. 37.1
4. ο from εο before ντ (not Central Cretan). 42.5d
5. τράπω, τράφω. 49.2
6. χάρτος, σάρτος, etc. 49.2a
7. Ἀπέλλων. 49.3
8. ἀντίγροφον, ἑγγροφον. 48.4
9. F initial till second century B.C.; sometimes β; intervocalic only in compounds or augmented forms. 50-54
10. ξήνος, ὄρος from ξένος, etc., but φίσος. 54 with d
11. Psilosis. 57 with b
12. μαίτυρες = μάρτυρες. 71a
13. ἀμφιλέγω. 76a
14. πάνσα, ἐνς, -ονς, etc. (but also ἐς, -ος). 77.3, 78
15. ττ in ἱαττα ὁπότος, μέτος, δάτταθαι, etc. 81, 82
16. δδ (sometimes ττ) = ζ. 84
17. ττ = κτ and πτ. 86.1, 2
18. γγ, γ = σγ. 86.3
19. ττ = στ (rare). 86.4
20. ψ = σφ. 87
21. ἀλλόττριος. 89.4
22. Apocope in ἄν, πᾶρ (rarely κα(τ), usually κατᾶ). 95
23. ἐς = ἐξ before consonants. 100
24. Early loss of dual. 104.11
25. υἱάσι. 112.2
26. πλίεσ. 113.2

others, the material is from the end of the fourth century or later, and shows κοινή influence.

Rhodian

260. West Greek characteristics. See 223-25.

261. In common with various other dialects.

- I. η, ω and ει, ου = secondary ε, δ. 25b
2. Ἀγλου- beside Ἀγλω- from Ἀγλαο-. 41.2
3. η from ε + α. 42.1
4. ευ = εο. 42.5
5. ᾱ from ο + ᾱ in ὀγδαῖ, Βᾱ-δρόμιος. 44.2
6. Early loss of F. 50
7. Ξην-, Ξειν-. 54
8. ἱαρός, ἱερός with lenis. 58b
9. τόζε = τόδε. 62.2
10. Φιντίας = Φιλτίας. 72
11. Ζεῦ δέ = Ζεὺς δέ, etc. 97.4
12. περιβολιβῶσαι. 88
13. Πασιάδαφο, gen. sg. 105.2b
14. Ἰδαμενῆος, gen. sg. 111.3
15. ἐννῆ. 114.9
16. τοῦτοι = οὗτοι. 124
17. κῆνος. 125.1
18. δπως, υἱς. 132.4
19. δκκκ. 132.11
20. ἐξάν. 133.6
21. Πεδα- in month name. 135.5
22. 3 pl. perf. ἀπεστάλκαντι, etc. 138.4
23. 3 pl. imv. -ντω; mid. -σθων, -σθω. 140.3a, 1, 2b
24. Fut. pass. with active endings. 145
25. Perf. 3 sg. τετιμάκει, etc., infin. γεγόνειν. 147.1, 2
26. τιμέω = τιμάω. 161.2
27. χρήζω 'wish.' 162.14
28. ἐντί as 3 sg. 163.10
29. Τιμᾶκράτης, Ἰππέδαμος, Ἀρχοκράτης, κτοινέτας. 167

262. Special Rhodian. Infinitive in -μειν. 154.5. κτοίνα, denoting a territorial division like the Attic deme, is found only in Rhodes and Carpathos. The μαστροί are known as financial investigators at Delphi and Pallene, but as the chief local officers are peculiar to Rhodes (cf. no. 103), λέσχη in the sense of 'grave' (no. 101) is Rhodian only.

263. κοινή influence shows itself to a slight extent in the fourth century B.C. Most of the material is from the third century or later, and is in the Doric κοινή (278), though with frequent retention of the characteristic infinitive in -μειν. In this mixed form the dialect is one of the longest to survive, many peculiarities still

appearing in inscriptions of the first and second centuries A.D.

Coan

264. West Greek characteristics. See 223-25.

265. In common with various other dialects.

- I. η, ω and ει, ου = secondary ε, δ. 25b
2. η from ε + α, and special ἡτύων = ἑαυτύων. 42.1
3. ευ = εο, also from ε + secondary δ in κυεῦσα, etc. 42.5
4. ᾱ from οᾱ in ὀγδαῖ, Βᾱδρόμιος. 44.2
5. Δολφοί, ἔτελον. 49.3
6. τᾶμνω = τέμνω. 49.4
7. Early loss of F. 50
8. στέπτω = στέφω. 66
9. Palatalized λ, spelling λε, as ξύλεα = ξύλα. 71b
10. Acc. pl. of ο-stems -ος, also ἐς = εἰς. 78
11. ἡμισσον. 81
12. πρηγιστεύω. 86.3a
13. πράτιστος. 114.1
14. τοῦτοι = οὗτοι. 124
15. τουτῶ, ἑκατέρω. 132.8 with α
16. δκκκ. 132.11
17. ἐξάν. 133.6
18. 3 pl. imv. -ντω; mid. -σθω, -σθων. 140.3a, 1, 2b
19. Short-vowel aor. subj. 150
20. ἐγρυῖ, aor. subj. (Calymn.) 144b, 151.1
21. Infin. -εν, also in contract verbs; -μεν. 153.2, 3, 154.3
22. ἐλάντω, etc.
23. καρπῶντι, ἱερώσθω, ἐξορκῶντω, ἀξιώω. 159a
24. ἀγρεταί. 162.2
25. ἔρω 'go.' 162.6
26. Other special words or meanings, see, in Glossary, αἰμάτιον, ἀμψικᾶς, ἄποτος, γερεαρόρος, δίκρεας, ἐνδορα, ἐπίποκος, ἔτελον, θηκαῖον, καρπῶ, ναῦσσαν, προσπερμεία, σφυρός, τρικώλιος, χέλυος.

266. There are no very early inscriptions, and only a few even from the fourth century B.C. The most important of these, the sacrificial calendar (cf. no. 108), already shows some κοινή forms, as ἱερέυς beside ἱαρέυς, εἰκάς beside ἱκάς, acc. pl. τρεῖς, ἐστία beside ἰστία, etc., but preserves some forms which are never found later as ἱερεῖ, τεταρτῆς (later always -ει, -εις, etc.). Ionic influence is shown in τέλεως, the hybrid ἱαρεωσύνᾱ, and many women's names like Ἀλίη, Ἀρισταγόρη, etc. Most of the material is of the

27. *Ἐν αὐτοῖς* = *ἐαυτοῖς*, etc. 121.1
28. *αὐτοσαυτός*. 121.4b
29. *αὐτόν* neut. = *αὐτό* 125.2
30. *ὁτέιος* = *ὁποῖος*, in sense adjectival *ὅστις*. 130
31. *ὅπει*, *ὅπαι*, *ὅπῃ*, *ὅπου*. 132.2, 4, 5, 7
32. *μέστα*, *μεττ'* *ἐς*. 132.12
33. *πρόθη* = *πρόθε*. 133.1
34. *ἐνδός*, *ἐξοί*. 133.4, 5
35. *αὐτῖν*, *αὐταμέριν*. 133.6
36. *πεδά* = *μετά*. 135.5
37. *ποί* = *πρός* (rare). 135.6b
38. *ἀντί* 'in presence of,' *ἀμφί* 'concerning.' 136.7, 8
39. *ἔγρατται* = *γέγραπται*. 137
40. 3 pl. perf. *ἀπεστάλκαντι*, etc. 138.4
41. 3 pl. inv. *-ντων*; mid. *-σθων*. 140.4a, 1b
42. Fut. pass. with active endings. 145
43. Short-vowel aor. subj., 3 sg. *δείξει*, etc. 150
44. Subj. *νύναται*, *πέπαται*, etc. 151.1
45. Infin. *-εν*; also in contract verbs. 153.2, 3
46. *χρήμενος*. 158
47. Verb-forms in *-εω* (*-ιω*) = *-άω*. 161.2
48. *-οω* type in *τροδόσει*, *τροδῶσαντων*. 161.3
49. *ἔρω* = *εἰμι*. 162.6
50. *ἴσῃμι*. 162.9
51. *ἐντων* = *ὄντων*, *ἴαττα* = *οὐσα*. 163.6, 8
52. *ἐπαβολά*. 167a
53. *πόλις* = *δήμος*. Glossary
54. *καρτερός* = *κύριος* 'valid.' Glossary

272. Special Cretan.

1. *ἀβλοπία* = *ἀβλαβία*. 49.3, 66
2. *τνατός*, *τετνακός* = *θνητός*, etc. 66
3. *δέφυρα* = *γέφυρα*. 68.2
4. *θθ* = *σσ* (late). 81a
5. *θθ* (also *τθ*) = *σθ*. 85.3
6. *νν* = *ρν*. 86.5
7. *μμ* = *μν*. 86.6
8. *ἤρω* = *ἑρδω*. 86.6
9. *πρεῖγυς*, *πρεῖγων*, etc. = *πρέσβυς*, etc. 68.1, 86.3
10. Assimilation in external combination more extensive than elsewhere. 87.4, 5, 98
11. Acc. pl. of consonant stems *-ανς*. 107.4
12. *ἤμα*, gen. sg. *ἤμας*. 112.5
13. Acc. pl. *τρίνς*. 114.3
14. *νεότας*, gen. sg. *νεότας*, acc. sg. *νεότα*. 88a
15. *ἄτερος* = *ὑπότερος*. 127
16. *ῥις*, gen. sg. *ῥι*, dat. sg. *ῥιμι* acc. pl. *ῥι*. 128, 129.3
17. *ὅπαι* as final conj. 132.5, 10a
18. *πορτί* = *πρός*. 135.6
19. 3 pl. opt. *ἑρκεσιν*. 152.4
20. Infin. *-μην*. 154.4
21. *αἰλέω* = *αἰρέω*. 12

22. *ἄρατρον* = *ἄροτρον*. 161.5
23. *ἐλευσέω*, *πεύθω*, *ὠνέω*. 162.15
24. *ἀνδρήιον*. 164.1
25. *ψάφιγμα*, *ψάφιμμα*. 164.4
26. *ἐνδοθίδιος*, *ἐξαρχίδιος*. 165.2
27. *κόμιστρα*, *τρίτρα*. 165.3
28. *βίετος*, *Φοικεύς*, fem. *Φοικέα*, *ὀφέλδμα*. 167
29. *ἐπαβολά*. 167a
30. Special words or meanings (not all Cretan only), see, in Glossary, *ἀγάλα*, *ἄζωστος*, *ἀκεύω*, *ἀμφαίνομαι*, *ἄπατος*, *δρομεύς*, *ἐμμανίς*, *ἐνδικός*, *ἐντιτος*, *ἐπιβάλλων*, *καρταῖπος*, *καρτερός*, *κόσμος*, *λαγαίω*, *μωλέω*, *οὐρεῖον*, *πάστας*, *πατροῖδχος*, *περαιῶω*, *στέγα*, *συνεσάδδω*, *τέλομαι*, *τίτας*, *φωνέω*

273. Cretan, as commonly understood and as described above, is the dialect of the inscriptions of Gortyn (which is by far the most fully represented), Cnossus, Lyttus, Vaxus, and the other cities of the great central portion of Crete. This is also known more specifically as Central Cretan. Eastward, at Olus, Drerus, Latus, etc., the dialect is much less uniform; and in the inscriptions of cities of the eastern extremity of the island, as Hierapytna, Praesus, and Itanus, and again in those from the cities of the western extremity, as Aptera, Cydonia, etc., many of the most striking Cretan characteristics are wholly lacking. Hence the terms East Cretan, usually reckoned from Hierapytna eastward, and West Cretan, from Lappa westward, are sometimes employed. But there is no sufficient ground for the belief that the East, West, and Central Cretan are fundamental divisions of the dialect, or that they reflect to any degree the various constituent elements in the population. The East and West Cretan inscriptions, the latter very meager, are comparatively late, and show a large degree of obvious *κοινή* influence, partly Attic, partly the Doric *κοινή* of the other islands. The absence of many of the Central Cretan characteristics may well be, and probably is, due to external influence, which was felt earlier and more strongly than in Central Crete, where, especially at Gortyn, most of the peculiarities persisted until Roman times. However, an actual divergence of development, for which external causes are not apparent, is to be recognized in the treatment of *εο*, which, instead of becoming *ιο*, appears as *ο* or *ω* in East and West

Greek (49c, d). There are also a few other local variations. But, if we had ample material from the early period, it is highly probable that we should find that in the main the characteristics of Central Cretan were also general Cretan.

SURVIVAL OF THE DIALECTS. GROWTH OF VARIOUS FORMS OF KOINĒ

274. Not only in early times, but also, in most parts of Greece, long after Attic had become the norm of literary prose, each state employed its own dialect, both in private and public monuments of internal concern, and in those of a more external or interstate character, such as decrees in honor of foreigners, decisions of interstate arbitration, treaties, and, in general, communications between different states. Thus, for example, an honorary decree of a Boeotian city is in the Boeotian dialect, no matter whether the recipient is a citizen of Athens, Delphi, Alexandria, or Tarentum. If the Eleans honor Damocrates of Tenedos, the decree is in the Elean of the time (no. 66). If Mytilene honors Erythrae, the decree is in Lesbian, and a copy in this form is set up at Erythrae. Such is the usual practice, examples of which could be cited by the hundred, and any departure from which is the exception.

A decision of the Argives in a dispute between Melos and Cimolos is in the Argive dialect (no. 87). A treaty between the Cretan cities of Cnossus and Tylissus (no. 86) is in Argive alphabet and dialect, not only the draft deposited at Argos, but also that at Tylissus. And so in general such decisions were regularly rendered in the dialect of the arbitrators, and inscribed in this form by the states involved in the dispute, usually at home, but sometimes also in one of the great religious centers as Delos or Olympia. The extant texts of treaties are, as a rule, in the dialect of that party in whose territory the text was found, and it is to be assumed that the version inscribed by the other party in its home was likewise in its dialect. Thus, for example, the monetary agreement between Mytilene and Phocaea in the Lesbian version found at Mytilene (no. 25), the treaty of alliance between Elis and Heraea (in Arcadia) in the Elean version found at Olympia (no. 62).

In communications between states using different dialects each party employs its own. For example, when Philip V of Macedon sends certain recommendations to the city of Larisa, he writes in the Attic *κοινή*, which had long been the language of the Macedonian court, but the decrees which the city passes in response are in the Thessalian dialect (no. 32). An inscription of Mytilene contains the text of a decree of the Aetolian league in favor of Mytilene, in its original Aetolian (Northwest Greek *κοινή*) form, a copy of which had been brought back by the Mytilenaeans, followed by a decree of Mytilene in Lesbian, quoting from the former decree and ordering the inscription of both. The regulations of the religious sanctuaries of Greece are drawn up in the dialect of the state which has direct charge of them, no less in the great Hellenic centers than in those of local fame. So, for example, an Amphictionic decree which is known to us only in the copy set up at Athens is in the Delphian dialect.

275. In the period before the rise of Attic as the language of literary prose, no one dialect was in a position even to influence other dialects except within narrow geographical limits. Yet it is probable that even then external influence was not wholly absent. There was no lack of intercourse to awaken consciousness of the peculiarities of one's own dialect as compared with those of others. Some of these peculiarities, especially such as were at variance with the practice of all or nearly all other dialects, might come to be regarded with disfavor as provincialisms, and be avoided in writing, and even in speech, or at least less consistently observed.

For example, the Laconians and the Argives, who were well aware that under certain conditions they omitted, or pronounced as a mere breathing, what was a σ in the speech of most other Greeks, may have felt that this, unlike some of their other peculiarities, was a sort of weakness, which did not deserve to be exploited in writing. This would explain the inconsistency in the treatment of intervocalic σ which is to be observed even in the early inscriptions of Laconia and Argolis, before any specific Attic influence is possible. See 59.1, 2. The fact that Arcadian *σις* and *κάς*, agreeing with Cyprian *σις* and *κάς*, are found only in the earliest inscriptions (no. 17; *ῥζις* also no. 16), while all

the later ones have *τις* and *καί*, may also be ascribed to the combined influence of the other dialects, just as in a later period, when specific Attic influence is more probable, *πλός* was replaced by the usual *πλέον*, in spite of the fact that other equally marked peculiarities like *ιν* = *έν* were unaffected. The Eleians gave up even in the sixth century their use of ζ for the δ of other dialects, and if, as is likely, this was a concession in spelling only, it is none the less in point.

In fact it is increasingly evident that, more than is commonly recognized, we must reckon with external influence even in very early dialect inscriptions. Some of the disparities between inscriptions of the same dialect, some of those which are commonly attributed to local variation or even to prehistoric dialect mixture are due to nothing more than the elimination by the writer of one or another local peculiarity in favor of what is usual in the majority of dialects and especially in that literary form which was familiar to all, the Homeric.

276. Traces of Ionic influence are seen in the Doric islands, though the earliest evidence of this belongs rather to the history of the alphabet, namely the spread of the Ionic H = η (4.6). It is not accidental that *ευ* for *εο*, though occasionally found in continental Greece, is mainly found, outside of Ionic, in Rhodes, Cos, Thera, etc. In Cos occur many Ionic forms, as *τέλεως* etc. (see 266a). Even in the fifth century the coins of the Rhodian Ialysus show *Ἰαλυσίον* beside *Ἰαλυσίον*. Through the medium of the Doric *κοινή* of the other islands (278), some Ionic peculiarities have even spread to Crete, e.g., at Itanus *ευ* = *εο*, *εο* = *ευ*, and *χρεώμεθα*.

277. The Attic *κοινή*. The foundation of the ultimate supremacy of Attic is to be sought in the political conditions of the fifth century B.C. In this we refer to something more than the fact, important as it is, that in this period Athens became the intellectual center of Greece and Attic the recognized language of literary prose. It is within the sphere of influence represented by the confederacy of Delos and the Athenian empire that Attic made its first advance as an ordinary medium of communication. Of all dialects it is Ionic which shows the first signs of Attic influence and is the first to lose its identity as a distinct dialect. Some traces

of this influence are seen even in the Ionic inscriptions of the fifth century, especially in the islands, and in the fourth century the majority of inscriptions show at least a mixture of Attic forms, and some, even from the early part of the century, are substantially Attic. After this, Ionic practically ceased to exist as a distinct dialect, though some Ionic peculiarities are occasionally found in much later times, mostly in proper names and certain conventional words or phrases. It is this Attic, already well-nigh established in Ionic territory, and in some respects modified by Ionic, that the Macedonians took up and spread, and which is henceforth termed the *κοινή*, or, more specifically, the Attic *κοινή*.

The Macedonian period, indeed, forms the principal landmark in the evolution of a standard language in Greece. For in it the Attic *κοινή* was spread over a vast territory and permanently established in places which were to become leading centers of Greek life. Yet this is only a stage, marking neither the beginning, as we have seen, nor, still less, the end. Excepting Ionic, and Cyprian, of which we have no later record, the other dialects, though showing more or less *κοινή* influence, remained in common use in inscriptions from one to upwards of three centuries later. But eventually the *κοινή* attained complete supremacy both as the written and the spoken language, and from it is descended Modern Greek. The only important exception is the present Tsakonian dialect, spoken in a small portion of Laconia, which is basically the offspring of the ancient Laconian.

278. The Doric *κοινή*. In most of the Doric dialects Attic influence shows itself, to some extent, even in the fourth century B.C., and there was gradually evolved a type of modified Doric which prevails in the inscriptions of the last three centuries B.C., and is conveniently known as the Doric *κοινή*. This is substantially Doric, retaining a majority of the general West Greek characteristics, but with a tendency to eliminate local peculiarities, and with a strong admixture of forms from the Attic *κοινή*. In spite of some variety in the degree of mixture, and the retention of some local peculiarities, e.g., the infinitive in *-μεν* at Rhodes, there is yet a very considerable unity, amply sufficient to justify us in speaking of a distinct type of *κοινή*.

That the mixture is not a haphazard one is shown, for example, in the fact that the substitution of *ει* for *αι*, side by side with the retention of *κα*, resulting in the hybrid *ει κα*, is very general, while the opposite, *αι αν*, is unknown. *ιαρός* is replaced by *ιερός*. The numerals show the forms of the Attic *κοινή*, e.g., acc. pl. *τρεις* for *τρίς*, *τέσσερες* (or *τέσσαρες*, *τέτταρες*) not *τέτορες*, *εἴκοσι* for *ἑκατι*, *τεσσεράκοντα* (*τεσσαράκοντα*, *τετταράκοντα*) for *τετρώκοντα*, *-κόσιοι* for *-κάτιοι*, *χίλιοι* for *χείλιοι* or *χήλιοι*. In *i*-stems we usually find *πόλιος*, *πόλιες* retained, but *πόλει*, *πόλεσι*, acc. pl. *πόλεις*. Nouns in *-εύς* follow the Attic type except in the accusative singular, e.g. *βασιλέως*, nom. acc. pl. *βασιλεῖς*, but acc. sg. *βασιλῆ*. So Att. *βασιλέως* is usual, but Att. *πόλεως* rare. The substitution of *οι*, *αι* for *τοι*, *ται* is frequent, but there is great variation in this respect, *τοι* and *οι* occurring not infrequently even in the same inscription. Attic *ου* from *εο* is frequent, especially in verbs in *-εω*. In some places, as far apart as Rhodes and Corcyra, we find inscriptions which have the verb-forms uniformly in *ου*, but the genitive singular of *σ*-stems in *-εος* or *-εως*, e.g., Rhod. *ἐγκαλοῦντας*, etc. but *Ἰσοκράτους*, etc. (GDI 3758), Corc. *ποιούντας*, etc. but *Ἀριστομένεος* etc. (GDI 3206). Attic *ω* from *εω* is also more common in verbs than in nouns. In dialects which have *ξῆνος* or *ξείνος* etc. (54), such forms are often replaced by the Attic, especially in the case of *πρόξενος*. The first plural ending *-μες* is generally replaced by *-μεν*, though it persists in some places.

There are various other Attic forms which are not infrequent, but much less common than the dialect forms, e.g., *ὦν* beside *ἑὼν*, imperative ending *-ντων* beside *-ντω*, *πρῶτος* beside *πρᾶτος*, *πρός* beside *ποτί*, *θεωρός* beside *θεαρός* (conversely *θεαρός* occurs at Andros, no. 7, and Tenos!). Many of the dialectal peculiarities persist with scarcely any intrusion of the corresponding Attic forms, e.g., $\bar{\alpha}$ = Att.-Ion. η , *κα*, verb forms like *δίδωμι*, *φέρωντι*, Doric future, future and aorist in ξ (142), *ἄμες*, etc. Att. η , verb forms like *δίδωσι*, *φέρουσι*, infinitives in *-ναι* (also in large measure *ἔν* and *ἔν*, but see below, a) are almost unknown except in the very last stages when the Attic *κοινή* as a whole is practically established. $\bar{\alpha}$ is sometimes found as late as the third century A.D., but only as a bit of local color, perhaps artificial, in what is otherwise the Attic *κοινή*.

a. An interesting example of mixture, though not in all respects typical, is furnished by the long cult inscription of Andania from the early first century B.C. The native Doric features (or in part general non-Attic) persist in $\bar{\alpha}$, $\pi\omicron\tau\acute{\iota}$, 3 pl. verb ending $-\nu\tau\iota$ (3 sg. forms like $\delta\acute{\iota}\delta\omega\tau\iota$ happen to be lacking), 3 pl. impv. act. $-\nu\tau\omega$ (but $\xi\sigma\tau\omega\sigma\alpha\nu$ and mid. $-\sigma\theta\omega\sigma\alpha\nu$), infin. $-\mu\epsilon\nu$, ξ in $\delta\rho\kappa\iota\zeta\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega$, etc., also $\kappa\lambda\acute{\alpha}\iota\chi$, $\kappa\lambda\alpha\iota\kappa\acute{\iota}\delta\acute{\iota}\varsigma$, ι -stem inflection gen. $-\iota\omicron\varsigma$ ($\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\delta\delta\acute{\iota}\omicron\varsigma$, $\pi\alpha\nu\alpha\gamma\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$, etc., but $\pi\acute{\omicron}\lambda\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$ 4 times), nom. pl. $\iota\delta\iota\acute{\omega}\tau\iota\epsilon\varsigma$ (but dat. sg. $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\epsilon\iota$, $\pi\alpha\nu\alpha\gamma\acute{\upsilon}\rho\epsilon\iota$, acc. pl. $\tau\rho\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$, $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\rho\rho\epsilon\iota\varsigma$), $\kappa\alpha$ (beside $\acute{\alpha}\nu$, both frequent). Aetolian influence in dat. pl. of cons. stems in $-\omicron\iota\varsigma$ ($\pi\lambda\epsilon\acute{\omicron}\nu\omicron\iota\varsigma$, etc., 7 examples), and acc. pl. $\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$. Att. $\kappa\omicron\iota\nu\acute{\eta}$ in $\omicron\upsilon$ from $\epsilon\omicron$ in verb forms ($\pi\alpha\lambda\omicron\upsilon\acute{\nu}\tau\epsilon\varsigma$, etc.), $\iota\epsilon\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$, $\rho\rho$ in $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\rho\rho\epsilon\iota\varsigma$, $\omicron\acute{\iota}$, $\alpha\acute{\iota}$ (never $\tau\omicron\acute{\iota}$, $\tau\alpha\acute{\iota}$), numerals $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\chi\omicron\sigma\iota$, $\tau\epsilon\sigma\sigma\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}\kappa\omicron\nu\tau\alpha$, $-\kappa\acute{\omicron}\sigma\iota\omicron\iota$, $\chi\acute{\iota}\lambda\iota\omicron\iota$, $\xi\beta\delta\omicron\mu\omicron\varsigma$, some forms of ι -stems (see above), 3 pl. $\xi\sigma\tau\omega\sigma\alpha\nu$, mid. $-\sigma\theta\omega\sigma\alpha\nu$, $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ (beside $\kappa\alpha$) and $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ (never $\epsilon\acute{\iota}$ $\kappa\alpha$), $\delta\tau\alpha\nu$, $\xi\omega\varsigma$, $\delta\acute{\nu}\tau\omega\nu$, mid. inflection in 3 pl. subj. $\xi\eta\nu\tau\alpha\iota$.

279. The Northwest Greek $\kappa\omicron\iota\nu\acute{\eta}$. This is very similar to the Doric $\kappa\omicron\iota\nu\acute{\eta}$, showing about the same mixture of Attic with West Greek forms. But it differs from it in that it retains two of the most characteristic features of the Northwest Greek dialects as compared with Doric, namely $\acute{\epsilon}\nu = \epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$, and the dative plural of consonant stems in $-\omicron\iota\varsigma$. The use of this type is closely connected with the political power of the Aetolian league. We find it employed, in the third century B.C. and later, in Aetolia and in all decrees of the Aetolian league, in Western Locris (Naupactus was incorporated in the league in 338 B.C., the rest of Western Locris somewhat later), Phocis (Delphi was in the hands of the Aetolians by at least 290 B.C.), the land of the Aenianes, Malis and Phthiotis, all of which became Aetolian in the course of the third century B.C. Without doubt it was also used in Doris, from which we have no material, and in Eastern Locris. In Boeotia, which was in the Aetolian league but a short time (245-234 B.C.), it was never employed, though there are some few traces of its influence (222). The only extant decrees of Cephallenia and Ithaca, of about 200 B.C., are in this same Northwest Greek $\kappa\omicron\iota\nu\acute{\eta}$, reminding us that Cephallenia, of which Ithaca was a dependency, was allied with the Aetolians (Polyb. 4.6). Parts of the Peloponnesus were also for a time under Aetolian domination, and the characteristic dative plural in $-\omicron\iota\varsigma$ is found in Arcadia, Messenia (also $\acute{\epsilon}\nu = \epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$), and Laconia. There is one example even so far away as Crete ($\lambda\iota\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\iota\varsigma$ GDI 4942b; 159-138 B.C.), but clearly an importation. Aetolians had taken part in the internal wars of Crete,

and Cretans had served in the armies of both the Aetolian and the Achaean leagues (Polyb. 4.53).

The inscriptions of this period from Acarnania, Epirus, and Achaia, including decrees of the Acarnanian, Epirotan, and Achaean leagues, are not in the Northwest Greek $\kappa\omicron\iota\nu\acute{\eta}$ as defined above (they do not have $\acute{\epsilon}\nu = \epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$, or the dative plural of consonant stems in $-\omicron\iota\varsigma$), but in the Doric $\kappa\omicron\iota\nu\acute{\eta}$. At this time at least the speech of Acarnania and Epirus was not essentially different from that of Corcyra, nor that of Achaia from that of Corinth and Sicily.

In the Arcadian inscriptions of this period the native Arcadian forms are wholly or in part replaced by West Greek forms, and this is probably due in large part to the influence of the Doric $\kappa\omicron\iota\nu\acute{\eta}$ of the Achaean league. But the Aetolians also held parts of Arcadia for a time, and, as noted above, there are some examples of the dative plural in $-\omicron\iota\varsigma$ and $\acute{\epsilon}\nu = \epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ from the Northwest Greek $\kappa\omicron\iota\nu\acute{\eta}$.

280. Some more detailed observations upon the time and extent of $\kappa\omicron\iota\nu\acute{\eta}$ influence in the various dialects have been made in connection with the Summaries of Characteristics (180-273), and in the notes to some of the late inscriptions.

What has just been noted in the case of the Doric $\kappa\omicron\iota\nu\acute{\eta}$ is true in all dialects, namely, that of the dialectal peculiarities some are given up much earlier than others. Furthermore it is nothing unusual to find hybrid forms, part dialectal, part $\kappa\omicron\iota\nu\acute{\eta}$, e.g., Doric future with Attic $\omicron\upsilon$, as $\pi\omicron\iota\eta\sigma\omicron\upsilon\acute{\nu}\tau\iota$ etc. frequently,—Boeot. $\xi\omega\varsigma$, a contamination of $\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ and $\xi\omega\varsigma$,—Heracl. $\phi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\chi\alpha\tau\iota$, a contamination of $\phi\acute{\iota}\chi\alpha\tau\iota$ and $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\chi\omicron\sigma\iota$,—Boeot. $\zeta\acute{\omega}\omega\nu\theta\iota$ with dialectal present stem and personal ending, but Attic ζ (pure Boeot. $\delta\acute{\omega}\omega\nu\theta\iota$),—Boeot. $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\gamma\acute{\omicron}\nu\omega\varsigma$ with dialectal case-ending, but Attic $\acute{\epsilon}\chi$ - (pure Boeot. $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\gamma\acute{\omicron}\nu\omega\varsigma$),—Thess. acc. pl. $\gamma\iota\nu\omicron\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\varsigma$ with dialectal case-ending, but Attic stem (pure Thess. $\gamma\iota\nu\omicron\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\varsigma$),—Epid. $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\omega}\rho\eta$ with Doric ending $-\eta$ from $-\alpha\epsilon$, but Attic stem $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\omega}\rho$ - from $*\acute{\eta}\acute{\omicron}\rho$.

Besides such hybrids, hyper-Doric or hyper-Aeolic forms are occasionally met with in late inscriptions, though less often than in our literary texts. Thus the Attic term $\xi\phi\eta\beta\omicron\varsigma$ (with original η , cf. Dor. $\acute{\eta}\beta\alpha$), when adopted in other dialects, was sometimes given the pseudo-dialectal form $\xi\phi\alpha\beta\omicron\varsigma$, e.g., in some late Doric

and Lesbian inscriptions, in imitation of the frequent equivalence of dialectal $\bar{\alpha}$ to Attic η . Conversely the Attic form was sometimes retained in opposition to what would be its true dialectal equivalent, as in Boeotian usually $\xi\phi\eta\beta\omicron\varsigma$, rarely $\xi\phi\epsilon\iota\beta\omicron\varsigma$. Similarly the Doric Ἡρακλῆς and its derivatives keep η in Boeotian.

In Roman imperial times the antiquarian interest in local dialects is reflected in the revival of their use in parts of Greece where for some two centuries previously the Attic $\kappa\omicron\iota\nu\acute{\eta}$ had been in general use, at least in inscriptions. So, for example, in the case of Lesbian (cf. no. 28), Laconian (cf. nos. 75-78) and to some extent in Elean, where examples of rhotacism reappear in the first and second centuries A.D. It is impossible to determine in every case whether this was a wholly artificial revival of a dialect which had long ceased to be spoken, or was an artificial elevation to written use of a dialect which had survived throughout the interval as a patois. The latter is true of Laconian (see 277, end, and note to nos. 75-78). But for most dialects we have no adequate evidence as to the length of their survival in spoken form.

PART II SELECTED INSCRIPTIONS

PERIODICALS

- Abh. Preuss. Akad. = Abhandlungen der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
ABS = Annual of the British School at Athens.
AJA = American Journal of Archaeology.
AJP = American Journal of Philology.
AM = Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts. Athenische Abteilung.
Annuario = Annuario della regia scuola archeologica di Atene.
'Arch. Δελτ. = 'Αρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον.
'Arch. 'Εφ. = 'Αρχαιολογικὴ ἐφημερίς.
'Αθηνᾶ = 'Αθηνᾶ. Σύγγραμμα περιοδικὸν τῆς ἐν 'Αθήναις ἐπιστημονικῆς ἐταιρείας.
BCH = Bulletin de correspondance hellénique.
Ber. Preuss. Akad. = Sitzungsberichte der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
Ber. Sächs. Ges. = Berichte über die Verhandlungen der königlichen sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig. Philologisch-historische Classe.
Ber. Wien. Akad. = Sitzungsberichte der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien. Philologisch-historische Classe.
(Berl.) Phil. Woch. = (Berliner) philologische Wochenschrift.
BzB = Bezzenberger's Beiträge zur Kunde der indogermanischen Sprachen.
CJ = Classical Journal.
Comptes Rendus = Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres.
CP = Classical Philology.
CQ = Classical Quarterly.
CR = Classical Review.
Diss. Argent. = Dissertationes philologicae Argentoratenses selectae.
Diss. Hall. = Dissertationes philologicae Halenses. Halle.
'Ελληνικά = 'Ελληνικά. 'Ιστορικὸν περιοδικόν.
Eranos = Eranos. Acta philologica Suecana.
Glotta = Glotta. Zeitschrift für griechische und lateinische Sprache.
Gött. Gel. Anz. = Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen.

- Gött. Nachr. = Nachrichten von der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen.
Hermes = Hermes. Zeitschrift für classische Philologie.
Hesperia.
IF = Indogermanische Forschungen.
IFAnz. = Anzeiger für indogermanische Sprach- und Altertumskunde.
JHS = Journal of Hellenic Studies.
Jb. arch. Inst. = Jahrb. des deutschen archäologischen Instituts.
Klio = Klio, Beiträge zur alten Geschichte.
KZ = Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachwissenschaft, begründet von A. Kuhn.
Mnemos. = Mnemosyne. Bibliotheca philologica Batava.
Mon. Antichi = Monumenti antichi pubblicati per cura della reale accademia dei Lincei.
MSL = Mémoires de la Société de linguistique.
Mus. Ital. = Museo italiano di antichità classica.
Neue Jb. = Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum, Geschichte und deutsche Literatur und für Pädagogik.
Oest. Jhrh. = Jahreshefte des oesterreichischen archäologischen Instituts in Wien.
Philol. = Philologus. Zeitschrift für das klassische Altertum.
Rev. Arch. = Revue archéologique.
Rev. de Phil. = Revue de philologie.
Rev. Ét. Gr. = Revue des études grecques.
Rh. M. = Rheinisches Museum für Philologie.
Riv. Fil. = Rivista di filologia.
TAPA = Transactions of the American Philological Association.
Wiener Stud. = Wiener Studien. Zeitschrift für klassische Philologie.
Woch. f. klass. Phil. = Wochenschrift für klassische Philologie.

TEXTS AND COMMENTARIES

- Ditt. Or. = W. Dittenberger, *Orientis Graeci inscriptiones selectae*. Leipzig, 1903-5.
Ditt. Syll. = W. Dittenberger, *Sylloge inscriptionum Graecarum*. 3d ed. Leipzig, 1915-24.
Greek Inscr. Brit. Mus. = The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum.
GDI = Collitz-Bechtel, *Sammlung der griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften*. Göttingen, 1884-1915.
Hoffmann = O. Hoffmann, *Die griechischen Dialekte in ihrem historischen Zusammenhange mit den wichtigsten ihrer Quellen dargestellt*. Göttingen.
I. Der südachäische Dialekt [Arcadian and Cyprian]. 1891.
II. Der nordachäische Dialekt [Thessalian and Lesbian]. 1893.
III. Der ionische Dialekt, Quellen und Lautlehre. 1898.

- IG = Inscriptiones Graecae consilio et auctoritate Academiae litterarum regiae Borussicae editae.
IV. Inscriptiones Argolidis, ed. M. Fraenkel. 1902.
IV.i². Inscriptiones Epidauri, ed. F. Hiller de Gaertringen. 1929.
V.i. Inscriptiones Laconiae et Messeniae, ed. W. Kolbe. 1913.
V.ii. Inscriptiones Arcadiae, ed. F. Hiller de Gaertringen. 1913.
VII. Inscriptiones Megaridis et Boeotiae, ed. W. Dittenberger. 1892.
IX.i. Inscriptiones Phocidis, Locridis, Aetoliae, Acarnaniae, insularum maris Ionii, ed. W. Dittenberger. 1897.
IX.i². Inscriptiones Aetoliae, ed. Guentherus Klaffenbach. 1932.
IX.ii. Inscriptiones Thessaliae, ed. O. Kern. 1908.
XI.ii. Inscriptiones Deli liberae, ed. F. Dürbach. 1912.
XI.iv. Inscriptiones Deli liberae, ed. P. Roussel. 1914.
XII.i. Inscriptiones Rhodi Chalces Carpathi cum Saro Casi, ed. F. Hiller de Gaertringen. 1895.
XII.ii. Inscriptiones Lesbi Nesi Tenedi, ed. W. Paton. 1899.
XII.iii. Inscriptiones Symes Teutlussae Teli Nisyri Astypalaeae Anaphes Therae et Therasiae Pholegandri Meli Cimoli, ed. F. Hiller de Gaertringen. 1898.
XII.iii. Supplementum, ed. F. Hiller de Gaertringen. 1894.
XII.v. Inscriptiones Cycladum, ed. F. Hiller de Gaertringen. 1903, 1909.
XII.vii. Inscriptiones Amorgi, ed. G. Delamarre. 1908.
XII.viii. Inscriptiones insularum maris Thracici, ed. C. Friedrich. 1909.
XII.ix. Inscriptiones Euboeae insulae, ed. E. Ziebarth. 1915.
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XIV. Inscriptiones Siciliae et Italiae, ed. G. Kaibel. 1890.
Inscr. Cret. = Inscriptiones Creticae, ed. N. Guarducci, I-IV. 1935+.
Inscr. v. Magnesia = O. Kern, *Inschriften von Magnesia am Maeander*. Berlin, 1900.
Inscr. v. Olympia = Dittenberger-Purgold, *Inschriften von Olympia*. Berlin, 1896.
Inscr. Jurid. = Dareste-Haussoullier-Reinach, *Recueil des inscriptions juridiques grecques*. Paris, 1895 ff.
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 I. *Der lesbische, thessalische, böotische, arkadische und kyprische Dialekt*. 1921.
 II. *Die westgriechischen Dialekte*. 1923.
 III. *Der ionische Dialekt*. 1924.

¹ A list of the numerous monographs on special dialects is omitted. The majority of these are now antiquated.

NOTES AND REFERENCES¹

1. Interrelation of the dialects. Ahrens I, 1 ff. Collitz, *Die Verwandtschaftsverhältnisse der griechischen Dialekte mit besonderer Rücksicht auf die thessalische Mundart*, 1885. Smyth, *The Dialects of North Greece*, *AJP* 7.421 ff., 1887. Hoffmann, *De mixtis Graecae linguae dialectis*, 1888. Hoffmann I, 1 ff., 1891. Solmsen, *Thessalotis und Pelasgiotis*, *Rh. M.* 58.598 ff., 1903. Id., *Eigennamen als Zeugen der Stammesmischung in Boeotien*, *Rh. M.* 59.481 ff., 1904. Meister, *Dorer und Achäer I*, 1904. Thumb, *Dialektforschung und Stammesgeschichte*, *Neue Jb.* 1905, 385 ff. Buck, *The Interrelations of the Greek Dialects*, *CP* 2. 241 ff., 1907. Kretschmer, *Zur Geschichte der griechischen Dialekte*, *Glotta* 1.4 ff., 1907. Fick, *Äoler und Achäer*, *KZ* 44.1 ff., 1911. Debrunner, *Die Besiedelung des alten Griechenland*, *Neue Jb.* 1918, 433 ff. Meillet, *Aperçu* 72 ff., 1930. Kretschmer, *Sprache* (Gercke und Norden, *Einleitung*) 75 ff., 1927. Buck, *CP* 21.16 ff., 1926. Debrunner in Ebert, *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte IV*, 510 ff. Kretschmer, *Glotta* 28.231 ff., 30.84 ff. Thumb-Kieckers 47 ff. Schwyzler, *Gr. Gram.* 1.75 ff. A. Tovar, *Primitive geographical expansion of Ionic*, *Emerita* 12 (1944) 245 ff.

3. Although, for reasons stated in the Note, a detailed treatment of the literary dialects is excluded from the plan of this book, the following summaries for those other than Homeric, later Ionic, or Attic, may be of service. They are arranged with references to the appropriate sections of the grammar.

ALCAEUS AND SAPPHO

Texts: Diehl, *Anthologia Lyrica*. Lobel, *Sappho*. Lobel, *Alcaeus*.

The language of Alcaeus and Sappho is substantially their native Lesbian, the characteristics of which, summarized in 201-3, 206-7, are nearly all represented in the texts. Epic influence shows itself in the use of *v* movable, a few cases of lack of augment, the occasional *σ* beside *σσ* (82, 83), *-δευροι* beside *-δέραι*, etc. (54), a few occurrences of gen. sg. *-ᾱο*, gen. sg. *-οιο*, *ἄνερος*, etc., as well as in various other matters of prosody and phraseology. The texts contain many cases of hyper-Aeolic *αι*, some of hyper-Aeolic *ρη*, etc.; also the spelling *σδ* = *ζ*, which is late (84), and various other corruptions.

The papyrus fragments, and likewise the quotations in late authors,

¹ Except for the few following, those previously given (in the "Introduction") are not repeated here. Any important corrections or additions have been incorporated in the main text, and the references, with others later, may be found in Schwyzler, *Griechische Grammatik*.

- Hoffmann = Hoffmann, *Die griechischen Dialekte*. 3 vols. See above, p. 338.
 Meister = R. Meister, *Die griechischen Dialekte*. 2 vols. Göttingen.
 I. *Asiatisch-Äolisch, Böotisch, Thessalisch*. 1882.
 II. *Eleisch, Arkadisch, Kyprisch*. 1889.
 Thumb-Kieckers = A. Thumb, *Handbuch der griechischen Dialekte*. 2te Auflage von E. Kieckers. Heidelberg, 1932.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

scholiasts, grammarians, so far as these latter have not been further corrupted in transmission, reflect the current Alexandrian text. This latter very probably goes back to a redaction by earlier grammarians from Aeolic Asia Minor (some such are known by name), who were familiar with the Aeolic of their time, say the late fourth or early third century B.C. This hypothesis receives support from the treatment of final *η*, *ω*, *αι*, which in some of the Oxyrhynchus texts, and likewise in the verses of Balbilla (a woman of Hadrian's time who imitated the Sappho of her copy), appear as *η*, *ω*, but *αι*, a differentiation which accords neither with contemporaneous practice nor with that of the poets' time, but agrees with that of some Lesbian inscriptions of the late fourth century (38). Cf. Kehrshahn, *KZ* 46.296 ff., Bechtel 1.45.

5. *στρότος*, *βροχέως*, *ἄμβροτε*, *τρόπην*, *χόλαισι*, *ἐμμορμένον* = *εἰμαρμένον*, *ἔρπετον* (cf. *ἔρπετον* Hesych., from weak grade of *ἐρπω*) = *ἐρπετόν*, *σπολέω* (cf. *σπόλεια* σταλίσια Hesych.). So *τετορταῖος* in Theocritus.—6. *ὄν*, *ὄνία*, *ὄνιάρος*, *κόβαρος*.—8. *φάμα*, etc., generally. But also hyper-Aeolic *αι* = *α*, due to the regular correspondence of *αισ* to *ας* from *ανς* (see below, to 77.3, 78). So nom. sg. *Αἰολίδαις*, *Κρονίδαις*, *βορίαις* (similar forms in Balbilla and the grammarians); further *ἐπέραις*, *ἐπτόαις* beside *ἐπτόασεν* (from *πτοάω* = *πτοέω*, 161.2a), *μέμναις*, *δμναισαι*, *φαισθ'*, 3 sg. *φαῖσι* (cf. regular 3 pl. *φαῖσι*), all these before *σ*, more doubtful *μέμναιμι*, *μαχαίταν*. (Some other cases in Diehl's text are without MS. authority and due to a wrong theory of *αι* = *η*; cf. *CP* 10. 215 ff.).—9.2. *χρύσιον*, *πορφύριον*, *χάλκιον*, *κυνίασι*, *συκίαν*, *βορίαις*, *τίω*, but generally *ε* (*θεοῖσιν*, *ἔων*, etc.).—13.1. *ἱρος*.—13.3a. *ἄτερος*.—17. *αἰμόνοις*, *αἰμιθέων*.—18a. *κέρναις*.—19.1. *ζάβαις*, *ζάδηλος*, *ζακρυόεις*, etc. = *δια*.—19.2. 4. *πέρροχος*, *περρέχοις*, *περεθήκας* (cf. *περρεθήκατο* Hesych.), *πέρ ἀτιμίας* (cf. *πέρ ἀπάλας* Theocr.), *πορφύρον*, *πορφύρα*, *ἀργύρα*; *Περράμω*, *Περάμωιο*.—22 with *b*. *ἀπύ*, *ὑμοι*, *ὕπισσω*, *ὑσδων*.—25. *η*, *ω*, as *κῆνος*, *ἦγεν*, infin. *-ην*, gen. sg. *-ω*, *ὠρανός* (but also *δρανός*, the explanation of which is uncertain).—31. *Ἀλκαος*, *Φωκάας*, *πόας*, *λαχόνην*, *πόησαι*, etc.—35 with *a*. *αὔως*, *ναύω*, *ναύως*, *δεύοντος*, *ἐπιδεύης*, *χευάτω*, *αὐάταν*, *αὐάδην*.—38. Regularly *-αι*, but frequently (in some papyrus texts, always) *-η*, *-ω*. See above.—41.2. *φάος*, *σάος*, *μάομαι*, *περεθήκας*.—41.3. *ἀελίω* and *ἄλιω*.—41.4. gen. pl. *-ᾱν*, *Ποσειδᾶν*, but *πεδάρορον*, *Ἀἰδαο*.—42.1. *εὐάνθεα* etc., but *ἦρος*, *κείσαι*, but *οἶχη*, *πότη*.—42.3. *ἦγεν*, *ἦλπετο*, *κῆνος*, infin. *-ην*, but *ὠκεες*, *ἔγγεες*, *καγγέεται*.—42.4. *φίλει*, *κατάγρει*.—42.5. 6. *ὀναλέοντες*, *ἔων*, gen. sg. *-εος*, etc.—43. *ἱππῶν*, *βασίλης*, etc.—44.3. gen. sg. *-ω*, gen. sg. *αἰδῶς*, *αὐδῶς*, acc. sg. *νῶν* beside *νόον*.—44.4. *ἡμέροεν*, *νιφρόεντος*, etc. *ο + ει*, *χαύνοις*.—47. *φᾶμι*, not *φαῖμι*. For 3 sg. *φαῖσι*, see above, to 8. For *δοκίμοι* the better reading is *δοκίμωμι*. Forms like *γέλαιμι*, *ἴσταιμι*, etc., quoted by the grammarians (cf. *Hdn.* 2.825), are not confirmed even for the Alexandrian text.—49.2. *κρέτος*, *κρέτησαι*.

52. Initial *F* before a vowel is so written or implied by the meter for the pronominal *φοῖσι*, *φόν*, *φέθεν*, but generally ignored, as *εἴπην*, *ἰδοσαν*, *ἰδμεν*, *ἔργον*, etc., without preventing elision or causing position length.—53. Intervocalic *F* lost, as *κλέος*, *ρόαι*, etc., *παῖς* (as in Homer), *παῖδος*. (But see above, to 35).—54. From *νF* etc., *F* lost without lengthening of the preceding vowel, *μόνος*, *κίλος*, *κόρα*, *δέρα*, *περάτων*, *ἴσος*. But also *ποικιλόδειροι*, *περάτων*, and *ἴσος* with first syllable long, probably due to epic influence, likewise *ἔνεκα* (also Theocr.) with hyper-Aeolic *νν* (cf. 54b) = Hom. *εἴνεκα*.—55. *βρόδα*, *βροδοδάκτυλος*, *βραδίναν*, *βράνεα*.—57. *ψιλοσις*.—67. *πτόλις*, probably epic.—68.2 with *a*. *πέμπε*, *πῆλυι*, *κασπολέω*.—74. *ἀέρρει*, *ἐγέρρειν*, *ἡμέρρει*, *παρορίννει*.—75. *βόλλομαι*, *μελλιχόμειδε*.—76. *ἄμμες*, *ὑμμες*, *ἐμμεναι*, *ἐμματα*, *σελάννα*, *φάννος*, *ἐράνναν*, *ἰλλάνεντι*, *χέρρας*. But once with *λ* *δισχελίοις*.—77.1. 79. *κένναις*, *γέννατο*, *ἄγγελλαι*, *ἄερατε*, *συνέρραισα*. But hyper-Aeolic *ρη* in *θόρρακες*, better *θώρακες*.

—77.3. παῖσα, μοῖσα, πλήθοισα, λιποῖσα, μειδιάσαισα, μίγεισα, etc., 3 pl. ἀπυκρύντοισι, φαῖσι, ἱεῖσι, ἐπιρρόμβεισι, etc.—78. acc. pl. -αις, -οις, nom. sg. m. pple. οἴκεις, μέδεις (= μεδέων).—80. κόρσαι, χέρσαι.—82, 83. Usually σσ, but also σ (epic influence), μέσσον, μέσσοι, ὄσσοι, ὄσσα, ὄσσοι, τέλεσσαι, τέλεσσον, πόδεσσιν, γυναικείσιν, etc., ἀνδρεῖσι, ἄμμεσιν, στήθεσιν, etc.—84. ὕσδον, πῶδον, μέσδον, etc.—89.4. κάλημι, etc., νόημα, πεποιημένας, κλάμμα, ἀροτρώμεν, δύννητες, δυνάεις. Cf. also below, to 101.1.—89.8. ἔσολος, μάσολος.—94.1. ὠνήρ, τῶμον.—94.3. κῶττι.—94.6. κῶπτι, κάμματα, κάλεφαις, κῶν, etc. (α uniformly in pap. texts), but also κῶν, κῶν.—94.7. κῶνί, κῶντι.—95-99. κατ τό, κάμ μέν, κάκ κεφάλας, κάββαλε, etc., πᾶρ δέ, πᾶρ μέν, πᾶρ κεφάλας, περσκόπεισα, ἀπ πατέρων.—101.1. δυνῶνι, ἀσύνετος, ἀσυννέτημι.—102. ν movable frequent (epic influence).—103. Recessive accent, attested by the grammarians, also shown in papyrus texts (so far as the accent is written at all), as κῶθαρν, gen. pl. λῶγρην, παῖσαν, μερίμναν, etc., likewise Ζεύς (for Ζεύς).

104. Voc. sg. Δία, gen. pl. -αῖσι, dat. pl. -αῖσι(v) but ταῖς, acc. pl. -αῖς.—105. Gen. sg. once -ᾱ (epic).—106. Gen. sg. -ω, rarely -οιο (epic), dat. pl. -οιο(v) but τοῖς, acc. pl. -οις.—107.3. πόδεσσιν, etc.—108.2. Acc. sg. ἀβλάβην, ἐμφέρην, etc., dat. sg. Δινομένην, voc. sg. μελλιχόμειδε (cf. -ᾱ in Δία).—109.2. πόλιος and πόλῃος (epic).—111. βασιλῆες, τοκήων, etc. (above, to 43). But "Ἀρεῦς, gen. "Ἀρεῦος, acc. "Ἀρεῦα (Hom. "Ἀρης, "Ἀρηος) with εὔ extended from nominative.—114. ἴα.—116. Gen. πέμπων, δέκων.—118.3c. Gen. ἔμεθεν, σέθεν, φέθεν.—119. ἄμμες, ὕμμες, ἄμμι(v), ὕμμι(v), and ἄμμεσιν.—121.1. ἐμ' αὐται, ἐμ' αὐτῶι.—125. κῆνος.—128. Dat. sg. τίωι, dat. pl. τίοισιν = Hom. τέω, etc.—129.2. ὅττινες, ὅττινας, gen. sg. ὅττω, dat. pl. ὅττοισι.—ὅππα, ὅπποτα, ὅπποσε.—130. τέουτος = τοῦτου.—132.4. πῆλυι, ἄλλυι, τῦδε, ἐνδύς.—132.5. πάνται.—132.11. ὅτα, πότα, ὅπποτα, ἄλλοτα.—133.6. ἀτ.—134.1, 2. αἰ, κε, κεν.—135. ὄν, ἀπύ, ὄπα, εἰς, πεδά.

138.1. τίθηθα etc.—138.1a. -ης, -ης?—138.5. σύναχθεν, etc., but ἐστάθησαν (epic).—143. ἐκάλεσσα, χαλάσσομεν.—146.1. ὑπαδεδρόμακε.—147.2. τεθνάκην.—147.3. λελάθων, ἐκγεγόνων, etc.—150. χαλάσσομεν.—153. ἔχην etc.—154.2. ἐμμεναι.—155.2. μεθύσθην, τελέσθην.—157. κάλημι, φίληθα, φορήμεθα, ἐπόημεν, εὐωχήμενοι, ἐπιρρόμβεισι, χόλαισι, ἐπαινέτες, πολέμεντι, δύννητες (cf. α), οἴκεις, μέδεις.—157b. βόα, ἄγρει, τίμαι, βόα(ι) ὅπταις, χαῖνοις, ὀναλέοντες, ποτέονται.—159. ἀδικήει, ποθῶ.—161.2. δρημι, ποτέονται beside ἀμφιπόταται, ἐκπεποταμένα.—161.2a. ἐξεπόνασαν, ἐπτόασαν (and ἐπτόασα, above, to 8; cf. ἐπτόαθης Eur.).—161.3. δοκίμωι = δοκίμαζω.—162.2. ἄγρει.—162.8. ἐζώμεν.—163.3. ἦς.—163.8. ἔσσα and ἔοισα.—164.1. βασιλῆος, πεμπεβόηα.—164.2. ἰλλάεις = ἰλαος, like Hom. μεσῆεις = μέσος.—164.4. ὅππα = ὄμμα.

ALCMAN

Text: Diehl, Anthologica Lyrica.

The language of Alcman agrees with Laconian in its general Doric features, and in several others that were not general Doric, as η, ω, not εἰ, ου (25), infin. -ην (153.2), acc. pl. -ως (106), ἐνθ- = ἐλθ- (72), κάρρων (80), etc. But some of the special Laconian peculiarities were ignored. So certainly the change of intervocalic σ (59.1), of which there is no trace. So probably the Lac. δδ = ζ (84), which occurs only in one MS of one passage (Diehl no. 100). Alcman probably wrote ζ, for which σδ, frequent in the texts, was a late spelling. The σ for θ (64) was much later than Alcman's time, but is frequent in the texts especially in certain words, as σοῖ = θεοῖ. The ι for ε in this and some other forms represents a Laconian pronunciation (9.5), but one that is ignored in the spelling of the majority of forms (ὀρέων, ἀνέοντι, etc.), and very likely by Alcman

himself. In the matter of spelling, σοῖ may owe its ι as well as the σ to the redaction of grammarians.

The most conspicuous Lesbian feature in Alcman, as also in other lyric poetry, is the use of Lesbian participial forms like ἔχοισα, λιποῖσα, θεῖσα, etc. (77.3). Such forms are so frequent in Alcman as to indicate that his practice was uniform in this class and that exceptions in the text are to be suspected, not only καροῖσιν with its Att.-Ion. ου, but also λαβῶσ' (Diehl no. 28), which, though good Laconian, rests on an emendation. It was only the Lesbian participial form that was adopted, not the general Lesbian treatment of vowel + ν, which is not attested for other categories, not even the analogous μοῖσα as in Pindar, but Μῶσα, and never in third plural forms. κλενᾶ (Diehl no. 1.44) is a Lesbian form (76), which may go back to the poet. Forms that are Lesbian, but also current in epic, as infin. -μεναι, dat. pl. παῖδεσσι, etc., may be grouped with other examples of epic influence. Such are the frequent use of ν movable (102), σ beside σσ, as τῶσσοι, τῶσσοι (82), γούνατα, δουρί (54), the latter wrongly emended to δουρί (Diehl no. 77; but Lac. δορῖ or δορί), πρότι (135.6), 3 pl. ἔχουσιν, εὐδουσιν.

8. ἄ, δᾶμος, ἀμέρα, etc.—9.5. σοῖ, ἡμισίων, σιειδής, ἀργύριον, παγχρύσιος, but τέο, ἐπέων, αἰνέοντι, etc.—13.1. ἰαρός, also ἐπίασε (cf. Theocr. πιάξας), as in late Att. = ἐπίεσε.—13.3. ὄκα, etc., γα.—25. η, ω, as κῆνος, χηρός, ἡμεν, ὠρανόν, Μῶσα, gen. sg. -ω, acc. pl. -ως (but some cases of εἰ, ου left in text).—41.1. ὀρῆς, ποτήσθω.—41.2. φῶς, 3 sg. opt. νικῶ.—41.3. ἄλιον.—41.4. Ἀλκμᾶν, Ἀλκμάν, παῖδνα, gen. pl. -ᾶν.—42.1. ἔπη, ἄνθη, ἦρ.—42.5. uncontracted εο, εω, or ιο, ιω.

52. Φάνακτι, Φέθεν, Φάδη, etc. (F written in some sources but mostly restored).—53. δᾶφιον, αὐειρομέναι, but φῶς, ἄλιον, etc.—61. ἐντί, etc., τῦ.—64. σοῖ, παρσένος, σαλασσο-, σάλλει, etc.—68. βλῆρ = δέλεαρ. γλέπω, γλέφαρον = βλέπω, βλέφαρον.—72. ἐνθοῖσα, κέντο.—76. ἡμεν, ἀμέας, χηρός, etc., but κλενᾶ (Lesb.).—77.3. Lesb. partic. forms ἔχοισα, φέροισα, λιποῖσα, ἐνθοῖσα, λυθεῖσα, etc.—80. κάρρων.—82, 83. τῶσσοι, τῶσσοι, ἐδάσσο, ἐσσαμέναι, παῖδεσσι, etc.—84. Usually ζ or late σδ, as μάσδων, etc., once δδ, καθαρῖδδην.—94.2, 6. κῆν, κῆπτι, κῶπῶραν.—95, 99. κα(τ) τάν, καβαίνων.—102. ν movable frequent.

104. Gen. pl. -ᾶν, dat. pl. -αῖσι, -αῖς.—106. Gen. sg. -ω, acc. pl. -ως, dat. pl. -οιο(v), -οις.—107. Nom. sg. μάκαρς, like Cret. μαῖτωρς. Dat. pl. παῖδεσσι, etc.—118. Gen. τέο, φέθεν. Dat. μοι, τοι, τίν. Acc. ἐμέ, σέ, τέ, τῦ, νίν.—119. ἀμέας, ἀμέων, etc.—120. ἄμρος, Fa, σφεά, σφοῖς, σφετέρως.—122. Nom. pl. ταί.—125. κῆνος.—132.2. αὐτεῖ.—132.8. ὄτ.—132.11. ὄκα, ποκα, τόκα, also ὄκα.—134.1. αἰ.—134.2. κα (ᾶν in Diehl no. 81, but improbable).—135. ἐς, πεδά, προτί.—138.3. παρήσομες, ὑμνέωμες.—138.4. αἰνέοντι, ἐντί (εὐδουσιν, ἔχουσιν epic, if genuine).—138.5. ἐπέβαν.—142. ἀρμόξατο.—142a. ὀρνίχων.—153.1. φαίνην, etc. (mostly corrected from -εν or -ειν).—154. ἡμεν, etc., ἔδμεναι.—163.3. ἦς.—163.8. παρέντων.—Note also aor. ἔγεντο, as in Hesiod, Sappho, etc., likewise κέντο = κέλτο.

PINDAR AND BACCHYLIDES

Cf. Schöne, Leipziger Studien für klass. Phil. 19.181 ff. Texts: Pindar, Schroeder; Bacchylides, Blass-Suess.

The retention of original ᾱ = Att.-Ion. η, together with ᾱ from ᾱο ᾱω = Att.-Ion. εω, ω, is the most conspicuous characteristic of the choral lyric, and the only non-Att.-Ion. feature which prevails with any approach to consistency (even this not complete) and persists in the choruses of Attic tragedy. The weight of ᾱ-forms is further increased by the choice of Att.-Ion. ᾱ, not Dor. η, from αε (νικᾶν = Dor. νικῆν, etc.).

Of the general Doric characteristics (cf. 223), which are common to

the West Greek dialects and partly to Boeotian and Thessalian, only a few appear frequently, some occasionally, and others not at all. Thus Pindar, who uses much more Doric than Bacchylides (or Simonides), has usually 3d pl. -οντι, infin. -μεν = -ναι, frequently ξ in forms like κατεφάμμεν, τῦ beside σύ, τίν beside σοῖ, rarely τόκα beside τότε (and only δτε, ποτε), and never κα, πᾶτος, (F)ῖκατι, 3 sg. ἦς, 1 pl. -μες, but only the Att.-Ion. ᾶν (or Aeol. κε(v)), πᾶτος, εἰκοσι, ἦν, -μεν.

Aeolic features, occurring also in Homer, are κε(v) = ᾶν, the double nasals in ἄμμες, etc., κλεωνός (both P. and B.), perf. pple. with ντ (πεφρίκοντας etc.). Specific Lesbian, in Pindar regularly Μοῖσα, φέροισα, etc., frequently 3 pl. -οιοι (in B. only Μοῖσα beside Μοῦσα).

Pindar has a few cases of ἐν with acc., sometimes attributed to his native Boeotian. But Delphian influence is perhaps more probable. There is no clear evidence that the poet's language was affected by his local dialect.

8. ᾱ most consistently in broad categories which could have only ᾱ in Doric, as the endings of ᾱ-nouns of the first declension, non-present tenses and derivatives of verbs in -ᾱω, suffix -τάς, -τάτος, personal endings -μαν, -σθων. In individual words Doric ᾱ usually retained, as μάτηρ, ἄδύς, φάμα, but occasionally Att.-Ion. η (at least in our texts, and need not be rejected), as φῆμα (B.), which, though a hybrid form, is not stylistically offensive beside genuine Doric ἦμα.

13. Non-Doric ἱερός (but σκιαρός), "Ἀρτεμις, ὅτε, ποτε, τότε, rarely τόκα, never κα, γα.—25. εἰ, ου, not η, ω.—41.1. Att.-Ion. ᾱ, not Dor. η, as νικᾶν, νικᾶι, τιμᾶι, σολᾶται, etc.—41.2. τιμῶντες, etc.—φᾶος, σάφρων (B.) and σάφρων.—41.3. ἄελιος, ἄλιος.—41.4. Gen. sg. masc. -ᾶ, sometimes -ᾱο (P.), gen. pl. -ᾶν, ᾶς, Ποσειδάων, Ποσειδάν, λᾶός (but Μενέλας, etc.), νᾶός, ᾶός, ξυνᾶνες, ξυνᾶνα, ὀπᾶων, κοινᾶνι, etc.—42.1. ἔτα, βέλεα, etc., rarely -η. κᾶρ, ἔαρ, ἦρος (P.).—42.3, 4. τρεῖς, φιλεῖ, etc.—42.5. εο or εω, as gen. sg. -εος, -εως, φιλέοντα, φιλεῦντας.—42.6. φιλέων, etc.—43. βασιλῆς, etc., also Ἀχιλλῆος, etc.—49.2, 4. τράφω, τράχω, τᾶμνω.—52. Former F mostly ignored in prosody, but sometimes effective, especially in the case of reflexive οἰ.—53. Once ἀνάταν for ἀ(F)άταν.—54. μόνος, κόρα, ὄρος and less commonly μῶνος, κούρα, οὔρος.—61. ἐφίητι, φέροντι, etc. (beside Lesb. or Ion. σ-forms, see below, to 138.4), τῦ (beside σύ), but εἰκοσι, Ποσειδάν (once perhaps Ποσειδᾶνος).—68.2. φῆρ.—76. Lesb. ἄμμες, etc., κλεωνός, κελεδενός.—77.3. Lesb. Μοῖσα, in Pindar regularly φέροισα, etc., and frequently 3 pl. -οιοι.—82, 83. ὄσσοι, ὄσσοι, τέλεσσαι, τελέσαι, etc.—89.7. ἔσολος (P.).—88. γλέφαρον.—94. κῆν, κῆκ, κῶτι, etc.—95. ᾶν frequent, rarely παρ, κατ, περ, as πᾶρ ποδός, πᾶρ χειρός, πᾶρ φρῶν, κᾶν νόμον, πᾶρ ποδός, περ' αὐτάς.—102. ν movable frequent.

105-6. Gen. sg. masc. -ᾶ, sometimes -ᾱο, gen. pl. -ᾶν, dat. pl. -αῖς, -αῖσι.—106. Gen. sg. -ου, also frequently Hom. -οιο, dat. pl. -οις, -οιοι.—107.3. πόδεσσι, etc. frequent.—109.1. -ις, -ιος, etc.—111. -εῦς, -ῆος, and -έος.—114.5. πᾶτος, not Dor. πᾶτος, εἰκοσι, not Dor. (F)ῖκατι.—118. ἐγώ, ἐγών, τῦ and σύ; gen. σέο, σέθεν; dat. ἐμοί, μοι, σοί, τίν, οἰ, ἴν (?) ; acc. ἐμέ, με, σε, ἐ, νιν.—120. τέος, ἐός, and σός, ὄς; ἄμός, ὕμός, σφός, and ἀμύτερος, etc.—122. ταί, τοί, and αἰ, οἰ.—126. Art. as rel. frequent.—132.11. ὅτε, ποτε, τότε, rarely τόκα.—134.1. εἰ, never αἰ.—134.2. ᾶν and κε, κεν, never κα.—135.4. ἐς, εἰς, and rarely ἐν in Pindar.—135.5. πεδά beside usual μετά.—135.6. ποτί beside πρός.—136.7. ἀμφοῖ frequent.—138.2. ἐφίητι, but τίθησι, διδῶσι.—138.3. -μεν, not -μεις.—138.4. In Pindar ἐντί, φαντί, φέροντι, etc. usually, but also Lesb. -οιοι(v). In B. usually -οιοι(v), rarely -οντι.—138.5. ἔβαν, τίθεν, φάνεν, etc.—142. κατεφάμμεν, παῖδνα, etc. (beside forms with σσ, σ).—142a. ὀρνίχων.—147.2. γεγάκειν, κεχλάδειν.—147.3. πεφρίκοντας, κεχλάδοντας.—153.1. -ειν.—154. -μεν, also -μεναι, -ναι.—161.2a. πονᾶω.—162.7. ἰσᾶμι = οἰδα. λέω = ἰσᾶμι.—163. ἐντί, ἦς.

Pindar ἐντί, once εἰσίν, in B. εἰσί. 3 sg. imperf. ἦν, not ἦς.—164.4. τεθμός, τεθμός.—162.12. πᾶμα, πέπαται.

THEOCRITUS

Cf. Magnien, Le syracusain littéraire, et l'idylle XV de Théocrite, MSL 21.49 ff. A. S. F. Gow, Theocritus edited with introduction and commentary (1950) pp. LXXI ff.

The Sicilian literary Doric that appears in the scanty fragments of Epicharmus and Sophron and in the corrupt texts of other Sicilian and Italiot writers, but is best known from Theocritus, is based mainly on the Doric of Syracuse, though most of its characteristics are common to other Doric dialects. Its striking difference from the language of Pindar is due not so much to Sicilian peculiarities, though there are some, as to its much more thoroughgoing adherence to Doric.

Theocritus imitated various literary dialects, the epic (XII, XXII), the Lesbian lyric (XXVIII-XXX), the mild Doric of the choral lyric (XVI-XVIII, XXIV). But most of the poems are in the fuller Doric, based mainly on the Sicilian Doric of Epicharmus and Sophron and of his native Syracuse, but with many epic forms (ᾶν, κε, εἰ, ν movable, gen. sg. -οιο, ἄμμες, ἐπέσσοι, etc.) and the Lesb. Μοῖσα, ἔχοισα, etc. It is to these poems that the following summary applies.

8. ᾱ regularly. Rarely Att.-Ion. η, as in Hom. phrase βίην καὶ χάρος. Hyper-Doric ᾱ in ἄμμις (but this in a Lesbian poem), other cases doubtful.—13. Epic ἱερός (ἱαρός in Epich., Sophron), but σκιαρός, κα, γα, ὄκα, etc.—25. η and εἰ, mostly ω but also ου, with great fluctuation in MSS., e.g. ἦνθε, ἡμεν, εἰμές, gen. sg. -ω, κῶρα, κούρα.—41.1 ὀρῆτε etc.—41.2. Normal Dor. ω in ὀρών, σιγᾶντι, περῶμενοι, etc. Hyper-Dor. ᾱ in 2 sg. aor. ἐπάξα, ἐκτάσα of some MSS.—41.4. ᾶς, gen. sg. -ᾶ, also epic -ᾱο, gen. pl. -ᾶν, etc.—42.1. ἄνθεα, etc., but 2 sg. mid. -η from -εαι.—42.3, 4. εὐμενέας, φιλεῖ, etc., but usually contraction.—42.5. εο or εω, gen. -εος, -εως, ἐόντα, εὔντα, etc.—42.6. ἐών, φιλέων, but fut. δοκῶ, ἀζῶ, etc.—43. βασιλῆος, etc. (also -εος).—44.3. ἄθρως = ἄθροος, gen. sg. -ω.—52, 53. No F.—54. κῶρα (κούρα), μῶνα and κῶρα, μῶνα.—61. εἰκατι, τῦ, πλατίον, τίθητι, ἐντί, etc.—72. ἦνθον, βέντιστος.—77.3. Lesb. Μοῖσα, ἔχοισα, etc.—82, 83. ὄσσοι, ὄσσοι, ἐσσεται, etc.—84. ζ and σδ.—89.5a. μικρός.—94. κῆν, κῆς, κῶνι, etc.—95. ᾶν, πᾶρ, πέρ, κατ, πότ.—102. ν movable frequent.—104.5. Gen. sg. masc. -ᾶ (rarely epic -ᾱο), gen. pl. -ᾶν, dat. pl. -αῖς, -αῖσι(v), acc. pl. -ᾶς frequent.—106. Gen. sg. -ω (and epic -οιο), dat. pl. -οις, -οιοι(v), acc. pl. -ως, sometimes -ος.—107.3. πάντεσσι, etc., also epic ἐπεσσοι(v).—111. βασιλῆος, etc. (and -εος).—114, 116. πᾶτος, τέτορες, εἰκατι (cf. Heracl. φαίκατι).—118. Nom. τῦ; gen. ἐμεῦς, μευ, τεῦς, τευ, σέθεν; dat. ἐμίν, μοι, τίν, τοι, οἰ; acc. τῦ, τέ, τίν, νιν.—119. Lesb. ἄμμες, ὕμμες, etc.—120. τέος, ἐός, ἄμός.—122. τοί, ταί, and οἰ, αἰ.—125. τῆνος.—129.2 ὅττι.—132.2. τῆνι.—132.5. πᾶι, πανταί.—132.7. πῆ, ὀπη. τῆδε.—132.8. ὦ, τῆνῶ, τῆνῶθε.—132.11. ὄκα, πόκα, τόκα, ὄκα.—133.4. ἐνδύ.—134.1. αἰ and εἰ.—134.2. κα, ᾶν, and κε(v).—135.6. ποτί, rarely πρός.

138. 2 sg. σπιδῶς etc., beside usual -εις. 3 sg. τίθητι, προίητι. 1 pl. λέγομες, etc. 3 pl. ἐντί, φαντί, λέγοντι, etc.—141. ἐσσεῖται and ἐσσεται, οἰσεῖται and οἰσεται, etc.—142. χαρίζη, ἐργάζη, θεοπίξασα, etc.—142a. κλαῖξ.—143. γελάσσαι.—147.1. δεδοίκω, πεποθῆις, πεφύκει, etc.—153. -ειν (or -ην) and -εν.—154. θέμεν, ἡμεν, etc.—157. Once ποθόρημι with Lesb. type.—159. πεινᾶντι, γελᾶντι, παρελᾶντι, (ὀπ-ᾶντες Epich.).—161.2. ποθορεῦσα, συλεῦμενος.—161.2a. ἐξεπόνασαν.—162.6, 7. ἰσᾶμι = οἰδα. λέω = ἰσᾶμι.—163. ἐντί, ἦς.

4. Kirchhoff, Studien zur Geschichte des griechischen Alphabets, 4th ed. Roberts, Introduction to Greek Epigraphy, I. Rehm, Die Schrift des

griechischen Kreises, in Müller's Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft VI.6.191 f. Hiller v. Gaertringen in Ebert, Reallexicon der Vorgeschichte II.357 ff. Falkner, Zur Frühgeschichte des griechischen Alphabets, in Brandenstein's Frühgeschichte und Sprachwissenschaft 110 ff.

Facsimiles of archaic inscriptions in Roberts, and Roehl, Imagines inscriptionum graecarum antiquissimarum. Photographs in Kern, Inscriptiones Graecae.

Kirchoff's map needs some revision in detail, e.g., Rhodes should be colored red. Cf. Wiedemann, Klio 8.523 ff., 9.364.

The Phoenician alphabet, now known from about 1000 B.C., was adopted and adapted to Greek speech. The significant innovation, one common to all the local alphabets, was the use of Phoenician consonant signs to express the five Greek vowels. The increase from 22 to 23 letters is due to the fact that the Phoenician wau is represented by two letters, (1) the F, based on a variant form, but with the original consonantal value and position in the alphabet, (2) the Y corresponding to the usual Phoenician form, but given vowel value and placed at the end of the alphabet. The four Phoenician signs for sibilants were taken over, but without stabilization in use (S or M = σ, I and Ξ with varying values).

The origin of the supplementary letters, Φ, Χ, Ψ, has been widely discussed, without decisive results. But it is generally agreed that both Χ and Ψ have originally guttural value, and it is highly probable that the ψ is based on a form of the Phoenician kaph (it agrees precisely with the kaph-form of the earliest Phoenician inscription), the source of K.

In view of the agreement in the use of the Phoenician consonant signs to express the vowels we can scarcely escape the conclusion that the adaptation was made at some particular time and place. For the time estimates have varied by several centuries, but the probability is that it should be placed sometime in the course of the ninth century B.C. The earliest records were very likely on perishable material, such as merchants' accounts on papyrus. Some interval must have elapsed between the original adaptation and the time of the earliest inscriptions on pottery or stone. The Dipylon vase, on which is inscribed the earliest known Attic inscription (with the only example of the reclining alpha, like the Phoenician aleph but already with the supplementary X) is now ascribed to the first half of the eighth century B.C., and somewhat later but still in that century the inscribed sherds from Hymettus and some from Corinth and elsewhere. The scrawls on the rocks at Thera, though undatable, are clearly among the oldest specimens of Greek writing. As to the place of origin, one can say no more than that one naturally thinks of some one of the islands most accessible to Phoenician commerce.

The belief that the Greek alphabet must have had its birth at a given time and place does not exclude the possibility that, under continued familiarity with the Phoenician alphabet in other places, some of the variant letter forms in local alphabets may be based on Phoenician variants.

Some of the striking variants in letter forms are the following:

- A. α ("reclining alpha") Athens (Dipylon vase). α ("four-barred alpha") usual in Boeotia, occasional elsewhere as in Locris (so no. 57), etc.
B. α Crete. α , α , α Thera. α Corinth. α , α Argos. α Selinus, Melos.
C. α , α , α , α , α , α (this last in Ach. colonies).
D. α frequent in Boeotia. α Corinth, Corcyra, Acarnania, Cleonae, Megara. α Sicyon.

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In the alphabetical arrangement the presence of F is ignored, in order to obviate the separation of the many forms which occur with and without it. Thus (F)ίκατι, i.e., Fίκατι or ίκατι, and να(F)ός in the position of ναός. ϣ stands in the position of κ.

For inflectional forms the conventional captions (nom. sg., 1 sg. pres. indic.) are sometimes substituted, and in these the transcription which we have employed for forms occurring in the epichoric alphabets is frequently replaced by the more familiar spelling, e.g., ε, δ, η, by η, ω, or Cret. π, κ, by φ, χ. But the precise form occurring is sometimes retained as a caption, or added, or given separately with a cross-reference. Brevity and convenience in each case have been preferred to consistency.

The references are: numbers in bold faced type, to the sections of the Grammar; otherwise to the numbers of the inscriptions.

α = α. 58a
αFάταται Lac. 53
αβέλιος Cret. = ήλιος. 41.3, 54
αβλοπία Cret. = αβλαβία. 49.3, 66
αγαίος Delph. No. 52 D 38, note
αγαλμα. No. 37, note
αγαλματοφώρ El. = ιερόσυλος. 107.1
άγανον Boeot., meaning? No. 39
άγαρρις West Ion. 'assembly.' 49.2, 80 with α
'Αγασιλέφω Eub. = 'Αγασίλω. 41.4, 53
άγροφά Epid. 49.2
άγέλαι Cret., 'bands' in which the Cretan youth were trained
άγέλαοι Cret., 'ephebi.' 31, no. 120.11, note
άγερσις East Ion., 'assembly.' 49.2
'Αγλαο-, 'Αγλω-. 41.2
άγνέω = άγω. 162.1
άγορά Delph., Thess. = έκκλησία
άγορανομέω Thess., 'preside over the assembly,' like Att. έπιστατέω. See preceding. In other states the άγορανόμοι were officers in charge of the 'market' etc.
άγόρασσις Boeot. 164.3
άγρέω Lesb., El., άγρέω Thess. (58c) = αίρέω. 162.2
άγχιστεδαν Locr. 133.7

άδε, άδε 'in this way.' 132.6
άδεαλωήατε El. from άδεαλώω = άδηλώω, άφανίζω. 59.3, 152.4, no. 65.12, note
άδελφός = άδελφός. 164.30
άδευπιαί Cret. = άδελαί. 71, 164.9
άδηλώω Heracl. 'make invisible'
άδηνέως 'without fraud, plainly.'
Chian άδηνέως γεγωνέοντες 'calling out plainly,' no. 4 B. Cf. Hesych. άδηνέως· άδόλως, άπλως, χωρίς βουλήs
άδος, δ Ion. 'decree.' See άνδάνω
άέλιος = ήλιος. 41.3
άζαθός Cyp. = άζαθός. 62.2
άζετώ Delph. 'convict.' No. 55.17, note
άζωστος Cret. 'ungirded,' epithet of the ephebes. No. 120.11/12, note
'Αθαββος Delph. = 'Αθαμβος 69.3
αί West Greek, Aeol. = εί. 134.1, 2c
αί = ή adv. 132.5
αί Lesb., άί Arc., αί Ion., άίν Thess. = αεί. 133.6
αίδαμος Ion. 133.6
αίφει Cyp., Phoc. = αεί. 53, 133.6
αίλω Cret. = αίρέω. 12
αίλος Cyp. = έλλος. 74 b
αίλότρια El. = έλλότρια. 74 b

- F. α , α Crete. α Pamphylia and some Cretan towns (see 51b). α Chalcis, Corcyra, Thessaly, Boeotia, E frequent in Boeotia, sometimes elsewhere.
H. α early, α Cnidus. α (source of α , α) Heraclea, rarely Cumae. Elis, Sicyon, Epidaurus.
Θ. α , α , α Rarely α , α , α .
I. α , α , α Athens (Dipylon vase), Crete, Thera, etc. α Corinth.
A. α Athens (but α Dipylon vase), Chalcis, Boeotia, East Locris (also Crete, no. 116). α Crete, Thera, Melos, Naxos, Corinth, Corcyra, West Locris, Elis, Thessaly.
M. Early α . α Mantinea.
E. α Argos, Amorgos. α Etruscan abcdaria. α Naxos (probably; see no. 6). α Pamphylia.
O. α Delos, Paros, Thasos, Siphnos. α Melos, Cnidus.
Π. α , α Thera, Boeotia, etc. α Crete.
M (san) = α . Crete, Thera, Melos, Sicinos, Corinth, Corcyra, Sicyon, Argolis (also α), Locris (once beside α in no. 59), α = α Mantinea.
T = α Halicarnassus, Teos, Ephesus, Erythrae, Cyzicus, Naucratis, Selinus. α = α Pamphylia.
Σ. α Athens, Euboea, Boeotia, Elis, etc. α Laconia, Abu-Symbol.
X. α Locris, Phocis, Thessaly, Boeotia, Arcadia, Selinus.
 α = α . α Locris. Arcadia. α Elis, Laconia. α = α Melos, Thera.

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αιμάτιον Coan, etc. 'coagulated blood and meat, sausage-meat.' Cf. Hesych. αιμάτια· άλλάντια
αιμίονος Lesb. = ήμίονος. 17
αίμιους Lesb. = ήμισυς. 17, 61.5
αίν Thess. = αεί. 133.6
αίνος 'decree.' No. 99.4, note
αίρεθές Ther. = αίρεθείς. 78
αίσα 'share.' 191
αίσμνάτας, αίσμνώντες Meg. = αίσμνήτης, etc. 20, 258
άκεύω Cret. 'take care of, act as guardian.' Cf. άκεί· τηρεί. Κύπριοι Hesych.
Fακίνθια Arg. = 'Yακίνθια. 52 c
άκυόρ late Lac. = άσός. 86.3 b
άκρατής Ion. = άκυρος. Cf. καρτερός
άκρόθις Delph. = άκροθίνιον. No. 52 D 47, note
άκρος Corcyra. = άκρος. 58 c
ήακροσκιρίαι Heracl. 'heights covered with brushwood.' 58 c
άφλανέος El. 'wholly, in full.' 55, no. 64.4, note
άλία 'assembly.' (1) Delph. (no. 52), used of the meeting of the phratry; (2) Acarn., Corcyra, Heracl., Gela, Agrig., Rheg. = έκκλησία. 55
άλιαία 'assembly.' Arc., Arg., Mycen, Nemea
άλιασμα 'decree.' Gela, Agrig., Rheg.
άλιασσις Arg. 'act of the άλιαία.' 164.3
άλιασταί Arc., in form = Att. ήλιασταί, but title of Tegean officials who enforced penalties etc. (no. 19.23)
άλινσις Epid. 'stuccoing.' 77.3 a
άλιος Dor., έλλιος Lesb. = ήλιος. 41.3
Fαλλισκομαι Thess. = έλλισκομαι. 52 c, 89.1
άλλα Lesb. 'elsewhere.' 132.6
άλλάξω Locr. = έλλάσσω. 84 a
άλλαί Cret., Corcyra. 'otherwise.' 132.5
άλλεϊ 132.2
άλλη 'elsewhere.' 132.7
άλλοπολία Cret. = έλλοδημία. Cf. Cret. πόλις = δήμος
άλλόττερος Lesb. = έλλότριος. 19.2
άλλόττερος Cret. 89.2
άλλυ Arc. = έλλο. 22
άλλυι Lesb. 'elsewhere.' 132.4
άλλύω Cret. = αναλύω 'ransom'

άλφον Cyp. Sicil. έλος (ά), Arc. έλων (ά) 'plot of cultivated land, plantation.' Cf. Att. έλως, Hom. έλωή. No. 23.9, note
άλοργής Ion. 167
άλωμα Boeot. = άνάλωμα. 164.8
ήμα Lac. 132.6
ήμα Boeot. = άμμα (?). No. 39
άμάρα Locr., Delph. = ήμέρα. 12, 58 b
'Αμάριος Ach. 12
άμβόλιμος 'adjourned.' Arg.
άμβρο[ό]την Lesb. = άμαρτείν. 5, 49.2a
άμει Delph. = όμοι. 132.2
άμέν late Cret. = ήμεις. 119.2a
άμέρα with lenis. 58b
άμές, άμές. 57, 58b, 76, 119
άμιθρέω Ion. = άριθμέω. 88
άμμες, άμμε Lesb., άμμέ Thess. = ήμεις, ήμέας. 76, 119
άμόνιον Delph. 'penalty for delay.' From άναμένω. Cf. Hom. καμμονή = καταμονή
άμοιFά Corinth. = άμοιβή. 51a
άμ- in early Cretan words, see under άμφ-
άμπεση Arc., aor. subj. of άνα-πείθω. No. 22.60, note
άμπελωργικός Heracl. 167
άμπώλημα Heracl. 'rebate.' Heracl. Tab. I.108 ff., note
άμφοινομαι Cret. (e.g. άμπαίνε-θαι, άμπανάμενος, άμπανάμενος, άμπαντος, άμπαντος) 'adopt'
άμφανσις Cret. (άμπανσιν) 'adoption' (act of). 77.3a
άμφαντός Cret. (άμπαντός) 'adoption' (condition of, i.e., state of being an adopted son)
άμφεικός 'day after the twentieth.' Coan, Ther.
άμφι. 136.7
άμφίδημα Cret. 'ornament,' gen. sg. άμψιδέμας. 112.5
'Αμφικτίονες, -κτίονες. 20
άμφιλέγω, άμφιλόγος. 76a
άμφοιμωλέω, άμφοίμωλος Cret., see μωλέω
άμφισταμαι Heracl. 'investigate.' Cf. Hesych. άμψιστασθαι· έξετάζειν
άν = άνά. 95
άν Arc. = δ άν. 58d
ήάν Arc. = άν. 58d
άνάτορ El., see άνατος
Fάναξ = άναξ. 52
άνασηθής Arc., see άσηθής

ἀνατος 'immune from punishment.' El. ἀνάτορ, Locr. adv. ἀνάτο(ς). 53
 ἀνδάνω = δοκέω 'be approved, voted.' 162.3
 ἀνδιχάζω Locr. 'be of divided opinion.' Cf. Hdt. 6.109 διχα γίγνεται αἱ γνώμαι
 ἀνδρεφονικός Locr. = ἀνδρο-. 167
 ἀνδρήιος Cret.; ἀνδρός Delph. 164.1
 ἀνέθαν, ἀνέθαν = ἀνέθεσαν. 9.2, 138.5
 ἀνεκλήτως Delph. = ἀνεκλή-
 τως. 69.3
 ἀνελεσθω Lac. = ἀνελεσθων. 140.3b
 ἀνεπίγραφος Heracl. = -γραφος. 49.2
 ἀνέσκη Lac. = ἀνέσκη. 64
 ἀνευν Epid. = ἀνευ. 133.6
 ἀνευς El. = ἀνευ. 133.6, 136.4
 ἀνθεώσθαι Heracl., from ἀνθήμι. 146.3
 ἀνηρίθευτος Ion. = ἀνεριθευτος 'not venal.' 167a
 ἀνιοχίω Lac. = ἡνιοχέω. 9.8
 ἀνις Mess., etc. 133.6
 ἀννίωμα Cret. = ἀρνέομαι. 86.5
 ἀνοσίγαια Cyp. 'impiety.' No. 23.29
 ἀνπ- in early Cretan words, see under ἀμφ-
 ἀνταποδιδῶσα El. = -διδῶσα. 89.4
 ἀντι. 136.8
 ἀντιγραφον Cret., Anaph. = ἀν-
 τιγραφον. 49.2
 ἀντιμῶλος Cret. 'opponent, de-
 fendant,' see μωλέω
 ἀντιτυγχάνω Arg., Boeot., Delph.,
 Lac. = παρατυγχάνω 'happen to
 be present,' or 'in office' (so
 nos. 45, 84)
 ἀντομος Heracl. 'road, path'
 ἀντόρος Heracl. 'counter-bound-
 ary'
 ἀντρέιον Cret. = ἀνδρέιον. 62.2
 ἀντροπος Cret., Pamph. = ἀνθρω-
 πος. 66
 ἀνφάταρος Locr. = ἀμφότερος. 12
 ἀνώγω Cyp. 191
 ἀνωθα Heracl. = ἀνωθεν. 133.1
 ἀνωθεσίη Ion. 157c
 ἀνός Cret., Thess. = ἄωρος
 ἀξιάω Lesb. (ἀξιάσει) = ἀξιώω.
 161.5, ἀξίω Calym. 159a
 ἀξιοδότας Locr. No. 59b, note
 αἰτός East Ion. = αὐτός. 33
 ἀπ Thess. = ἀπό. 95

ἀπαγορεύω Cret. 'proclaim'
 ἀπατος Cret. = ἀνάτος, used im-
 personally, e.g., ἀγοντι ἀπατον
 ἔμην 'there shall be no fine for
 the one who seizes.' 53
 Ἀπελῶν Cyp. = Ἀπόλλων. 49.3,
 74b
 ἀπελάδονται Locr. 159
 ἀπελευθερίζω Delph., Thess. =
 ἀπελευθερόω. 161.4, Thess. ἀπε-
 λευθερεσθένσα, 18, 77.3
 ἀπέλλα. Lac. = ἐκκλησία. Cf.
 Ἀπελλαίος, name of a month.
 Ἀπέλλαι Delph., name of a
 festival corresponding to the
 Attic Ἀπατούρια
 ἀπελλαία Delph. 'victims for the
 Ἀπέλλαι'
 ἀπέλλω Lesb. = ἀπειλέω. 75
 Ἀπέλλων = Ἀπόλλων. 49.3
 ἀπεσσοῦσα Lac. 145b
 ἀπέταιρος Cret. 'one who is not a
 member of a εἰσαφεία.' 117.11.5,
 note
 ἀπεχομίνος Arc. = -μένους. 10
 Ἀπλουν Thess. = Ἀπόλλων. 49.3
 ἀποδεδῶσθαι Boeot. = -δεδῶκασι.
 138.4, 146.1
 ἀποδείγνυσθαι Eretr. = -δείκνυ-
 σθαι. 66
 ἀποδόσαι El. = ἀποδοῦσθαι. 85.2
 ἀπόδρομος Cret. 'a minor.' See
 δρομεύς
 ἀποφελέω El. = ἀπειλέω. 75
 ἀπολιήνω Boeot. 162.10
 ἀπολογίτταστη Boeot. = ἀπολογί-
 σασθαι 82, 85.1, 142
 ἀπομωλέω Cret. 'contend in denial,
 deny.' See μωλέω
 ἀποπιπράσκω 'sell,' Lesb., Ion.,
 etc.
 ἀποστράψαι Delph. = ἀποστρέψαι.
 49.2
 ἀποτίνοιαν El. = ἀποτίνοισιν. 12a
 ἀποτος Coan = ἀοιτος. No. 108.35,
 note
 ἀποφορά Coan 'carrying off'
 ἀποφώνέω Cret. (ἀποφῶνιοι, etc.)
 'bear witness.' See φωνέω
 ἀπασάμενος Boeot. = ἀνακτησά-
 μενος. 69.4, 162.12
 ἀππεισάτου Thess. = ἀποτεισάτω.
 68.2
 ἀπύ Arc., Cyp., Lesb., Thess. =
 ἀπό. 22
 ἀπυδία Arc. = ἀποδέει. 9.5
 ἀπυδόας Arc. = ἀποδούς. 144

ἀπυδόσιμος Arc. 'for sale.' No.
 18.28, note
 ἀπυδοσμός Arc. = ἀπόδοσις 'pay-
 ment.' 164.4
 ἀπυλιώναι Arc. 'smooth out, settle
 (?)'. 162.10
 ἀπυσεδομίν[ος] Arc. = ἀποδεδομέ-
 νος. 10, 68.3a
 ἀπυτείω Arc. See τίνω
 ἀπύω Arc. 'summon' = poet. ἡπύω,
 191
 ἀπώματος Cret. 'under oath of
 denial'
 ἄρατρον Cret. = ἄροτρον. 161.5
 ἄράω Heracl. (ἄράσσοντι) = ἄρώω.
 161.5
 Φαργάναι Delph. = Ἐργάνη. 12
 Φάργον El. = ἔργον. 12
 ἀργύριος Lesb. = ἀργύρεος. 164.6.
 Lesb. ἀργύρα, 19.4, Thess. ἀργύρ-
 ρος. 19.3
 ἀρέσιμον Phoc. 'fee, perquisite.'
 From ἀρέσκω
 ἡαρέσαι Locr. = ἐλέσθαι. 12, 85.1
 Φαρήν Cret. = ἀρήν (Att. inscr.),
 nom. of ἀρόης. 52
 ἄφρετευς, ἀρήτευς Arg. 55 with δ
 Ἀρίσταρχος Coan. 69a
 ἀριστίνδαν Locr. 133.7
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 Hesych. ἀρτυμα 'διαθήκη, and
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 ἄσιστα El., Lac. = ἀγγίστα. 113.3.
 Lac. τοῖ ἀσιστα πόθικες, El. τοῖρ
 ἐπ' ἄσιστα 'those next of kin.'
 Cf. Cret. οἱ ἐπ' ἀνχίστα πεπαμένοι
 'the nearest owners,' Locr. ἐπ' ἀν-
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ἀφεδριατεύω Boeot. 'serve as ἀφε-
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 41, note
 ἀφερξόγνι Heracl. 'shut off' (water
 by damming). No. 79.130 ff., note
 ἀφρώσθω Arc., from ἀφήμι. 146.3
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 νων. 158
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 ἀφωνος Heracl. 'intestate'
 ἀχι Dor. 'where.' 132.6
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 chaff.' Cf. Hesych. ἀχυρος ὁ ἀχυ-
 ρῶν. ἀχυροδόκη· ἀποθήκη τῶν
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 βάρναμαι = μάρναμαι. 88
 βασιλᾶς El. = βασιλῆς. 15
 βασιλεύς official title in many
 states. In some the chief magis-
 trate; in others restricted to
 religious functions, like the ἄρχων
 βασιλεύς at Athens, e.g., at Chios
 (no. 4 C) and Miletus; βασιλεῖς
 an official body, e.g., in Mytilene
 (no. 26) and Elis (no. 61)
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 Heracl. ἐπιβῆι, Cyp. παρβεῶντα,
 also ἐκβεῶντας Thuc. 5.77
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 ἐπειτε, ἐπειτεν Ion. = Att. ἐπειτα. 132.11

ἐπελάω = ἐπελάνω. 159. Coan ἐπελάντω 'drive up,' but Heracl. ἐπελάσθω and Arc. ἐπελασάσθων mean 'collect, enforce' (fines). Cf. also Arg. ποτελάτω 'enforce,' Ion. ἐνλάσιον 'rental'
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 ἐπί Boeot. = ἐπεῖ. 29
 Φέπια Cypr. = ἐπεα. 9.3
 ἐπίαρον El. = *ἐπίερον 'sacred penalty'
 ἐπιατές ('πιατές) Locr. 'for the year.' No. 57.35, note
 ἐπιβάλλων Cret., short expression for ὡς ἐπιβάλλει. Sometimes = ὡς ἐπιβάλλει (τὰ χρήματα), i.e., 'heir-at-law'; sometimes ὡς ἐπιβάλλει (ὁπυῖεν), i.e., 'groom-elect'
 ἐπιβήι Heracl., see βάω
 ἐπιθεῖ Boeot. = ἐπειδή. 29
 ἐπιδημῶριν Eretr. = ἐπιδημῶσιν. 60.3
 ἐπιδικατοῖ Lac. = οἷς ἐπιδικάζεται 'those to whom property is adjudged by law, heirs-at-law.' No. 70. For -ατός cf. θαυματός beside θαυμαστός
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 ἐπιθειάνε Arc. = ἐπιθιγγάνη. 62.3
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 ἐπιουδομά Heracl., collective, used of the buildings belonging to the land. No. 79.150, note

ἐπίφουκος Locr. = ἐποικος
 ἐπιπῆν Epid. = καταπάσσειν. Cf. Hesych. πῆ καὶ πῆν ἐπὶ τοῦ κατά- πασσε καὶ καταπάσσειν
 ἐπιτηράω Cret. (ἐπιπῆρεται) = πει-ράω
 ἐπίποκος 'unshorn' Coan. (also LXX)
 ἐπιπόλαια χρήματα Cret. 'movable property.' Cf. Harpocration ἐπι-πλα· τὴν οἶον ἐπιπόλαιον κτήσιν καὶ μετακομίζεσθαι δυναμένην
 ἐπιπρίγιστος Cret. 'the next oldest.' See πρίγιστος
 ἐπισκεάζω Corcyt. = ἐπισκευάζω 36
 ἐπισπένδω Cret. 'solemnly promise.' Cf. Lat. *spondeo*. ἐπέσπεν-σε, 77.3
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 ἐπιχύτας Arg. = ἐπίχυσι; 'beaker.' No. 87
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 ἐποικία, τὰ Heracl. 'farm buildings'
 ἐποισέ Arc., aor. subj. to fut. οἶσω. No. 18.21, note
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 ἐρανεσται Ach. = -ισται. 18b
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 Φεφρέμενα Arg. = εἰρημένα. 55
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 Φεσπάριος Locr. = ἐσπέριος. 21, 52d
 ἐσπεράω Arc. = ἐκπεράω 'transgress' 100
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 εὐχολά Arc.-Cypr. 'prayer of imprecation.' 191
 Ἐφαβος pseudo-dial. = ἐφηβος. 280
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διορθωτήρ Corcyt. = -τής. 164.5
 διοῦο Boeot. = δῖο. 24
 διπλεῖ Cret., Heracl. 132.2
 διπλεῖος Locr., Cret. = διπλός
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 διφουιος, ζίφουιος, El. = διπλάσιος. 62.2
 δίωρος Arc. 'having two boundaries.' 54c
 δόγμα 'decree,' usually that of a league, council, or selected body, as distinguished from the decree by popular vote, the ψήφισμα
 δοφέναι Cypr. = δοῦναι. 154.1
 δόκημα Arg. = δόγμα. No. 87
 δοκιμάδω Boeot. = δοκιμάζω. 84
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 δωδέκα Boeot. = δωδέκα. 24
 δρίφος Syrac. = δίφρος. 70.2
 δρομεύς Cret. 'one who is of age.' Boys under seventeen were not allowed to enter the gymnasias, which the Cretans called δρόμοι, and so were termed ἀπόδρομοι
 δυφάνω Cypr. = δίδωμι. 162.5
 δύγαστρον Boeot. = ζύγαστρον. 84
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 δωδεκα, δωδεκα = δώδεκα. 115
 δωδεκαῖς, δωδεκαῖς Delph. = Ion. δωδεκαῖς 'sacrifice consisting of twelve victims'
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 δῶλα, δῶλος Dor. = δούλη, δούλος. 25f
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 ἐγγροφος Cret. = ἐγγροφος. 49.2
 ἐγδοτή Argol., Lac.; ἐσοτήρ Att. 'one who lets the contract.' 164.5
 ἐγεντο = ἐγένετο. No. 80, note
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 ἐγκτασις = ἐγκησις. 162.12a
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 ἐδοῦκαεμ Thess., ἐδώκαιν Delph. = ἐδωκαν. 138.5
 ἐδραμα Epid. = ἐδρα. Cf. the rare ἐδρασμα
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 Φειζός El. = εἰδός. 62.2
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 εἰκοιστος Lesb. = εἰκοστός. 20a, 77.2, 116 with a
 εἰλύτα Boeot.; ἐλλύτα Ther. 'a kind of cake'
 εἰλω εἰλέω. 75
 εἰμάτιον, εἰματισμός = ἱμάτιον, etc. 25e
 εἰμειν Rhod. = εἰναι. 163.7. εἰμ-μειν 89.4
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 Φειπ- (Cret. Φεῖποντι, etc.) = εἰπ-. 52
 εἶρην Lac., also τριτίρενες. Nos. 75-78, note
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 ἐκασσα Cyren. = ἐκούσα. 163.8a
 Φέκαστος, ἐκαστος. 52b
 Φεκατέρη. 132.7
 ἐκατέρω Coan, adv. 'on each side of.' 132.8a
 Φεκέδαμος Thess. 46, 52b
 ἐκκλημα Locr. = ἐγκλημα. 69.3

Φεφόντας Locr. = ἐκόντας. 52
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 ἐκτιμασέντι Cyren. 42.5e
 ἐλάτω, ἐλάντω Coan 159
 ἐλαύθερος late Delph. = ἐλευθε-ρος. 33a
 ἐλεξε = εἶπε. So regularly in Boeotian and Thessalian decrees, where Attic and most dialects have εἶπε. Also Argive.
 ηελέσται Locr. = ἐλέσθαι. 85.1
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 ἐμέος Dor. = ἐμοῦ. 118.3
 ἐμετρίωμες Heracl. = ἐμετροῦμεν. 9.6, 42.5b
 ἐμίν W. Grk. = ἐμοί. 118.4
 ἐμῶνις 'wroth.' Cret.
 ἐμμεν Thess. = εἰναι. 163.7
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 ἐμφρανίσσω Thess. = ἐμφανίζω. 84a
 ἐν = εἰς. 135.4
 ? ἐναγος Delph. 'ceremony for the dead.' Cf. ἐναγίζω. No. 52 C 38, note
 ἐνατος Delph., Ther. = ἐνατος. 58c, 114.9
 ἐνδεδιωκότα Heracl. = ἐμβεβιω-κότα 'alive.' 68.1
 ἐνδειγνύμενος Ther. = ἐνδεικνύμε-νος. 66
 ἐνδέρω, ἐνδωρα Coan. No. 108.47, note
 ἐνδῶω Lesb. = ἐνδῶω 'want.' 35
 ἐνδικάζομαι, Arc. ἰνδικάζομαι (10), 'be subjected to suit.' No. 19.34, note
 ἐνδικος Cret., ἰνδικος Arc. (10), used impersonally with dative of the person who is 'liable to, or has right to, trial.' No. 19.34, note

ἐνδοθίδιος Cret. 'belonging with-in.' 165.2
 ἐνδοι 'within.' 133.4
 ἐνδωρα Coan. See ἐνδέρω
 ἐνδόσε Ceos = εἰσω. 133.4
 ἐνδοσθίδια Epid. 'entrails.' 165.2
 ἐνδυσ Delph. 'within.' 132.4, 133.4
 ἐνδω Delph. 'within.' 132.8a, 133.4
 ἐνενηχθεῖ Boeot. = εἰσενεγχθῆ. 144a, 151.2, no. 43.49, note
 ἐνετέρια Locr. 'taxes of admission' (to citizenship). From ἐνήμι, like Att. εἰσιτήρια from εἰσεμι
 ἐνεφρανίσσω Thess. = ἐνεφάνιζον. 84a, 138.5
 ἐνηεβδῆαις Lac. from ἐνηβάω. 41.2, 59.1
 ἐνθαῦθα Att. (inscr.) = ἐνταῦθα. 65
 ἐνθαῦτα Ion. = ἐνταῦθα. 65
 ἐνθεῖν = ἐλθεῖν. 72
 ἐνθινος, from ἐνθα. Meg.
 ἐνθινος Cret. = ἐνθεος. 164.10
 ἐνθα Boeot. = ἐστων. 138.4, 163.6
 ἐνιαύσιος Coan, Delph. = ἐνιαύ-σιος. 61.3
 ἐνιαυτός (1) 'end of the year, anniversary,' (2) 'year.' For the former and more original mean- ing, which the word sometimes has in Homer, cf. Delph. no. 52 C 47. Cret. no. 117 I 35, IV 4
 ἐνκοῖδα Cret., sc. δαρκαῖ 'money given as security.' Cf. Hesych. κοῖον· ἐνέχυρον, κοιάζει· ἐνεχυρά-ζει. Deriv. of κείμαι
 ηεννέα Heracl. = ἐννέα. 58c, 114.9
 ἐννεκα Lesb. = ἐνεκα. 54b
 ἐννη = ἐννέα. 42.1, 114.9
 ἐνοτος Lesb. = ἐνατος. 6, 114.9, 116.9
 ἐνπίδες Meg. = ἐλπίδες. 72
 ἐνπιπάσσομαι 'acquire' Arg. 162.12
 ἐνς Cret. = εἰς. 114.1
 ἐνσα Thess. = οὔσα. 77.3, 163.8
 ἐντάδε Argol. = ἐνθάδε. 65
 ἐν τάν Boeot. 'until.' 136.1, no. 43.49, note
 ἐντασις Thess. = ἐγκησις. 163.12
 ἐντασσειν Heracl. = οὔσιν. 107.3, 163.8
 ἐνταῦτα El. = ἐνταῦθα. 65
 ἐντε Locr., ἥντε Delph. = ἐστε, ἑως. 58c, 132.11, 135.4
 ἐντες Heracl. = ὄντες. 163.8
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ἐφάνγγρευθεν Thess. = ἐφαιρούν-
ται, κατηγοροῦνται. 27, 58, 139.2,
157, 162.2, no. 32.41, note
ἐφερέζοντι Heracl. 'shut in' (water
by damming). No. 79.130 ff., note
ἐφθορκῶς Arc. = ἐφθαρκῶς. 5
ἐπιτορκῶ = ἐπιτορκῶ. 58c
ἐφορευωκότων Cyren. 161.3
ἐχεπάμον Locr. 'heir.' 162.12
ἐχθός, ἐχθω, ἐχθοι = ἐκτός. 66,
133.3
ἐψαφίττατο Boeot. = ἐψηφίστατο.
82, 142
ἔωκα = εἴκα. 49.5, 146.3
Ἐέγω (cf. Lat. *veho*), Cypr.,
Pamph. 53

ζά Lesb. = δία. 19.1
ζά Cypr. = γῆ. 62.4
ζαμοργία El. 'the body of demi-
urgi.' 62.2, 167
ζαν Cypr., see no. 23.10, note
ζάλλω Arc. = βάλλω. 68.3
ζέρεθρον Arc. = βάραθρον. 68.3
Ζήνα, Ζηνός, etc. 37.1, 112.1
ζίκαια El., see δίκαια
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Ζόνυσος Lesb. = Διόνυσος. 19.1
ζτερίον Arc. No. 16, note
ζώω, Boeot. δώω. 162.8

ή Boeot. = αλ. 134.1
ē Cypr. = ελ. 134.1
ή 'when, where,' etc. 132.7
ήγραμμαι Cret. = γέγραμμαι. 137
ἤμα Cret. = εἶμα. Gen. sg. ἤμας.
112.5
ήμεν, ήμεν, ήμην = εἶναι. 25, 76,
154.3-5, 163.7
ήμην 1 sg. imperf. mid. of εἶμι.
163.9
ήμι = εἶμι. 25, 76
ἡμιδιμνον Epid. = ἡμέδιμνον.
88a, 89.2
ήμινα Cret. 'the half.' 164.10
ἡμιρρήνιον Delph., probably 'half-
grown sheep,' i.e. such as are
midway between lambs and full-
grown sheep. 55a
ήμισσον, Boeot. εἰμιττον, ἡμιττα.
81, ἡμισον. 89.6
ήμίτεια Epid. 61.5, 164.10
ήμιτυέκτο Cret. = ἡμιέκτου. 61.5
ήμυσυ = ἡμισυ. 20
ήν Ion. = ἔαν. 134.2b
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ήναι Arc. = εἶναι. 154.1, 163.7

ήνατος Cret., Arg. = ἔνατος. 54,
114.9
ήνεικα, ήνικα = ήνεγκα. 49.1, 144a
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ἤρόντων, ἤροντι Cret., fr. ἤρωδ.
86.6
ής = ήν. 163.3
ής Heracl. = εἰς. 114.1
ήσαντο Arg. 144c
ήστω El. = ἔστω. 163.5
ήται Delph. = ή. 151.1, 163.9
ήτω = ἔστω. 163.5
ήττων Coan = ἑαυτῶν. 121.2
ήχοι Orop. = ὄπου. 132.3
ήώς Ion. = ἔως. 41.4b

θάλαθθα Cret. = θάλαττα. 81a
θάλαττα. 81. θάλλαττα. 89.4
θαρής Ther. 42.2, 80
θαρρέω El. = θαρρέω, θαρρέω, but
in technical sense of 'be secure,
immune.' So θάρρος 'security, im-
munity.' 80, no. 61.1, note
Θε- Meg., etc. = Θεο-. 42.5f
θεαρός, Arc. θεαρός = θεωρός.
41.4. θεαρόντων Delph. 42.5d
θέθμιον = θέσμιον. 65, 164.4
θεθμός = θεσμός. 65, 164.4
θεικα Boeot. = διαθήκη 'will'
Θεισπιεύς Boeot. 9.4a
Θεόζωτος Boeot., Thess. = Θεό-
ζωτος. 166.2
θεομοιρία Coan = θεοῦ μοῖρα 'the
part consecrated to the god'
Θεόρδοτος Thess. = Θεορδοτος. 60.4,
166.2
θεωρός, θεωρός = θεωρός. 41.4a
θέρσος = θάρσος. 49.2
θέστων Phoc. = θέστων. 85.1
θηαυρός Arg. = θησαυρός. 59.2
θηκαῖον 'burial place' Coan (δρος
τῶν θηκαίων)
θηλύτερος El. = θήλυς. 165.1
θιαωρία Boeot. = θεωρία. 41.4
θιγάνα Delph. 'lid, cover' (?). Cf.
Hesych. θίγωνος· κιβωτοῦ. See
no. 52 C 33 ff., note
θιθέμενος Cret. = τιθέμενος. 65
θίνος Cret. = θείος. 164.10
Θιοκορμίδας Lac. 60.4
Θιόππαστος Boeot. 69.4
θιός = θεός. 9. θιός Arg. 56
Θιόφειστος Boeot. 68.2
Θο- Meg., etc. = Θεο-. 42.5f
θοσία Boeot. = θυσία. 24
θράγανον Boeot., meaning? No. 39
θύρδα Arc. = θύραζε. 133.2

gint. Cf. Hesych. καρπωθέντα·
τά ἐπὶ βωμοῦ καθαγισθέντα. =
κάρπωμα· θυσία. Coan καρπάντι,
159
κάρρων = κρείττων. 80, 113.1
καρταῖπος, pl. καρταῖποδα, Cret.
'large cattle,' in contrast to πρό-
βατα used of sheep and goats. Cf.
καρταίπους 'bull' in Pindar.
καρτερός Ion., Cret. = κρατερός, in
meaning often = κύριος 'valid.'
Cf. also Ion. ἀκρατής 'invalid,'
κρατεῖν 'be valid,' Cret. κάρτων
q.v. 49.2a
κάρτος = κράτος. 49.2a
κάρτων Cret. = κρείττων, in mean-
ing = κυριώτερος, as κάρτονας
ἐμὲν 'shall prevail, be of greater
authority.' Cf. καρτερός. 49.2a,
81, 113.1
Καρυκῆϊδ Boeot. = Κηρυκείου. 53,
164.1
κάς Arc.-Cypr. = καί. 134.3
κασίγνητος Lesb., Cypr.; Thess.
κατίγν[ειτος] 191
-κάσιοι Arc. = -κόσιοι. 116a, 117.2
κασσηρατόριν, καθηρατόριν, καθη-
ρατόριον Lac. 'the hunt,' name of
an athletic game. 45.6, 64, Nos.
75-78, note
κάτ = κατά. 95
καταγελάμενος Epid. 159
καταγρέω Lesb. = καθαιρέω 'con-
vict, condemn.' 162.2
καταδουλίτταστη Boeot. = -δου-
λίσσασθαι. Cf. 82, 85.1, 142
καταφελμένον Cret. 'assembled.'
75
καταθένης Cret. = καταθείς. 78
καταίφει Locr. 53
κατακείμενος Cret. 'one whose
person is mortgaged' passive of
κατατίθημι 'mortgage,' mid. 'take
a mortgage'
κατάκλητος Heracl. 'summoned.'
κατάκλητος ἄλῖα = Att. σύγκλητος
ἐκκλησία
καταλλάσσω Arc., intrans. 'act
otherwise'
καταλοβεύς Cret., Epid. = *κατα-
λαβεύς 'support.' 49.3
καταλυμακώω Heracl. 'cover over
with stones.' Cf. Hesych. λυμακες·
πέτραι. -λυμακωθής, 78
κατάπερ = καθάπερ. 57a. Also for
καττάπερ. 126
κάταρφος Arc. = κατάρατος. 54

ινφορβίω, ινφορβισμός Arc. No. 18,
note
ιός Cret. = ἐκείνος. 114.1
ιφίός = υἱός. 52c
ιουιῶ Boeot. = υἱοῦ. 24
'Ιππέδαμος Rhod. = 'Ιππόδαμος.
167
Ιππότας Boeot. (as in Hom., Hdt.)
= ἱππεύς
ιράνα, etc. = ἐιρήνη. 8c, 58c
ίρεα Lesb. = ἱρεία 'priestess.' 13.1
ίρευς Lesb. = ἱερεύς. 13.1
ιρητεύω Lesb. = ἱερατεύω. 13.1,
167
Ιρος Lesb., ἱρός, ἱρός Ion. = ἱερός.
13.1
Ισαμι Dor. = οἶδα. 162.9. Subj.
Cret. ἱσάντι, Cyren. ἱσᾶν. 151.1
ἱσάθι Arc. 'within the distance of.'
133.1a, no. 22.13, note
ἱσός, ἱσός, ἱσός = ἱσός. 50b,
52, 54, 58c. Lesb. ἱσοθέοισι,
54b
ἱσσατο, ἱσᾶτο, ἱσάμενος, etc. 144c
ἱστία, ἱστία = ἑστία. 11
ἱστιατόριον Rhod. = ἑστιατόριον
'banquet-hall.' Cf. Hesych. ἱστια-
τόρια· δειπνητήριον. 11
ἱστωρ Boeot. 'witness.' 52d
ἱττω Boeot. = ἱστω. 86.4
ἰών Boeot. = ἐγών. 62.3, 118.2

κα W. Grk., Boeot. = κε, ἄν. 134.2
κά = κατά. 89.7, 95
κά Arc.-Cypr. = κάς = καί. 97.2,
134.3
καδαλέομαι El. = καταδηλέομαι 'in-
jure, violate.' καδαλέμενος, καζα-
λέμενος. 89.7, 158
κάδδῖξ, gen. κάδδῖχος, Heracl.,
Mess., a measure. Cf. Hesych.
κάδδῖχον· ἡμέκτον, and Lac.
κάδδῖχος 'urn' (Plut. Lyc. 12)
καθεστάκατι Delph. 138.4
κακριθέε Arc. = κατακριθῆ. 89.7,
151.2
καλαῖς Epid. 'hen.' No. 89, note
καλείμενος = καλούμενος. 158
καλλίτερος El. = καλλίων
καλλύ[σματος]τα Ceos 'sweepings.' Cf.
Hesych. σάρματα· καλλύσματα
καλφός Boeot. = καλός. 54
κάρζα Lesb. = καρδία. 19.1
καρπόω 'offer,' especially 'a burnt
offering,' in Smyrna, Thera,
Athens, as often in the Septua-

θύρωτον Epid. = *θύρωτρον. 70.3
θύσθεν Arc. 89.8, 133.1
θυφλός Cumae = τυφλός. 65
θύχα Cret. = τύχη. 65
θαάδδω El. (θαάδοι) 'impose a
fine.' See following
θα(ι)άω 'impose a fine.' Locr.
θαῖεστο, Att. θαῖν, Delph. θαῖόν-
των. 161.2. Cf. Att. θα(ι)ά, Ion.
θαμῆ (37.2), Delph. θαλασις

λα Lesb., Thess., Boeot. = μία.
114.1
λαθθα Cret. = οὔσα. 81a, 163.8
λαρείδδω Boeot. 'serve as priest.' 84
λαρές Cyren. = λαρεῖς. 111.3
λαρήιον = λαρεῖον. 164.1
λαρόμαος, official title, El. Cf.
Hesych. λαρόμας· τῶν λαρῶν ἐπι-
μελούμενος.
λαρο(μ)νάμονες, see λαρομήμων
λαρός, λαρός = ἱερός. 13.1, 58b
λασσα = λούσα. 163.8a
λατήρ Cypr. = λατρός. 56, 164.5
λατρα, τά Epid. 'perquisites for
healing.' 165.3
λαττα Cret. = οὔσα. 81, 163.8
λαγυος Arc. = ἔγγυος. 10
λαχερηρήκοι Arc., 3 sg. perf. opt.
from verb = Att. ἐγγχειρέω. 10, 25
ἴδδιος Thess. = ἴδιος. 19.3, 58c
ἴδέ Cypr. 'then, and.' 134.6
ἴδιος, Arg. ἴδιος = ἴδιος. 52b, 58c
ἴερεως Mil. = ἱερεύς. 43, 111.5
ἴερα = ἱερεα. 28b
ἱερή(ι)ον = ἱερεῖον. 37.2, 164.1
ἱερής Arc.; ἱερεῖς Cypr. = ἱερεύς.
111.4. Arc. dat. sg. ἱερί 9.5
ἱερητεύω = ἱερατεύω. 167. ἱερητεύ-
κατι Phoc., 138.4
ἱεριτεύω, ἱαριτεύω = ἱερατεύω. 167.
ἱαριτεωκότων Cyren. 161.3
ἱεροθυτέω Arc., Phoc., Rhod.,
etc., 'be ἱεροθύτης.' Arc. ἱεροθυτές,
78, 157
ἱεροθύτης (-ας) official title. Some-
times applied to priestly atten-
dants, sometimes to priestly of-
ficials of high rank, who were
even, in some places, the epony-
mous officers
ἱερομήμων, -μνάμων title of cer-
tain superior officials, primarily
in charge of religious matters,
'sacred commissioners, ministers
of religion,' also delegated to the
Amphictionic council. Arc. ἱε-

ρομνάμονσι, 77.1a. Mycen., Epid.
ἱαρο(μ)νάμονες, 58b, 89.2
ἱεροποιός title of officials in charge
of religious matters, sometimes
regular magistrates, sometimes
extraordinary commissioners
ἱερός, ἱερός. 58b
ἱερωτεύω = ἱερατεύω. 167
ἱθάντες Cret. 82b, 162.9
ἱθός Ion., Boeot. (also lit. Dor.) =
εὐθύς. As in lit. Ion., so also
inscriptional ἱθός (Ephesus), ἱθου-
να (Chios), though εὐθύνομος, εὐθύ-
νω also occur. Proper names in
'ἱθου- are Ionic and Boeotian.
ἱκάς = εἰκάς. 116. Ther. ἱκαάδι, 58c
(F)ἱκαστός Boeot. = εἰκοστός. 116
with a
(F)ἱκατι = εἰκοσι. 52, 61.2, 116
ἱκατίδεις, ὁ Heracl., name of a
particular (twenty-foot) road
ἱκατίπεδος Heracl. 'twenty feet
wide,' used with ἄντομος
ἱκέτας Arg. = ἱκέτης. 58d
ἱκαμένος Cypr. 'stricken' (in
battle), 'hit' Denom. from *ἱκαῖ.
Cf. ἱκαρ 'at one blow, at once,'
Hesych. ἱκατέ· ἀκόντιον, Lat. *icō*
ἱκοστός Thess. = εἰκοστός. 116
ἱω = Ἀθ. ἥω, in most, perhaps all,
other dialects, e.g. (beside Homer
and lit. Doric) Corinth. ἱήρομες,
Delph. ἱήκωντι, Arc. ἱήκωντι
ἱλαος, ἱλαος, ἱλαος (Lac. ἱλῆφος) =
ἱλαος. 49.5, 53. Arc. ἱλαος 58d
ἱλαξάστο Delph., from ἱλασκομαι.
85.1
ἱλῆφος Lac., see ἱλαος
ἱμάσκω El., probably 'maltreat,'
related to ἱμάς, ἱμάσσω
ἱμάτιον Att. 25c
ἱμπασις, ἱμπασις Arc. = ἐγκησις.
10, 162.12
ἱν Arc.-Cypr. = ἐν. 10, 135.4
ἱν = οἱ dat. 3 pers. pron. 118.4.
ἱν αὐτοῖ Cret. = ἑαυτοῖ. 121.1
ἱνάω Arc. = εἰσάγω. 10
ἱναλίω Cypr. 'write upon.' 10.
Cf. Hesych. ἄλινειν· ἀλείφειν, and
ἀλειπτήριον· γραφεῖον. Κύπριοι
ἱνδικάζομαι Arc., see ἐνδικάζομαι
ἱνδικός Arc., see ἐνδικός
ἱνενφής, ἱνενφός Arc. 'blame-
worthy, impious.' 10
ἱνολά Arc. = ἐμπολή. 10
ἱνράϊω Arc. 'inform' in legal
sense. Cf. εἰσφαίνω Ath. 75 A

κατατίθημι Cret., Mess. = ὑποτίθη-
μι 'mortgage,' mid. 'take a mort-
gage'
κατέθιαν Cypr. = κατέθεσαν. 138.
5
κατεῖρων Lesb. = καθιεροῦν. 13.1,
155.3
κατενθόντας, κατηνθηκότι Arc. =
κατελθόντας, κατελθουθότι. 72,
146.1
κατέφοργον Cypr., aor. of κατεῖρ-
γω. 5
κατιαραῖω El. (κατιαραῖδον, κατια-
ραῖσειε). 12a, 161.1, no. 61.2,
note
κατίγν[ειτος] Thess., see κασίγνη-
τος
-κάτιοι = -κόσιοι. 61.2, 116a,
117.2
κατιστάμεν Cret. 57a
κατοικέονυθι Thess. = κατοικῶσι.
138.4, 159
κατόπερ Ion. beside κατάπερ = κα-
θάπερ
καττάπερ = καθάπερ. 126
κατύ Arc. = κατά. 22
καυχός Cret. = χαλκός. 65, 71
κε = ἄν. 134.2
κείνος = ἐκείνος. 125.1
κεκλεβώς Mess. 66
κέλευθος Arc. 'road.' 191
κέλεξ Lac. = κέλης 142a
κέντο Dor. = κέλυ. 72
κεραῖω = κεράννυμι. 229
κέρναν Lesb. = κερνάειν. 18a, 155.
3
Κέτιον = Κίτιον. 10
κή Boeot. = καί. 26
κήνος = ἐκείνος. 125.1
κέρουσις Cret. = χήρευσις 'divorce'
κεφάλωμα 164.9
Κιάριον Thess. = Κιέριον 12
κιεαλλεύω Ion. 'act as highway-
man'
κιεάλλης Ion. 'highwayman.' Used
with ληστής in no. 3 B 19, as in
Democr. fr. 260 ed. Diels. Prob-
ably of Carian or Lycian origin
κίς Thess. = τίς. 68.4, 131
κίων, & Thess., often used instead
of στάλλα = στήλη
κλαικτός Argol., Mess. = κλειστός.
142a
κλαίξ Argol., Mess. = κλείς. 142a
κλαῖρος Cret. 'the body of κλαρώται
or serfs attached to the estate'
-κλέας, personal names in. 166.1

-κλέφες, -κλέης, -κλῆς, personal
names in. 108.1a
κλέφος Phoc. 53
Κλέυας Thess. 35a
κλίνη Naples, Cumae 'niche in a
tomb.' No. 11
Κνωσός. 89.4b
κοθαρός = καθαρός. 6
κόθαρσις El. = κάθαρσις. 6
κοινάν, κοινανέω = κοινών, κοινω-
νέω, 41.4. κοινανόντι Arg. 42.5d
κοινάω Thess., Dor. = κοινάω.
161.5
κόμιστρα, τά Cret. 'gifts.' 165.3
κομιττάμενοι Boeot. = κομισά-
μενοι. 142
κόρφα = κόρη. 54
κορζία Cypr. = καρδία. 5, 19.1
κόρτον Boeot. = κύρτος (?) 24, no.
39
κοσμέω (-ω) Cret. 'be a member
of the κόσμος.' See following.
κοσμόντες, 42.5d
κόσμος Cret. 'the body of chief
magistrates' (collective; a single
member was called κοσμίω, see
preceding); also used of a single
member of this body, with pl.
κόσμοι
κότερος Ion. = πότερος. 68.4
κότος Boeot. = κύτος. 24, no. 39
κοτύλα Coan = κοτύλη. 71b
κούρη = κόρη. 54
κραμάσαι Epid. = κρεμάσαι. 12c
κράνα = κρήνη. 8c
κράναιον Arc. = κρήναιον. 104.10
κρατόντες Cret. = κρατούντες. 42.5d
κρένω Thess. = κρίνω. 18. 74
κρέτος = κράτος. 49.2
κρίνω Lesb. = κρίνω. 74. Aor.
ἐκρίνω, 77.1
κριτήρ Argol. = κριτής. 164.5
κρόμπος Arc. No. 20.9 ff., note
κρόνω Lesb. = κτείνω. 74
κτοίνα Rhod., a territorial division
similar to the Attic deme. Cf.
κτίω, κτίσις
κτοινάτας, κτοινέτας Rhod. 'mem-
ber of the κτοίνα.' 167
κουέσα, κουέσα Coan. 42.5
κυκάν Epid. = κυκλών. 41.4
φύφνυς Chalcid. 22d, 24a
κυμερέναι Cypr. = κυβερνᾶν. 8.8
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κυνία Lesb. 9.2
κύρρον Thess. = κύριον. 19.3
κωμέτας Arg. 167

κώρα Cret. = κόρη. 25, 54
κώς Ion. = πώς. 68.4

Λα- from Λαο-. 41.4, 45.3
λαββάνω Delph. = λαμβάνω. 69.3
λάβωσιν Chian = λάβωσιν. 77.3
λαβών Aegin. = λαβών. 76a
λαγαίω Cret. 'release'; aor. λαγά-
σαι. Cf. ἀπολάγαις. 142a
λάζομαι Meg., Boeot. (λάδδουσθη,
ὕπολάδδουσθη), Ion. λάζυμαι =
λαμβάνω
Λαππαίων Cret. 69.3
Λάρια. 89.4b
λās, Cret. gen. λᾶο. 112.4
Λασαῖος Thess. = Λαρισαῖος. 88b,
no. 32.19, note
λατραῖ[όμενον], λατρεῖόμενον El. =
λατρεῖόμενον 'consecrated'. 12a,
161.1
λαφυροπώλιον Arc. 'sale of booty'.
No. 19.9 ff., note
λειτορεύω Thess. = λεραιεύω. Cf.
Hesych. λειτορες· λέρηται, and
λητήρες· ἱεροὶ στεφανοφόροι. 'Ἀθα-
μᾶνες. Related to Att. λειτουργέω
(39)
λείω, see λέω
λειδῆς Rhod. 'accursed'. No. 101,
note
λεχοῖ Delph., see λεχῶι
λελάβηκα Arc., Ion., Epid. 137,
146.1
Λέντιχος Cyren. 42.5e
λέσχα Rhod. 'grave'. No. 101,
note
Λεσχαῖος Thess., epithet of Apollo.
No. 30, note
Λεπτινῆιος Thess. = Λεπτινῆιος. 86.2
λεύσσω 'behold'. 191
λευτον Arc., meaning? No. 18.3
note
λεχῶι Cyren., gen. sg. λεχός Cyren.,
dat. sg. λεχοῖ Delph. 63, 111.5a
λέω, Cret. λείω = θέλω. 162.12
-λήνω (= -λαίνω) Boeot. 'cancel'.
162.10
λίθιος Thess. = λίθινος. 164.6
λιμήν Thess. = ἀγορά 'market-
place' (Thess. ἀγορά = ἐκκλησία).
So also Cypr. (Hesych.) and Ion.
(GDI 5545.25)
λινινος Boeot. = λίνεος. 164.6
λιποτελέω Locr., 'leave taxes un-
paid'. Cf. λιποστράτια, etc.
λίσσος Cret. 'insolvent' (?). No.
120.115, note

λοπίς Arg., some kind of shallow
vessel. Cf. λοιπός and λεπτός
Λόφριον Aetol. 5
Λύττος Cret. = Λύκτος. 86.1
λωτήριον Arg., Heracl. = λουτή-
ριον. 44.4
μά El. = μή. 15
μά Thess. = δέ. 134.4
μαίτυρες Cret., Epid. = μάρτυρες.
71a
μάν El. = μέν. 12a
μαντήα, μαντήον Arg. 164.1
μάντοι Epid. = μέντοι. 12c
μάσλης Lesb. = μάσθλης. 89.8
μαστράα El., μαστρεῖα Mess. 'ac-
counting'. Cf. Hesych. μαστρία·
αἱ τῶν ἀρχόντων εὐθυναί. 12a, 31
μαστρός title of an official at
Delphi, Rhodes, Pelene. Cf.
Delph. κατάμαστρος, Mess. ὑπό-
μαστρος 'subject to fine'
ματάρα Delph. = μητέρα. 12
μέδιμνον Epid. 89.2
μέζων Arc., Ion. = μεζών. 113.1
μεθάμερα Epid. = μεθ' ἀμέραν.
Adverb formed like ὑπερκέφαλα
from ὑπὲρ κεφαλάν
μεῖ Boeot., Thess. = μή. 16
μειάλα[αν] Pamph. = μεγάλην.
62.3, 76a
μεινός, μεινός Thess. = μηνός.
77.1, 112.3
Μηελῖος Corcyra. 76a
μείς = μήν. 112.3
μείστον Locr. 'at least'. 113.3
μεμισθωσύνται Heracl. 146.5
Μένει Boeot. = Μένης. 89.5.
108.2
Μενοκράτης Cret. = Μενεκράτης.
167
μέντον = μέντοι. No. 32.38, note
μερεία Heracl. = μερίς
μέρος Locr. 'real estate'. No. 57.44,
note
μές Thess. 'until'. 132.12
μεσακόθεν Arc. 65, 133.1
μεσεγγυος Boeot., adj. 'with a
third party'. Cf. μεσεγγυάω LS
μεσόμνη Att. = μεσόμνη. 87
μέσποδι Thess. 'until'. 132.12
μέσσορος Heracl. 'intermediate
boundary'
μέστα Cret., Cyren. 'until'. Arc.
μέστε. 132.12
μεταφοικέω Locr. = μετοικέω. 53
μέτερος Lesb. = μέτριος. 19.2

μετριώμεναι Heracl. = μετρού-
μεναι. 42.5b
μέττ' ἐς Cret. 'until'. 86.4, 132.12
μέττος Boeot., Cret. = μέσος. 82
μεύς El. = μήν. 112.3
μηδαμεί Delph. = μηδαμοῦ. 132.2
μηδεῖα Lesb. = μηδεμία. 114.1
μηδεπόθι Arc. 133.1a
μηθεῖς = μηδεῖς. 66
μήννος Lesb. = μηνός. 77.1, 112.3
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μῆι 3 sg. aor. subj., Cyren. 144b,
151.1, no. 115.40, note
μικκιχιδδόμενος Lac. 89.5a, nos.
75-78, note
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Μίντων Arg. = Μίλων. 72
Μίργος Eretr. = Μίργος. 60.4
μιστός Cret. = μισθός. 85.1
μναμμεῖον Thess. = μνημεῖον. 89.4
Μνασσά Thess. = Μνασία. 19.3
μοῖσα Lesb. = μουσα. 77.3
μοιχέω Cret. (μοικίον, etc.) = Dor.
μοιχάω = μοιχεύω. 161.2
μοῦνος Ion. = μόνος. 54
μυχός Heracl. 'storehouse, gra-
nary'
μῶα Lac. = μουσα. Cf. 59.1
μωλέω Cret. (μολέν, μωλέν, etc.)
'contend' (in law). So also Cret.
ἀμφιμωλέω, ἀμφιμωλος, ἀντίμω-
λος, ἀπομωλέω, adv. ἀμωλεί. Cf.
Hesych. μωλήσεται· μαχήσεται.
Related to Hom. μῶλος 'contest'.
Cf. ἀγωνίζομαι as a law-term in
Attic
μῶσα = μουσα. 77.3
ναεύω Cret. 'take refuge in a tem-
ple'
νακόρος, see νεωκόρος
να(φ)ός = νεός. 41.4, 53, 54d
ναποῖαι, see νεωποῖης
ναῦος Lesb. = νεός. 35, 54d
ναῦσσον name of a tax, Coan, also
(spelled with T) at Cyzicus
νεί Arc. = νή, ναί. 134.7
νεμονηία Cret. = νεομηνία. 89
νεότας Cret. 'an official body of
young men', gen. νεότας, acc.
νεότα. 88a
νεωκόρος Ion., Delph. νακόρος,
Delph., Epid., Coan νακόρος (41.4
45.3), custodian of the temple,
sacristan.' In some places the
office became one of considerable
rank and honor

νεωποῖης Ion., Coan ναποῖαι. 31.
41.4. Cf. also Ion. νεωποῖός,
Boeot. ναποῖός. Title of officials
in general charge of the affairs
of the temple
νῆατος Arc. = νέατος. No. 20.10 ff.,
note
νικάσας, νικάαρ Lac. = νικάσας.
59.1, 60.2
νῖν = ξ. 118.5
νιουμεινία, νιουμεινός, νιουμεινός Boeot.
= νουμηνία, νουμηνός. 42.5a
νόμαιοι Ion. = νόμιμοι. 164.10
νόμιος Locr. = νόμιμος. 164.10
νόμος Heracl., a coin. Cf. Lat.
nummus
νοστιά, etc. 42.5f
νοστίτω El. = *νοστίζω, νοστέω.
84
νυ Cypr., Boeot. 134.5
νύναμαι Cret. = δύναμαι. 88
νυττί Cret. = νυκτί. 86.1
Ξείνος, Ξήνος, Ξένφος = Ξένος. 54
Ξέννος Lesb. = Ξένος. 54b
Ξενοδίκαι Locr., Phoc., title of
judges in cases involving the
rights of Ξένοι. Ξενοδίκης is used
by a late writer to translate the
Latin *praetor peregrinus*
ξύλα Coan = ξύλα. 71b
ξύλλεσθαι Arg., in form = σκύλ-
λεσθαι (87), but meaning 'pillage'
(cf. σκύλον)
ξύν = σύν. 135.7
ξύνός Ion. = κοινός. 135.7

δ = δ. 58a
Ὀαῖος = Φάξος. 51a
ὀβελός Boeot., ὀβελλός Thess. =
ὀβολός. 49.3, 68.1, 89.4
ὀγδοῖης, ὀγδοῖήκοντα. 31a
ὀγδοός, ὀγδοῖος. 114.8
ὀγδῶι Ion. = ὀγδόη. 44.2
ὀγδῶκοντα Ion. = ὀγδοήκοντα. 44.2
ὀδεός = ὀβολός. 49.3, 68.1
ὀείω Lesb. = οἶω. 49.1
ὀζος Cret. = ὄσος. 82
ὀθθαῖν Cret. = ὀσάκις. 81a, 133.6
ὀθι Arc. 132.1a
ὀθμα Lesb. = ὀμμα. 164.4
ὀι = οἱ dat. 3 pers. pron. 118.4
ὀικιάτας = οἰκέτης. 167
ὀικίη Arg. 157c
ὀικεύς Cret. = οἰκέτης. 167
ὀικιστήρ = -τής. Cyren. 164.5
ὀίκος = οἶκος. 52

Φοῖω Delph. = οἰκοθεν. 132.8
Φοῖνος = οἶνος. 52
οἰφός Cypr. = οἶος 'alone'. 53, 191
οἰρών Cypr. (ἰν τοῖρῶν) 'district'.
Cf. οἰρών 'boundary line', He-
sych.
οἶς Delph. = οἶ. 132.3
οἰσόντι Heracl. = οἰσοντι. 58d
οἶρω Cret. (οἶπεν, οἶπει), Ther.
(οἶπτε, etc.), Lac. (Hesych.)
'have sexual intercourse'
ὄκα, also ὄκα = ὄτε. 132.11
ὄκαῖος Ion. = ὄποιος. 68.4
ὄκατακάτιοι Heracl. = ὄκατακόσιοι.
58c, 117.2
ὄκαταῖν Lac. = ὄκαταῖς. 133.6
ὄκτώ Lesb. = ὄκτώ. 114.8
ὄκτώ Ephes. 89.1
ὄκατῶ Heracl. = ὄκτώ. 58c, 114.8
ὄκατακόσιοι Lesb. = ὄκατακόσιοι,
117.2
ὄλετρος Cret. = ὄλεθρος. 63
ὄλιος = ὄλιγος. 62.3
ὄλυππλήνη = ὄλυμπλήνη. 69.3
ὄμωμεθα Lac. 42.5b
ὄμολογᾶ, ὄ, ὄμολογον, τό Boeot. =
ὄμολογία
ὄμονόεντες Lesb. = ὄμονοῦντες.
44.4, 157
ὄν Lesb., Thess., Cypr. = ὄνά. 6
ὄνάλα, ὄνάλουμα Thess. = ὄνάλωμα.
164.10
ὄνγράφειν Thess. = ἀναγράφαι. 27,
156
ὄνδικος Arc. = ἀνάδικος. 6
ὄνε Thess. = ὄδε. 123
ὄνεθῆκαεν Thess. = ἀνέθηκαν. 138.5
ὄνι Arc. = ὄδε. 123
ὄνιουμα Boeot. = ὄνομα. 22c, 24
ὄννα Lesb. = ὄνή. 25f
ὄννιθα Cret. = ὄννιθα. 86.5
ὄνυ Arc.-Cypr. = ὄδε. 123
ὄνυμα = ὄνομα. 22c
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ὄπει. 132.2
ὄπειδεί Thess. = ἐπειδή. 132.7
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ὄπι Cypr. No. 23.29, note
ὄπιδδόμενος Lac. = ὄπιζόμενος. 84
ὄπένεντι, ὄποντιός, ὄποντιόν
Locr. = ὄποῦντι, ὄπουντιός,
etc. 44.4, 58d
ὄπόθι Arc. 133.1a
ὄπόταρος El. = ὄπότερος. 12
ὄπόττος Boeot., ὄπόττος Cret. =
ὄπόσος. 82

ὄππα Lesb. 129.2, 132.6
ὄππα Lesb. = ὄμμα. 164.4
ὄππως Lesb. 129.2
ὄπτῖλος Dor. = ὄφθαλμός. Occurs
in Epidaurian (-ῖλος and -ῖλος,
no. 90 passim), as Laconian in
Plut. Lyc. 11, and in the writings
of Archytas and Phintias. ὄπ-τ-
ῖλος (cf. ὄπ-τήρ etc.) like ναυ-τ-
ῖλος beside ναύ-της
ὄπτῖ El. = ὄκτώ. 114.8
ὄπύ Arc. = ὄπό. 22, 24
ὄπυι. 132.4
ὄπυς Rhod. 132.4
ὄπω Dor. (Cret. ὄπῶ, Lac. ὄπῶ) =
ὄπόθεν. 132.8
ὄπωρ Eretr., ὄπωρ El. = ὄπως.
60.1, 3, 97a
ὄρβος Corcyra. = ὄρος. 51
ὄρεγμα, measure of length, Heracl.
ὄρκίζω = ὄρκῶ. 161.4
ὄρκιότερος Cret. 'having preference
in the oath'
ὄρκιόμοται Locr., Arc. 'jurors'
ὄρνιξ = ὄρνις. 142a
ὄρφορ Corcyra, ὄρος Heracl., ὄρος
Arg. = ὄρος. 54, 58c
ὄροφος 'house' Cyren. No. 115.16,
note
ὄρτή Ion. = ὄρτη. 42.5f
ὄρύξε Cypr., see ἑξορύξε
ὄρφανοδικασταῖ Cret. (ὄρφανοδικα-
σταῖ) 'officers appointed to look
after the affairs of orphans or
minors'. Cf. Att. ὄρφανοφύλακες
ὄός Cret. = ὄς. 120.3, 121.1
ὄσέοι Arc. = ὄτεφ. 68.3, 128,
129.2
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ὄστροφά Thess. = ἀναστροφή. 77.2,
no. 33.20, note
ὄτα Lesb. = ὄτε. 13.3, 132.11
ὄτεῖος Cret. = ὄποιος, ὄστις. 68.1,
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ὄτερος Cret. = ὄπότερος. 127
ὄττι Locr., error for ὄντι. 129.2a
ὄτιμι Cret. = ὄτινι. 128, 129.2
ὄττις, etc. Lesb. = ὄστις, etc. 129.2
ὄττος Cret. = ὄσος. 82
ὄυδές Lac. = οὐδέεις. 114.1
ὄυθαμεί Epid. = οὐδαμοῦ. 132.2
ὄυθείς = οὐδέεις. 66
ὄυλος Ion. = ὄλος. 54
ὄυρεῖον, ὄρεῖον Cret. 'guard-
house'. From οὖρος 'watcher',
like Att. φρούριον from φρουρός
ὄυρεύω Cret. 'watch'

ὄυρος Ion. = ὄρος. 54
ὄυτο, οὐτα, etc., Boeot. = τοῦτο,
ταῦτα, etc. 124
ὄφῆλλω Arc., Hom. = ὄφειλω. 73a
ὄφῆλλω Arc., Arg., Cret. = ὄφειλω.
75; aorist and perfect, Att.
ὄφλον, ὄφληκα 'be condemned
to pay a fine, be adjudged guilty'.
So Arc. aor. infin. ὄφλέν, perf.
[ῶ]φλέασι, ῶφλέκοσι. 52a, 138.4,
146.1
ὄφῆλμα Cret. = ὄφειλμα. 167
ὄφρῶς Arg. 'ramp'. No. 87.14, note
παῖ, παῖ 132.5
παιδιχός Lac. = παιδικός. 164.9
παῖρῖν Eretr. = παῖρῖν. 60.3
παῖς = υἱός, or, sometimes, θυγά-
τηρ. Lesb., Boeot., Cypr., Locr.,
Ion. Cf. παῖς, κόρα 'son, daugh-
ter' in no. 59.4
παῖσα Cyren. = πᾶσα. 77.3
πᾶμα = κτήμα. 162.12
παματοφαιγίσται 'be confiscated'
Locr. 162.12
παμωχέω Heracl. 'possess'. Cf.
Hesych. παμῶχος· ὁ κύριος. 'Ἰτα-
λοί, and παμωχίων· κεκτημένος.
162.12
παναγορία Arc. = πανήγυρις. 164.10
Παναγόρσιος Arc., name of a
month
πανάγορσις Arc. = πανήγυρις. 5,
49.2, 80a
πανάζωστοι Cret. No. 120.11, note
Πάννημος Thess. = Πάνημος, name
of a month
πάνσα Arc., Arg., Cret., Thess. =
πᾶσα. 77.3
πανταῖ Heracl., Lesb. πάντα. 132.5
παντεῖ Locr. 132.2
πανόνιος Cypr. 'wholly salable'.
No. 23.10, note
πάομαι = κτάομαι. 162.12
Πάονι Arc. 41.4
πάρ El. = περί. 12, 95
πάρ = παρά. 95
παρά with acc. for dat. 136.2
παρμαξεύω Arc. 'drive in a wagon
off (the highroad)'. Cf. ἐπαμαξεύω,
καθαμαξεύω. No. 18.23, note
παρπρυστάτας Agrig. 'an adjunct
προστάτας' or presiding officer of
the council. Cf. παρπρυσταῖς in
Teos
παρβάλλω Delph. = παραβαίνω
'transgress'

παρβεῶντας Cyren. 42.5b, 161.2
πάρδειχα Epid. = παράδειγμα. 66
παρεῖαν Boeot. = παρήσαν. 138.5
παρεῖς Boeot. = παρήν. 163.3
παρετάζω Arc. 'examine into' (cf.
ἐξετάζω) and so 'approve'. παρ-
ετᾶζονσι (no. 19.28), 142. παρ-
εταζόμενος (no. 18.20), 173
παρίς Boeot. = παρήν. 16a
παρκαθέκα Lac. = παρακαταθήκη
Πασιάδα Fo Gela. 105.2a
πάσχω El. = πάσχω. 66
πασσυδιῶν Lesb. 'assemble'. 96.2
πασσυδίη Ion. = πανουδιή. 96.2
πάστας Cret. 'owner'. 162.12
παστάς = παραστάς. 89.8
πάτᾶρα Locr. = πατέρα. 12
πάτρα Arc., Dor. = γένος 'gens'.
Ion. πάτρη also, rarely, in this
sense
πατριά Delph., El. = γένος 'gens',
as in Hdē. 1.200
πατροῖδος Cret. = ἐπίκληρος 'heir-
ess'. 117.VII.15 ff., note
πέ Arc. = πεδά, μετά. 95, 135.5
πεδά = μετά. 135.5
Πεδαγείνιος = Μετα-. 135.5
πεδάφοι Arg. = μέτοιχοι. 53,
135.5
πεδία Cypr. = πεδίον
πέι, πει = πού, που. 132.2
Πειλεστροτίδας Boeot. 68.2
πέισαι Thess. = τείσαι. 68.2
πέισει Cypr. = τείσαι. 68.2b
πελανός. No. 7.A.25 ff., note
πέλεθρον = πλέθρον. 48
πέλεχυ Cypr., used of a sum of
money equal to 10 minae. No.
23.15, note
πελτοφόρος Boeot. = πελταστής
πέμπε Lesb., Thess. = πέντε. 68.2,
114.5
πέμπτος Arc. = πέμπτος. 114.5
πενταετηρίς Heracl. = πενταετη-
ρίς. 58c
πενταμριτεύω Delph. 12. no.
52 D 16, note
πεντάμεροι, title of officials, Locr.
(Halae). See preceding
πεντηκόντων Chian = gen. pl. of
πεντήκοντα. 116
πεντορκία Locr. 'quintuple oath,
oath sworn by five gods'. 58d
πέντος Cret., Amorg. = πέμπτος.
86.2, 114.5
πεπέισται Thess. = πεπείσθαι. 85.1,
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πεπεμμένος Troez. 86.8, no. 88.13, note
 πεποιόντεις Boeot. = πεποιήκοι. 9.4a, 146.1
 περ = περί. 91a
 περαιώ Cret. 'set aside, repudiate' (the purchase of a slave). No. 117.VII.10, note
 πέρανθε Arc. 'abroad'
 περιβολισθῶ Rhod. 'fasten round with lead.' 88
 περιδρομοί, officials at Mytilene 'clerks of the court'
 περίσσεια 'left over, remaining.' No. 42.22
 περιωρεσία Sicil. Dor. 18b
 Περφοθαρία Locr. 6, 95
 πέροδος Delph. = περίοδος. Cf. 95
 Πέρραμος Lesb. = Πρίαμος. 19.2
 περτ' Pamph. = πρόσ. 135.6
 πέσυρες Lesb. = τέτταρες. 68.2, 114.4
 πεστάντες Thess. = περιστάντες. 89.8
 Πεταγείτιος = Μετα-. 135.5
 πέτερον Orop., Delos, πετεύριον Erythrae 'notice-board.' 135.5a
 Πετθαλός Thess. = Θεσσαλός. 65, 68.2, 81c
 πετράμεινον Boeot. = τετράμεινον. 68.2
 πέτρατος Boeot. = τέταρτος. 49.2a, 68.2, 114.4
 πετροετηρίς Thess. = τετρα-. 5, 68.2
 πέτταρες, πετταράκοντα Boeot. = τέτταρες, τετταράκοκτα. 68.2, 114.4, 116
 πέττρινος Arg. 89.2
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 πεφειράκοντες Thess. = τεθηράκότες. 68.2, 147.3
 πεφουτευκῆμεν Heracl. 147.2
 πῆλνι Lesb. = τῆλε. 68.2, 132.4
 πέποκα Lac. = πόποτε. 132.7, 11
 πίσυρες Hom. = τέτταρες. 11, 68.2, 114.4
 πιτεύω 'irrigate,' ἀπίτευτα 'un-irrigated.' Boeot.
 πλάγος Heracl. 'side'
 πλάθοντα El. = πληθύνοντα. 15
 πλάν Dor., etc. = πλῆν
 πλέες Lesb. = πλέονες. 113.2
 πλευριάς, -άδος Heracl. = πλευρά
 πλέθα, & Locr.; Boeot. πλείθα 'assembly'

πλήθος (1) 'amount,' (2) 'majority,' (3) frequently 'people, assembly.' Arc. dat. sg. πλῆθι 9.5
 πληθύς = πλήθος, as in Homer. Cret. 'the amount,' Locr. 'the majority'
 πλίες Cret. = πλέες = πλέονες. 9.4, 42.7, 113.2
 πλίυι Cret. = πλέον. 113.2, 132.4
 πλός Arc. = πλέον. 42.5g, 113.2
 πλουτίνδαν Locr. 133.7
 ποεί, ποιῶ, etc. = ποιεί, etc. 31
 πόεστι Arc. = πρόσεστι. 59.4a
 ποεχόμενον Cypr. = προσεχόμενον 'adjacent to.' Cf. προσεχής. 59.4
 πόθικες Lac. = προσήκοντες. For stem πόθικ- to ποθίκα, cf. προίξ, προικός
 ποθίκα Boeot. = προσήκα. Cf. ἔκα
 πόθοδος = πρόσοδος. Cf. ποτί = πρόσ
 ποθόωμα Boeot., Epir. = πρόσ-οδος. 164.10
 ποί = πρόσ. 135.6
 ποιγραψάνσθ Arg. 77.2, 135.6, 140.3b
 ποιείνται, ποιέμενος. 158
 ποίονσι Arc. = ποιούσι. 77.3, 157
 ποιφέω = ποιέω. 53; Argol. ποιφέ-σανς. 78.3
 ποιήσασαι El. = ποιήσασθαι. 59.3, 85.2
 ποιήσεται El. = ποιήσεται. 59.3, 151.1
 ποικεφάλαιον Delph. = προσκεφάλαιον. 135.6
 ποιῶν, ποιόντος, ποιόντων, etc. 42.5d
 Ποίτιος Cret. = Πόθιος. 30a
 πόκα = πότε. 132.11
 πόκι κι Thess. = δτι. 68.4, 131
 πόλερ El. = πόλις. 18b
 πολιανόμοι Heracl., title of municipal magistrates in charge of public buildings, streets, etc., like Roman aediles. Called ἀστυνομοί at Athens, Rhodes, etc.
 πολιάτας Dor. = πολίτης. 167
 πολιάρχος Lac. = πολιούχος. 167
 πόλις = δήμος. Especially frequent in decrees of Phocis, Locris, Thessaly, and other parts of Northwest Greece, and notably in Crete, where it is almost constant
 πόλις Lesb. nom. pl. 109.3
 πόλιστος Heracl. = πλείστος. 113.2, ἡως πολιῶτων = ὡς πλείστων

πολιτήα = πολιτεία. 28b
 πόλλιος Thess. = πόλιος (πόλεως). 19.3
 Ποηοιδάν, Ποηοιδαια Lac. = Ποσειδών, Ποσειδώνια. 41.4, 49.1, 59.1, 61.5
 ποππάν Cret. = πομπήν. 69.3
 πορθία Arc. 'passage, path' (?). No. 20.9, note
 πόρνοψ Boeot., Lesb. = πάρνοψ. 5
 πορτί Cret. = πρόσ. 70.1, 135.6
 πός Arc.-Cypr. = πρόσ. 135.6 with a
 Ποσειδάν, Ποσειδάν, Ποηοιδάν, ΠοτΕδάΨόνι, Ποτειδάν, etc. 41.4, 49.1, 59.1, 61.4
 πόντ = ποτί, πρόσ. 95
 ποταποπισάτω Boeot. = προσπο-τεισάτω. 68.2
 ΠοτΕδά(Ψ)όν, Ποτειδάν, see Ποσειδάν
 ποτελάτω Arg. 'enforce.' 159
 ποτεχεί Heracl., ποτεχές Ach. = προσεχώς. 132.2
 ποτί = πρόσ. 61.4, 135.6
 ποτικλαίγω Heracl. 'be close to, adjacent to.' 142a
 ποτιπίαμμα Cyren. 86.8, 164.4
 ποτισκάπτω Heracl. = *προσκα-πτω 'dig up to, heap earth upon'
 ππάματα Boeot. = κτήματα. 69.4, 162.12
 πράδδω Cret. = πράττω. 84a
 πρασόντασι Heracl. 107.3
 πράτιστος. 114.1
 πρατοπάμπαις Lac. Nos. 75-78, note
 πράτος W. Grk., Boeot. = πρώ-τος. 114.1
 πρέιγα Locr. = γερούσια. 86.3
 πρέιγος, πρεϊγευτάς, πρεγγευτάς, πρέιγων, πρέιγιστος Cret. = πρέσ-βος, etc. 68.1, 86.3 with a
 πρεισβεία Thess. = πρεσβεία. 86.3
 πρεσγέα, πρεσβήα Arg. 86.3, 164.1
 πρήγιτος Cret., πρηγιστεύω Coan. 86.3a
 πρήξιον Chian = πρήξωσιν. 77.3, 150
 πρήσσω Ion. = πράττω. Cf. 8, 81
 πρήττω Eub. = πράττω. 81
 πρήγμα Chian = πρήγμα, πράγμα. 66
 πριγεῖες Boeot. = πρέσβεις. 68.1, 86.3
 πριώι, πριωσει Heracl. 159a, 161.3

προαγορεύω Agrig. 'be προάγορος, presiding officer of the ἀλία' προαγρημμένω Lesb. = προαιρου-μένου. 89.4, 157a, 162.2
 προάγγρεσις Thess. = προαίρεσις. 162.2
 πρόβατα 'sheep' in Attic, but 'cattle' in a wide sense, domestic quadrupeds, large (kine), or small (sheep and goats), in Ionic and in Arcadian (no. 18.14 ff.); in Cretan, used of small cattle in contrast to καρταίποδα (no. 117.IV.36)
 προβειπάλας Lac. = προειπάλας. 51, 59.1
 πρόβθα Cret. = πρόσθεν. 133.1
 προξενιούων Thess. = προξενιῶν. 19.3, 41.4c
 πρόξενος Corcyra, πρόξενος Cret. = πρόξενος. 54
 πρόσθα Dor. = πρόσθεν. 133.1
 προσθαγενής Arg. (προσθαγενής). No. 17.33 ff., note
 προσθιδίος El. (προστιζίδι). 165.2
 προσμέτρεις Lesb. = προσμετρέ-ων. 157
 προσπερμεία 'sprinkling with seed' Coan
 πρόστα Delph., πρόσθεν Thess. = πρόσθεν. 85.1, 133.1
 προστάτης. (1) As at Athens, one who looks after the rights of aliens. So in no. 57.34. (2) The chief magistrate of a city or state. (3) προστάται = Att. πρυ-τάνεις. So in Cos, Calymna, Cnidus, etc.
 [προστί]θησ[θον] Lesb. = προστι-θέσθων. 157a
 προσφάγιον Ceos = πρόσφαγμα 'sacrifice'
 πρότανις Lesb. (rarely Att.) = πρότανις. The more usual prefix προ- replaces here the related but uncommon πρυ-.
 προτερσίος 'of the previous time.' Delph.
 προτερία Heracl. = προτεραία 'the day before.' 46.2
 προτηνί Boeot. 'formerly.' 123, 136.1
 προτί = πρόσ. 135.6
 πρυτανήιον = πρυτανειον. 164.1
 πρωγγυεύω Heracl. 'be surety'
 πρωγγυος Heracl. 44.4
 πτόλεμος = πόλεμος. 67

πτόλις Cypr., etc. = πόλις. 67
 Πύρρος, Πυρρίας, Πυρφαλίδων 54e
 πῦς Dor. = ποί. 132.4
 Πύτιος = Πύθιος. 66
 πῶ Dor., etc. 132.8
 Φρήσις Arc. 'declaration.' 55
 ῥήτρα, El. ῥάτρα, Cypr. ῥῥετα, originally 'saying'. (Cf. ῥήτρ, etc.) but in various dialects also used of a 'formal agreement, compact, decree, law.' Cf. Heracl. κατ τὰς ῥήτρας καὶ κατ τὸν συνθήκην 'ac-cording to the laws and the compact.' Photius ῥήτραι. Τα-ραντῖνοι δὲ νόμους καὶ οἷον ψη-φίσματα, and LS s.v. II. So El. ῥάτρα 'law, covenant' Cypr. ῥῥετα 'compact,' ῥρετάω 'pro-mise.' 15, 55, 70.3
 ῥηχμός Arg. = ῥήγμος. 66
 ροφαῖσι Corcyra. 53, 76a
 ῥογός Heracl. 'granary.' Cf. He-sych. ῥογοί· σιτοὶ σιτικοί, σιτοβο-λῶνες, and Pollux 9.45 σιτοβόλια· ταῦτα δὲ ῥογοὺς Σικελιώται ὠνό-μαζον
 ῥόφος Cypr. 53
 ῥόπτον Epid. = ῥόπτρον. 70.3
 ῥύτιον, ῥυτιάζω Argol. = ῥύσιον, ῥυσιάζω. 61.3

σά Meg. = τίνα. 128
 σαδράπας = σατράπης. Still other variations in the transcription of the Persian word (χζαθ'αράνα) are seen in ἐξαθραπεύοντος, ἐξ-σατραπεύοντος, ἐξατράπης
 Σακρέτης, etc. 41.2
 Σαλαμόνα El. = Σαλμώνη. 48
 σαρμεύω Heracl. No. 79.136, note
 Σαυγένης, Σαυκράτης Boeot. 41.2
 σελάνα Dor., etc., σελάννα Lesb. = σελήνη. 76
 Σελινόντι, Σελινόντιοι. 44.4
 σιός Lac. = θεός. 64 σίν=θεόν 42.5g
 σις Cypr., σις Arc. = τις. 68.3, 128
 σιταγέρται Heracl. 'receivers and inspectors of grain.' So ἀγέρται οἱ ἀπὸ σιτωνίας at Tauromenium, σιτοφύλακες at Athens, Taurome-nium, etc., σιτώναι at Athens, Delos, etc.
 σίτηριν Eretr. = σίτησιν. 60.3
 σκευάων El. = σκευέων. 12a
 -σκευω- Meg., Cret. ἐπεσκεύωσαν, etc. 161.3

σκόφος Boeot. = σχύφος. 24
 σπάδιον Arg. = στάδιον. 88
 σπέλλω Lesb., Thess. σπόλος. 68.2a
 σποφδδάν Cret. = σπουδήν. 32, 89.4
 σπυρός Coan, Epid., Syrac., Ther., Cyren. = πυρός
 στάλα Dor., etc.; στάλλα Lesb., Thess. = στήλη. 75
 σταρέστω Delph., fr. aor. of στέ-ρομαι. 49.2
 σταρτός Cret., a subdivision of the tribe. 49.2a
 στέγα Cret. 'house.' No. 117.III.46, note
 στέγασσις Epid. 164.3
 στέπτω Coan = στέφω. 66
 στεφανίζω = -δω. 161.4
 στεφάνοι Lesb. 157b
 στεφανώι. 159a
 στεφών Ion. 'ridge.' 165.4
 στοίχεις Lesb. = στοιχέων. 78, 157
 στονόφσαν Corcyra. 164.2
 στορπά, στορπάος Arc. = άστραπή, άστραπαῖος. 5, 31
 στραταγός (Lesb. στρότ-), title of the chief magistrate of the Achaean and Aetolian Leagues, also at times of others, as the Arcadians, Thessalians, Phocians etc.; also of local magistrates in Mytilene (no. 26), Eresus, Tegea (no. 19), etc.; under Macedonian rule = provincial 'governor', in Roman times 'prefect' (no. 107).
 στρατήα Arg. 164.1
 στρότος, στρόταγος = στρατός. etc. 5
 στοροφά Delph. 'turn of the road.' No. 52 C 33 f.
 στυμέον Arg. 22b
 σύμβολον Delph. = σύμβολον. 69.3
 σύγγραφος, & Arc., Boeot., Mess., σύγγραφος (49.2) Delph., Argol. = συγγραφή 'contract'
 συγχέαι Ion. 144
 συκία Lesb. 9.2
 συλαίε El. 157c
 συμβόλικτρον & Arc. No. 20.26, note
 συμπιπίσκω Delph. 'invite to drink together'
 συναρτύω Arg. 'belong to the body of ἀρτύων.' No. 84.2, note
 συναρχοστατέω Phoc. 'join in ap-pointing magistrates'

συνδουχναφόροι Thess. 'fellow δου-νφόροι.' See δαύχνα
 συνιερξόντι Heracl. 'enclose, cut off' (the roads). No. 79.130 ff., note
 συνεσσάδδω Cret. = συν-εκ-σάττω 'assist in carrying off.' Cf. χρή-ματα ἐκσκευάζειν Strabo. 84a
 συνκλείς, -εῖτος Thess. = σύγκλη-τος ἐκκλησία. 164.10
 σφάδδω Boeot., σφάζω Ion. = σφάττω. 84a
 σφεις Arg. = σφίσι. 119.4
 σφηνόπους Ceos 'having wedge-shaped feet'
 σφυχή = ψυχή. 87
 σῶς, σω-, Σω-. 41.2

ταγά Thess. 'time when there is a ταγός,' hence 'time of war.' No. 35, note
 ταγεύω Delph., Thess. 'hold the office of ταγός'
 ταγός official title, Cypr., Delph., Thess. In Thessaly applied to (1) a military leader of the united Thessalians appointed only in time of war (cf. no. 35, note), (2) city officials like the ἀρχοντες of many places (nos. 32-34). At Delphi, officials of the phratry of the Labyadae (no. 52)
 ταί = αἰ. 122
 ταί El. = τάδε. 122
 ταινί, ταῖνον Arg. = ταῖσδε. 97.1, 123
 ταίς Lesb., El. = τῆς. 78
 τάμνω = τέμνω. 49.4
 τάμον Thess. 'of the present time.' Cf. Hom. τῆμος 'then.'
 τάνε Thess. = τάδε. 123
 τανί Boeot. = τήνδε. 122
 τανί, τανί Arg. = τῆσδε, τῶνδε, τῆσδε. 97.1, 123
 τάνω Arg. = τάδε. 123
 ταῖτα East Ion. = ταῦτα. 33
 ταυτά Lac. 132.6
 ταῦτά Locr. 'likewise.' 132.6
 ταῦται = αὐται. 124
 ταῦτέ El. 132.7
 ταῦτων El. = τούτων. 124
 τῆδε. 132.7
 τεθμός τεθμός, τέθμιος = θεσμός, θέμιος. 164.4
 τεῖδε. 132.2
 τεῖμα, τεῖμή = τιμή. 21
 τεῖα Arc., see τίνα

τέκνα Locr. = τέχνη. 66
 τελαμῶ Arg. 'support.' 89.9, no. 82, note
 τέλειος, τέλεος (1) 'perfect, unblemished,' (2) frequently = κύ-ριος 'valid' (examples in Arg., Delph., Locr., Aetol., El., Ach.), ἀγορά (ἀλιαία, etc.) τέλειος = Att. ἐκκλησία κυρία
 τελεστά El. 'official.' Cf. τέλος 'of-fice.' 105.1a
 τελεστήρ Argol. 'priest.' 164.5
 τέλεστρα, τά Ion., Coan 'expenses of inauguration.' 165.3
 τελεσφορέντες Cyren. 42.5e
 τέλεως Coan = τέλειος. 43, 276
 τέλλω Arg., Cret. (as also in poe-try) = τέλω
 τέλομαι Cret. = έσομαι. No. 120.46, 63, 69/70
 τένται Cyren. = τέλεται = έσεται. 72
 τέος Dor. = σοῦ. 118.3
 τεός Dor., Lesb., τίς Boeot. = σός. 120.2
 τέοντος Lesb. = τοιούτος. 130
 τέρτος Lesb. = τρίτος. 18a
 τέρχνια (or τέρχνια) Cypr. 'shrubs, trees.' Cf. Hesych. τέρχνα· φυτά νέα and τέρχνος· στέλεχος, κλάδος, φυτόν, βλάστημα
 τέσσαρες, τέσσερες. 81, 114.4
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 τεταρτεύς Coan, a measure, like έκτεύς
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CHART I

[illegible]

CHART II

δίδωσι, (f)λασι, -κασι, ξ in aor.
 as above, and κα, δκα, πρâτος, ιαρός
 as above, and pl. -μες, fut. -σεω, τέτορες
 ἐν with acc. λυ with acc.

φάρω 3 pl. -νθι

Attic
 Ionic
 Arcadian
 Cyprian
 Lesbian
 Thessalian
 Boeotian
 Phocian
 Locrian
 Elean
 Laconian
 Heracleian
 Megarian
 Corinthian
 Argolic
 Rhodian
 Coan
 Theran
 Cretan

ἐν, πός, etc. ἔμμι, σράλλα

εἰ, δὲ

infn. -ναι
 πέμπε, ἰα, etc.

πόδεσσι

κε, ἀπύ, δν, φίλημι

ορ, ρο = αρ, ρα