

## **Studies in Greek Lexicography**

# **Trends in Classics – Supplementary Volumes**



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## **Volume 72**

# **Studies in Greek Lexicography**



Edited by  
Georgios K. Giannakis, Christoforos Charalambakis,  
Franco Montanari and Antonios Rengakos

in honor of John N. Kazazis

**DE GRUYTER**

ISBN 978-3-11-062157-0  
e-ISBN (PDF) 978-3-11-062274-4  
e-ISBN (EPUB) 978-3-11-062161-7  
ISSN 1868-4785

**Library of Congress Control Number: 2018961669**

**Bibliographic information published by the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek**

The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie;  
detailed bibliographic data are available on the Internet at <http://dnb.dnb.de>.

© 2019 Walter de Gruyter GmbH, Berlin/Boston  
Editorial Office: Alessia Ferreccio and Katerina Zianna  
Logo: Christopher Schneider, Laufen  
Printing and binding: CPI books GmbH, Leck

[www.degruyter.com](http://www.degruyter.com)

# Preface

This collective volume is a tribute to the eminent Greek classical philologist John N. Kazazis, Professor emeritus of Aristotle University of Thessaloniki and President of the Center for the Greek Language. It consists of nineteen studies by specialists in the field of Greek lexicography, a field that Professor Kazazis served and cultivated with fervor throughout his scholarly career with a large number of contributions and original work, and to which he continues to invest much of his time and energy. We thank him for that and wish him health and strength to continue to offer in this important field of study of the Greek language.

The papers have been arranged in three thematic units, namely (i) history of Greek lexicography, (ii) etymology, and (iii) formal and practical issues of Greek lexicography: morphology, syntax and semantics. All studies apply a philological approach in the broad sense of the term, be it on matters of a more general hermeneutical and historico-philological nature or on rather formal and technical ones such as etymology, semantics or morphosyntactic issues. A number of papers deal with historical aspects of Greek lexicography covering all phases of the language, i.e. ancient, medieval and modern, as well as the interrelations of Greek to neighboring languages. In addition, some papers address more formal issues, such as morphological, semantic and syntactic problems that are relevant to the study of Greek lexicography, still others deal with the study of individual words or with linguistic terminology along with methodological, epistemological and technical issues relating to the particular problem.

There has been an effort to keep some general guidelines for all studies, but also some degree of flexibility was applied so as to keep the character and predilections of the individual authors (e.g. in terms of language style, citation format, etc.). In the same spirit, it was decided to have the bibliographical references follow the individual contribution rather than add a comprehensive bibliography at the end of the volume.

The collection may be of special interest to scholars on the long standing problems of diachronic semantics, historical morphology and word formation, and to all those who are interested in etymology and the study of the lexicon of the Greek language. The editors would like to take the opportunity and thank all contributors for submitting on time their texts and participating in the honor to our colleague. Thanks are also due to Walter de Gruyter for accepting this volume in the series *Trends in Classics – Supplementary Volumes*.

Thessaloniki – Genoa – Athens, September 2018  
The Editors



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## J.N. Kazazis, Classicist and Lexicographer

There is perhaps no better opening to this volume of lexicographical papers offered to our distinguished colleague than reminding the readers of Professor Kazazis' basic bibliography:

- Φιλippiκῶν Ῥητορικῶν Λέξεις: A Critical Edition*, 1986. Thessaloniki: Society for Macedonian Studies, [Publication of his U. of Illinois Distinguished 1975 Master's Thesis].
- Herodotos' Stories and History. A Proprietary Analysis of his Narrative Technique* 1978. Ph.D. Thesis, U. of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, an Ann Arbor publication.
- Αρχαιοελληνικός πεζός λόγος. Προλεγόμενα στην τέχνη της γραφής του* [Ancient Greek Prose. Prolegomena to the art of Ancient Greek Prose Composition] 1992. Thessaloniki.
- Λυρική Ποίηση. Ο Αρχαϊκός Λυρισμός ως Μουσική Παιδεία* [Archaic Greek Lyric Poetry as Musical Paideia] 2000. Thessaloniki.
- Euphrosyne. Studies in Ancient Epic and Its Legacy in Honor of Dimitris N. Maronitis* (eds. John N. Kazazis and Antonios Rengakos), 1999, Stuttgart: Steiner.
- Επιτομή του Λεξικού της Μεσαιωνικής Ελληνικής Δημώδους Γραμματείας 1100–1669 του Εμμ. Κριαρά* [Epitome of the Dictionary of Medieval Vulgar Greek Literature 1100–1669 by Em. Kriaras], 1st volume (A–K) ed. by J.N. Kazazis and T. Karanastasis, 2001. Thessaloniki: Centre for the Greek Language.
- Επιτομή του Λεξικού της Μεσαιωνικής Ελληνικής Δημώδους Γραμματείας 1100–1669 του Εμμ. Κριαρά* [Epitome of the Dictionary of Medieval Vulgar Greek Literature 1100–1669 by Em. Kriaras], 2nd vol. (Λ–Π) ed. by J.N. Kazazis *et al.* 2003. Thessaloniki: Centre for the Greek Language.
- A Modern Greek – English Dictionary*, vol. 1 (A) edited by D.J. Georgacas, Publication Director: J.N. Kazazis, 2005. Athens & New York: A. Caratzas Publisher. A CGL publication.
- Λεξικό της Μεσαιωνικής Ελληνικής Δημώδους Γραμματείας 1100-1669* [Dictionary of Medieval Vulgar Greek Literature 1100–1669] after Em. Kriaras redacted by a team directed by J.N. Kazazis, 2006–2016, vols. 15–20 (from παραθρασεΐα to σταματώ) Thessaloniki: Centre for the Greek Language.
- Η Λεξικογραφία της αρχαίας, μεσαιωνικής και νέας ελληνικής γραμματείας: Παρούσα κατάσταση και προοπτικές των σύγχρονων λεξικογραφικών εγχειρημάτων*. Πρακτικά Διεθνούς Ημερίδας [The Lexicography of Ancient, Medieval and Modern Greek Literature: Present State and Prospects for contemporary lexicographical projects. Proceedings of an International Conference]. Bilingual edition, ed. J.N. Kazazis, 2003, Thessaloniki: Centre for the Greek Language.
- Η Λεξικογράφηση του Ελληνικού Πολιτισμού, αρχαίου, μεσαιωνικού και νεότερου: Τα σύγχρονα εγκυκλοπαιδικά λεξικά* [Dictionaries of Ancient, Medieval and Modern Greek Civilization: Contemporary encyclopedic dictionaries], 2004, ed. J.N. Kazazis. Proceedings of an International Conference. (Bilingual [Greek – English] digital publication available at [www.greek-language.gr](http://www.greek-language.gr)).
- Το Λεξικό του Μακρυγιάννη* [The *Lexicon* of Makriyannis] (with N. Kyriazidis & J. Bréhier), 1983. Vols. I–III, Athens: Hermes (Prize of the Academy of Athens).

- Τα Ελληνικά του Μακρυγιάννη με τον Υπολογιστή* [The Greek of Makriyannis, being a digital Concordance to the *Opera Omnia* of Makriyannis] (with N. Kyriazidis) 1992. vols I–VII, Athens: Papazisis.
- Συμφραστικός Πίνακας Λέξεων Γ. Σεφέρη* [A Concordance to the Poems of G. Seferis] (with Evina Sistakou), 2003. Thessaloniki: Centre for the Greek Language.
- Οι Ελληνικές Σπουδές στην Ευρώπη. Ιστορική Ανασκόπηση από την Αναγέννηση ως το τέλος του 20ού αιώνα* [Greek Studies in Europe. A Historical Survey from the Renaissance to the end of the 20th century] (eds. J.N. Kazazis and S. Velkova), 2007 (repr. 2009). Thessaloniki: Centre for the Greek Language.
- Institutions Offering Courses of Modern Greek in Greece and Abroad: A Brief Guide Updated and Revised*, 3rd edition (eds. J.N. Kazazis and M. Sgartsou), 1998, Athens. An edition of the Greek Ministry of Education and the CGL (digital publication available at [www.greek-language.gr](http://www.greek-language.gr))
- Λόγος για την Ελληνική Γλώσσα, Λόγος για την Ελληνική Παιδεία*, 2016, Nicosia, Cyprus: Leventis Foundation.

These publications, which may be conveniently subsumed under such headings as Classical Philology, History of Classical Studies, Lexicography of Ancient, Medieval and Modern Greek, and Cultural Lexicography, allow one to discern the double line of research and teaching Kazazis pursued in his career. A few words are therefore in order about the influences which shaped his formation as a scholar and the bonds between Classical Philology and Lexicography.

At Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, Kazazis (b. 1947) was taught by the eminent classical scholars J. Th. Kakridis and Stylianos Kapsomenos and by the historical linguist N. Andriotis. All three had worked for the ‘Center for the Redaction of the Historical Lexicon of Modern Greek’ of the Academy of Athens, and they shared a virtually unprecedented knowledge of the historical development of Greek from antiquity to the present day, advocating the importance *totius graecitatis* in all matters linguistic and philological. Passionately dedicated to the cause of Demotic Greek (*Dimotiki*), they put their vision of Greek to the service of education and society at large.

In the U.S.A., Kazazis spent a year working on the compilation of a dictionary on grand scale at the ‘Center for the Modern Greek-English Dictionary’ at the University of North Dakota in Grand Forks. Its director, Professor D.J. Georgacas (1908–1990), was steeped in the tradition of Georgios Hatzidakis (1848–1941), Eduard Schwyzer (1874–1943), and Max Vasmer (1886–1962), and cultivated a life-long friendship with Kakridis, Kapsomenos, Andriotis, and Em. Kriaras. When he was a researcher at the ‘Center for the Redaction of the Historical Lexicon of Modern Greek’ of the Athens Academy, Georgacas had met Kriaras, who was at the time director of the ‘Medieval Archive’ of the Athens Academy prior to his moving to the University of Thessaloniki to assume the chair of Medieval Greek Literature and undertake the compilation of the massive *Lexicon of Medieval Greek Vulgar*

*Literature 1100–1669* to replace Du Cange. Georgacas, already an acclaimed etymologist, proved an ideal mentor for Kazazis in historical linguistics.

From 1972 to 1978, Kazazis pursued graduate work in Classics at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, where he became acquainted with classical philology as an exact discipline of the school of W.A. Oldfather, Alexander Turyn, Revilo P. Oliver, Mark Naoumides, and M. Marcovich, while at Yale University he studied under John Herington and Gordon Williams. By a stroke of luck, he was exposed to three scholars who practiced the method of the famous Berlin Seminar, transplanted during World War II from Germany to Oxford by its proponent, their common teacher Eduard Fraenkel. Both his thesis supervisor, John Kevin Newman, and his Yale colleagues Herington and Williams had been old Oxonians. Finally, it was at Urbana that he came under the spell of some of the finest historical linguists of the time, Henry and René Kahane, and the father of modern Lexicography Ladislav Zgusta—all outstanding Greek scholars.

Upon his return to Greece in 1978 as a faculty member in the University of Thessaloniki's Department of Philology, he taught Prose Composition, Lyric Poetry and Epigram, Homer and Hellenistic Epic, and collaborated closely with Dimitris Maronitis, the most incisive contemporary Homeric scholar in Greece. There followed two post-doctoral research fellowships in the early eighties, at Harvard's 'Center for Hellenic Studies' (Washington, D.C., 1982-83), and the Austrian Academy of Sciences (Vienna, 1982). He served as a visiting Professor at the University of Maryland (College Park, 1989/90), and was nominated a George Miller Professor, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. In parallel, he served as Research Coordinator at the 'Center for the Redaction of the Historical Lexicon of Greek' of the Athens Academy (1989-94) and Director for Minor Languages of the *Atlas Linguarum Europae* (ALE).

The dots were connected with the establishment of the "Centre for the Greek Language" in the Thessaloniki (1994), as a research and applications institution of the Ministry of Education, when Kazazis was appointed Deputy President and later President of the Board. The CGL gave him the opportunity to succeed Kriaras, in the compilation of his Medieval Dictionary (after Kriaras' fourteen volumes, Kazazis, with a highly specialized team of redactors, has to date edited six volumes—the seventh, no. 21, will be published in 2018), and to continue Georgacas' *Modern Greek-English Dictionary*: he arranged for the Georgacas Dictionary Archive (2.5 million slips of paper with excerpts from Greek literary and non-literary sources from 1800 to 2000) and the 7,000 volumes in the Dictionary's Library to be donated to the CGL and transferred from Grand Forks to Thessaloniki. He subedited and published Volume 1 (A), encompassing nearly one-sixth of the dictionary, already redacted in magisterial fashion by Georgacas himself, and he

organized the digitization of the archival material into a relational database to facilitate further redaction.

For the needs of the CGL as a national institution for language, Kazazis became engaged in the creative integration of New Technologies in language research and teaching (databases, digital learning environments, digital communities of practice, the architecture of digital learning). In close collaboration with Professor Dimitris Koutsogiannis and numerous Greek scholars, foreign specialists, and teachers he devoted a substantial amount of time to the creation of: a *Komvos* for the Greek Language ([www.komvos.edu.gr](http://www.komvos.edu.gr), operational since 2000) and a comprehensive *Portal for the Greek Language* ([www.greek-language.gr](http://www.greek-language.gr), operational since 2008); a number of other dedicated digital data bases; a digital community of practice called “Fryktories” ([www.komvos.edu.gr/fryktories/index.php](http://www.komvos.edu.gr/fryktories/index.php) (since 2002), and a substantive enrichment of the Portal called *Ψηφίδες* (digital “tesserae”, operational since 2016). The success of the Portal may be judged by its 420,000 unique visitors per month. For years, all forms of typical and atypical Greek language instruction in Greece and abroad have been drawing on the CGL’s rich repositories of digital resources to support everyday work.

As a result of his student and teaching experience and the infrastructure and resources of the CGL, Kazazis gradually became an advocate of a holistic model of modern philology to serve contemporary educational needs. As modern-day Greek is a rich, subtle, and multilayered language (integrating elements from all periods of Greek from antiquity to the present), and as classrooms in Greece are being gradually transformed into classes of mixed audiences, today’s Greek teacher must be able to perform a near-miracle. He must be able to teach Greek both as a mother tongue and as a foreign language. Therefore, parallel to his duties as Chairman of the National Council for Primary and Secondary Education, he headed teams of work and with Koutsogiannis designed new curricula for Greek in the schools (2011 and 2015) with innovative features underpinned by the digital resources of the CGL. The CGL provides teaching materials, models, and teacher retraining (professional development) to help the educational system respond to new and unforeseeable challenges.

Since 1994, responding to a call by the Rector and the Senate of the University of Thessaloniki, Kazazis designed, organized, and continues to oversee “JASON”, a program designed to provide practical assistance and resources to Departments of Greek Studies in sixteen universities across the Black Sea region. Today, after the practical support and the infrastructure Aristotle University of Thessaloniki has provided (including over 800 summer scholarships to foreign students), a number of PhDs have been produced, as well as college and school teachers of Greek and a body of bilingual staff and entrepreneurs in six countries. Thanks to

“JASON”, Greek Studies in the region is experiencing a noteworthy renaissance, and the ‘Jasonites’ in these countries form a dynamic physical and digital community of Modern Greek enthusiasts. In 2016, Modern Greek was introduced as an optional second foreign language in the Russian school system. The CGL was present and active in this effort too.

In 2014 Kazazis became professor emeritus of Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, and in 2015 he was honored for his work by the UNESCO Chair of Intercultural Policy of the University of Macedonia and the UNESCO Center for Women and Peace in the Balkan Countries. In 2015 he became Honorary Professor and Dr. of the Kuban State University of Krasnodar, Russia.





Christoforos Charalambakis

## **Kriaras' *Medieval Dictionary* and its importance for the study of Modern Greek**

Emmanuel Kriaras (1906–2014) was the last eminent demoticist of the twentieth century, and the most famous Greek lexicographer.<sup>1</sup> He had the rare privilege of living a long, healthy life, reaching the age of 108 years, and was able to produce high quality scientific work. He has been admired for his stamina, social sensibilities, stable democratic principles, courage and insight. Kriaras was a pioneer in lexicography, an innovative demoticist, an eminent byzantinist, a famous specialist in Cretan literature and in Modern Greek language and literature. He introduced comparative literature to Greece, he was an eager correspondent and, in his earlier years, was a poet and prose writer. His outstanding qualitative and quantitative scientific work, which is posted on the portal for the Center for the Greek Language,<sup>2</sup> will guide and inspire future generations. The opus magnum of his brilliant research is undoubtedly the *Dictionary of Medieval Greek Demotic Literature, 1100–1669*, the so-called “Kriaras’ Dictionary” [henceforth DictKr], which has been enthusiastically accepted by the international scientific community. I have presented the dictionary’s advantages in a few publications.<sup>3</sup>

For the compilation of the Academy of Athens’ *Practical Dictionary of Modern Greek* [APractDict], DictKr was a model for imitation used extensively to better present meanings and etymologies for many entries. Emmanuel Kriaras cheerfully encouraged the project from the beginning. His great lexicographical experience, insightful criticisms and valuable suggestions were offered with generosity.<sup>4</sup>

An entire monograph could be written on the importance of DictKr to Modern Greek lexicography. Thousands of medieval words that survive in Modern Greek

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I am grateful to Dr Nikolaos Lavidas, Assistant Professor of Linguistics at the Department of Theoretical and Applied Linguistics, School of English, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, for invaluable comments. I am entirely responsible for the remaining errors.

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1 For an overall evaluation of his work, see Charalambakis (2015).

2 [http://www.greek-language.gr/greekLang/medieval\\_greek/em\\_kriaras/bibliography.html?g=1](http://www.greek-language.gr/greekLang/medieval_greek/em_kriaras/bibliography.html?g=1). See Kazazis *et al.* (2013).

3 The most important are Charalambakis (2003, 2005, 2015).

4 The Academy of Athens, of which he was a corresponding member, warmly thanks him in the preface to the dictionary.

and its dialects are interpreted with clarity and completeness. Their meanings are presented in detail with a number of characteristic examples and fully documented etymologies.

The newly published volumes 19 (*ραβιόλι-σιργουλιστά*), Thessaloniki 2014, and 20 (*σιρόκος-σταματώ*), Thessaloniki 2016 compiled by a group of collaborators under the direction of the brilliant lexicographer, distinguished classicist and active President of the Center for the Greek Language, John N. Kazazis, present the same methodological accuracy and virtues as the previous volumes. On the basis of the new data and information provided in these volumes, it is necessary to revise some entries in APractDict as well as in all recent dictionaries of Modern Greek, as shown by the following indicative cases.<sup>5</sup>

*ραβιόλι* ‘ravioli’: The word is medieval in origin, so the correct etymology is Medieval *ραβιόλι* < ιταλ. ravioli. The form *ραφιόλια* with the meaning ‘pasta stuffed with various ingredients (minced meat, cheese, vegetables, etc.)’ is to be found in the Cretan comedy Stathis (17th c.). The three consulted dictionaries refer directly to the Italian origin of the word. APractDict has a separate entry for the variant form *ραφιόλια* with two distinct meanings: 1. Confectionery. Scallops with Chian mastic. 2. Cookery. Fried pies with mizithra cheese [< Italian ravioli (dolci)]. Parian sweet ravioli are well known.

*ρακάκι*: diminutive form of *raki* ‘a strong alcoholic beverage’. The first known attestation is in the 17th c. DictKr describes the word as ‘caressing’, but the term ‘intimate’ is more appropriate. The same applies to a series of entries such as *σεντουκάκι* ‘small chest’. Further, 80% of the diminutives do not convey the smallness of an object, but denote a sense of intimacy or endearment. The original word *ρακι* has also been known since the 16th c. Therefore, the three dictionaries under comparison would be more consistent if they provided the exact etymology: Medieval *ρακί* < Turkish *raki*.

*ραντιστήρι* ‘sprinkler’: the form is medieval (16th c.). DictBab and APractDict refer only to the Late Greek *ραντιστήριον*, while DictTr does not record the word.

*ρέγκα* ‘herring’: The word dates to the 14th c. but is ignored by all three dictionaries, as well as by EtymDictBab. DictDemKr and DictTr prefer the writing *ρέγγα*, which DictBab suggests is wrong. APractDict gives the alternative spelling as equivalent. DictKr lemmatizes *ρέγκα*. The spelling *ρέγγα* represents the purist

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<sup>5</sup> In this study, the following dictionaries are taken into account: Triandaphyllidis (1998), Babiniotis (2012) Academy of Athens (2014). For additional information I consulted Babiniotis (2009). A general observation that applies to the three above mentioned dictionaries is that the characterization of a word as medieval is very broad, as it covers several centuries. Where there is an exact date of first occurrence of the word, it is well that it be listed in the etymological part, even in general Modern Greek dictionaries. For example, *αποπληρωμή* ‘payout’ occurs in a will by the notary Ioannis Olokalos dated November 17, 1529, but most likely is even older. Koumanoudis (1980) dates the word back to 1896. The same erroneous information exists in Babiniotis (2009, 2012).

tendency of the past in which the writing -γγ- “looks more Greek”. Modern Greek corpora show that the trend is for the spelling -γκ- to prevail.

ρeguλάρω ‘regulate’: APractDict gives no etymology, DictTr connects the verb with the Medieval *ρέγουλα*<sup>6</sup> and DictBab with the Italian *regolare*. The correct etymology is: Medieval *ρεγουλάρω* < Italian *regolare*. In Erotokritos the form *ρευολάρω* is attested.

ρετσέτα ‘recipe’: The three consulted dictionaries propose an etymology from the Venetian *receta* without mentioning that the word is attested in medieval texts.

ρετσίνι ‘resin’: DictTr and APractDict ignore the medieval origin of the word.

ρήτορας ‘orator’: The three consulted dictionaries refer to the Ancient Greek *ρήτωρ*. However, the form *ρήτορας* can be found in Vlachos 1784.

ρίμα ‘rhyme’: All three dictionaries propose an etymology from the Italian *rima* and fail to mention the appearance of the word in medieval texts. The influence of the French *rime* in some uses cannot be excluded.

ριμάδα ‘rhymed couplets’: DictTr and APractDict propose the following etymology: from the Venetian *\*rimada*. Nevertheless, the word has been known since the 16th c. DictBab quotes the forms *ριμάτα* and *ριμάδα*, suggesting the etymology from the Italian *rimata*. DictKr proposes the correct etymology from the New Latin *rimada*.

ροκανίζω ‘plane, nibble’: All three dictionaries mention the Medieval *ροκανίζω*, yet the form *ροκανίζω*, according to Trapp, dates between the 12th c. and 14th c.

ρομπόλα ‘white wine made from Ribolla grape’: All three dictionaries fail to etymologize the word. DictKr gives the date of its first appearance (16th c.) and the correct etymology from the Italian *ribolla*. The white wine from the island of Kefalonia with the same name has the indication “Protected Designation of Origin” (PDO). On Wikipedia we find a typical folk etymology “It is probably derived from the Greek word *ρόμβος* ‘rhombus’ (Italian *rombo*), a figure in which ceremonial properties were also given. The word possibly implies the wine’s power to charm us, to bring us to a state of musing or light drunkenness”.<sup>7</sup>

ρότα ‘route, course’: DictBab relates the word to the Italian *rotta*, as does DictKr, while DictTr and APractDict prefer the Venetian *rota*, which is the most likely etymology since the word is of Venetian origin and dated to the 17th c.

ρομπίνι ‘ruby’: DictTr connects the word to the Italian *rubin(o)*, through a similar morphological process as in the case of *μαργαριτάρι* ‘pearl’, and DictBab, from the French *rubin*.<sup>8</sup> The word has been known since the 17th c. DictKr correctly notes: “from the plural form *rubini* of the Italian *rubino*.”

ρουσφέτι ‘bribe’: All three dictionaries, as well as EtymDictBab, propose the following etymology: from the Turkish *rüşvet*. The word exists since the 17th c. with the meaning ‘bribery’ or ‘bribe’. In a letter written by Eugene Giannoulis (1595–1682), an eminent teacher of the nation and a strong fighter of Orthodoxy, we read: (for a *kadis* ‘judge’): *Δεν παίρνει ρουσφέτια* ‘He takes no bribes.’

<sup>6</sup> [ρέγουλ(α) -άρω]. In practice, it is a morphological analysis. In many cases etymology is identified with morphology, a topic that needs to be examined in more detail.

<sup>7</sup> [https://el.wikipedia.org/wiki/ρομπόλα\\_Κεφαλλονιάς](https://el.wikipedia.org/wiki/ρομπόλα_Κεφαλλονιάς)

<sup>8</sup> EtymDictBab restores the correct etymology.

ρουφιάννα ‘a wicked woman’: DictBab and DictTr have a single entry for both the masculine and the feminine form. APractDict prefers separate entries, since the meanings are different, but no etymology is offered. Medieval *ρουφιάννα* comes from Italian *ruffiana*.

ρουφιάννος ‘pimp’, ‘snitch’: All three dictionaries etymologize it from the Italian *ruffiano*, without mentioning that the word is already Medieval.

ρουφιανίτσα: The three dictionaries do not mention this diminutive form which is still in use today. *Ἐπαινος των γυναικῶν* (Women’s praise, 15th c.) attests the form *ροφιανίτσα*.

ρουχάκι, ρουχαλάκι ‘small clothes’: Both diminutives are attested in medieval texts. In Neofytos Rodinos (17th c.) we read: *Οι πτωχοί, οι πεινασμένοι ευχαριστούνται με ολίγα ψωμί, με ολίγα ρουχάκια* ‘The poor, the hungry are pleased with a little bread, with a few rugs.’

ρούχο ‘clothing’: It dates back to the 13th c. The plural *ρούχα* ‘clothes’ dates back to the 6th c. All three dictionaries relate its etymology to the form *ρούχον*. DictTr and DictBab propose the established etymology, from the Slavic *ruho*. DictKr correctly prefers the etymology of the Late Latin *roccus*, *rucus*, as Stylianos Alexiou has shown with convincing arguments.<sup>9</sup>

ροφός ‘groupier, the fish *Epinephelus marginatus*’: All three dictionaries etymologize the word from the Late Greek *ορφός*. The form *ροφός* is attested in the work of Zane Ventramo *Ιστορία των γυναικῶν, των καλών και των κακῶν* (History of women, good and bad, 16th c.).

ρώγα: All three dictionaries refer to the Ancient Greek *ῥώξ*, accusative *ῥώγα*. Nevertheless, the three meanings of the word (1. berry of the grape. 2. nipple. 3. inner fingertip) are medieval.

ρωμαίικος: DictTr proposes the etymology Medieval *Ρωμαί(ος)* ‘citizen of the eastern Roman state’ < Hellenistic *Ῥωμαῖος* ‘citizen of Rome’ plus the suffix *-ικος* (see also *ρωμικός*). DictBab accepts more or less the same etymology and APractDict does not provide any etymological information. The aforementioned dictionaries do not acknowledge the medieval origin of the word.

Σάββατο ‘Saturday’: The forms *Σάββατο* and *Σαββάτο* appear in the Chronicle of Morea (14th c.).

σακιάζω ‘put in a sack’: APractDict does not lemmatize the word. DictBab includes no etymological information, whereas DictTr provides a morphological analysis [*σακ(i) -ιάζω*]. The verb is of medieval origin.

σακοράφα ‘darning needle’: The etymology in the DictTr is partially a morphological analysis: “*σακοράφ(i)* augmentativ *-α* < Medieval *σακκοράφ(ιον)* hypocoristic of the Late Greek *σακκοράφος* (id est *βελόνη*) (see *σάκος*).” DictBab links the word to the Late Greek adjective *σακ(κ)οράφος*. APractDict incorrectly derives it from the Medieval *σακκοράφιον*. EtymDictBab mentions the medieval origin of the word (11th c.). According to DictKr, the word appears in a very interesting context in a nostrum, dating back to the 16th c.

<sup>9</sup> Alexiou (2009), 196: the garment, originally the outer garment, is the Medieval *rucus* (*suprema vestis*) of Western Europe.

σακούλα 'bag': DictTr, DictBab and DictKr consider the word to be diminutive of *σάκος* 'sack' (*σακ-ούλα*). However, it is most likely formed on the hypocoristic *σακούλι* with the augmentative ending *-α*, as claimed by Minas (2003). None of the three dictionaries indicates the medieval origin of the word.

σακούλι 'small bag': DictTr and APractDict inaccurately etymologize it from the Medieval *σακούλι(ο)ν*. DictBab offers the correct etymology from Medieval *σακούλι*. Paradoxically, EtymDictBab gives an inaccurate etymology: *σακ(κ)ούλι(ο)ν*. It should be noted that the diminutive *σακουλάκι* is also medieval.

σάλα 'hall': All three dictionaries suggest an etymology from the Italian *sala*. The word has been known since the 13th c. It is therefore a medieval word. Thus, the exact etymology is from the Medieval Latin *sala*.

σαλαμούρα 'brine': The exact etymology, which is not present in any of the three dictionaries, is from the Medieval Greek *σαλαμούρα* (perhaps "a kind of sauce"), which comes directly from the Venetian *salamora*.

σαλάτα 'salad': All three dictionaries propose an etymology from Venetian. The word, however, has been known since the 17th c. Thus, the exact etymological information should be: Medieval *σαλάτα* < Venetian *salata*. In some Modern Greek examples, the influence of the French *salade* cannot be excluded.

σαλατικό: "Every vegetable with which salad is prepared; synecdochically salad". APractDict and DictBab do not offer any etymology. DictTr and EtymDictBab provide, as usual, a morphological analysis: *σαλάτ(α) -ικό*, neuter form of the *σαλατικός*. The origin is medieval (16th c.).

σάλιο 'saliva': The correct etymology is from the Medieval *σάλιο(ν)*. The idiom *τρέχουν τα σάλια μου* meaning 'it is my intense desire to enjoy or acquire something, covet' is also medieval.

σάλτσα 'sauce': DictTr provides the following etymological information: "Medieval \**σάλτσα* (cf. Medieval *σάρτσα*) < Italian *salsa* with development of [t] to facilitate articulation or Italian (dialectal) *salza*." DictBab, like APractDict, relates the word to the Italian *salsa*, whereas EtymDictBab prefers the dialectal Italian *salza*. *Σάλτσα*, unattested according to DictTr, has been well known since the 16th c.

σαμάρι 'saddle': DictTr and APractDict etymologize it from the Medieval *σαμάριον*, whereas DictBab correctly derives it from the form *σαμάρι* of the same period. Nevertheless, EtymDictBab refers to the inaccurate medieval form *σαμάριον*.

σανίδι 'board': DictBab and EtymDicLMP etymologize the word from the Ancient Greek *σανίδιον*. DictTr correctly refers to the medieval form *σανίδι*, and APractDict to *σανίδιν*. The literal meaning of the diminutive *σανιδάκι* is medieval as well.

σαπίλα 'corruption, immorality': None of the three dictionaries acknowledges that the word, with a metaphorical sense, has been known since the 16th c.

σαράι 'serai': this form dates back to the 16th c.

σαρδέλα 'sardine': APractDict should have included the information that the medieval word comes from the Italian *sardella*. The reference to the French word *sardine* was made in APractDict to state that the meaning 'galoon' is from this language, which is stated for the first time in a Modern Greek dictionary.<sup>10</sup> The idiom

<sup>10</sup> See Petit Robert (2017): "(1817) Arg. milit. Galon de caporal, de brigadier ou de sous-officier."

σαν *σαρδέλες* ‘like sardines’ with the meaning of ‘twisted, one over the other’ is attested from the 17th c. It is worth noting that the same expression occurs in several European languages. Cf. French *être serrés comme des sardines*, German *wie Sardinen*, Italian *essere stretti come sardine*. The French and German words come from the Italian *sardina*, Latin *sardina*, Late Greek *σαρδίνη* ‘fish from the island of Sardinia.’

σαρίκι ‘turban’: DictTr and APractDict etymologize it from the Turkish *sarik*. DictBab correctly states that it is a Late Medieval word. There is a recording of this word from the 17th c. The etymology from *καισαρικιον*, which DictTr accepts and EtymDictBab does not exclude, seems unlikely.

σαφράν ‘saffron’: DictBab and APractDict state that the word was borrowed from French *safran*, whereas it is already medieval (*The Assizes of the Lusignan Kingdom of Cyprus*, 13th c.) deriving from the Old French *safran*. DictTr does not record the word.

σάχης ‘shah’: APractDict is the only dictionary not to mention that the word is attested in medieval times. Its use from the 13th c. is very interesting (Greek poems by Maulana Rumi: in an address, probably affectionately used, according to DictKr: *Έλα καλέ μου, έλα σάχη μου* ‘Come on, my dear, come on my Shah’). The expression *καλέ μου* ‘my dear’ confirms this interpretation.

σβήσιμο ‘erasing’: DictBab merely quotes the word; DictTr provides a morphological analysis (*σβησ-* (*σβήνω*) *-μο*), while APractDict includes no etymology. In a literal sense, the word is found in Michael Soumakis, *The faithful priest* (17th c.).

σβηστός ‘extinct, off’: All three dictionaries etymologize it from the Late Greek *σβεστός*; yet the word is medieval (16th c.).

σγουραίω ‘curl’: None of the three dictionaries has taken into account that the word appears in a Calendar (15th c.) with the same meaning.

σερβίρω ‘serve’: The exact etymology of this medieval verb is given by DictKr: Venetian-Italian *servir(e)*.

σερβίτσιο ‘dinnerware, cutlery’: All three dictionaries provide the following etymology: from the Italian *servizio*. More accurate is the etymology: Medieval *σερβίτσιο* ‘service’ < Venetian-Italian *servizio*.

σεργιάνι ‘stroll’: All three dictionaries only refer to the Turkish *seyran*, even though the word is already medieval. The expression *κάνω σεργιάνι* ‘go for a walk’ is a loan translation, from the Turkish expression *seyran etmek*.

σεργιανίζω ‘go for a walk. None of the three dictionaries indicate that a medieval verb *σερ(γ)ιανίζω* existed.

σερμαγιά and σερμαγιά ‘belongings’: All three dictionaries ignore the fact that both forms are medieval.

σερπεντίνης ‘serpentine’: Only APractDict includes this lemma. Etymology: Medieval *σερπεντίνα* < Italian *serpentina*.

σηκωμός ‘(up)rising’: None of the three dictionaries mentions the medieval origin of the word.

σηκώνω ‘raise’: This verb shows a striking polysemy in the DictKr with 23 additional phrases, many of which are preserved until today: *εσήκωσε τον δάκτυλόν του και έσεισεν και εφοβέρισέ τον* ‘he raised his toe and raised it and scoffed’ (17th c.), *σηκώνω το χέριν* ‘I raise my hand’ means ‘I practice physical violence’, Machairas (15th c.). The meaning of ‘I take away something from someone’ dates to the 13th c. and of ‘I wake up someone who sleeps’, ‘I grab, steal’ to the 15th c. The meaning of the imperative form *σήκω/σηκώσου* in asyndeton or in a complex sentence to denote

incitement or to have the desire to do something immediately, is stated by the 14th c. Cf. Pulologos (17th c.): *Σηκώσου, φύγε* 'Get up, go'. The phrase *σηκώνονται οι τρίχες μου* 'my hair stands on end' to describe the feeling of fear, terror or horror is found in the 17th c. The expression *σηκώνεται άνεμος/δυνατός νότος* 'wind/strong south wind blows' is medieval. The following collocations are medieval as well: *σηκώνω το τραπέζι(ν)* 'I gather the dishes after the meal, I clean the table' (17th c.), *σηκώνω την φωνήν* 'I raise my voice' (16th c.). See in DictKr the expressions *σηκώνω το ποτήρι* 'I lift the glass', *σηκώνω το κεφάλι* 'I raise my head', *σηκώνει ο νους* 'I can imagine'.

**σηκωτός** 'up, raised': The word is used in texts of the 16th and 17th c. It is lemmatized in the *Thesaurus Graecae Linguae* by Henry Stephanus. None of the three dictionaries states the medieval origin of the word. In John Moresino's *Solomon's Bed* (17th c.), there is an expression that is used until today: *Εγώ είμαι εκείνος οπού έβγαλες οψές αργάς έξω της εκκλησίας σηκωτόν ...* 'I am the one that you frog-marched out of the church last night ...'.

**σημάδι** 'sign': DictBab derives the word directly from the Late Greek *σημάδιον*, EtymDictBab restores the correct medieval form *σημάδιον*, which is also recorded in the DictTr and the APractDict. More precisely, however, the form *σημάδι(ν)* should be included instead. The expression *μηδέ για σημάδι* 'not the slightest sign' is attested in Anthimos Diakrousis, 17th c. None of the three dictionaries quotes the corresponding Modern Greek expression *ούτε για σημάδι* with the same meaning.

**σήμερα** 'today': According to all three dictionaries, the word is derived from the Ancient Greek *σήμερον*. DictTr: Ancient Greek *σήμερ(ον)* -α, like *τώρα* 'now'. DictBab: *σήμερον/τήμερον*. Modern Greek *σήμερα* is formed on the analogy to the adverbs ending in -α. EtymDictBab accepts the interpretation of the DictTr. The form *σήμερα* has been known since the 12th c. The expression *ως τα σήμερα* 'until today' (16th c.) is not mentioned in any of the three dictionaries, although it is quite widespread in Modern Greek.

**σημερινός** 'of today': The expression *τη σημερινή ημέρα* 'this day' is attested in Erofilis (17th c.). Cf. Modern Greek *τη σημερινή ημέρα*. An equivalent expression is found in Late Greek texts: *την σήμερον ημέρα* 'today, nowadays'.

**σήτα** 'sieve': APractDict offers no etymology, whereas DictTr and DictBab unnecessarily relate the word to the verb *σήθω* 'sift'. This noun with the meaning 'thin sieve' is used in *Georonica* of Agapios Landos (17th c.).

**σιγοτραγουδάω**: Cf. Medieval *σιγανοτραγουδάω* 'I am singing in a low voice'.

**σίγουρος** 'sure': DictTr and APractDict connect the word to the Medieval *σιγούρος*. DictBab correctly refers to the Medieval *σίγουρος*, from the Venetian *seguro*, whereas DictKr derives the word more accurately from the dialectal Italian *siguro/seguro*.

**σιδερικό**: Cf. Medieval *σιδερικά* 'tools and utensils made of iron' attested in a will written by Ioannis Okolalos.

**σίδερο** 'iron': All three dictionaries etymologize it from the Medieval *σίδερον*; the form, however, without the final -ν is more accurate. The phrase *μασει τα σίδερα*, verbatim 'he chews irons', used in the metaphorical sense 'he has great physical strength' is known from Erotokritos.

**σιδερόπορτα** 'iron door': The variant form *σιδηρόπορτα* is attested since the 17th c.

**σικάλη** 'rye': DictTr and APractDict say nothing about the fact that this form is already medieval (17th c.).

σιρόκος ‘sirocco’: The word dates from the 16th c. DictTr and DictBab link the word with the Italian *scirocco* but the correct etymology is the following: Medieval (16th c.) *σιρόκος*, Venetian *siroco*, Italian *scirocco*.

σκεμπές ‘abdomen or stomach of a slaughtered animal’: None of the three dictionaries acknowledges that the feminine form of the word has been known since the 17th c.

σκέτος ‘pure, simple’: All three dictionaries etymologize it from the Italian *schietto*, but the word has been known since the 17th c.

σκονίζω ‘I dirty someone or something with dust’: None of the three dictionaries includes the information that the word has been known since the 12th c. according to a philological correction by H. Eideneier, *Prodromic poems* 4, 421. During the 15th c. the word was in common use.

σκότα ‘rope with which the sailboat sails are regulated’: All three dictionaries link the word with Italian *scotta*, but the word appears for the first time in the 15th c.

σκούζω ‘howl’: This verb is unquestionably linked to the Ancient Greek *σκούζομαι* ‘I am angry, outraged’, but the form *σκούζω* was attested in the 17th c.

σκρίνιο ‘a kind of wooden furniture’: All three dictionaries link the word to the Late Greek *σκρίνιον*. DictKr etymologizes it from the Italian-Venetian *scrigno*. In the 16th and 17th centuries, the Venetian influence is more likely.

σκυλολόι: None of the three dictionaries mentions the medieval origin of the word, which dates to the 14th c. in the meaning ‘pack of dogs’. This sense, along with the more common metaphorical one ‘a lot of wicked people’, has been preserved up until today.

σουλατσάρω ‘I wander around aimlessly’: All three dictionaries link the verb to Italian *sollazzare* without mentioning its medieval (17th c.) existence.

σουπιά ‘cuttlefish’: DictBab correctly states the medieval form of the word (see Agapios Landos, *Georonikon*, 17th c.), while DictTr and APractDict refer only to the variant form *σουπία*.

None of the three dictionaries mentions that the following Modern Greek words are already medieval: *ροδοκοκκινίζω* ‘I get red color like the rose’, *ροδοκοκκίνισμα* ‘the result of *ροδοκοκκινίζω*’, *ρουφιανεύω* ‘calumniate, slander’, *ρουφιανιά* ‘calumni’, *σαλιάρης* ‘driveler’, *σαλπάρω* ‘put to sea’, *σάλτο* ‘jump’, *σιχασιά* ‘squeamishness’, *σιχασιάρης* ‘squeamish’, *σκάψιμο(ν)* ‘digging’. The following words are attested from the 14th c.: *σκουριάζω* ‘rust’, *σουφρώνω* ‘I get wrinkles’, in medieval times; ‘shrivel, steal’, in Modern Greek, *σπηλιά* ‘cave’ (as a place name), *σπουργίτι* ‘sparrow’. *Σπουδαστήριο* with the meanings ‘school’ and ‘faculty’ has been known since the 15th c. Words dating back to the 16th c. include: *σκοτεινάδα* ‘darkness’, *σκουπίδι* ‘rubbish’, *σκουπίζω* ‘wipe’, *σμαράγδι* ‘emerald’, *στάλα* ‘drop’, *σταλίζω* ‘(for flock) I rest at noon in a shady place’. The following words date back to the 17th century: *ρεφενές* ‘joint payment with the amount corresponding to each’, *σαστιζώ* ‘I am embarrassed’, *σεντέφι* ‘nacre’, *σιδεράς* ‘smith’, *σκληρόκαρδος* ‘hardhearted’, *σμιχτός* ‘united, connected to something’, *σμπάρος* ‘gunshot’, *σοκάκι* ‘narrow and small road’, *σουβλερός*



'pointed', *σοφάς* 'low divan', *σοφράς* 'low dinner table', *σπεκουλάρω* 'manage', in medieval times; 'I am an opportunist', in Modern Greek.

DictKr, as illustrated here based on the recently published volumes 19 and 20, is an invaluable treasure – among other things – for a thorough study of Modern Greek.<sup>11</sup> The great number of lemmata illustrates the rich heritage of the demotic language. Not only etymology, but also the study of phonology, morphology and syntax as well, will profit from the data and the explanations provided in this dictionary, as I hope to have demonstrated (necessarily to a limited extent) in this paper.

Semantics will be the great winner by exploiting this dictionary. The analytical presentation of the meanings of each lemma, while recording semantic shades, opens up new directions for comparative research. It is of great scientific interest to locate the meanings that are preserved till today, as well as to trace their first appearance.

An unexplored field of research is the connection of etymology to semantics. Depending on the meanings of a word, different etymologies can be correct.<sup>12</sup> DictKr is a valuable source for this issue, too. For example, *αετός* 'eagle' also means 'intelligent man'. This second meaning is a loan translation of the Italian *aquilone*.

By studying the entries in DictKr one realizes that thousands of loan words that were once used in everyday speech have become obsolete over the years. Indicative of this is the following list from the last published volume: *σοτοκόπα* 'saucer' < Venetian *sotocopa*, Italian *sottocoppa*, *σοτοπόστος* 'dependent' < Venetian *sotoposto*, Italian *sottoposto*, *σοτοσκριβέρω* 'undersign' < Italian *sottoscrivere*, *σοτοσκριτός* 'undersigned' < Italian *sottoscritto*, *σοτοσκριτσιόν* 'signature' < Italian *sottoscrizione*, *σουάλιος* 'common' < Medieval Latin *usualis*, *σουάτζα* 'frame' < Venetian *soaza*, Old Italian *soazza*.

Some argue – not only in Greece but also in other countries – that foreign words should be avoided, or even worse, eliminated because they alter the physiognomy of a language. The historical development of languages clearly shows that those who want to expel foreign words and phrases from common speech try to do so in vain. Loanwords that are functional and cover communication and scientific needs are incorporated into the target language

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<sup>11</sup> When additional research extends to all published volumes, many new cases will appear. See the following indicative list of lemmas: *δροσούλα* 'diminutive of *dew*', *καρβέλι* 'loaf', *καρπέτα* 'thick wool textile', *κολαούζος*, cf. Medieval *κουλαούζης* 'guide', *κομπόστα* 'compote', *κορασάνι* 'a kind of mortar', *κουτσούνα* 'doll', *κρεπάρω* 'run out', *λαούτο* 'lute', *μάλη* 'a kind of dog disease', *Παναγίτσα* 'diminutive of *Mother of God*'.

<sup>12</sup> I am dealing with this issue in another study in which I will give many detailed examples.

and, after many years, they probably do not bother anyone. Those that do not meet these criteria or express concepts or objects that are no longer in use gradually disappear. DictKr confirms in the best way that languages evolve and follow their own independent course without being subjected to regulatory tendencies. More importantly, DictKr is also a basic source for the compilation of a historical dictionary. The first appearance of words in Greek and their usages and semantic changes over time remain one of the most urgent research desiderata.

The State, along with other institutions, has the moral and scientific obligation to assist in the completion of this monumental dictionary, which is of great national importance, by 2021; in this way its completion will coincide with the celebration of two hundred years of Greek independence.

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Christina Katsikadeli

# **Language contact and contact induced change in the light of the (digital) lexicography of Greek loanwords in the non-Indo-European languages of the Greco-Roman worlds (Coptic, Hebrew/Aramaic, Syriac)**

## **Introduction**

The present paper deals with the interaction of Greek (Hellenistic Koine) with other languages of the Greco-Roman world, primarily with the non-Indo-European ones used in Egypt and Syria-Palestine in Late Antiquity and the Early Byzantine period. The following presentation aims at summarizing and highlighting the merits of the respective lexicographical progress on the Greek loanwords which could eventually contribute to a deeper general understanding of language contact processes and language change phenomena in these periods and which – in some specific cases – would elucidate if and to what degree some of these phenomena had an impact on the subsequent history of other languages in the Eastern Mediterranean.

In the Hellenistic and Roman periods significant phonological, morphological, semantic and syntactic changes can be observed at all levels of the linguistic system of the Greek language. It has been convincingly argued that this period has been a crucial formative stage for later Greek, and ultimately for Modern Greek. It is by now a well-established approach that by studying the phonology of the Koine we might be capturing the Modern Greek state of affairs *in statu nascendi* (Bubenik 1989, 285). In a number of cases, local differences of Hellenistic Greek arose as a consequence of the fact that the population was composed of immigrants from different language areas (Egyptian, Phoenician, Hebrew, Aramaic and various Anatolian languages); this state of affairs was followed by a phase of intensive contact between Greek and Latin in Late Antiquity.<sup>1</sup> The language interaction in these areas was mutual, in the sense that

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<sup>1</sup> Among the four types of Koine, we concentrate here on the variety which Bubenik (2009, 317) describes as: “‘Koine’ in the traditional meaning of the word – i.e. the colloquial substandard (= the speech of the privileged classes in the provinces, the speech of the “middle” class in continental Greece, and the language of commerce). In the conquered territories there developed regional

Greek also had an influence in adstratal and substratal languages. The importance of investigating certain phonological phenomena which separate the Ptolemaic, Palestinian and Asia Minor Koine<sup>2</sup> from the epichoric Koine in Greece and the importance of the Greek borrowings into Coptic and other languages for our knowledge about the phonology of Hellenistic Greek is summarized in Bubenik (1989, 285–303).

The study of the mechanisms of language change in the Hellenistic and the Roman periods in terms of historical linguistic – and to some extent sociolinguistic – notions and hypotheses goes back to older, pioneering studies, among others by Dieterich (1898), Thumb (1901), and some decades later by Gignac (1976) and Teodorsson (1977) on the Ptolemaic Koine. Understandably, the main interest of linguistic research was attracted by the material which had been important for the emerging discipline of historical-comparative linguistics since the late 19th century, as well as of classical philology.

For the last three decades scholars from a wide range of humanities, such as classical philologists, comparative philologists specializing in Greek, Egyptian/Coptic, Semitic languages and dialects, as well as historians, papyrologists, archaeologists and theologians have contributed to an immense pool of valuable pieces of information that enable us to gain a deeper insight into the cultural and linguistic diversity during the Greco-Roman period in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt, Syria-Palestine and Anatolia. The high value ascribed to the material concerning the Koine period becomes evident in digitalization projects of papyri and epigraphic collections, studies in onomastics, as well as in important publications concerning diachronic studies of Greek, interdisciplinary studies on ancient bi-/multilingualism and new editions.<sup>3</sup>

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varieties of Hellenistic Koine, known under labels of Ptolemaic Koine, Syro-Palestinian Koine and Asia Minor Koine”.

<sup>2</sup> As in the case of Latin, the present paper will not discuss the varieties in Asia Minor. Lycian and Phrygian, which possess a relatively larger corpus of data, give us an opportunity to say something significant in this context and there is evidence for contacts between Lycian and Greek (cf. Rutherford 2002) and Neo-Phrygian and the Hellenistic Greek of Asia Minor (Sowa 2008, 73). Unfortunately, the questions concerning substrate influence from aboriginal languages on Hellenistic Koine in Asia Minor cannot be resolved without new data.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the contributions in edited volumes such as Neumann/Untermann (1980); Brixhe (1993, 1996, 1998); Adams/Janse/Swain (2002); Cotton/Hoyland/Price/Wasserstein (2009). Evans/Obbink (2010); Papaconstantinou (2010); Mullen/James (2012); Dils/Grossmann/Richter/Schenkel (forthcoming); Grossman/Haspelmath/Richter (2015); monographs such as Evans (2001) on the verbal syntax in the Greek Pentateuch; Reintges (2004) on a theoretical approach of the Coptic Grammar; Clackson (2015) for an overview in ancient bi-/multilingualism; the field will profit

At this point, one might ask why the results from such a well attested linguistic area (compared to other regions of the world) are disproportionately meagre in the domain of interaction between languages. Part of the explanation of this phenomenon can be summarized as they are in a comment by Clackson (2012, 49): “In Egypt, as in other areas of the ancient world, the practice of separating out Latin and Greek material from the ‘other’ texts, both in publications and in museum deposits, has led to the disregard and even loss of the documents not written in a classical language”.

In the same vein, from the point of view of historical linguistics, the areas of Egypt and Syria-Palestine were studied separately and for their own right, since the languages involved (apart from Latin) do not belong to the group of the Indo-European languages, resulting in parallel, rather restricted accounts of comparable phenomena in Greek and in the ‘other’ languages. In most cases, these studies fail to capture relevant generalizations across the language family boundaries beyond the Greco-Latin bilingualism, although it has been argued that Egypt and Syria-Palestine were the two areas with the greatest amount of vernacular attestation where bi- or multilingualism was probably the usual norm (Clackson 2012, 47–48, 57; cf. also Sidarus 2008 on sociolinguistic aspects). The situation in Asia Minor was different in spite of the fact that the attestation of the languages in contact in this region is all but optimal.

## 1 Lexicography of Greek loanwords in Egyptian/Coptic

From the Egyptian papyri written by Graeco-Roman bilinguals we gain important evidence concerning the far-reaching Latinization of the vocabulary used by administration and military officials. Stronger structural influence of Latin is detectable in word-formation processes of the Egyptian variant of Hellenistic Koine (Ptolemaic Koine) (e.g. see Filos 2010; Dickey 2003 on the phenomenon in general).

In the present contribution, we concentrate on another language contact constellation attested in Egypt, namely that between Greek and Egyptian/Coptic.<sup>4</sup>

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enormously from the publication of the results of “The Grammar of Medieval Greek”-Project in Cambridge.

<sup>4</sup> Following Bubenik (1989, 257), the Egyptian language is divided into the following stages: “i) The sacred archaic language of the religious cult preserved in hieroglyphic inscriptions on

The Coptic literary language had been productively in use for a period of about 1000 years. The earliest literary documents consist of translations of Greek original texts and can be dated to the year 300 CE. The latest original Coptic documents include inscriptions as well as extensive works that can be dated to the first half of the 14th century (the Bohairic Martyrium of *John of Panajôt* or the Sahidic poetical composition *Triadon*).<sup>5</sup> From the introduction of the novel Greek-based writing system for rendering the Egyptian language around the year 300 CE until the 8th c. CE, Greek was the high prestige language that covered a wider range of written language domains besides Coptic. From the middle of the 8th c. CE on, Arabic succeeded Greek in fulfilling this function (Richter 2009).

As to the extent of Greek-Egyptian bilingualism, we have evidence from the papyri in a much wider range of linguistic contexts, some of them being very relevant to everyday situations. For over 1000 years, Greek served both as the spoken language of administration and urban society, and as a written language, it gradually dominated literature, sciences, and to some extent private day-to-day correspondence (cf. Ray 2007, 812–14). Recent studies reveal more detailed information about the speakers (Clackson 2012, 47ff.; 2015, 103ff.).

In Egypt we have ample evidence for the extent of bilingualism and ‘heavy borrowing’, including vocabulary items permeating all levels of language, such as pronouns, particles and verbs (cf. the extensive entries in Förster 2002 and in the DDGLC, see below under 1.1).

In fact, there hardly exists a comparable instance of extensive linguistic borrowing in antiquity for which such a huge amount of systematic and well attested material is available. Nevertheless, up to now the Greek loanwords in Coptic have not been treated as an object of systematic scientific research, and as

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the walls of temples [...] ii) the language of the native pre-Christian literature and of the legal and business documents written in the demotic writing system [...] iii) Coptic, representing the last phase of the Egyptian language, written in the Greek alphabet with eight additional symbols taken from the demotic writing system. Coptic texts of the 3rd and the 4th c. AD include translations of the Bible, and Gnostic and Manichean writings. Attempts to write Egyptian in the 2nd c. AD such as Coptic passages in Greek magic texts and the Coptic horoscope of ca. 100 AD, are called Old Coptic.” For a more detailed description, cf. Grossman/Richter (2015, 69–101), and for a grammatical overview of Egyptian and Coptic, cf. Haspelmath (2015, 103–143).

<sup>5</sup> Although the production of documentary texts that deal with everyday life, such as legal texts or letters, diminishes in the 11th c. CE, the continuation of the tradition of copying manuscripts is well attested (e.g. in the manuscript P.Bodl.Hunt. 393 from the year 1393) above all in connection with Bohairic liturgical manuscripts, which were copied until the 18th c. (cf. Richter *et al.* 2013, 285 with further literature).



a result we are not yet in the position to give a realistic estimate of the extent and the quality of this kind of loan vocabulary.

Borrowing from Greek has been highly significant, both quantitatively and qualitatively, for the overall structure of the lexicon of the Coptic language and the architecture of a great number of its semantic domains. In the context of Greek-Coptic bilingualism, Clackson (2012, 57) also suggests the consideration of gender “as one of the potentially important factors in language conservation and language shift.” Thus, the Egyptian-Coptic language grants us the opportunity to look over many centuries of contact-induced language change in a single ancient language under fairly well-known historical and sociolinguistic conditions. On the other hand, the Greek lexical items that are accessible via Coptic sources can be considered as the most important indirect source for our knowledge of the Greek vocabulary of the post-classical period.

The diversity of the Coptic textual corpus, apart from the quantitative aspect, constitutes for the linguistic as well as the lexicographic description and analysis of Coptic a very demanding enterprise, but also a very rewarding project since the results are rich and complex.

## 1.1 The state-of-the-art: the DDGLC-Project

The Greek-Egyptian language interface contributes to the enrichment of the Egyptian lexicon of the 1st millennium CE with more than 4500 Greek words which encompass most grammatical categories and semantic fields, and displays the most extensive evidence pertaining to lexical borrowing in antiquity. Nevertheless, the collection and analysis (even at the most elementary level) of the relevant linguistic data, i.e. the lexicography of Greek loanwords in Coptic, has been attempted without success during the 20th century and has advanced as one of the cardinal desiderata in the field of research of word analysis in the Egyptian language (Richter *et al.* 2013).<sup>6</sup> Greek influence is a central topic in the study of the Coptic language, and for the past decades many projects and monographs have been devoted to the study of loans from Greek into Coptic.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> The idea for compiling a dictionary of the Greek loanwords in Coptic goes back to C. Abel *Koptische Untersuchungen* (Berlin 1876, 549–550); cf. Richter *et al.* (2013, 287).

<sup>7</sup> <http://research.uni-leipzig.de/ddglc/docs/DDGLCBibliography.pdf>

Since 2010, the large-scale research project *Database and Dictionary of Greek Loanwords in Coptic* (DDGLC)<sup>8</sup> has set as its declared aim to provide an adequate lexicographic analysis of all the loanwords included in the corpus of the literary and nonliterary texts of Coptic. Additionally, all *types* and *tokens* of Greek words in Coptic texts along with their syntactic and semantic properties and functions should be fed — at a first phase of the project — into a database, and at a later stage should be encompassed in a dictionary. In the same vein, and applying the same methods, both the loanwords in pre-Coptic Egyptian language and the Arabic loanwords of Later Coptic should be documented as well. In this way and in an exemplary fashion, data covering a period of 1500 years can be secured and will form the basis of scientific research in the areas of historical and contact linguistics and linguistic typology in general (Richter *et al.* 2013).<sup>9</sup>

Since the DDGLC is a work in progress, it would not be expedient to discuss the macro- and microstructure in detail. Nevertheless, striking data on Coptic-Greek bilingualism can already be gleaned from a ‘parergon’ of the DDGLC, namely the material on ‘non-inflected’ Greek loanwords in Coptic, collected by Gertrud Bauer.

## 1.2 The “Gertrud-Bauer card index”

In 1975 Gertrud Bauer<sup>10</sup> published her “Konkordanz der nichtflektierten griechischen Wörter im bohairischen Neuen Testament”,<sup>11</sup> but this work was only a part of a large collection of lexicographical slips which was produced in the 1970s and 1980s for Prof. Alexander Böhlig’s loanword project at the University of Tübingen, Germany. Since 2015 a digitalized card index of Greek function words in Coptic is available online (as part of the DDGCL) under the title “Gertrud

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**8** From 2010 to 2012 the project Database and Dictionary of Greek Loanwords in Coptic (DDGLC), funded by the State Ministry for Science, Research and Art of Saxony, was hosted at the Institute for Egyptological Studies of the University of Leipzig.

**9** For more information on technical aspects of the DDGLC, see Richter *et al.* (2013) and <http://research.uni-leipzig.de/ddglc/>.

**10** Online: <http://research.uni-leipzig.de/ddglc/bauer/index.htm>

**11** The best attested Coptic dialects are: Sahidic, Bohairic, Akhmimic, Fayyumic, Oxyrhynchitic (Mesokemic or Middle Egyptian), and Lycopolitan (“Subakhmimic”), cf. Grossman/Richter (2015, 78–80).

Bauer Zettelkasten Online”, as a new lexicographical tool for Coptologists, classicists and linguists.<sup>12</sup> The slips constitute a thorough lexicographical compilation of about 15,000 attestations of almost 150 types of Greek prepositions, conjunctions and particles in Coptic, from virtually all Coptic dialects and types of texts, arranged on the basis of a detailed analysis of their semantic and syntactic properties.

The following examples should merely provide some hints of the valuable data ‘hidden’ in the Coptic dialects which display the extensive interaction between Greek and Coptic:

- 1) In Coptic, we find a broad repertoire of Greek adverbs: manner adverbs: Copt. *kalōs*, *kakōs*; degree adverbs, Copt. *holōs*; temporal adverb Copt. *tote*; modal adverb Copt. *pantōs* (cf. Reintges 2004, 121–22).  
Most striking is the degree of the adoption of conjunctions and particles, e.g. *hina* (2), *hōs* (3), and the (micro)variation in function/semantics and dialectal distribution (4), (5):
- 2) Gr. ἵνα ~ Copt. *hina* (in Bohairic) functions as a final conjunction, sometimes for imperative/volitional constructions with the conjunctive:
  - a. Mk 5,23: ἵνα ἐλθῶν (ἐπιθῆς τὰς χεῖρας αὐτῆ)
  - Copt. *hinaenteki* ‘Come!’;
  - b. *hina* after Copt. (quotative) particle *če*, e.g. Acta Martyrum 68,23 (ed. Balestri-Hyvernat, CSCO):  
*avōsh ebol če hina entovrōkeh em-polikarpos*  
‘they shouted (that), Polykarp should be burnt’
- 3) Selection of some of the different functions of Copt. *hōs* ~ Gr. ὡς (search results from the “Gertrud-Bauer Index”-Online):
  - a. *hōs* + noun (without an article) ‘as, like’ (attested in almost every Coptic dialect);
  - b. *hōs* + *de* (~ Gr δέ) followed by an imperfect (temporal) or conjunctive ‘(however) when’;
  - c. *hōs* + Copt. + part. *če* + different tenses: ‘so that’, ‘as if’ or introducing indirect speech.
- 4) The use of Greco-Coptic concessive connectives: *kaiper* ‘although’, *kaitoi* (-ge) ‘although’, *kan* + conditional construction ‘even if’ (cf. Müller 2009, 142–148).

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<sup>12</sup> “In summer 2010, seven cardboard boxes with lexicographical slips compiled by Dr. Gertrud Bauer were presented by Professor Peter Nagel (Bonn) to the DDGLC office, which had been handed over to him in the early 1990s by the late Professor Alexander Böhlig. The Gertrud-und-Alexander-Böhlig Stiftung funded the scanning and slotting of the slips into a database according to the hierarchical structure of the original compilation,” <http://research.uni-leipzig.de/ddglc/bauer/BauerIndex.pdf>

- 5) The diversity of the Greek loanwords on the lexical and functional level among the Coptic dialects is striking, even in cases with an ‘influential’ Greek *Vorlage*, cf. for instance the following variants of Greek ὅταν in John 9:5: ὅταν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ ᾶ, φῶς εἶμι τοῦ κόσμου:

a. Sahidic:

<i>hoson</i>	ti-hm-p-kosmos	ang-p-uoin	m-p-kosmos
<i>insofar</i>	IS-in-DEF.M-world	1S.ABS-DEF.M-light	of-DEM.M-world

b. Lycopolitan:

<i>heos</i>	ti-hn-p-kosmos	anak p-uain	m-p-kosmos
<i>as long</i>	IS-in-DEF.M-world	1S.ABS-DEF.M-light	of-DEM.M-world

c. Bohairic:

<i>hos</i>	e=r-šop	hn-p-kosmos	anakuōini	n-te-p-kosmos
<i>as</i>	DEP=IS-be.STAin-DEF.M-world	1S.ABS	light	of-DEM.M-world

‘As long as I am in the world, I am the light of the world’ (Müller 2012, 143–44).

The fact, that many Greek loanwords were used in Egypt before ‘heavy’ translation activities can be supported by ‘blocking’ phenomena, i.e. in several cases the Coptic translations display a different Greek form than the Greek *Vorlage*. For instance: Copt. *agōn* (Vit. Antonii 1,6) for Greek ἄμιλλα or Copt. *ekklēsia* (Vit. Antonii 3,11–12; 3,26, 4,15) for Gr. κυριακόν, cf. Hasznos (2012, 11).

The importance of the Greek elements found in Coptic for our understanding of the contemporary Greek language of the time has been already recognized by one of the most eminent scholars and handbook authors of the last century, namely Albert Debrunner (1955). *Mutatis mutandis* the same applies for the material in other languages of the Greco-Roman worlds and its documentation in lexicographical works.

## 2 Lexicography and case studies from Syria-Palestine

### 2.1 Greek loanwords in Jewish (Palestinian) Aramaic

The situation in the East, where Greek was spoken by people whose native languages were Hebrew, Aramaic and Phoenician, is arguably more complicated than in Egypt. According to historical, archaeological and philological material, the social and economic conditions prevailing in the cities in Syria-Palestine

would resemble those in Egypt, showing also a ‘stable bilingualism’ (cf. Clackson 2012, 47ff.), but we do not have many details at our disposal due to the nature of the evidence which consists of learned texts and inscriptions (there are virtually no private letters and business documents, which are so common in the Egyptian papyri). We do not know when the Jews first adopted the Greek language. However, Greek was well embedded at all levels of society, and was the exclusive or first language of a number of groups in Roman cities of the Near East (Millar 2006). Our knowledge on the Greek spoken in Palestine is still mainly based on the studies in New Testament Greek which, along with the translation of the Septuagint, are the principal literary works in Hellenistic Koine.<sup>13</sup> The corpus also includes works by educated Jewish authors like Philo and Josephus Flavius, the anonymous Old Testament apocrypha (deuterocanonical books) and pseudepigrapha. The Hellenistic inscriptions from Syria-Palestine are not so numerous as those from Egypt, their content is less variegated, and they were written mostly by commoners. Rosén (1980, 237–38) contends that structural Semitisms (or Aramaisms) do not occur in the Hellenistic inscriptions (either private or public). The absence of Semitisms in inscriptions contrasts to their presence in the Old and the New Testament as well as in Josephus Flavius.

Our secondary evidence, however, consists of Aramaic and Hebrew (“Mishnaic Hebrew” or “Jewish Palestinian Aramaic, Jewish Babylonian Aramaic”) transliterations of Greek words in the Rabbinic literature (Mishnah, Targums, Talmuds) contained in the monumental work by Krauss (1898–1899),<sup>14</sup> and Sperber’s important contributions (Sperber 1984, 1986), and more recently in the Aramaic dictionaries by Sokoloff (2002a, 2002b, 2003, 2014),<sup>15</sup> and the specialized work on Greek loanwords by Shoval-Dudai (2015 and forthcoming). Here, we should point out that Greek loanwords, which total over two thousand from various dialects, make up the largest group of non-native words in the Aramaic lexicon.

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**13** The linguistic variety of these texts is traditionally called “Biblical Koine”. Earlier scholars used a somewhat problematic term “Jewish Greek” as a special “ethnolect”. More recently, de Lange (2007a), Janse (2007) and Bubenik (2010) have emphasized the regional and sociolinguistic characteristics of the Greek used by Jewish people, arguing that “Jewish Greek” should be understood “as one particular regional variety or substandard of the Koine, i.e. the Syro-Palestinian Koine” (Janse 2007, 647–648).

**14** But even with all its shortcomings, this work is still of primary importance for it serves as a dictionary and the only concordance of classical words in rabbinic literature.

**15** Cf. also de Lange (2007b, 806–809) and Stemberger (2011, 120–121) on further desiderata in the field.

Despite the fact that the rabbinic material is of vast dimensions, significant progress has been made in the past decades resulting in considerable correction and supplementation of the older dictionaries: new texts have been published and old familiar ones have reappeared in critical editions. The manuscript material has now become readily available for the verification of readings, and as a result a number of non-existent words have been corrected. Furthermore, our knowledge of Greek (and Latin) has increased with the further discoveries and publications of papyrological, epigraphic and vulgar sources with a special stress on dialectology and the patristic literature (and their dictionaries). In addition to that, a good number of existing entries require supplementing, both with added source references and with references to the scholarly literature. Many etymologies must be corrected in the light of more recent research and methodology (cf. Krivoruchko 2012), and in a number of cases a single lexical entry must now split up into several different ones.<sup>16</sup>

In the last decades our increasing knowledge of Hellenistic Koine allows us to correct or adjust views of the past, some of them justifying choices and explanations that Krauss made in his dictionary. He has been criticized for explaining rabbinic words as words found only (or mainly) in poetic literature, or even in Homer. But we now know that Koine did contain some ‘poetic’ words, e.g. the word Hebr./Aram. /’*mbtis*/ for Greek ἀμβάτης (E. Ba.+), which is a poetic form of ἀναβάτης.<sup>17</sup> Just as ‘early’ Greek words may be shown to have survived even into the Roman period, so Late Latin words may be shown to have already existed in this same period: e.g. Aram. <*p̄ikiilia*> ‘a kind of scarf or kerchief’ (Pal. Talmud Beza 5.2, 63a) < Hellen. Gr. φακιάλιον/φακιάλιον < Late Lat. *faciāle* ‘headband, headgear’ (cf. also Sperber 2012, 34).

The analysis of the contact between Greek and Aramaic can enable us to gain non-trivial insights into the mechanisms of loanword-suffixation. For instance, in some cases forms with Aramaic inflectional suffixes coexist with forms that reflect Greek suffixes (Creason 2008, 142). Another aspect of the Greek loanwords in Hebrew/Aramaic texts from Roman Palestine concerns some possible examples for Greek ‘productive morphology’ from the Early Rabbinic literature, i.e. morphologically and semantically predictable Greek forms, not attested in Greek by this time. An illustration of this point is provided by the following two examples from *Genesis Rabbah* (GenR), a commentary on the book of *Genesis* which probably reached its final edited form in the first half of the fifth century, and displays a high frequency of Greek (and other) loans:

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Katsikadeli/Fykias (2017) for some examples.

<sup>17</sup> Sperber (2012, 22) reads ἐμβάτης.

(6a) Sperber (1984, 94) <zititwwis> [zítitws] \*ζητευτός;

GenR 32,1,289 '(Doeg) removed (David's) wife (or permitted) her [to remarry], and declared him sought for <zititwwis>, like one who is (legally) dead, [that] he may be killed and his wife free (to remarry)' ...

The alternative form \*ζητευτός, borne out by many readings, is not attested in the Greek lexica, but is quite likely in the view of the (poetic) form ζητεύω (=ζητέω)

The examples may involve 'predictable' compounds, like the widely spread determinative type for titles as in (6b), but also types with a lower frequency, such as left-headed verbal governing compounds as in (6c):

(6b) Sperber (1984, 67) <archikritis>, chief judge \*ἀρχικριτης;

GenR 50.3, 519; (MsBritMus): 'And Lot was their chief judge (*archikritis*)'

(6b) Sperber (1984, 118) s.v. <nikwlgws> \*νικολογος 'winning attorney' from the midrash *Pesikta de RavKahana* (~ 5th c. CE):

If you wish to win your case before me, appoint yourself so and so as a 'winning attorney' (*nikologos*), and you will win your case before me

Provided that these formations are not direct loans, we could assume that in cases like the aforementioned we deal with instances of 'autonomous' word-formations, comparable to neologisms in technical jargon that we are familiar with in the context of modern Greco-Latin 'internationalisms'.

In the past decades the revision of older proposals of alleged Greek lexemes showed, on the one hand, that some of them are the result of an erroneous reading, while about a dozen of them are not Greek but of Iranian or Semitic origin. On the other hand, some are indeed identifiable as Greek or Latin words not listed in Krauss (1899). A great number of them have been collected by Sperber (2012, 56–75) in his study "A select list of two hundred and eighty-eight new entries" (i.e. examples of Greek and Latin words in rabbinic literature, cf. another example from GenR, concerning the rarely attested lexeme /*grdwmi*/ (always in legends referring to Alexander the Great):

(7) Sperber (2012, 62) s.v. 94 <*grdumi*> = *panis subcinericus* = γαρδούμιον<sup>18</sup>

GenR (33,1): 'Alexander of Macedon visited King Kazia beyond the dark mountains. He came forth, offering him golden *bread* [*grdumi*] on a golden tray.' (transl. Freedman/Simon, see bibliography)

<sup>18</sup> The origin of Med. Greek γαρδούμιον is unclear: the etymology from Lat. *caldumen* is not unproblematic, while the suggestion of a Persian origin is plausible (cf. Perles 1917, 297–98). The later Greek γαρδούμια with a different meaning from that of γαρδούμιον, namely '(dish) made from goat's or sheep's intestines' (cf. also German *Kaldaune* '(dish) with tripe') might be a dial. Italian form which entered Greek via Albanian *gardump* (cf. Babinotis 2009, 289 and LKN s.v.).

Parallel passages in the rabbinic literature (Bab. Talmud, *Tamid* 32ab, Leviticus Rabbah 27, 1; Pesikta 74b) display other Aramaic lexemes denoting ‘bread’ (*lhmc*, *nhmc*). Thanks to the midrash passage, the meaning ‘bread’ is ensured, and apart from that the occurrence of the lexeme in Palestine is attested in the 5th c. at the latest, providing substantial support to the entries in Hesychius and Pseudo-Zonaras, who use *γαρδούμιον* to explain *κόλ(λ)ιξ* ‘a kind of bread’ – an explanation that has been “unclear” or “puzzling” for lexicographers in the past.<sup>19</sup>

A rough count of the material collected in Sperber (2012) shows that there are over three hundred new words to be added (and numerous additional forms). Also, over half of the hundred “odd words” left by Krauss with a question mark may now be clarified. An interim summary of the Greek loanwords in Rabbinic literature demonstrates that the collection of the Greek loanwords in post-classical Hebrew/Aramaic will not only facilitate the straightforward understanding of (difficult) texts – presumably one of the primary goals of a dictionary – but it will also enable scholars to attain more accurate insights into the degree of interaction between Palestinian-Jewish and Hellenistic worlds.<sup>20</sup>

## 2.2 Lexicography of Greek loanwords in Syriac

While the lexicography of Greek loanwords in Coptic is flourishing and the number of the up-to-date tools for post-classical Hebrew/Aramaic is increasing, the case of Syriac has been rather problematic (although classical Syriac is still in use, as a liturgical and literary language for Syriac Christians, both in the Middle East and in the diaspora). Syriac began as the local Aramaic dialect of Edessa (modern Urfa in South-Eastern Turkey) and from there it diffused, as a language of Christianity, over Mesopotamia and Syria to Ethiopia, India, and Central Asia.<sup>21</sup>

A Greek-Aramaic bilingualism was established throughout Late Antique Syria and Mesopotamia. Compared to other Aramaic dialects, Syriac underwent

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Perles (1917) concerning the correspondence between the author and G.N. Hatzidakis on this matter.

<sup>20</sup> The project “Digital Dictionary of Loanwords in the Midrash Genesis Rabbah” (2018-2021) funded by the Austrian Science Fund, hosted at the University of Salzburg & Austrian Center for Digital Humanities, ÖAW, Vienna will deal with 400 types of Greek borrowings in Jewish Palestinian Aramaic.

<sup>21</sup> Early evidence for the interaction of Greek and Syriac comes from the more than 150 documents discovered at Dura-Europos (3rd c. CE); see Butts (2016, 29–30) with further literature.



a particularly intense and prolonged period of contact with Greek. The Greek-Syriac language contacts resulted in a large number of Greek loanwords in Syriac, found already in the earliest Syriac texts, such as the Old Testament Pentateuch, and they increase in number throughout the history of Classical Syriac (Brock 1999–2000). In the pre-eighth-century Syriac texts there are in fact more than eight hundred Greek loanwords attested, which were not translated from Greek. Many more are found in translations from this period or in later Syriac literature (whether translated or not). Many of the Greek loanwords in Syriac entered through the vast translation of literature from Greek into Syriac (Butts 2014a, 82);<sup>22</sup> many others, however, reached Syriac through contacts between Greek speakers, Syriac speakers, and bilingual Greek-Syriac-speakers. In addition to Greek loanwords, there are more than one hundred Latin loanwords found in non-translated Syriac texts from before the eighth century. Many of these reached Syriac via Greek. Most of the Greek loanwords in Syriac are nouns, though there are also particles and verbs. Morphological borrowing from Greek into Syriac is also evident, e.g. the Syriac plural suffixes *g'n's* ‘gardens’ (sing. *gnt* ‘garden’), which ultimately represents the Greek accusative plural *-as* of first declension nouns (Butts 2016, 130–131).<sup>23</sup>

The research on contact-induced changes in Syriac due to Greek has focused on Greek loanwords and has led to important recent studies which include the phonological and morphological integration and grammatical replication of these loanwords; cf. Butts (2016). Nevertheless, an up-to-date lexicographical work still remains a desideratum, on which see Brock in Christidis (ed.) (2007, 826):

Syriac still lacks any counterpart to Krauss’s (1898–1900) collection of Greek and Latin words in Rabbinic writings, and the only monograph on Greek words in Syriac (Schall 1960)<sup>24</sup> is concerned with only two aspects: Greek words in the earliest native Syriac literature up to, and including, Aphrahat, and Greek words in Syriac concerned with religion (for

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**22** The largest body of literature was translated from Greek into Syriac from the late 4th to the late 9th c. These translations fall into three broad categories: (1) Biblical (2) Patristic, including Basil of Caesarea, Cyril of Alexandria, Eusebius of Caesarea, Evagrius of Pontus, Gregory of Nazianzus, Gregory of Nyssa, Severus of Antioch, and Theodore of Mopsuestia, and (3) so-called Secular, including Aristotle, Galen, Isocrates, Lucian, Plutarch, Porphyry, and Themistius (Butts 2014a, 81).

**23** On cases of replication, e.g. Syriac *den* ‘then, but’ (< Aramaic \**iḏayn* ‘then, at that time’) on the model of Greek *δέ* ‘but’, cf. Butts (2016, 174–191); the development of a copula in Syriac based on the existential particle *’iṭ* ‘there is’, which was replicated on the Greek verbal copula *estīn*; (Butts 2016, 153–173).

**24** Schall (1960).

a Greek-Syriac index see Voigt 1998).<sup>25</sup> For the rest, there are few studies confined to particular works (Brock 1967, 1999–2000; Elsas 1968),<sup>26</sup> though a number of editions of Syriac Texts (especially in the *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium* series) are helpfully provided with indexes of words of Greek origin.

As in every case of linguistic borrowing, the importance of the lexicographical documentation of these data for various studies is evident: we gain valuable insight into the mechanisms of the phonological integration of Greek into a Semitic language as well as information involving the narrowing of semantics and specialization in terminology. At this point, I would like to draw attention to at least two important merits of a detailed collection and analysis of the data: the frequency and the semantic field of the loanwords can vary even in authors of the same genre and from the same region, without significant chronological distance between them, as demonstrated by Brock (1999–2000) in his ‘sampling’ from the two Syriac poets Ephraim (4th c. CE) and Narsai (5th c. CE), who both lived in the cities of Nisibis and Edessa in Asia Minor.

Although the impact of Greek on Syriac has been less as compared to that on the Coptic language, nevertheless the case of Syriac offers valuable data for the study of the adaptation of loanwords. For instance, the morphological integration of Greek loanwords with Syriac suffixes can vary according to the chronology and the cross-genre variation, displaying differences in their frequency together with Greek loanwords and in the ‘peek’ of their productivity. Cf. for instance the chronological distribution of the following derivations: a) nominal abstract formations: *-uṭṭ* (5th–6th c., e.g. <’rkwn> + *-uṭṭ* ‘rulership’), adverbs *-ṭ’iṭ* (7th c., e.g. <nmws> + *-ṭ’iṭ* ‘according to the law’) and adjectives *-ṭyṭ* (5th c.+, e.g. <ksny> + *-ṭyṭ* ‘strange, foreign’). Other Aramaic dialects (Christian Palestinian Aramaic, Palmyrene) display only the suffix \**-ūt* (~ Syriac *-uṭṭ*) (Butts 2016, 124–29; and 2014b, esp. 227–232 for suffix conglomerates).

Even this small sample suffices to illustrate the merits of investigations of this kind. The collection of Greek loanwords in Syriac in digital databases and their analysis through language corpus management and query systems could exemplify the aforementioned developments and further ‘trends’ of language contact over time.

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<sup>25</sup> Voigt (1996).

<sup>26</sup> Brock (1967); for Brock (1999–2000); Elsas (1968).

### 3 Summary and outlook

In the last ten years – roughly speaking – there have been promising attempts, and significant first results have been achieved that may lead to a general revival of the lexicography of Greek loanwords in post-classical periods. Parallel to the benefits for specialists in various historical disciplines, the objective of such lexicographical work consists in providing an update to and a complementary tool for the study and the examination of the Greek lexicon in other non-Indo-European languages covering all phases of Hellenistic Koine until the Arab conquest, thus fulfilling some of the remaining desiderata in the field. The bias in this research had consisted, in the first place, in the absence of ‘dialogue’ between Indo-European, Semitic and Egyptian linguistics, but also in the lack of interest in the circles of classicists and Indo-Europeanists pertaining to post-classical Greek in general, despite the bulk of the material and the importance of the texts from this period. The majority of twentieth-century classicists characteristically thought that even Christian texts have nothing to do with the classical world. This has led to a growing gap between the study of ‘pagan’ and Christian authors, and growing compartmentalization between theological and classical students. This artificial specialization has had a fatal impact on views of the history of Greek (and Latin), which may be best seen in the fact that the compilation of the major dictionaries of Greek (*LSJ*) and Latin (*OLD*) excluded Christian authors and separated ‘patristic Greek’ in Lampe (1961–1968) (see Clackson 2015, 161–163).

A ‘reunion’ of the Greek material could be crucial for the systematic comparison between standard and substandard language in the provincial varieties of Koine Greek or provincial vs. epichoric dialects (where available), where evidence from later Greek could be seriously considered, since in the territories outside ‘old’ Greece one could find evidence of synchronic variation in bilingual speakers who employed Hellenistic Koine and one of the adstratal languages. Many of the innovations thrived and were accelerated in bilingual communities, whose culture was undergoing rapid changes. Although approaches to areal linguistics differ as to their theoretical framework, they all stress the significance of language contact factors in the process of change and the issue of borrowability under language contact conditions. The lexicographical tools enable us to collect data not only in order to understand the variants involved, but with the objective of gaining results which will contribute to our general understanding of language contact and linguistic areas.

Modern lexicographical formats, like the DDGLC, can provide linguistic access to the Hellenistic-Roman and Byzantine worlds, as a basis for future work,

in order to elucidate more elaborate issues and questions, e.g. application of contemporary theories of linguistic borrowing) and code mixing (cf. Reintges 2001), contact induced changes and the sociolinguistics of multilingualism, loanwords and lexical borrowing, fine-grained semantics encompassing cultural, social and religious connotations, thus having important implications for disciplines other than linguistics.

Where possible, the examination of the material contained in modern databases and lexicographical works should encompass marginal works and recently published texts. Newly discovered texts of ancient languages will continue to improve our knowledge of the different languages spoken in the ancient world and can be useful for the examination of contact phenomena where Greek, as a *Großcorpus*-language, functions as a ‘donor’ language to other languages, but also for further linguistic surveys, such as the comparison between terms used in different registers (religious, medical, legal, etc.).

On the morphological level, the rendering of certain types of Greek derivational suffixes and nominal compounds in Coptic, Hebrew/Aramaic and Syriac and vice versa could be studied more systematically.<sup>27</sup> Further research topics could refer to certain aspects of Greek loanwords concerning research in specialized areas like ‘hybridic’ compounds and typology of borrowing in general (cf. Grossmann/Richter forthcoming). A linguistic survey which concentrates not only on phonology and morphology, but also on syntax and linguistic typology could be facilitated by collecting and analyzing loaned verbs and ‘functional’ words. Today, we have much more material and recent bibliographical documentation and/or analysis on these topics, cf. among others Hasznos (2012) on Greek and Coptic clause patterns, Müller (2009; 2012), Almond (2010) on Greek loaned verbs in Coptic.

It would be overly ambitious to address all the domains of linguistic description for such a wide-ranging corpus in a single paper; nevertheless, the above selected examples should be sufficient to give some idea of the challenges, the problems and the possible benefits stemming from the compilation of new databases and digital dictionaries of the Greek loanwords in the languages of the Greco-Roman and Byzantine periods. As the material is so large in its chronological span and so complex in the problems it poses, only the conjunction

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<sup>27</sup> Further research in this area should also pay more attention to the influence of Greek on Aramaic: “The contact of Aramaic with Indo-European languages, especially with Greek, may have increased the use of suffixes since the morphology of those languages largely involves suffixation rather than differences in vowel patterns” (Creason 2008, 119).

of experts from several different disciplines can hope to bring such lexicographical projects closer to completion.

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Doris K. Kyriazis

## Greek-Albanian and Albanian-Greek lexicography in the 18th and 19th centuries

The present paper examines lexicographic works that appeared during the 18th through the beginning of the 20th century, starting from the multi-lingual (in three and four languages, respectively) lexicons by Th. Kavalliotis (1770) and D. Moschopolitis (1802), the Greek-Albanian lexicon by M. Botsaris (1809), the works of E. Mitko (Italian-Greek-Albanian lexicon, in about 1860, published in 2013, Albanian-Greek Vocabulary, annex of the “Albanian Melissa”, 1878, Albanian-Greek/Greek-Albanian lexicon, in about 1880, published in 2014), the Greek-Albanian lexicon by P. Koupitoris (1870-80, published in 2006) and the Lexicon of the Albanian language (Albanian-Greek Lexicon) by K. Christoforidis (1904). As time progresses we observe an ascending course in the qualitative characteristics of these works, without, however, achieving a complete bilingual dictionary by today’s standards, since for various reasons their compilation failed to meet this objective. There is a lot to learn from the examination of these works with regard to the position and the role of the Greek language in the pre-national and national Balkans, as well as about the course of literacy of the remaining ‘illiterate’ peoples of the area.

Long before meeting in lexicography, the two languages, Greek and Albanian, had already met at the pathways of the geography and the history of the Balkans. Strabo’s observation with regard to the Epirotes that they are mixed with Illyrians (ἀναμείκται δὲ τούτοις τὰ Ἰλλυρικὰ ἔθνη), even that some of them are bilingual (ἔνιοι δὲ δίγλωττοι εἰσι) (Geography ζ’ c 327), was enhanced by Georgios Frantzis who wrote in mid-15th century about (...) τὸ κάκιστον καὶ ἀνωφελέστατον τῶν Ἀλβανιτῶν γένος ... [ποῦ] ἀντὶ τοῦ εἰπεῖν κώμας ἢ ἄσπρα κάστρας ἔλεγον κατὰ τὴν αὐτῶν γλώσσαν τὴν βαρβαρίζουσαν ‘the worst and the most harmful race of Albanians ... [that] instead of saying κώμας or ἄσπρα used to say κάστρας in their barbarian language’ (Φραντζῆς 1838, 391).

1. Through this diachronic and assessing framework, the first elementary glossary makes its appearance in modern times in 1770: Greek stands side by side with Aromanian and Albanian. The author is Theodoros Kavalliotis (see more in Κωνσταντακοπούλου 1988), originating from the χώρα Voskopoje (Moschopolis), which grew to become a πόλις thanks to “the conquering Balkan Orthodox merchant[s]” (Stoianovich 1960). The publication place was Venice, where centuries before a rich tradition of printing multilingual dictionaries/glossaries had been established (Carpinato 2000, Κίγκα 2015, 920ff.). The traces of Corona

Preciosa,<sup>1</sup> first published in 1527 and being republished many times since then, were followed by the scholar Lampros Boubas,<sup>2</sup> from Ioannina; most probably also by Kavalliotis and Moschopolitis. This lexicon is part of Kavalliotis' book under the title ΠΡΩΤΟΠΕΙΡΙΑ, παρὰ τοῦ σοφολογιωτάτου καὶ αἰδεσιμωτάτου Διδασκάλου Ἱεροκλήρυκος, καὶ Πρωτοπαῖ Κυρίου ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΥ ΑΝΑΣΤΑΣΙΟΥ ΚΑΒΑΛΛΙΩΤΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΜΟΣΧΟΠΟΛΙΤΟΥ ΕΥΝΤΕΘΕΙΣΑ, Καὶ νῦν πρῶτον τύποις ἐκδοθεῖσα Δαπάνη τοῦ ἐντιμωτάτου, καὶ χρησιμοτάτου Κυρίου Γεωργίου Τρίκουπα, τοῦ καὶ Κοσμήσκη ἐπιλεγομένου ἐκ πατρίδος Μοσχοπόλεως. ΕΝΕΤΙΗΣΙΝ αψο' 1770. Παρὰ Ἄντων-νίω τῷ Βόρτολι. SUPERIORUM PERMISSU, AC PRIVILEGIO. For space reasons, we shall not enter into details regarding the structure of the lexicon, which extends pages 13–59 and includes 1170 words, recorded in three parallel columns of Greek, Aromanian and Albanian.

Why did Kavalliotis decide to write such a lexicon? Starting from the fact that this is a simple citation of words, not accompanied by any lexicographic comment, we could say that the structure absolutely corresponds to the word πρωτοπειρία, 'first knowledge/lessons', which expresses the essence of the work. Thus it is open to discussion if Kavalliotis had the literacy of the other Balkan peoples in mind, or even the foundation of comparative Balkan linguistics. These dimensions are the added value that the work acquired over time,<sup>3</sup> which, however, do not necessarily coincide with the initial intention of the author. Nevertheless, quite often time allows and/or imposes different readings of the same work. Objectively speaking, "Πρωτοπειρία" paved the way and triggered the literacy of other Balkan languages, which had no written tradition until that time (see below Τετράγλωσσον λεξικόν of Moschopolitis). On the other hand, the parallel citation of words in three Balkan languages arranged in different columns led to comparisons and considerations with regard to their relative chronologies and mutual interrelations.

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1 Introdutorio nuovo intitolato Corona Preciosa p. imparare, leggere, scrivere, parlare & intendere la Lingua greca volgare & literare, & la lingua latina, & il volgare italico con molto facilità e prestezza senza precettore (cosa molto utile ad ogni conditione di persone o literate o non literate) compilato p. lo ingegnoso huomo Stephano da Sabio stampatore de libri greci & latini nella inclita Citta di Vineggia.

2 *Λεξικόν τετράγλωσσον τῆς Ἰταλικῆς, Ῥωμαϊκῆς, Ἑλληνικῆς καὶ Λατινικῆς γλώσσης*. Πρόχειρον καὶ ὠφελιμώτατον εἰς τὸ νὰ μάθῃ ὅστις ἐπιθυμᾷ μὲ εὐκολίαν ἐκείνην τὴν Γλῶσσαν ὅπου ἀπ' αὐτὲς δὲν ἤξεύρει. Περιέχον ἔτι τὴν Κυριακὴν Προσευχὴν, καὶ ἄλλες θεομητορικαῖς καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ χρήσιμα. Τυπωθὲν εἰς κοινὴν ὠφέλειαν τοῦ Ῥωμαϊκοῦ γένους, ἐπιμελεῖα καὶ δαπάνη τοῦ Κυρίου Λάμπρου Μπούμπα. Καὶ μετὰ πάσης ἐπιμελείας διορθωθὲν. Εἰς Βενετίαν 1750. Παρὰ Ἀντωνίω τῷ Βόρτολι.

3 Republished by Thunmann (1774), Miklosich (1882), Meyer (1895) and Hetzer (1981).

In this context, the material assembled by Kavalliotis becomes particularly important for the study of various aspects of the different Balkan languages, as well as for tracing the network of language contacts in the area, showing the contribution of “small” players in this regard. For instance, in the following string κίτρινος γκάμπινου βέρδα // πράσινος βιάρντε ιγγέλλμπαρ // χλωρός βιάρντε εσσίλε/ηγκιέλλμπαρ we can see that the Greek words κίτρινος ‘yellow’, πράσινος ‘green’, χλωρός ‘fresh’ correspond to the Albanian words βέρδα, ιγγέλλμπαρ, εσσίλε/ηγκιέλλμπαρ, where βέρδα (i verdhë) and ιγγέλλμπαρ (i gjelbër) show a semantic change compared to their Latin etyma (*viridis* ‘green’, *galbinus* ‘yellow’), though in Aromanian there has been no such change. On the other hand, we see that Albanian is using, alternatively, the Turkish word *yeşil* ‘green’. Furthermore, in one of the series ορφανός οαρφανου βάρφαρ and πτωχός οαρφανου βάρφαρ we observe that in Albanian and Aromanian the word ορφανός ‘orphan’ has also acquired the meaning ‘φτωχός/poor’, which in turn is seen in Greek idiomatic texts of Epirus (see the word ορφάνια ‘φτωχολογιά’ in documents kept in the Archive of Ali Pascha, Kyriazis 2012, 33). The series τζέρκι τζέρκιου ρρεθ/κίερθαλ and τίποτα τζιβά χιτζγκέ, are also interesting as we find traces of Latin (*circus*) and Turkish (*hiç* ‘nothing’; cf. Alb. *hiçgjë* and Greek dialectal form ιτσουτίποτα ‘nothing’ from Epirus).

2. The work of Daniil Moschopolitis is in line with Kavalliotis’ “Πρωτοπειρία”: *ΕΙΣΑΓΩΓΙΚΗ ΔΙΔΑΣΚΑΛΙΑ* Περιέχουσα Λεξικόν Τετράγλωσσον τῶν τεσσάρων κοινῶν Διαλέκτων ἤτοι τῆς ἀπλῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς, τῆς ἐν Μοισία Βλαχικῆς, τῆς Βουλγαρικῆς, καὶ τῆς Ἀλβανικῆς. Συντεθεῖσα μὲν ἐν ἀρχῇ χάριν εὐμαθείας τῶν Φιλολόγων ἀλλογλώσσων νέων παρὰ τοῦ Αἰδεσιμωτάτου κ’ Λογιωτάτου Διδασκάλου, Οἰκονόμου κ’ Ἱεροκήρυκος Κυρίου Δανιὴλ τοῦ ἐκ Μοσχόπολεως. Καλλυνθεῖσα δὲ κ’ ἐπαυξηνηθεῖσα τῇ προσθήκῃ τινῶν χρειωδῶν κ’ περιεργείας ἀξίων κ’ εὐλαβῶς ἀφιερωθεῖσα τῷ Πανιερωτάτῳ καὶ Λογιωτάτῳ Μητροπολίτῃ Πελαγονείας, Ὑπερτίμῳ καὶ Ἐξάρχῳ πάσης Βουλγαρικῆς Μακεδονίας Κυρίῳ ΚΥΡΙῳ ΝΕΚΤΑΡΙῳ Τῳ Ἐκ ΜΟΥΝΤΑΝΙῶΝ Οὐ κ’ τοῖς ἀναλώμασι τύποις ἐκδέδοται δι’ ὠφέλειαν τῶν Ἐπαρχιωτῶν αὐτοῦ εὐλαβῶν Χριστιανῶν. Ἐν ἔτει σωτηριῷ ,αβ’. 1802. Researchers make mention of another edition of 1794 in Venice (Saramandu/Nevaci 2013, 195), while the copies of 1802 which have been preserved do not mention the place of publication.

Before looking into the *Τετράγλωσσον Λεξικόν* we think it necessary to underline that *Εἰσαγωγικὴ Διδασκαλία* was underestimated due to the reactions by the (Balkan) reader due (mainly) to the known introductory verses Ἀλβανοί, Βλάχοι, Βούλγαροι, Ἀλλόγλωσσοι, χαρῆτε / Κ’ ἔτοιμασθητε ὅλοι σας, Ῥωμαῖοι νὰ γενῆτε. / Βαρβαρικὴν ἀφήνοντες γλώσσαν, φωνὴν καὶ ἦθη / Ὅποι στούς

ἀπογόνους σας νὰ φαίνονται σὰν μύθοι. / ..... / Ξυπνίσατε ἀπ' τὸν βαθὺν ὕπνον τῆς ἀμαθείας, / Ῥωμαϊκὰ γλῶσσα μάθετε, μητέρα τῆς σοφίας Ἀλβανίους, Βλάχους, Bulgarians, speakers of other languages, rejoice and prepare to be Romaioi / leaving behind the barbarian language, voice and customs/ till your descendants refer to them as myths./ .... / arouse from the deep sleep of ignorance, / and learn Romeika, the mother of wisdom,' which, of course, testify to the existence of a certain ideology but should be seen within the context of the historical period in which they were written (Κωνσταντακοπούλου 1988; Lloshi 2000; Κοκολάκης 2003, 56–60).

Regarding the origin of the author, we learn from the author himself that Ὁ μοισιόδαξ Δανιήλ, ἔντιμος Οἰκονόμος, / τὴν βίβλον ἐξέπότησε... 'Daniel the Vlach ... wrote this book..., ' whereas at some other point he clarifies that mistakes could have been avoided, ἂν εἴμεθα εἰδήμονες καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ ὑπολοίπων διαλέκτων 'if we knew the other dialects.' Daniil verses Λαοὶ οἱ πρὶν ἀλλόγλωσσοι ἀλλ' εὐσεβεῖς τὰ θεῖα, / Ῥωμαίων ν' ἀποκτήσετε γλῶσσαν καὶ ὀμιλίαν / Μεγάλως ὠφελούμενοι εἰς τὸ ἐπάγγελμά σας, / Κ' εἰς ὅλα τὰ ἐμπορικὰ ἐπιχειρήματά σας 'Peoples who spoke other languages before but who were pious/ acquire the language and speech of the Romaioi/ and so take advantage of them in your profession, / and in your merchant activities' clearly reveal the objective of compiling Πρωτοπειρία,<sup>4</sup> and outline the spirit of the era: "... Greek culture and influence were widespread among all Christian groups, and the religious dichotomy was more influential politically and psychologically than the superficial classification of the population by language" (Κοκολάκης 2003, 530).

Although there is an explicit urge by Daniil, his work – objectively and without pursuing it – sets an example for the literacy of other Balkan peoples, providing them samples of writing in their languages based on the Greek alphabet.<sup>5</sup>

Daniil's Τετράγλωσσον Λεξικόν, spanning pages 1–36 of the enumerated text of Εἰσαγωγικὴ Διδασκαλία, "in the Albanian part includes three hundred items

<sup>4</sup> "Daniil composed his work as a school book for teaching, and as a means for acculturation" (Lloshi 2000, 156).

<sup>5</sup> Ἐκ πολλῶν διαφαίνεται τεκμηρίων, ὅτι προϊόντος τοῦ χρόνου ἐνεκολλάφθη ὑπὸ τῶν διδασκάλων αὐτῆς [τῆς Νέας Ακαδημίας Μοσχόπολεως] ἡ ἰδέα τῆς ἐγγραμματοσίσεως τῶν ἐγχωρίων διαλέκτων τῆς τε Ἀλβανικῆς καὶ Κουτσοβλαχικῆς (ἴσως καὶ τῆς Μακεδονοσλαβικῆς) καὶ τῆς καλλιέργειας αὐτῶν, ἰδίως πρὸς πρακτικούς σκοπούς 'It results from evidence that over time, the idea of literacy regarding domestic dialects of the Albanian and Aromanian (maybe even Slavomacedonian) was incubated by the teachers [of the New Academy in Moschopolis], as well as of their learning for practical reasons mainly' (Κουρίλας 1935, 66); "virtually it was a contribution to writing the Albanian language" (Lloshi 2000, 156).

less than Kavalliotis' Lexicon, but the former can be considered a rich vocabulary, because of the intensive representing of a specific range of words. Lexicon Tetraglosson is based on the principle of the semantic and thematic fields... The richest fields are: human body parts, flora, fauna, handworks and house life" (Lloshi 2000, 154).

The title of the lexicon, as well as the characterizations used by the author, ("κοινές διάλεκτοι", "ἀπλή ῥωμαϊκή"), show that he is oriented towards daily, simple and common languages of the area, which is corroborated by the linguistic material he provides. However, his Greek (ῥωμαϊκὰ) reveals traces of a scholarly tradition where Albanian presents idiomatic types of S.E. Albania. In Daniil's Tetraglosson Lexicon there is also something that has not been carefully examined and that can be interpreted in many ways. On page 17 of the Εἰσαγωγικὴ Διδασκαλία (Introductory Teaching), "conservative" Daniil states, among other things:

Οἱ κλέπται **κλέπτουν** τὴν νύκτα καὶ οἱ λησται εὐγέννουν τὴν ἡμέραν καὶ **πατοῦν** τὰ καρβάνια. Ἄμῃ οἱ κριταὶ καὶ οἱ πασάδες **γυμνώνουν** τὸν κόσμον. Καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες μὲ καλὴν τέχνην **πίνουν τὸ αἷμα** τῶν πτωχῶν. Διὰ ἐτοῦτο θυμώνεται ὁ θεὸς καὶ μᾶς παιδεύει μὲ ἀσθένειαις μὲ πανούκλαν μὲ λοιμικὴν μὲ αἰφνήδιον θάνατον. (Greek column, underlining is ours) / Thieves **steal** at night and robbers go out during the day and **rob** caravans. But judges and paschas **rip off** people. And Lords, tactfully **drain** the poor. God is enraged about this and makes us suffer from diseases such as the plague and sudden death.

Haramitë **vjedhinë** natënë edhe kursarëtë dalinë ditënë edhe **shkelinë** karvanat. Po kadhllarët edhe pashallarët **zveshinë** jetënë edhe koxabashitë me të mir zanat **pinnë gjaknë** e varfëret. Pandae zëmëroetë perëndia edhe ne mundon me sëmundëra me murtajt me lëngim me prënjerë mort. (Alb. column, emphasis ours).

The same text is repeated in Aromanian and Bulgarian, and one may wonder if it is written by some priest (who would be expected to perpetuate the social status quo) or some social rebel.



two-column manuscript pages containing 1950 words. In the respective parts of his introductory study, Γιοχάλας provides detailed data about the semantic fields and the phonetic and morphologic characteristics of the Greek and Albanian parts.

We could add here that the material of this lexicon can be compared, in its Greek part, with written sources of the same period, such as “Αληπασιάδα / Alipassiada” by Ch. Sechretis (Σάθας 1870) or the texts included in the Ali Pascha’s Archive (Παναγιωτόπουλος 2007), whilst with regard to the Albanian part comparisons with the Albanian translations of Καινή Διαθήκη / New Testament (Corfu 1827) can prove useful.

In order to have a better understanding of the conditions at the time, we need to mention that there is a general interest in the “unknown” languages of the area, as seems to be the case in a letter sent by A. Korais (Α. Κοραΐς) to A. Vasiliou (Α. Βασιλείου), during the same time period, in which Korais requests to be informed about basic Albanian words<sup>7</sup> and their relation to the Greek language (Kyriazis 2015, 231).

The Greek glossary of M. Botsaris’ Lexicon is a mix of scholarly, popular and dialectic forms, which can be explained both by the presence of the French Consul and by the tendency to stick to ancient ways of speaking (λογοιστατισμός) of young Botsaris: αὐθέντης – ἀφέντης, δάκτυλος – δάχτυλο, ἔωσφόρος – διάβολος, but also διατάζω – ὀρδινιάζω, ἔμπροσθεν – ἀντίκρυτα, χθές – ἐψέ, πάπλωμα – πεῦκος, etc. (Γιοχάλας 1980, 63–65). The Albanian part of the Lexicon “is attributed in the Tosk dialect of South Albania,” bearing archaic characteristics which make it look similar to the dialect of the Albanian speaking populations of Southern Italy (Γιοχάλας 1980, 72). The lack of an abstract vocabulary is obvious<sup>8</sup> (see various periphrases like θυσιαστήριον – vënt për korpan, κατάλογος – fjalë pas fjale, μοιχαλίδα – grua me burr, ὑπερβολικός – e mirë naha të miratë) and the use of popular/idiomatic words such as τύχη – vitore, δυστυχής – vitorebosh, κακορίζικος – vitorezi, πονηρός – i paudhë, φιλότιμος – gjokshapëtë. This idiom preserves the older meaning of the words, such as ορφανός – i varfërë next to φτωχός – [i] varfërë,<sup>9</sup> κάστρον –

7 “The words that I’m interested in are, firstly, the ones related to religion such as: God, angel etc.; next, the names of the domestic animals (*des animaux domestiques*) and last, several words describing grass and trees that are used for our nutrition” (Κοραΐς, 1966, 546).

8 In about 1820, Athanasios Psalidas wrote that “ἡ Ἀρβανήτικη ἂν καὶ ἐπῆρε πολλαῖς ξέναις λέξεσι, εἶναι κατὰ πάντα πτωχὴ καὶ ἐλλειπτής” (‘the Albanian language, although it borrowed many foreign words, is always poor and insufficient’) (Ψαλίδας 1941, 224).

9 In Modern Greek the word ορφανός ‘orphan’ does not mean ‘poor’, while in Albanian i varfër means ‘poor’, but not ‘orphan’.

qutet,<sup>10</sup> etc. The glossary bears traces of the contacts of Albanian with other languages, such as Greek (e.g. αιώνιος ζωή – *zoi qithë jetënë*, πικρός – *farmëk*) or Turkish (e.g. χώρα – *kasapa*, χωριατοσύνη – *fishatarllëk*, αυθεντία – *zotërllëk*, βοηθός – *ndihmëxhi*), etc.

In reality, the lexicons composed by Kavalliotis, Moschopolitis and Botsaris belong to the pre-ethnic phase of the Balkans, which is also manifest in the way the term *ἔθνος* ‘nation’ is rendered. In Kavalliotis, the word *ἔθνος* is rendered in Albanian as *milet*, while *λαός* is rendered as *γκινντ* (*gjind*), which could be a synonym of the word *milet* (< Turkish *millet* ‘*hist.* Religious community; group defined by religion and language’, Redhouse 777). In Botsaris’ lexicon, *ἔθνος* is rendered with the word *μπότα* (*bota*), which most probably means ‘people’ (Çabej 1976, 294). On the other hand, in Botsaris the word *ρωμαίος* is rendered as *kaurr* (< Turk. *gânvur* ‘*giaour*, infidel, unbeliever, non-Muslim, Christian’, Redhouse 386), and even nowadays in Albanian it means ‘Christian’. Most probably this is the meaning given when Moschopolitis uses the word *ἔθνος*, when he invites the other Balkan peoples, the “πρὶν ἀλλόγλωσσους”, “ἀλλ’ εὐσεβεῖς τὰ θεῖα”, to acquire “Ῥωμαίων γλῶσσαν καὶ ὀμιλίαν”, namely, to learn Greek, which is the language of Orthodoxy. Moschopolitis considers these peoples to be members of the broader cultural community of Christians, and like Rigas, he entrusts them with the use of their common language (Kitromilidis 1989, 65–67, Κοκολάκης 2003, 56–60).

4. Among other lexicographical contributions by the Albanian Greek-speaking scholar E. Mitko (Kyriazis 2014), it is worthwhile mentioning the *Ἐγχειρίδιον Διαλόγων Ἰταλο-ἑλληνο-ἄλβανικῶν. Δηρημένον εἰς δύο μέρη Ὀνομαστικὸν καὶ Διαλογικὸν / Manual of Italian-Greek-Albanian Dialogues*. Divided in two parts, List of words and Dialogues, recently published in Tirana (Sala 2013).

As in the case of Moschopolitis’ *Τετράγλωσσον Λεξικόν*, which was copied by Mitko when he was young, material is classified on the basis of semantic fields. Seeking the source or the prototype on which Mitko was based, we found traces of a similar bilingual work entitled *Ἐγχειρίδιον Διαλόγων Ἰταλοελληνικῶν. Δηρημένον εἰς δύο μέρη Ὀνομαστικὸν καὶ Διαλογικόν. Πρὸς χρῆσιν τῶν σπουδαζόντων τὴν Ἰταλικὴν γλῶσσαν Νέων. Ὑπὸ Μ.Π. Περιίδου. Ἐξεδόθη δαπάνη Π.Γ. Μέμου. Ἐν Ἐρμουπόλει. Τύποις Μ.Π. Περιίδου καὶ Π.Γ. Μέμου, 1851.*

Comparing the different parts of the book, *Ὀνομαστικόν* and *Διαλογικόν*, in conjunction with the fact that it is a unique work of its time, there is no doubt

<sup>10</sup> Nowadays *qytet* (< Latin *civitas*, acc. *civitat-em*) means ‘city’, while in the old times it meant ‘a fortified settlement’.



whatsoever that Mitko was actually based on this work, adding the corresponding columns in Albanian.

The title of the manual indicates that the Greek language is in a mediating position, operating as the reference point for both Italian and Albanian. The column occupied by the latter may sometimes be more extensive, which means that, in reality, the trilingual manual by Mitko had a multiple objective: to teach Albanians the meaning of the words in Italian or in Greek, and at the same time to urge them to learn how the different concepts are rendered in Albanian, i.e. to be able to ask about the weather, the time, or how to greet people, and the like.

With this work, which must have been composed in 1860s–70s, Mitko seems to pick up the thread of the trilingual and quadrilingual lexicons of Th. Kavalliotis and D. Moschopolitis in a very different time period and cultural context. The text of the trilingual manual has a utility and enlightening character and does not deal with the symbolic dimension of the language as a means of identity shaping and/or differentiation. In Mitko’s lexicons we find the key word *qytetsimë* / *qytetçim* ‘πολιτισμός / civilization’, which suggests that he was trying to spread ‘civilization’ among people of the same cultural origin, in anticipation of the upcoming new era.

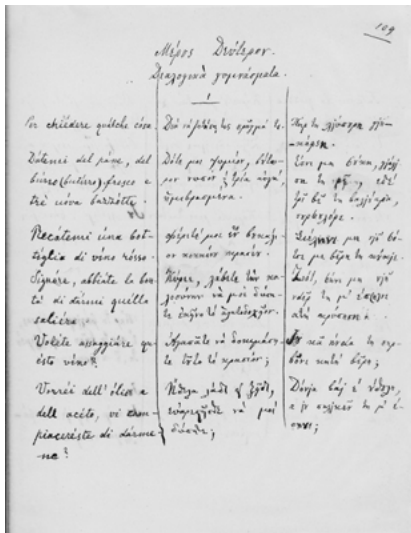


Fig. 2: Second part of Mitko’s manuscript, with the first page of Διαλογικά Γυμνάσματα / Conversation Exercises

5–6. There follow five more lexicons, two Greek-Albanian and three Albanian-Greek. The rich content provided in the Greek-Albanian lexicons by E. Mitko (see

Kyriazis 2014) and P. Koupitoris<sup>11</sup> (see Γιοχάλας 2006) allow us to follow both the process and the means of enrichment of the Albanian vocabulary during the last decades of the 19th century.

As is known, the ethnic movements which had been developed in the Balkans mainly during the 19th century aimed at promoting and cultivating the national languages as a powerful symbol of identity and as a means to establish and further strengthen national conscience (Skendi 1964).

E. Mitko is an indicative example of how Greek language learning can be transformed into a source of knowledge and inquiry on the different trajectories followed by various ethnic groups in the Balkans throughout their historical evolution. Mitko's intellectual course and the shaping of his personality are well described, albeit not that elegantly, by his fellow-citizen known as N.D.N., author of a geography book on Korçë, who writes: "... atëhere Grekoman i fortë, edhe më pas Shqipëtar' i flaktë ... '...then [at 1843] a strong Grekoman, later a fervent Albanian...'. (N.D.N. 1923, 12). Taking a more neutral approach, we could say that Mitko devoted himself over time to an attempt to promote his nation, but without stopping to show his love for the language and culture of the Greeks.

The Greek-Albanian Lexicon by E. Mitko (Kyriazis 2014) contains about 2,500 Greek words, which are usually rendered with the corresponding Albanian ones, but as a rule no examples are used. The vast number of Albanian synonyms is particularly impressive, as in the following case:

**ἀγέλη.** Zogorī-a (bd. 235). -**ἀγέλη,** κοπάδι. Túfë, túrmë (Χροσφ.) korée-a, gríge-ja.

**μωρός.** I lënë, i marrë, lóço-ua, i rënëgjúarë-i, i përcártë, lúqe-ja, kokëthâtë, kokëthárëtë, húdo, i hutúom (bd. 142). Έτι, nákar-i (fl. 5, 230).

**ὄχλος.** (Χροσφ. Έξ. 9) Gjëndëje-ja. (dps. 10, 15) gjíndë-ja (Ξλανδ.) túrmë-a, και (flam.) léhë-a, légë, bótë (διάτ. 51, 10) και (ρψ.σ. 80) lúsmë-a.

**παγίς.** Grácëkë-a, ngrácëkë, kurth-i, xámkë-a, sárdhë-a, dhokán-i, bat-i, lak-u. Το bat όμως είναι παγίς μέν, άλλ' άνευ δέσεως.

**παγκόσμιος.** i gjithëjetëshimë, i përgjithëshimë, i gjithëqíshimë.

**πέπων.** Piépër-i, γ. piépën-i. (τρν.) kokomār-i, και (βρσς) shqebón-i.

<sup>11</sup> The full title of his work is Λεξικόν ἑλληναλβανικόν ἐπίτομον ἐκ τῆς ἑλληνικῆς εἰς τὴν ἀλβανικὴν διάλεκτον τῶν ἐν Ἑλλάδι Ἀλβανῶν, μάλιστα τὴν τῶν Ὑδραίων, μετὰ παραθέσεως καὶ τῶν ἄλλων διαλέκτων, τοσκικῆς, γκεγκικῆς καὶ τῆς τῶν ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ Σικελίᾳ Ἀλβανῶν (cf. Γιοχάλας 2006, B').

**σταφυλίς**, τὸ τσαμπί, τὸ τσάμπουρον. Fre-ri, και (πλθτ.) fréra-të· (σκδρ.) vîle-ja, gërdháj-i (πλθτ.) gërdhája· (ελβ.) rúpë-a· (κρτς.) veshúlkë, veshújkë-a, τὸ δὲ χωρίς σταφύλια, shorútkë-a.

His Greek lemmas are of a mixed character, with most of them deriving from the scholarly tradition and some being popular and dating to the second half of the 19th century, like the following items:

**γόςος**, θρηῖνος, μοιρολόγι. Vomē-ja.

**ἔγκυκλον**. Fustán-i, fustanéllë-a.

**ἔγκυος**, ἐγγαστρωμένη. Mbársë, me bárrë. «*U-ghent me barrë = ευρέθη ἔγκυος*».

**γαργαλήθρα**, ἢ ἄλλως βαλανίδα καὶ παραμαγούλα, ελλ. ἀδήν. Gjëndëré-a (Τσμρ.) grëndëlé-a. Ἴδ. και Γαλ. glandule.

The sources from which he draws his material for Albanian is the language of the people as well as scholarly formations – neologisms, which are mainly loan translations (calques). According to the general spirit of the era, calques are considered to be an *intermediate solution* to mitigate the opposition between the need to enrich the language and the pressure to ‘purify’ it from foreign words, as well as the limitation of the lending process.

P. Koupitoris belongs to the Albanian speaking populations who had settled centuries before in various parts of the Greek territory. The ὁμόδοξον (common faith) and common byzantine cultural background contributed to the ties between foreigners and locals and created the conditions for their integration into the imagined community of Greeks. During the years of the Greek Revolution and especially after the foundation of the Modern Greek State, we observe an acceleration in the assimilation rate of these people.

We have not been able to spot any parts of the work where the author mentions the reasons that urged him to compile the Greek-Arvanitika lexicon. However, we can imagine that he was trying to record and preserve a dialect which in the end, he believed, would become extinct. The work remained unpublished until recently, and as a result it did not reach people who might be interested in or influenced by it.

As can be judged by the title but also from the analysis of the structure of Koupitoris’ lexicon, this is actually a work that does not serve immediate pragmatic purposes. Next to each Greek word there is a series of synonyms in Albanian-Arvanitika without providing any extra information about how or where it can be used. The objective of the writer was to show the wealth and capabilities of Albanian and Arvanitika. For the latter, a different theory was developed: it is

the richest Albanian dialect, being under the immediate beneficial influence of Greek and running the risk of rapid shrinkage as a result of its direct contact with the Greek language (!) (Qirjazi 2008).

With respect to the type of vocabulary listed in the lexicon, the following observations can be made:

- words with a broader geographical dissemination, found in the Albanian language and belonging to its basic vocabulary.
- words of Arvanitika from Hydra, with characteristics belonging to the “historic heritage” of the dialect and to borrowed words of various origins, e.g. Italian, Turkish, Slavic.
- neologisms, bearing the compiler’s personal signature.<sup>12</sup>

**7–8–9.** Following are the Albanian-Greek dictionary by K. Χριστοφορίδης (Χριστοφορίδης 1904) and the dictionary by E. Mitko (see Kyriazis 2014), two dictionaries that, although compiled in the same period, bear the special personal signature and reflect the life course of their compilers. In fact, both of them are dictionaries of Albanian with word definitions in Greek, i.e. their peculiarity is that they use Greek as metalanguage. The publication took place after the death of the authors, who had not completed their compilation during their life time. Χριστοφορίδης’ dictionary was printed in Athens in 1904, whereas Mitko’s dictionary (which reflects the Albanian vocabulary of the 19th century) was not able to influence the subsequent development of the Albanian language since it was never published.

It is noted that the first steps of Mitko as lexicographer can be seen in his “Λεξιλόγιον Ἀλβανο-Ἑλληνικόν / Albanian-Greek Vocabulary” of “Ἀλβανική Μέλισσα / Albanian Bee”, a collection mainly of folk art material that he was preparing for many years, which he finally published in Alexandria in 1878. The “Vocabulary ...” is considered an explanatory glossary of “Melissa”. In addition to its other merits, this work contains data that make it an autonomous lexicographic work.

K. Χριστοφορίδης, a graduate of “Zosimaia” School of Ioannina, was lucky enough in his young years to have been the student of Hahn, Consul of the Austro-Hungarian Empire in Ioannina and author of the renowned work “Albanesische Studien” (Jena 1854), the third volume of which includes the section *Beiträge zu Einem Albanesisch-Deutschen Lexikon*. Apart from this experience, Χριστοφορίδης dealt with the translation of ecclesiastical books.

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<sup>12</sup> For a more detailed comparison of two dictionaries, see Κυριαζής (2013).

In terms of quantity, the number of lemmas in Χριστοφορίδης' dictionary is twice as much as that by Mitko, containing 11,675 entries as compared to about 6,000 in the latter's work. However, the number of words in Mitko's dictionary does not include the so called "internal" words which raise considerably the total number of Albanian words in it.

The comparison of the macro- and micro-structure of the two dictionaries shows that one includes words and meanings not found in the other, and vice versa. For instance, Mitko uses the word **biéshkë-a**: γ. Ὄρος ἢ δένδρον, χρήσιμον πρὸς βοσκήν ποιμνίων (Concil. 12), βουνόν φαλακρόν (our underlines, D.K.), while Χριστοφορίδης does not mention meanings at all: 'βοσκή ποιμνίων/pastureland' and 'βουνόν φαλακρόν/bare mountain': **bieshkë-a** (Shk.) sh. bieshka-të = ὄρος, krhs. mal-i = βουνόν, kodrë-a = λόφος (edhe bishka = ὑψηλόν, ἑλλην. βόσκω). Furthermore, Mitko uses **kréshhtë-a** (φυτ.). 'Ἐλάτη, πίτυς', but this meaning is not found in the corresponding word of Χριστοφορίδης. Mitko uses **fárkë-a**. Τὸ ὄνυχιον τῶν ζώων, οἰοεὶ χαράκωμα. 2/ ἡ στρῶσις, ἡ οἰκοδομή τῆς λεκάνης τῆς βρύσεως, ἡ λιθόστρωσις τῆς αὐλῆς, τῆς οἰκίας, τοῦ ἐδάφους, κλπ. «*Te kroj i farkuarë*», while Χριστοφορίδης uses **fárkë-a**. = ἡ ἔστια τοῦ σιδηρουροῦ (edition of 1961).

For more information regarding these dictionaries, the readers can consult the relevant specialized literature (Τζουβάνη 1961, 13–22; Kostallari 1972; Kyriazis 2003; Qirjazi 2005, etc.).

## Conclusions

We examined nine lexicographical works that were published or written during the time period 1770–1904; three of them are multilingual dictionaries, three are Greek-Albanian and three Albanian-Greek.

Regarding their impact, we could say that they were of limited range, even the ones that were published, like Καβαλλιώτης, Μοσχοπολίτης, Glossary of "Albanian Melissa", Χριστοφορίδης.

In all these works, Albanian is written on the basis of the Greek alphabet. Although this shows the broad use of Greek, at the same time Greek functioned (and still functions) as an inhibitor, making these works into something like an archaeological relic ("κειμήλιον ἀρχαιολογικόν") for those whose knowledge of Greek was limited or non-existent (Τζουβάνη 1961, 17).

There is heterogeneity regarding the structure and the objectives of these lexicons. Even their titles are conventional, since, for instance, the Albanian-Greek

lexicons by Mitko and Χριστοφορίδης are in essence explanatory lexicons of Albanian, but use Greek as their metalanguage.

The works that meet the elementary lexicographic specifications and are no simple word lists appear during the second period of Greek-Albanian / Albanian-Greek lexicography, when the composition of lexicons is part of the program of national awareness of the Albanians.

The consideration of Greek-Albanian / Albanian-Greek lexicographic production during the 18th and 19th centuries corroborates the observation made by P. Mackridge in one of his recent works: “[T]he rise of Greek nationalism, which carried along with it many speakers of other languages, eventually led to rival nationalisms in the Balkans, which emerged both under the influence of Greek nationalism and in reaction against it. As the nineteenth century progressed, it became increasingly obvious that many Orthodox Christians in the Balkans did not feel themselves to be Greek. [...]. Intellectuals began to ‘discover’ that they were not really Greeks at all [...] and they began to spread this new ‘discovery’ with quasi-religious zeal among large masses of those they considered to be their people” (Mackridge 2009, 188).

During the 20th century, more works appear and enrich the list of titles of this series, increasing the relevant production considerably after 1990, when the relations of the two peoples and countries acquire a new impetus. These works are part of a different era and should be examined as such in the context of a different study.

We close with the note that the compilation of a good Greek-Albanian and Albanian-Greek dictionary, based on scientific lexicographic criteria, remains to the present date a desideratum.

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Nikolaos Lavidas

# Language change and early dictionaries of Modern Greek

## 1 Introduction

The present paper aims at investigating (a) the reliability of early Modern Greek dictionaries as sources for the history of the Greek language and (b) their role in the development of Modern Greek through the establishment of prescriptive rules. The presence of loanwords in a dictionary, for instance, and the way they are described, is a clear case of reflection of results of language contact in the development of a language. On the other hand, several studies have demonstrated cross-linguistic examples from dictionaries that lead to wrong conclusions about the diachrony of a language, including various erroneous assumptions on language contact. Therefore, there is no consensus as to whether or not the history of language contact is represented in dictionaries (Mooijaart/van der Wal 2008). It is evident, however, that the dictionaries are a significant source, at least if one looks at the elements of earlier dictionaries that later lexicographers reused or abandoned, or at the kind of neologisms lexicographers may have added: The diachronic paths of words (for instance, which words or phrases are stably used and which words change or even ‘die’) can be traced in this way in lexicographical works (and even in the various editions of the same dictionary) (Landau 2001; Hartmann 2001; Xydopoulos 2008).

With regard to the role of dictionaries in determining the direction of change, prescriptivism has been shown to block or delay a change but not to reverse its direction. We should note, though, that most previous studies on the role of prescriptivism concern grammatical change and grammar books and not the relationship between lexicography and language change. In relation to this question, the aim of this study is to trace the manner of development of Modern Greek dictionaries in their early years, mainly with regard to non-verbal usage markers (crosses/daggers and asterisks, among others) and style labels that will be shown to demonstrate the main indicators of the prescriptive or non-prescriptive status of a dictionary.

In Section 2, we examine the role of early dictionaries of Modern Greek in language change, both in the meta-discourse of change and as a factor of change through prescriptive practices. We show that pre-19th-century dictionaries of Modern Greek aim at providing Ancient Greek semantically equivalent words and do not discuss the language change of Modern Greek (Section 2.2). On the other

hand, 19th-century Modern Greek lexicographical works form a new system of symbols and abbreviations and establish a prescriptive pattern (Section 2.3). Section 3 discusses the relationship between early lexicography and language change, mainly the stages of change that are criticized in early dictionaries (in a comparison with prescriptivism in grammar books) and the types of effect of lexicographical prescriptivism. Section 4 summarizes the main conclusions of the study.

## 2 Early Lexicography of Modern Greek: Meta-discourse of change or a factor in change, or both?

### 2.1 Early dictionaries as a source of evidence

A first look at the early dictionaries of Modern Greek reveals the ways in which dictionaries are primary sources for the history of Greek. Dictionaries (and, in general, lexicographical works) can function as sources mainly for the external (sociolinguistic) but also for the internal (changes in the linguistic system) history of Greek.<sup>1</sup> Several elements of dictionaries evidence aspects of the linguistic history: for instance, the variety of Greek – archaized or demoticized – and the target language/language of definitions used in the dictionaries (most of the early dictionaries are bilingual ones), as well as the definition of words of historical and cultural importance or the quotations that appear in an early dictionary, or even the format or the typography of dictionaries. Even not well-known dictionaries of the 18th and 19th centuries are sources of valuable information on the history of Greek through the word count, their publication history or their title (Salmon-Alt *et al.* 2006; Considine 2014). Moreover, lexicographical texts (dictionaries as well as glossaries or word lists) can always offer the only or earliest record of some (rare) words and phrases. In the following sections, we will examine the case of pre-19th and 19th-century dictionaries and show their main differences in the later establishment of a prescriptive pattern.

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<sup>1</sup> An example of clear evidence on the development of Greek (for instance, with regard to semantic changes, emergence, retention and loss of lexical items) as derives from dictionaries is Kriaras' Dictionary of Medieval Greek Vernacular Literature (cf. Charalambakis 2015 and his article in the present volume).

The recently published volumes (volumes 19 and 20), compiled under the direction of Prof. Kazazis, also constitute a model of a valuable lexicographical work that offers rich information on the history of the Greek language. See Kazazis *et al.* (2013). Our study aims at describing the methodology of early dictionaries of Modern Greek as well as their role in language change.

## 2.2 Pre-19th-century dictionaries of Modern Greek: How to provide Ancient Greek semantically equivalent words

The first dictionaries of Modern Greek are bilingual dictionaries, with a focus on providing the Ancient Greek or Latin equivalent word and, in many cases, a definition in another European language. They are prepared by speakers of Greek as a second language and are published outside of Greece. We will indicatively examine dictionaries of the 19th century (a selection of them) that form the first attempt at compiling a Modern Greek dictionary, rather than just a selection of words or a list of words/glossaries to provide the semantically equivalent words in Ancient Greek. According to most of the previous studies, Modern Greek lexicography appears in the 19th century (Perakis 1994; Babiniotis 2012).<sup>2</sup> Before discussing 19th-century dictionaries of Modern Greek, we will briefly present an overview of some earlier attempts at dictionaries that include (Early) Modern Greek words of the 17th and 18th century (Alissandratos 1980a, 1980b; Papanastasiou 2001; Perakis 1994).

The first elements of Modern Greek lexicography (even though they are types of glossaries) appear in (a) Varinus Favorinus' *Μέγα καὶ πάνυ ὠφέλιμον Λεξικὸν [Dictionarium magnum ac perutile Varini Phavorini Camertis]* (Rome, 1523) and (b) Nicolaus Rigaltius' *Glossarium τακτικὸν μιζοβάρβαρον [Glossarium taktikon mixobarbaron. De verborum significatione, quae ad novellas imp. qui in Oriente post Iustinianum regnaverunt, de re militari constitutiones pertinent]* (Paris, 1601). Both present mainly Ancient Greek words, but some Modern Greek words are also included. For each Modern Greek word, its meaning is provided in archaized Greek. Jan van Meurs' *Glossarium Graeco-Barbarum* is considered the first dictionary of Modern Greek (Lyon, 1610). Van Meurs provides Latin definitions as well as explanations in Greek. It is an initial attempt at an explanatory dictionary of Greek, which includes Modern Greek words from various registers, e.g.: *ακαμάτης* 'loafer', *απόμακρα* 'remotely', *γιομάτος* 'full', *γάτος* 'tomcat', *καπετάνιος* 'captain', *πεθερός* 'father in law', *φτέρνα* 'heel', *φτερό* 'feather'.

Other dictionaries of the 17th century present Modern Greek together with Ancient Greek and with an Atticized Medieval Greek variety: for instance, (a) G. Germano's *Vocabolario italiano e greco* (Rome, 1622); (b) Simon Portius' *Λεξικὸν Λατινικόν, Ρωμαϊκόν και Ἑλληνικόν [Dictionary of Latin, Romaic, and Greek]* (Paris, 1635); (c) Gerasimos Vlachos' *Θησαυρός της εγκυκλοπαιδικής βάσεως τετράγλωσσοσ [Thesaurus in Four Languages of Encyclopedic Knowledge]* (Venice, 1659); and

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<sup>2</sup> For instance, Babiniotis identifies the birth of Modern Greek lexicography with Adamantios Korais' *Ἄτακτα* (1829–1835). For a different view, see Georgoudis (1984).

(d) Du Cange's *Glossarium ad scriptores mediae et infimae graecitatis* (Lyon, 1688). Germano's dictionary offers Italian definitions, whereas Portius' dictionary is trilingual, with Modern Greek, Ancient Greek, and Latin parts. Vlachos' dictionary contains Modern Greek lemmas (elements of the Cretan dialect, too) with Latin, Italian, and Ancient Greek explanations. Vlachos is the first Greek lexicographer of a Modern Greek dictionary.

Dictionaries of the 18th century include, among others: (a) Alessio da Somavera's *Θησαυρός της Ρωμαϊκής και της Φράγκικης Γλώσσας / Tesoro della lingua greca-volgare ed italiana* (Paris, 1709) and (b) Georgios Ventotis' *Λεξικόν τριγλωσσον της Ιταλικής, Γαλλικής, και Ρωμαϊκής διαλέκτου* [Trilingual dictionary of Italian, French, and Greek] (Vienna, 1790). Somavera's dictionary is a Greek–Italian and Italian–Greek dictionary. It contains a rich list of lemmas, and it became a significant source for later lexicographers. Ventotis' dictionary includes demotic as well as heavily archaized words; it also presents examples of morphological variation, without the addition of any prefixed symbol (see below for the emergence of a new pattern of a system of symbols in later dictionaries), e.g.: *γαληνεύσας*, *-σασα* 'calm man/ woman', *γαμβρός* 'son in law', *γδάρισμον* 'scratch', *γένεσις* 'birth', *γενναιότης* 'gallantry'.

### 2.3 The case of the 19th-century Modern Greek lexicographical works: A system of symbols for prescriptivism

As mentioned above, our study will focus on examples of the role of dictionaries of the 19th century, mainly because the 19th century is the period during which dictionaries with the main purpose of describing the Modern Greek vocabulary emerged. Several earlier studies have named the 19th century "a century of a significant change in Modern Greek lexicographical works" (Papanastasiou 2001). The most important dictionaries are the following ones:

(a1) J. Schmidt's *Λεξικόν Απλο-Ελληνικόν και Γερμανικόν* [*Neugriechisch-deutsches und deutsch-neugriechisches Wörterbuch. Zum Gebrauch der Deutschen und Griechen*] (Leipzig, 1825) and (a2) J. Schmidt's *Νέον Λεξικόν πρόχειρον Γαλλικόν-Απλο-Ελληνικόν και Γερμανικόν* [*Nouveau dictionnaire complet français-grec-moderne-allemand*] (Leipzig, 1838).<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Our presentation of the main characteristics will have to be brief, and we will only focus on the system of prefixed symbols in these dictionaries due to space limitations.

J. Schmidt's (1825) dictionary includes some initial remarks in a prescriptive direction; as seen above, earlier dictionaries register Modern Greek words (demotic Greek words), do not comment on them, but offer the corresponding archaized or Ancient Greek words. In his preface, Schmidt states that the aim of his dictionary is to provide the simple or common language of everyday communication. In this respect, he feels that he should not exclude loanwords because the dictionary should be useful to speakers of German who may find these words in books or hear them in conversations. This was the first time that the question of the presence or absence of loanwords in a dictionary is discussed. This issue is related to the "Greek language question" and demonstrates an example of how lexicography can be a source of information on a crucial aspect of the history of Greek. On the other hand, Schmidt uses brackets to propose "better" words or phrases instead of the loanwords. In this way, Schmidt is the first Modern Greek lexicographer to use symbols to mark different types of words; the dictionary reveals aspects of the debate on the "Greek language question" through these symbols as well as, of course, the lexicographer's own view on the "language question". The following symbols are used in Schmidt's (1825) dictionary:

Dagger (†):	Daggers are used for newer Greek words (which underwent change) as well as loanwords, e.g., <i>λακτάρα</i> 'yearning', <i>λασπώδης</i> 'muddy', <i>λαδώνω</i> 'to oil'.
Asterisk (*):	Rare Greek words, used only in high registers, are marked with an asterisk.
Parentheses:	Parentheses mark Greek words that can replace the loanwords.
No symbol:	Words retained from Ancient Greek without change take no marker.

(1) Further examples from Schmidt (1825):<sup>4</sup>

Dagger

*δαγκάνω* *δαγκώνω* (\**δάκνω*) 'bite'; *δακτυλίδι* (*δακτυλίδιον*) 'ring'; *δανεικά* 'loan'

Asterisk

*δαψίλεια* 'copiousness'; *δαψιλής* 'generous'; *δειρή* 'neck'

No marker

*δεικνύω* 'show'; *δεκτός* 'accepted'; *δεσμεύω* 'fetter'

<sup>4</sup> Further examples are provided indicatively here from the data we collected from a corpus study in early dictionaries (17th–19th century). All results presented here derive from the same part of the dictionaries (lemmas starting with Δ) to make a comparison between the dictionaries possible.

Schmidt's (1838) dictionary offers definitions in French and German. It is quite close to his 1825 dictionary; some differences from his earlier dictionary mainly concern the aims of publication, French definitions, and the number of symbols used. Schmidt's (1838) dictionary includes a new system of symbols:

No symbol:	For “pure” Greek words that Schmidt considers Ancient Greek words still used by the speakers of his time.
Dagger:	“Barbarous” loanwords, used in oral language.
Asterisk:	Words that underwent a change or were coined in later Greek.
Double Asterisk:	Old Greek words, sometimes used by Modern Greek speakers.

(2) Further examples from Schmidt (1838) (Perakis 1994):

Dagger

κουβάς ‘bucket’; κουκούλα ‘hood’; ρακί ‘raki’

Asterisk

αλλάζω ‘change’; ανάποδα ‘backwards’; ρουχαλίζω ‘snore’

Double asterisk

άναξ ‘king’; βότρυς ‘bunch’; διπτός ‘twofold’; εγγύς ‘near’; κτείνω ‘kill’

(b) Korais' *Ατακτα* [*Miscellany*] (Paris, 1829–1835)

Korais' work presents a theoretical investigation of the necessity and challenges of dictionaries, as well as an application of his methodology (especially in the 2nd, 4th, and 5th volumes of *Ατακτα*), even though he avoids labeling any of his volumes a dictionary. Korais published lists of words/glossaries (*Αλφάβητα*) in various volumes of *Ατακτα*. He states that Somavera's and Du Cange's dictionaries (as well as an anonymous Greek-German dictionary) are sources for his own work. Further sources for Korais' glossaries are, among others, poets who write in Modern Greek, for instance, Ptochoprodromos or Emmanouil Georgillas. Korais refers to the Dictionary of the French Academy (first publication in 1694; *Le dictionnaire de l'Académie française, dédié au Roy*, Paris) and presents it as a very valuable dictionary (Georgoudis 1984; Vayakakos 1984; Babiniotis 2012; Knapková 2017).

Korais, together with Schmidt, can be considered the founder of Modern Greek lexicography, as well as the first prescriptive lexicographer (again, together with Schmidt) of Modern Greek. His purpose is to include words and phrases of Ancient Greek for young people to correct and “decorate” their oral language. Korais does not intend to revive the Ancient Greek language; he admits that this would be impossible. He also describes the danger of replacing Modern Greek words with Ancient Greek ones, which can create a terrible distance from

the oral language. On the other hand, even though Korais argues that one should be very careful not to exclude from a dictionary words used for centuries, he proposes the usage of earlier forms, e.g., *συνάγω* instead of *συνάζω* ‘deduce’, or *φυλάσσω* instead of *φυλάγω* ‘guard’.

Korais uses abbreviations for the following concepts: (a) common words; (b) vulgar words; (c) Greek words; (d) words from the period of decline of the Greek language; (e) Roman or Latin words; and (f) Greco-Roman words. Korais also uses symbols similar to dictionaries of other European languages and similar to Schmidt: The asterisk marks words that are not included in other dictionaries (in his sources), e.g., *αβάρια* ‘damage’, *γεννοβολώ* ‘spawn’. Moreover, in the case of common Greek words, the asterisk denotes that these words are not listed in the dictionaries Korais uses as sources – they were added either because they are already frequent in oral and written speech, or to be judged by the speakers of the language. The asterisk with “Greek words” means that the Greek dictionaries had failed to register them but they are attested by early lexicographers and commentators.

(3) Further examples from Korais (1829–1835):

Asterisk

*διαπέταλον* ‘area’; *διαφορά* ‘disagreement, debate, fight’; *δυσαρεστούμαι* ‘become unhappy’; *δυσκολαινώ* ‘become difficult’; *δισχυρίζομαι* ‘support’

Moreover, the second part of the 5th volume includes an appendix with a list of all *vernacular* words that are registered in the five volumes of *Άτακτα*.

(4) Examples from Korais (1829–1835) – Volume 5. (i) Appendix: Common words (In this appendix, the asterisk means a word for which Korais did not provide an explanation in the fifth volume of *Άτακτα*.)

No symbol

*δέχομαι* ‘accept’; *διαβάζω* ‘read’; *διακόπτω* ‘interrupt’

Asterisk

*δίοπτρον* ‘binocular’

(ii) Appendix: Greek words

No symbol

*δάκνω* ‘bite’; *δεικνύω* ‘show’; *δειλός* ‘timid’; *δελεάζω* ‘lure’

Asterisk

*διστεγος* ‘two-story’

(c1) Skarlatos Vyzantios' *Λεξικόν της καθ' ημάς Ελληνικής διαλέκτου μεθερμηνευομένης εις το αρχαίον Ελληνικόν και το Γαλλικόν* [*Dictionary of our Greek dialect – with Ancient Greek and French definitions*] (Athens, 1835); (c2) Skarlatos Vyzantios' *Λεξικόν Επίτομον* [*One-volume Dictionary*] (Athens, 1839); and (c3) Skarlatos Vyzantios' *Λεξικόν Ελληνικόν και Γαλλικόν* [*Greek and French dictionary*] (Athens, 1846).

Skarlatos Vyzantios is the first Greek lexicographer to produce dictionaries in the area of the new free Modern Greek state. He follows Korais' views on purism, but he also provides other ways of correction and purism of Modern Greek, as well as a detailed proposal of how to prescribe and enrich (“ρυθμίσωμεν και πλουτίσωμεν”) the oral language through the knowledge of Ancient Greek. His aim is to correct the language, for Modern Greek to approach Ancient Greek gradually, because he believes that the distance between Modern and Ancient Greek is not great at all.

Skarlatos argues that it is not acceptable to respect the vernacular pronunciation, or, for instance, to be careless about orthography or to use unaugmented types of verbs in the past tense; on the contrary, according to him, the lexicographer should always choose the most “useful”, that is, the most original type. We should note that the “language question” in this period divides speakers, with a group of speakers in favor of only Ancient (archaized) Greek and another group of speakers who considered demotic Modern Greek to be a separate and absolutely different language from Ancient Greek (among others, Horrocks 2010, 438–470; Mackridge 2010). Skarlatos' view is that people should use in their written texts the orthography and morphology of Ancient Greek, whereas the oral language can follow the pronunciation and forms of Modern Greek.

Moreover, his decision on loanwords is to exclude those that “pollute” Greek from the main lemmas and to transfer them to an appendix, where he can offer their Ancient Greek replacement / equivalent. In this appendix, he includes very common and frequent words, e.g.: *βάρκα* ‘boat’, *γιαγιά* ‘grandmother’, *καναπές* ‘sofa’, *μπακάλης* ‘grocer’, *σίγουρος* ‘sure’.

However, in his preface, Skarlatos argues that he does not exclude “foreign” words that are common and deeply incorporated in the language, that is, words that are fully accommodated and from which new words can be derived. This fact is an important piece of evidence for the development of the relevant loanwords: it reveals features of their accommodation and of their later acceptance by speakers of Modern Greek. It also shows a positive attitude towards lexical change that appears in dictionaries when the relevant change is in a later stage – in contrast to the case of grammatical change and grammar books (see below).



Besides loanwords, Skarlatos also excludes words that “did not sound well to his ears”, e.g.: *δυσκατούλωτος* ‘hard to cicatrize’.

(5) Further examples from Skarlatos (1835):

Appendix

*δάμα* ‘a kind of game’; *δρολικώνω* ‘gorge’

On the other hand, we should note that Skarlatos provides examples of variation: e.g., *δωδεκάδα* – *δωδεκαριά* ‘dozen’, *ζητιάνος* – *ζήτουλας* ‘beggar’, and *χασμουρητόν* – *χασμούρημα* ‘yawn’. Skarlatos also uses asterisks for words he transfers from the Ancient Greek vocabulary with a different meaning or that he coined by means of analogy with early Greek words.

Skarlatos’ (1839) dictionary excludes “foreign” or “corrupted” words that are not attested at least once by an author. On the contrary, it includes words that can be useful in explaining other frequent words or in offering the etymology, e.g. *γρύτη* ‘a woman’s dressing-case’, *γρυτοδόκη* ‘bag or chest for old clothes’ (a compound that was still used according to Skarlatos). It appears that derivation in early dictionaries is a significant criterion of the productivity of a word, both in cases of new loanwords and ancient Greek words. Abbreviations for the following concepts are used in this dictionary: (i) imprecise term; (ii) misuse word; (iii) neologism. Examples of symbols (and of the contrast between presence-absence of symbol) can be found in (6).

(6) Further examples from Skarlatos (1839):

No symbol

*δανείζω* ‘lend’; *δειγματίζω* ‘sample’

Cross

*δηλοφανής* ‘evident’; *διαζύγιον* ‘divorce’; *διαφορογενής* ‘with origin from various races’; *διελλαμβάνω* ‘confuse’

Finally, Skarlatos’ (1846) dictionary also prescribes the language but mainly attempts to work in the direction of standardization; his aim is to present one language for all parts of Greece, which, according to Skarlatos, could contribute to the social, national, literary, and cultural progress. The structure of the 1846 dictionary is similar to that of 1835. It includes an appendix of loanwords and words that should be excluded. 469 words can be found in this appendix – much fewer than the 922 words of the first dictionary, even though this dictionary is much bigger (27,000 lemmas in contrast to 10,000 lemmas in the 1835 dictionary) (Perakis 1994).

(d) Georgios E. Zikidis' *Λεξικόν ορθογραφικόν και χρηστικόν της Ελληνικής γλώσσης της τε αρχαίας και της νεοτέρας* [*Orthographic and usage dictionary of Ancient and Modern Greek*] (Athens, 1899).

Zikidis' aim is mainly to teach the philologically correct spelling of words, the correct usage, as well as how to “clean” Greek from “foreign words” (loan-words). In reality, his dictionary is a dictionary of learned Greek. On the other hand, besides elements of archaizing Greek or Ancient Greek words proposed by the lexicographer, the dictionary includes newer words, even demotic Greek words. In his preface, Zikidis claims that one should coin new words when necessary, but he proposes the replacement of new words with other more “correct” words that are analogous to early Greek words.

Zikidis marks vernacular words with symbols (with a dagger) because many words of vernacular Greek are attested in poems or other written texts. Additionally, he marks (with an asterisk) rarely used Ancient Greek words that should be introduced to the written language due to the lack of other words of similar significance. This shows that Modern Greek lexicographers use symbols to mark words both positively and negatively. The following list includes assumed demotic words in Zikidis' dictionary: *κομμωτήριο* ‘hair dressing salon’, *προπόνησις* ‘training’, and *φεγγάριον* ‘moon’.

(7) Further examples from Zikidis (1899):

Dagger (for the majority of the lemmas that have a prefixed symbol)

*δενδροστοιχία* ‘hedgerow’; *δηλητηριάζω* ‘poison’; *δημοσιογραφία* ‘journalism’; *δημοψήφισμα* ‘referendum’; *διαγωνισμός* ‘competition’; *διαδήλωσις* ‘demonstration’  
Asterisk

*δειμαλέος* ‘timid’; *δημοβόρος* ‘devourer of the common stock’; *δημοθονία* ‘a public feast’

No symbol

*δάκνω* ‘bite’

(e) Stefanos E. Koumanoudis' *Συναγωγή νέων λέξεων υπό των λογίων πλασθεισών από της αλώσεως μέχρι των καθ' ημάς χρόνων* [*A collection of new words which have been created by the scholars from the fall of Constantinople until our times*] (Athens, 1900).<sup>5</sup>

Koumanoudis also develops a system of marking through symbols: The asterisk denotes that the word is not a neologism, but it had a different meaning in

<sup>5</sup> Due to space limitations, we discuss only a selection of the major Modern Greek dictionaries of this period.

Ancient Greek from that in Modern Greek, e.g., *εκλογεύς* (Modern Greek: a voter/with the right to cast a vote; Ancient Greek: person who collects taxes). The cross shows the application of an interesting criterion of accommodation of borrowings because it marks a compound with only one element from the Modern Greek written language – all other elements are foreign (the term used in the dictionary for these words is: “νοθογενής”), e.g., *αρχιδούξ* ‘archduke’, and *τεμπελχανεῖον* ‘a place where lazy people gather’. The equal sign is used for neologisms, newly coined (the term used in the dictionary is: “νεόπλαστος”) in other languages and used by Greek scholars. This is again a very significant information included in the dictionary with regard to the history of language contact and change: e.g., *βακτηριολόγοι* ‘bacteriologists’, *εμπειρισμός* ‘empiricism’, *ανατομία* ‘anatomy’, and *εθνογραφία* ‘ethnography’.

(8) Further examples from Koumanoudis (1900):

Cross

*δασμομπήχται* ‘people/governments that impose taxes’

No symbol

*δεκαημερία* ‘ten-day period’

Asterisk

*δέκτης* ‘receiver’; *δεσποτισμός* ‘despotism’; *διαψεύδω* ‘contradict’

It appears that early dictionaries of Modern Greek are a significant source of information on the development of Greek with regard to semantic change, the introduction and accommodation of loanwords, and, mainly, the “Greek language question”. A close examination of early dictionaries can lead us to valuable conclusions, if we trace the diachronic paths of elements of earlier dictionaries that later lexicographers reuse or abandon, or of neologisms that lexicographers add. Moreover, 19th-century dictionaries establish a prescriptive pattern of comments on language change through a system of non-verbal usage markers (crosses/daggers, asterisks) and style labels.

### 3 The relationship between early lexicography and language change: Stages of change and types of effect of prescriptivism

Dictionaries from the 19th century follow a more prescriptive approach than dictionaries from previous centuries. Prescriptivism in all examples (and in all phenomena that it may affect) is reflected as a desire to fix or establish a standard, to eliminate variation and change, to reject the most recent historical development, and to regulate the language. Accordingly, prescriptivism is based on the view that one linguistic variety should be imposed on the whole community of speakers because it has an inherently higher value than other varieties (Crystal 1998; Osselton 2006).<sup>6</sup>

Delveroudi/Moschonas (1997 and 2003) have argued that purism is a prerequisite for prescriptive grammar (and we can add: for a prescriptive dictionary as well). According to their approach, purism is a metalinguistic practice that is based on two systems of opposition: social contrast between “us” and the “other”, and linguistic contrast between correct and incorrect. Delveroudi/Moschonas have shown that purism mainly aims at loanwords, neologisms, dialectal forms and social idioms (characteristics of the language of young people, for instance) and focuses on words as words are more easily observed than any grammatical construction. The practice of purism attempts to mark and isolate these types of words (loanwords, neologisms, etc) from the rest of the vocabulary. Thomas (1991, 171–72) has also claimed that: “One of the most salient characteristics of purism is that it introduces a criterion for assigning markedness in the language system on the basis of origin.”<sup>7</sup>

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6 Pullum (2004) has shown the existence of nine types of prescriptivism; the first group of types of prescriptivism is related to a past or present social norm (classicism, authoritarianism, nostalgia). The other group of types of prescriptivism is connected with subjective criteria (logicism, commonsensism, aestheticism, coherentism, functionalism, asceticism). One of the main aims in all cases of prescriptivism practice is to “improve” the language. Furthermore, Wright’s (2008) five types of prescriptivism aspects mainly demonstrate the comments that appeared in (English and French) 18th century books: pleasantness of speech, social desirability, analogy, pleasantness of sound, offences against nature.

7 On prescriptivism in contemporary Greek, see Moschonas/Spitzmüller (2010) and Moschonas (2014).

On the other hand, even grammarians that follow a prescriptive trend, like Henry Fowler (1965, 622), have great doubts about the results of the practice of prescriptivism in language. Moreover, prescriptivism also appears to be sensitive to other discourse-related and genre-specific conventions, such as colloquialization (Leech/Hundt/Mair/Smith 2009).

We should note that the prescriptive approach to the writing of dictionaries and grammar books that started in the 18th century can be traced in many European languages.<sup>8</sup> The early grammar books of European languages, for instance, aimed at codifying the principles of the languages as well as at “improving” the languages (Curzan 2014), whereas the French Academy established the following pattern: A language should not be represented per se, but ‘best’ usage should be emblemized.<sup>9</sup>

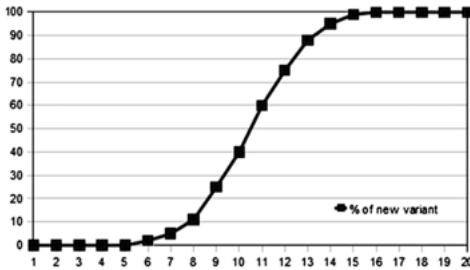
Previous cross-linguistic studies have demonstrated the influence of prescriptivism through grammar books on areas of grammar. For instance, Auer/Gonzalez-Diaz (2005) and Auer (2009) have examined the impact of 18th-century grammars on English subjunctives. These studies indicate that prescriptivist grammarians can slightly influence, but are unable to stop/reverse, the tendency in favor of indicatives. The authors have argued that their findings are a warning against the danger of overestimating the impact of prescriptivism on the process of language change. Anderwald (2012, and in various articles) has shown a connection between (i) the existence/nonexistence of prescriptive comments in grammar books and (ii) the stage in the S-curve occupied by the change (old vs. new changes) and the speed of change (see Diagram 1).<sup>10</sup>

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**8** Eighteenth century, for instance, is seen as “an age of prescriptivism.” Cf. Rydén (1984, 513–514): “the 18th century in itself is the first century to evince a more massive interest in syntactic usage, albeit primarily from a prescriptive or proscriptive angle: the grammarian, not usage, became the official arbiter of language.”

**9** Cf. Stathi (2006). We should note that the Greek lexicography of the 2nd century AD is the result of the puristic linguistic movement known as Atticism. The Greek language of that period was regarded as incorrect, and dictionaries should present the ‘correct’ words as used in the great works of the 4th to 2nd century BC (See Phrynichos’ *Ἐκλογὴ [Selection]*, 2nd century AD). The European Enlightenment also serves the need to prescribe standards – and the assumption is again that earlier periods of the language are more ‘correct’ and contemporary language should follow / imitate earlier stages. As a result, *Accademia della Crusca* (1612) is explicitly retrogressive and prescriptive, with the goal of following the Florentine dialect of the 14th century – the dialect of Dante or Petrarch. The first edition of the *Dictionnaire of the Académie Française* (1640) attempts “to give definite rules to our language and to render it pure.”

**10** S-curves (Sigmoid-curves) are logistic curves that are also used in modeling population growth or epidemiology; quantitative historical studies have shown that language change has stages in the shape of S-curves. Chen (1972) and Bailey (1973) are the first to apply this concept to linguistics – cf. Labov (1994), Bailey (2002), Kroch (1989) and Walker (2010).



**Diagram 1:** Idealized S-curve of language change; Nevalainen/Raumolin-Brunberg (2003, 54)

Anderwald’s conclusions are that not all new developments are criticized in the grammar books – in contrast to the view that the general attitude is that language should not be allowed to vary or change: the Golden Age Principle (Trudgill 1998; Labov 2001). This means that the innovations are not necessarily criticized or disapproved, but the phase and speed of change are the relevant factors that contribute to a high significance of features in the eyes of grammarians. Very new (especially slow) changes tend not to be observed.<sup>11</sup> Extremely negative comments appear when the strongest rise of change (extension of change occurs). This means that the grammarians react against changes that have progressed beyond a certain degree. We should note that, according to this approach, the time-lag caused by the tendency of copying earlier grammars should also be considered a significant parameter. In a similar way as with lexicographers (see Section 2.3), one can observe an “evolution of a discourse community of grammarians” (Watts 1999, 2008) in the form of rewriting and copying earlier works. This trend strengthens the development of accepted patterns.

Hence, prescriptive comments are not unaffected by language change – their tendencies are linked to language change, but the relationship between comments and change is not direct. In contrast to grammar books, in the case of lexicographical works we do not observe negative comments and suggestions for exclusion when the new words/ loanwords are used frequently or by a high percentage of speakers in later stages, because loanwords in later stages of change are more easily accommodated.

<sup>11</sup> Nevalainen/Raumolin-Brunberg (2003), for instance, distinguish between incipient, new, mid-range changes, changes nearing completion and completed changes.

Another main difference between grammarians and lexicographers regarding the practice of prescriptivism is the following: Lexicographers have to select which lemmas will be part of the dictionary and which forms (and which orthography) will be preferred. These decisions can be interpreted in a prescriptive way, even though this was not always the intention of the lexicographer. In this respect, some dictionaries may claim to be descriptive, but they almost inevitably contain prescriptive elements (cf. “hidden prescription”; Bergenholtz/Gouws 2010). Inclusion of a lemma, for instance, can be seen as a prescriptive process – evidence that a form has entered the “correct” language – whereas omission may indicate prescriptive silencing of a word. Prescriptive reservation and subjective evaluation of evidence can coexist with descriptive processes of data collection within a single lexicographical work or lemma (Hanks 2013; Mugglestone 2015). Therefore, it is more essential to examine the existence of prescriptive and descriptive elements in a dictionary (and the system of prefixed symbols is a significant relevant evidence, as shown in Section 2), or even in a lemma, than to distinguish between prescriptive and descriptive dictionaries.

With regard to the effects of prescriptivism, language change has been analyzed as involving two types of factors, namely external factors, where prescriptive trends of societies belong, and internal factors, e.g. economy or “ease” (Jespersen 1921).<sup>12</sup> Van Gelderen (2004, 2005), for instance, provides several examples of the interaction between external pressures of prescriptivism with internal principles of language change.

In Section 2, we presented an overview of how bilingual dictionaries of the pre-19th century period avoid the prescriptive approach. Their descriptive approach is probably mainly due to their aim to offer the corresponding Ancient Greek vocabulary. They register Modern Greek words to show their Ancient Greek equivalents or to offer a translation in other European languages. On the contrary, 19th-century dictionaries consider prescriptivism a positive and natural aspect of lexicography, and, for this reason, they set a prescriptive pattern, in accordance with the general tendency in their contemporary European lexicography.

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<sup>12</sup> Cf. (i) Jespersen’s “tug-of-war” between economy and innovation: “the correct inference can only be that the tendency toward ease may be at work in some cases, though not in all, because there are other forces which may at times neutralize it or prove stronger than it” (Jespersen 1921, chap. 14, section 6), or (ii) Lightfoot’s (1979) contrast between “changes necessitated by various principles of grammar” and changes “provoked by extra-grammatical factors,” hence, “between necessity and chance” (Lightfoot 1979, 384, 405).

The terminology used in the dictionaries reveals only part of the methodology, and keywords in usage notes can cause a misleading picture. Therefore, research should extend to the usage of prefixed symbols and label abbreviations. This observation is also related to the fact that prescriptivism and purism have the tendency to mark and isolate words (Delveroudi/Moschonas 1997 and 2003). In accordance with practices in other dictionaries of European languages, early lexicographers caution speakers against words mainly by using non-verbal symbols and abbreviations. For instance, early dictionaries of Modern French, Italian, or English mark old words by means of an asterisk, warn readers mainly against loanwords with a dagger (Osselton 1958), or even add an appendix with the most notorious words. Thus, the early *Guy Miège's Great French Dictionary* (1688) or *Abel Boyer's Royal Dictionary, French and English* (1699) employ the lexicographical device of prefixing symbols to draw attention to certain entries. Three main symbols can be found in early European dictionaries: a single dagger for vernacular as well as taboo words; a double dagger (‡) (not attested in the Modern Greek dictionaries considered in the present study) for obsolete words; and an asterisk for figurative words and phrases. If we examine the diachrony of these symbols, we can trace examples of semantic change in several cases (Yáñez-Bouza 2007).<sup>13</sup> Following his contemporary European dictionaries, Korais, as well as Schmidt, established a prescriptive tradition for distinguishing old words through symbols, abbreviations and verbal usage notes. In this way, Korais and Schmidt initiated the prescriptive tradition in early Greek dictionaries (similar, for instance, to Johnson for the case of English dictionary-making).<sup>14</sup> The prescriptive spirit is, then, at work among Korais' successors – and, as seen above, not among the earliest compilers, who probably served different purposes with their dictionaries. In addition, the 19th-century lexicographical works constitute a great source of information for the history of Greek and, mainly, for the state of the “Greek language question” in the particular period (Mackridge 2010).

The general tendency, however, of the late 20th-century metalanguage in dictionaries has been a trend from “correctedness” to “appropriateness”, and, as

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**13** For instance, see the symbols that accompany the lemma *glee* in different dictionaries of English:

Lemma: *glee*

1616-Bullokar \* [symbol for an old word]

1676-Coleso [abbreviation for an old word]

1727-Bailey + [symbol for a uncommon word]

1755-Johnson Note: “not now used”

**14** For a cross-linguistic perspective, see Norman (2002), Dorošenko (2011).



a result, the tendencies in the lexicographic metalanguage appear to form a circle in a way. In recent decades, lexicography has become more descriptive as a result of the development of corpus linguistics and of new sociolinguistic attitudes (Ottenhoff 1996; Berg-Olsen 2016).<sup>15</sup>

To summarize, the tendencies of prescriptive comments are linked to the characteristics of language change. In the case of grammatical change, negative comments appear in the strongest rise of change, and grammarians react against changes that have progressed beyond a certain degree, whereas dictionaries do not contain suggestions for exclusion of new words or new loanwords in later stages of lexical change. The reason is that neologisms and loanwords in later stages of change are incorporated in the Lexicon of the language to a higher degree. However, the lexicographical works – in contrast to grammar books – appear to be more affected by the social parameters of language change, as in the case of the “Greek language question”. Moreover, the terminology used in the dictionaries and the keywords in usage notes can cause a misleading impression: prescriptivism and purism have the tendency to mark and isolate words, and early lexicographers caution speakers against words mainly by using *non-verbal symbols* and *appendices*, rather than with special terms or keywords.

## 4 Conclusions

We examined different aspects of the relationship between early dictionaries of Modern Greek and language change. Early dictionaries appear to form a significant source of information on the sociolinguistic as well as on the internal (i.e., with regard to changes in the linguistic system) history of Greek. For instance, the variety of Greek – archaized or demoticized – as well as the language of definitions used in the dictionaries evidence various aspects of the development of Greek. The first dictionaries of Modern Greek focus on providing Ancient Greek

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<sup>15</sup> See Charalambakis (1990 and 2007); according to him, a dictionary has no reason for existence if it does not follow the development of the language, with a focus on the presentation of the new vocabulary that becomes more well-known and is incorporated in the core of the common language.

The new *Practical Dictionary of Modern Greek of the Academy of Athens*, [*Χρηστικό Λεξικό της Νεοελληνικής Γλώσσας*], has selected circa 5,000 neologisms, which are presented with detailed explanatory examples. For instance, a significant number of loan translations of Modern Greek, which appear in many languages and change aspects of their vocabulary in a very rapid manner, is also carefully recorded in this dictionary.

or Latin equivalents and, in many cases, a definition in another European language. On the contrary, 19th-century dictionaries establish a prescriptive pattern with regard to language change, following a similar tendency of their contemporary European lexicography. Early lexicographers of Modern Greek mainly use non-verbal symbols, mark or “isolate” words (see the role of appendices in early dictionaries), and caution speakers against certain words. In contrast to prescriptive grammarians, lexicographers do not react against new words or new loanwords in later stages of change. Neologisms and loanwords in later stages of change are incorporated in the Lexicon of the language to a higher degree. However, lexicographers (in contrast to grammarians) appear to be more affected by the social parameters of language change, as in the case of the “Greek language question”. Moreover, we have traced the development of early dictionaries of Modern Greek with regard to non-verbal usage markers (crosses/daggers and asterisks, among others) and style labels that demonstrate the main indicators of prescriptive patterns, and we have argued that prescriptivism also in the case of Lexicon can delay or block a change but cannot reverse its direction.

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Stefano Valente

# From Plato to the Byzantine Etymologica: The etymologies of ‘ἥρωες’ in the *Etymologicum Gudianum*

In the 1st cent. BCE, Dionysius of Halicarnassus praised Plato for having been the first to explore etymology and its mechanisms (*Comp.* 16.4 Aujac/Lebel):

περὶ ὧν εἴρηται πολλὰ τοῖς πρὸ ἡμῶν, τὰ κράτιστα δὲ νέμω ὡς πρώτῳ τὸν ὑπὲρ ἐτυμολογίας εἰσαγαγόντι λόγον Πλάτωνι τῷ Σωκρατικῷ, πολλαχῆ μὲν καὶ ἄλλῃ μάλιστα δ' ἐν τῷ Κρατύλῳ.

These matters have been discussed at length by our predecessors, but I attribute the most important contributions to Plato the Socratic as being the first one to introduce the subject of etymology in many different passages of his works and especially in his *Cratylus*.<sup>1</sup>

In fact, the most extensive part of *Cratylus* (396c–421c) is concerned with etymologies.<sup>2</sup> Leaving aside the philosophical motivations and the modern debate relating to both that aspect of this work and to its general interpretation,<sup>3</sup> it can be said with confidence that the etymologies discussed by Socrates have continued to circulate for centuries independently of the dialogue itself and even outside the Platonic tradition. Some of them found their way into Late Antique and Byzantine lexis, and, quite naturally, into the etymologica. The circulation of Platonic etymologies – especially those from *Cratylus* – in Byzantine lexis is widespread and would deserve a detailed investigation. In this paper, I intend to focus on the etymology of a single word, in order to offer some preliminary remarks within the framework of broader research concerning the means of dissemination and re-use of Platonic doctrines into Late Antique and Byzantine etymologica.<sup>4</sup>

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This paper originates from preliminary research on the *Etymologicum Gudianum* that I have undertaken at the University of Hamburg in cooperation with Klaus Alpers, Christian Brockmann and Daniel Deckers. My warmest thanks go to them for their valuable suggestions towards the present contribution.

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<sup>1</sup> Transl. Usher (1985, 115) with some changes on the basis of Roberts (1910, 161).

<sup>2</sup> See Ademollo (2011, 181–256) with further bibliography. On ancient etymology, see Herbermann (1991); Bernecker (1994); Sluiter (2015) with further references.

<sup>3</sup> See the recent commentary by Ademollo (2011) with rich bibliography.

<sup>4</sup> See also Valente (2017).

Near the beginning of the ‘etymological’ section of *Cratylus*, Socrates discusses the origin of the name ‘hero’ (ἥρωσ, 398c–e):<sup>5</sup>

ΕΡΜ. (...) ὁ δὲ δὴ ἥρωσ τί ἂν εἴη;

ΣΩ. τοῦτο δὲ οὐ πάνυ χαλεπὸν ἐννοῆσαι. μικρὸν γὰρ παρήκται αὐτῶν τὸ ὄνομα, δηλοῦν τὴν ἐκ τοῦ ἔρωτος γένεσιν.

ΕΡΜ. πῶς λέγεις;

ΣΩ. οὐκ οἶσθα ὅτι ἡμίθεοι οἱ ἥρωες;

ΕΡΜ. τί οὖν;

ΣΩ. πάντες δὴπου γεγόνασιν ἐρασθέντος ἢ θεοῦ θνητῆς ἢ θνητοῦ θεᾶς.<sup>6</sup> ἐὰν οὖν σκοπῆς καὶ τοῦτο κατὰ τὴν Ἀττικὴν τὴν παλαιὰν φωνὴν, μᾶλλον εἴση· δηλώσει γὰρ σοι ὅτι παρὰ τὸ τοῦ ἔρωτος ὄνομα, ὄθεν γεγόνασιν οἱ ἥρωες, μικρὸν παρηγμένον ἐστὶν τὸ νόματος χάριν.<sup>7</sup> καὶ ἦτοι τοῦτο λέγει τοὺς ἥρωας, ἦ ὅτι σοφοὶ ἦσαν καὶ ῥήτορες [καὶ] δεινοὶ καὶ διαλεκτικοί, ἐρωτᾶν ἱκανοὶ ὄντες.<sup>8</sup> τὸ γὰρ εἶρειν λέγειν ἐστίν. ὅπερ οὖν ἄρτι λέγομεν, ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ φωνῇ λεγόμενοι οἱ ἥρωες ῥήτορες τινες καὶ ἐρωτητικοὶ συμβαίνουσιν, ὥστε ῥητόρων καὶ σοφιστῶν γένος γίνεσθαι τὸ ἡρωϊκὸν φύλον.

*Her.* (...) but what is the meaning of the word ‘hero’? (...) <sup>9</sup>

*Soc.* I think that there is no difficulty in explaining, for the name is not much altered, and signifies that they were born of love.

*Her.* What do you mean?

*Soc.* Do you not know that the heroes are demigods?

*Her.* What then?

*Soc.* All of them sprang either from love of a god for a mortal woman, or of a mortal man for a goddess; think of the word in the old Attic, and you will see better that the name Heros is only a slight alteration of Eros, from whom the heroes sprang: either this meaning, or, if not this, then they must have been skilful as rhetoricians and dialecticians, and able to put the question (ἐρωτᾶν), for εἶρειν is equivalent to λέγειν. And therefore, as I was saying, in the Attic dialect the heroes turn out to be rhetoricians and questioners. All this is easy enough; the noble breed of heroes are a kind of sophists and rhetors.<sup>10</sup>

The word ‘ἥρωσ’ is ascribed a double etymology playing on the orthography of the Attic dialect, the first one related to the semantic sphere of love (ἔρωσ), the second to that of speaking (εἶρω) and asking questions (ἐρωτάω).<sup>11</sup> As for the first etymology, Andrew Dyck cursorily stressed that it “continued to be quoted many

<sup>5</sup> Here and below, I follow the text of Burnet (1900).

<sup>6</sup> This part of the text is uncertain. See also the apparatus criticus in Duke *et al.* (1995).

<sup>7</sup> On this passage, see Dyck (1978) and Ax/Sideras (1979) with further bibliography.

<sup>8</sup> H. Schmidt suggested to write ἐρωτᾶν <καὶ εἶρειν>, while Ademollo (2011, 247 with n. 141) suggests moving the supplement after ὄντες (i.e. ὄντες <καὶ εἶρειν>).

<sup>9</sup> Here, Jowett (1953, 58) adds an explanation in parentheses “ἥρωσ, in the old writing ἔρωσ.”

<sup>10</sup> Transl. Jowett (1953, 58f.).

<sup>11</sup> On the interpretation of this passage, see Ademollo (2011, 247 n. 142) with further references.



centuries later,” namely in one out of three entries concerning this substantive in the *Etymologicum Gudianum*,<sup>12</sup> one of the most important etymologica dating to the second half of the 10th cent.<sup>13</sup> Here, Plato is considered as an authoritative source for etymological information. In the edition by Friedrich Wilhelm Sturz (1818), the text of these glosses reads as follows:<sup>14</sup>

(1) 248.57–249.2 Ἡρωες, Πλάτων ἔρωες διὰ τὸ ἠρᾶσθαι θεὸν θνητὸς, ἐξ ὧν ἐγεννήθησαν οἱ ἥρωες. Ἀριστόνικος, ὅτι γηγενεῖς ἦσαν, οἱ πρῶτην περὶ τὴν ἔραν, οἶον, ἔρωες, τινὲς δὲ ὅτι ἢ Πανδώρα ἐκ πηλοῦ ἐγένετο, ἢ Πανδώρας καὶ Ἐπιμηθέως οἱ ἄνθρωποι.

Heroes, Plato explains them as derived from ἔρωες ('lovers') by reason of a god loving a mortal and the heroes being begotten of them. Aristonicus says that they were earthborn, those around the first ἔρα ('ground'),<sup>15</sup> that is to say ἔρωες. Some others say that Pandora was generated from clay, and man from Pandora and Epimetheus.

(2) 249.3–7 Ἡρωες ἐκλήθησαν ἀπὸ τῆς ἔρας, ἢ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρετῆς, ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀέρος, ὡς φησὶν Ἡσίοδος, ἀέρα ἐσάμενοι, ἢ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐράσεως, τουτ' ἔστι τῆς μίξεως τῶν θεῶν, ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔρω τὸ κουφίζω, ἢ παρὰ τὸ ἀρῶ ὃ σημαίνει τὸ ἀρμόζω.

Heroes received this denomination from ἔρα ('soil'), or from ἀρετή ('virtue'), or from ἀήρ ('air'), as Hesiod says, 'clothed in mist', or from ἔρασις ('love'), that is μίξις ('sexual intercourse') of the gods, or from ἔρω, that is κουφίζω ('I lift up'), or from ἀρῶ ('I will raise up'), which means ἀρμόζω ('I accommodate').

(3) 249.9–14 Ἡρωες, ἡμίθεοι, δυνατοί, οἱ γίγαντες, οἱ πάλαι πρωτογενεῖς ἄνθρωποι. ἢ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐρωτήσεως, διαλεκτικοὶ γὰρ διὰ τὸ ἠρᾶσθαι θνητῶν, ἐξ ὧν ἐγεννήθησαν ἥρωες. Ἀριστόνικος, ὅτι γηγενεῖς ἦσαν οἱ πρῶτοι περὶ τὴν ἔραν. τινὲς δὲ ὅτι ἢ Πανδώρα ἐκ πηλοῦ ἐγένετο, ἢ Πανδώρας καὶ Ἐπιμηθέως οἱ ἄνθρωποι.

Heroes, demigods, mighty men, the giants, the old, firstborn men. Or from ἐρώτησις ('interrogation'), for they were skilled in dialectic because of falling in love with mortals, from

**12** Dyck (1978, 70 with n. 1). Beside the *Etymologicum Gudianum*, Dyck also mentions the *Etymologicum Sorbonicum* quoted by Gaisford in the apparatus to *EM* 437.32. However, this 'etymologicum' is none other than manuscript z of the *Etymologicum Gudianum* itself, that is the ms. *Par. suppl. gr.* 172 (12th cent.), which depends upon the *Vat. Barb. gr.* 70: see Reitzenstein (1897, 73f.); Sciarra (2005, 379f.).

**13** On Greek and Byzantine etymologica, see e.g. Reitzenstein (1897); Id. (1907); Valente (2014); Alpers (2015) with further bibliography.

**14** Obvious typographical inaccuracies have been silently corrected. The translation refers to the printed text. On this edition, see below.

**15** Tentative translation of the meaningless Greek text.

whom heroes were generated. Aristonicus says that the first heroes were earthborn, concerning the ἔρα ('ground').<sup>16</sup> Some others say that Pandora was generated from clay, and man from Pandora and Epimetheus.

These entries present many textual problems, many due to the manuscript used by Sturz, a copy made by Lüder Kulenkamp of the ms. *Guelferbytanus 29/30 Gudianus Graecus*, written in 1293 in Terra d'Otranto.<sup>17</sup> This manuscript offers a severely contaminated and reworked text and, as such, is not the best witness of the original version. Thus, since the edition by Sturz cannot be used with confidence,<sup>18</sup> clarity can be achieved only by examining the archetype of the whole textual tradition of the *Etymologicum Gudianum*, that is the famous ms. *Vaticanus Barberinianus gr. 70* (second half of the 10th cent., *siglum*: d), as Richard Reitzenstein first demonstrated.<sup>19</sup> Edoardo Luigi De Stefani based the first critical edition of the whole etymologicum on this manuscript, but he did not live to see his edition brought to the letter eta.<sup>20</sup> Therefore, in order to properly understand the text of the *Etymologicum Gudianum* for the three entries above, a new investigation of the *Barberinianus* is needed.

Although some quires in this codex are no longer extant today,<sup>21</sup> the relevant folio concerning the three entries on the etymologies of ἦρωες is fortunately still preserved. On fol. 81<sup>v</sup>, the first two glosses are part of the main text (respectively ll. 7–9 and 10–12):<sup>22</sup>

(1) ἦρωες,<sup>23</sup> Πλάτων (*Crat.* 398c–d) ἔρωες διὰ τὸ ἡρᾶσ<θα> θεὸν θνητῆς, ἐξ ὧν ἐγεννήθησαν οἱ ἦρωες. Ἀριστόνικος (fr. 48 Razzetti)<sup>24</sup> ὅτι γηγενεῖς ἦσαν οἱ πρῶτοι περὶ τὴν ἔραν, οἷον ἔρωες; τινὲς δὲ ὅτι ἡ Πανδώρα ἐκ πηλοῦ ἐγένετο, ἣς Πανδώρας καὶ Ἐπιμηθέως οἱ ἄνθρωποι.

16 Tentative translation of περὶ τὴν ἔραν.

17 See the description by D. Harlfinger in Harlfinger (1978, 35–37 with pl. 11). See also Reitzenstein (1897, 87 n. 1); Cellerini (1988, 12f., 27); Sciarra (2005, 388 with notes 108–111).

18 Reitzenstein (1897, 155). See also Cellerini (1988, 15); Alpers (2015, 295).

19 See Reitzenstein (1897, 91–103); Capocci (1958, 75–78); Maleci (1995). On the dating of this ms. in the second half of the 10th cent., see Alpers (1984, 62f.); Id. (1991, 536–539); Id. (2015, 295f.).

20 De Stefani (1909 and 1920): the edition covers the entries from α up to ζεῖαί.

21 The last estimation of the loss quires and folia was made by Maleci 1995, 13–25.

22 Here I edit the glosses on the basis of my collation of the *Barberinianus*, adding a synthetic critical apparatus as well as a translation.

23 In the margin, the scribe d<sup>2</sup> wrote the abbreviation Ὅμ<sup>ρ</sup> (i.e. Ὅμηρος), which stands for the epimerisms to Homer: see Reitzenstein 1897, 99; Cellerini 1988, 31–34. However, it should be a mistake: see below.

24 I have no access to the dissertation by F. Razzetti.

ἔρωες] ἔρωες Dyck | ἡῤᾷσ<θαι> θεὸν] cf. infra gl. 3 : ἡῤᾷσ θεὸν d | θνητῆς d (-ῆς per compendium, -αῖς legit Dyck) : θνητῶν d<sup>2</sup> gl. nr. 3 (iam coniecit Dyck, cf. infra) | ἔρωες<sup>2</sup>] ἔρωες Dyck | Ἐπιμηθέως Dyck, cf. etiam gl. [nr. 3 : ] Ἐπιμηθεὸς d

heroes: Plato explains them as derived from ἔρωες ('lovers') by reason of a god loving a woman: the heroes were generated from them. Aristonicus says that the first heroes were earthborn, derived from ἔρα ('ground'), that is to say ἔρωες. Some others say that Pandora was generated from clay: and man from Pandora and Epimetheus.

(2) ἡῤᾷσ· ἐκλήθησαν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρετῆς, ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀέρος, ὡς φησὶν Ἡσίοδος· “ἡέρα ἐσάμεινοι” (*Op.* 255, cf. 125).<sup>25</sup> ἢ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐράσεως, τουτέστι τῆς μίξεως, τῶν θεῶν, ἢ ἀπὸ τῆς ἔρας (ἔρα δὲ ἡ γῆ κατὰ διάλεκτον).<sup>26</sup> ἡῤᾷσ γὰρ γέγονε παρὰ τὸ αἶρω, τὸ κουφίζω, ἢ παρὰ τὸ ἄρω ὃ σημαίνει τὸ ἀρμόζω· τὸ δὲ αἶρω σημαίνει ἡ' ἐγράφη<sup>27</sup>.

ἐσάμεινοι] ἐ- d | ἡῤᾷσ] ἡ- d

heroes: they received this denomination from ἀρετή ('virtue'), or from ἀήρ ('air'), as Hesiod says: “clothed in mist”, or from ἔρασις ('love'), that is μίξις ('sexual intercourse'), of the gods, or from ἔρα ('soil') – for ἔρα means earth according to the dialect: in fact, ἡῤᾷσ ('hero') comes from αἶρω ('I raise up'), that is κουφίζω ('I lift up'), or from ἄρω ('I adapt'), which means ἀρμόζω ('I accommodate'). The verb αἶρω ('I raise up') has eight meanings.

In the upper margin of the same fol. 81<sup>v</sup>, another contemporary scribe (d<sup>2</sup>) added the following entry corresponding to the third one in the edition by Sturz; the text was later supplemented by another scribe (d<sup>3</sup>) from the same scriptorium.<sup>28</sup>

(3) ἡῤᾷσ.<sup>29</sup> ἡμίθειοι, δυνατοί· οἱ γίγαντες· οἱ πάλοι πρωτογενεῖς ἄνθρωποι. ἢ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐρωτήσεως, διαλεκτικοὶ γὰρ ἡῤᾷσ· Πλάτων (*Crat.* 398c–d) ἔρωες διὰ τὸ ἡῤᾷσθαι θνητῶν, ἐξ ὧν ἐγεννήθησαν οἱ ἡῤᾷσ. Ἀριστόνικος (fr. 48 Razzetti) ὅτι γηγενεῖς ἦσαν οἱ πρῶτοι παρὰ τὴν ἔραν· οἷον ἔρωες. τινὲς δὲ ὅτι ἡ Πανδώρα ἐκ πηλοῦ ἐγένετο· ἡ<ς> Πανδώρας καὶ Ἐπιμηθέως οἱ ἄνθρωποι.

οἱ γίγαντες supra lineam addidit d<sup>3</sup> | ἡῤᾷσθαι d<sup>2</sup> post correctionem, cum ἡῤᾷσθ(εν) ante correctionem d<sup>2</sup> scripsisse videatur | ἡῤᾷσ] ἡ d<sup>2</sup>

25 In the passage of Hesiod, however, there is no mention of heroes (vv. 252–256): τρεῖς γὰρ μύριοι εἰσὶν ἐπὶ χθονὶ πουλυβοτείρῃ / ἀθάνατοι Ζητὸς φύλακες θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων, / οἱ ῥα φυλάσσουσιν τε δίκας καὶ σχέτλια ἔργα / ἡέρα ἐσάμεινοι, πάντη φοιτῶντες ἐπ' αἶαν. / ἡ δὲ τε παρθένος ἐστὶ Δίκη, Διὸς ἐκγεγαυῖα κτλ.

26 On this explanation, see e.g. Erot. 35.15 N., Hsch. ε 5629, ε 5725 L. It is not clear which dialect is meant here. See Beekes 2010, 449 s.v. ἔρα with further references.

27 See below, n. 32.

28 See Maleci 1995, 61. More generally, on the scribes of the *Barberinianus*, see Reitzenstein 1897, 92–95; Maleci 1995, 45–72; Sciarra 2005, 361f.

29 The lemma is preceded by a cross.

Heroes, demigods, mighty men, the giants, the old, firstborn men. Or from ἐρώτησις ('interrogation'), for the heroes were skilled in dialectic. Plato says that they are ἔρωες ('lovers') because of <gods> falling in love with mortals: the heroes were generated from them. Aristicus says that the first heroes were earthborn, derived from ἔρα ('ground'), that is to say ἔρωες. Some others say that Pandora was generated from clay: and man from Pandora and Epimetheus.

This last entry supplements the first one with relevant information. Among the different explanations for the substantive ἥρωες collected in these three entries, both Platonic etymologies are recorded, partly explicitly, partly only alluded to. On the one hand, the etymology related to ἔρωες is accounted for by quoting Plato in entries nos. 1 and 3, while it is only alluded to in entry no. 2 in the words ἔρασις/μίξις τῶν θεῶν ('love/sexual intercourse of the gods'). On the other hand, the link with the noun ἐρώτησις and the assessment that heroes are dialecticians (διαλεκτικοὶ γὰρ ἥρωες) reflects the second Platonic etymology (from ἐρωτάω) and the explanation that heroes are in a way rhetoricians (οἱ ἥρωες ῥήτορες τινες). However, in order to try to understand how Plato's etymology reached the *Etymologicum Gudianum*, the sources of this lexicon should be investigated.

Concerning entry no. 2, Andrew Dyck correctly identified the source in two epimerisms on the first book of the *Iliad* (1.4). The main part of the entry in the *Etymologicum Gudianum* was taken from the following epimerism (*Ep. Hom.* A 4 A<sup>1a</sup> Dyck):<sup>30</sup>

ἡρώων ἥρωες δὲ ἐκλήθησαν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρετῆς, ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀέρος, ὡς φησιν Ἡσίοδος "ἡέρα ἐσάμενοι" (*Op.* 125, 255) ἢ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐράσεως, τουτέστι τῆς μίξεως, τῶν θεῶν ἢ ἀπὸ τῆς ἔρας (ἔρα δὲ ἡ γῆ κατὰ διάλεκτον). ἥρωες δὲ γέγονε παρὰ τὸ αἶρω, τὸ κουφίζω, ἢ παρὰ τὸ ἀρῶ, τὸ ἀρμόζω.

of the heroes: the heroes received this denomination from ἀρετή ('virtue'), or from ἀήρ ('air'), as Hesiod says: "clad in the air", or from ἔρασις ('love'), that is μίξις ('sexual intercourse'), of the gods, or from ἔρα ('soil') (ἔρα means earth according to the dialect): The word ἥρωες ('hero') comes from αἶρω ('I raise up'), that is κουφίζω ('I lift up'), or from ἀρῶ ('I adapt'), which means ἀρμόζω ('I accommodate').

<sup>30</sup> The entry is attested by the mss. P (*Par. Coisl.* 387, within the 'scholia-epimerisms', Ps) and O (*Oxon. Nov. Coll.* 298, within the 'alphabetic-epimerisms', Oa, "extra ordinem", as Dyck remarks), as well as by the *Etymologicum Gudianum*. A slightly different and more complete version of the same epimerism is preserved in the same ms. O within the section of the 'scholia-epimerisms' (Os): see Dyck 1983, 16–20.

Furthermore, Dyck correctly stressed that the last part of entry no. 2 in the *Etymologicum Gudianum* was taken from the beginning of the following epimerism to Homer (A 4 A<sup>2</sup>):<sup>31</sup>

Τὸ δὲ αἰρέω σημαίνει ὀκτώ· αἴρω, τὸ κουφίζω κτλ.<sup>32</sup>

The verb αἰρέω ('I take') has eight meanings: αἴρω ('I raise up'), that is κουφίζω ('I lift up') etc.

It is well-known that other scribes of the Barberinianus tagged many entries with the sigla of the sources while revising or supplementing the main text.<sup>33</sup> The epimerisms to Homer usually bear the abbreviation Ὅμ<sup>p</sup>. In this case, however, scribe d<sup>2</sup> wrote it next to entry no. 1, which has nothing to do with the epimerisms, and not next to no. 2. Thus, Dyck is probably right in supposing a mistake made by this scribe. Concerning the Platonic etymology of ἥρωϝ from ἔρασις, it seems safe to assume that Plato was not directly consulted by the compilers of this epimerism, and they rather relied on their source for this information (if not on the source of their source).

On the other hand, entries nos. 1 and 3 reveal a close connection and deserve being jointly analysed. Entry no. 1 first introduces one of the two Platonic etymologies – that is ἥρωϝ from ἔρωϝ. Then, there is a quotation from the grammarian Aristonicus (1st cent. BCE/1st cent. CE): he maintained that the origin of the name was the substantive ἔρα, 'earth', thus considering heroes as earthborn. Such an explanation is also listed in entry no. 2. Closely connected to this etymology is the mentioning of the myth of Pandora, generated by Prometheus from clay, and Epimetheus: men are therefore seen as descended from earth-born heroes. The origin of this further association is not named (τινές).<sup>34</sup> Entry no. 3 shares all these materials, but adds some other explanations at the beginning. The first two ones (ἡμίθεοι and δυνατοί)<sup>35</sup> are synonyms and seem to come from the so-

<sup>31</sup> This epimerism is attested only in Oa ("extra ordinem"). On the relationships between the mss. of the epimerisms and the *Etymologicum Gudianum*, see Dyck (1983, 24f.).

<sup>32</sup> Dyck indicates "Orus, Περὶ πολυσημάντων λέξεων ap. Reitzenstein, *Gesch.* [i.e. 1897], p. 340" as the source of this latter epimerism. Besides, he rightly remarked that the verb ἐγράφη at the end of the *interpretamentum* of entry no. 2 in the *Barberinianus* is probably mistaken (*app. ad l.*): "ἐγράφη errore dixit, ut vid.: cf. *Et. Gud.* 54.5 et 158.4 Stef.; *Et. Gud.* 523.37 Sturz."

<sup>33</sup> See Reitzenstein (1897, 99–102); Id. (1907, 813); Alpers (2015, 297f.) with further bibliography.

<sup>34</sup> On Pandora and Epimetheus, see e.g. Fink (1958).

<sup>35</sup> The addition of οἱ γίγοντες by d<sup>3</sup> does not belong to the original entry. Furthermore, it seems to be unparalleled within the surviving Greek lexica. The source of this annotation is therefore still to be found.

called lexicon of Cyril, although ἡμίθεοι can also be read in the passage of the *Cratylus* mentioned above:<sup>36</sup>

Cyr. ηρω ν<sup>1</sup> ἥρωες· ἡμίθεοι, δυνατοί.

Heroes: demigods, mighty men.

Cyr. ηρω γ<sup>8</sup> ἥρωες· ἡμίθεοι, δυνατοί, γενναῖοι.<sup>37</sup>

Heroes, demigods, mighty men, noble men.

The following explanation – οἱ πάλαι πρωτογενεῖς ἄνθρωποι – is seemingly unparalleled: for the time being, it is impossible to say whether it was taken from Cyril's lexicon or from another source. After these lexicological explanations, the second Platonic etymology of the word ἥρωες is introduced (ἀπὸ τῆς ἐρωτήσεως, διαλεκτικοὶ γὰρ ἥρωες). However, it is difficult to tell whether the source of the whole entry no. 3 is one and the same or – rather – scribe d<sup>2</sup> first copied the materials not present in the main text into the margin and then decided also to append the text of entry no. 1 for the sake of completeness. Since this last explanation has left no trace in any other source, it is impossible to know if it has been directly gathered from the *Cratylus* or, more likely, from an intermediate source.

Perhaps some further insight into the explicit quotation of Plato in these two entries may be gained. For this, a comparison with other entries of the *Etymologicum Gudianum* with quotations from the *Cratylus* where the intermediate source is still traceable may offer some help. Plato's *Cratylus* turns out to be mentioned three times in the *Etymologicum* by Orion of Thebes, one of the primary sources the compilers of the *Etymologicum Gudianum* had at their disposal.<sup>38</sup> In the printed – and unfortunately by no means critical – edition of this lexicon published by Sturz in 1820, Plato is mentioned explicitly in these entries:<sup>39</sup>

16.10–15 ἄνθρωπος· κατὰ Πλάτωνα (*Crat.* 399c)<sup>40</sup> παρὰ τὸ ἀθρεῖν καὶ νοεῖν ἃ δὴ ὄπωπε καὶ εἶδε· τῶν ἀλόγων μὴ λογιζομένων καὶ προνοουμένων· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἰχθῦς εἰς κύρτον εἰσῆλθεν,

**36** On the Cyril-lexicon as a source for the *Etymologicum Gudianum*, see e.g. Cellerini (1988, 49–51).

**37** See also Cyr. ηρω AS<sup>7</sup> and A<sup>8</sup>, Hsch. η 871 L. The Cyril-lexicon is also at the basis of an entry in the *Synagoge* (Σ η 121 C., in turn source of Phot. η 267 Th. and *Suda* η 556 A.).

**38** See Cellerini (1988, 47–49).

**39** P.H. Larcher identified the Platonic quotations (in the footnotes to the text in Sturz 1820).

**40** The passage in the *Cratylus* reads: σημαίνει τοῦτο τὸ ὄνομα ὃ “ἄνθρωπος” ὅτι τὰ μὲν ἄλλα θηρία ὧν ὄρα οὐδὲν ἐπισκοπεῖ οὐδὲ ἀναλογίζεται οὐδὲ ἀναθρεῖ, ὃ δὲ ἄνθρωπος ἅμα ἐώρακεν – τοῦτο δ’ ἐστὶ [τὸ] “ὄπωπε” – καὶ ἀναθρεῖ καὶ λογίζεται τοῦτο ὃ ὄπωπεν. ἐντεῦθεν δὴ μόνον τῶν θηρίων ὀρθῶς ὁ ἄνθρωπος “ἄνθρωπος” ὀνομάσθη, ἀναθρῶν ἃ ὄπωπε.

ὀρών ἄλλον κρατούμενον. οἱ δὲ παρὰ τὸ ἀνακλῶντα τὴν ὄψιν ἄνω ἀθρεῖν· οἱ δὲ παρὰ τὸ ἔναρθρον ἔχειν ἔπος,<sup>41</sup> τουτέστι φωνήν.<sup>42</sup>

man: according to Plato, it comes from ‘to observe’ and ‘to consider’ what one has looked at and seen, while the irrational animals do not examine or foresee. For a fish would not enter into a net if it saw another one already captured. Others say that the word ἄνθρωπος comes from raising up the sight when one bends the neck back. Some others from having an articulate utterance, i.e. voice.

93.14–18<sup>43</sup> Λητώ· ὁ μὲν Πλάτων φησὶν (*Crat.* 406a).<sup>44</sup> πραεῖα γὰρ ἡ θεὸς τὰς<sup>45</sup> ἐλεούσα (*sic*). κατὰ δὲ τινὰς, Ληθῶ· τὸ γὰρ ἡμερον καὶ πραῦ, ἐκ τοῦ ἐπιλελῆσθαι τῶν εἰς αὐτὴν πεπλημμελημένων ἐμφαίνεται· ὁ δὲ Ἀρίσταρχος φησὶ, παρὰ τὸ λῆ τὸ Δώριον, ὃ ἐστὶ θέλει.

Leto: Plato says. For the goddess is gentle, forgiving everybody. According to some others, the name comes from Ληθῶ, for being benign and gentle, clearly derived from forgetting those who had offended her. Aristarchus says that the name comes from the Doric verb λῆ, that is ‘she wants’.

**41** The transmitted ἔπος should be corrected in ὄπα as Larcher suggested (see also the entry in *Et. Gud.* below).

**42** See also Orion’s excerpt in Sturz (1818, 611.45–47); cf. De Stefani in apparatus.

**43** In the printed edition, this entry is merged with the previous one (93.13f. λήκιθος [*sic*]· παρὰ τὸ μεγάλας [*sic*] χωρεῖν. ἡ λειῶν ἔχουσα κύτος, μεγαλόκητος [*sic*]). Larcher remarked that “Λητώ est initium nouae glossae. Nam quae post Λητώ sequuntur, nullo modo cum praecedentibus cohaerent” (Sturz 1820, 93 n. 75). – This entry is the source of *Epim. Hom.* A 9 A<sup>1a</sup> Dyck. A slightly different version is represented by *Epim. Hom.* A 9 A<sup>1b</sup>, which Dyck attributes to Heracleides of Miletus because of the words οὕτως Ἡρακλείδης at the end of the *interpretamentum* (see also Dyck 1983, 28). I would rather be inclined to identify this grammarian as Heracleides Ponticus the younger (1st cent. CE), one of the primary sources of Orion’s etymologicum (see Matthaios 2015, 225 with further literature). Therefore, I would consider these two epimerisms as two different versions of the one and same entry coming from Orion’s lexicon.

**44** The Platonic text reads as follows: Λητώ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς πραότητος τῆς θεοῦ, κατὰ τὸ ἐθελήμονα εἶναι ὧν ἂν τις δέηται. ἴσως δὲ ὡς οἱ ξένοι καλοῦσιν – πολλοὶ γὰρ “Ληθῶ” καλοῦσιν – ἔοικεν οὖν πρὸς τὸ μὴ τραχὺ τοῦ ἡθους ἀλλ’ ἡμερόν τε καὶ λειῶν “Ληθῶ” κεκληῆσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν τοῦτο καλούντων.

**45** Larcher rightly conjectured πάντας (Sturz 1820, 93 n. 77). I would suggest writing <καὶ πάν>τας just as in *Epim. Hom.* A 9 A<sup>1a</sup> Dyck and in *Et. Gud.* 369.14–21 Sturz (see above, n. 43, and below, p. 82).

144.24f. σώμα· ὡς Πλάτων φησί (*Crat.* 400c),<sup>46</sup> σῆμα ἐστὶ τῆς ψυχῆς. ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐντέθαιπται αὐτῷ.<sup>47</sup>

body: as Plato says, it is the grave for the soul. As if it had been buried in it.

All the quotations come from Plato's *Cratylus*. Notably enough, these three entries of Orion found their way into the *Etymologicum Gudianum*, where the text turns out to be more complete than that of the printed edition:

147.17–23 de Stefani ἄνθρωπος· κατὰ Πλάτωνα (*Crat.* 399c) παρὰ τὸ ἀθρεῖν καὶ λογιζεσθαι, ἄπερ ὅπωπε καὶ εἶδε, τῶν ἀλόγων ζῶων μὴ λογιζομένων καὶ προνοουμένων· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἰχθύς εἰς κύρτον εἰσῆλθεν ὀρών ἄλλον κρατούμενον, οὐδὲ ὄρνις εἰς λῖνα. οἱ δὲ παρὰ τὸ ἀνακλώ<ν>τα τὴν ὄψιν ἄνω ἀθρεῖν. τινὲς δὲ παρὰ τὸ ἄνω θρεῖν· ἢ παρὰ τὸ ἐναρθρον ἔχειν ὅπα, τουτέστι φωνήν κτλ.<sup>50</sup>

man: according to Plato, it is derived from ‘to observe’ and ‘to consider’ what one has seen and observed, while the irrational animals do not examine or foresee: for a fish would not enter into a net if it saw another one already captured, nor a bird in a hunting-net. Others say that it stems from raising up the sight when one bends the neck back. Some others yet that it is derived from crying to the sky, or from having an articulate speech, i.e. voice etc.

369.14–21 Sturz Λητώ, ἐκ τοῦ λήθω τὸ λανθάνω, ὁ μὲν Πλάτων φησί (*Crat.* 406a), πράεια γὰρ καὶ πάντας ἐλεοῦσα (sic).<sup>51</sup> τὸ δὲ ἥμερον καὶ πρᾶον ἐκ τοῦ ἐπιλελῆσθαι τῶν εἰς αὐτὴν πεπλεμελημένων ἐμφαίνεται, ὁ δὲ Ἀρίσταρχος παρὰ τὸ λῶ τὸ θέλω, ἐπειδὴ ὁ ἐάν τις θέλη, παρ’ αὐτῆς λαμβάνει· τὸ δὲ λῶ σημαίνει τρία, λῶ τὸ θέλω, ἐξ οὗ καὶ Λητώ, λῶ τὸ ἐπιθυμῶ ἐξ οὗ καὶ λιῶ, λῶ τὸ βλέπω, ὅπερ ἀπὸ τοῦ λάω γέγονε καὶ λελημένος.<sup>52</sup>

**46** In the *Cratylus* we read: καὶ γὰρ σῆμά τινες φασιν αὐτὸ (*scil.* σώμα) εἶναι τῆς ψυχῆς, ὡς τεθαμμένης ἐν τῷ νῦν παρόντι· καὶ διότι αὐτῷ τούτῳ σημαίνει ἅ ἂν σημαίη ἡ ψυχὴ, καὶ αὐτὴ “σῆμα” ὀρθῶς καλεῖσθαι.

**47** See also *Epim. Hom.* σ 22 Dyck σώμα (*Il.* 3.23)· παρὰ τὸ σῆμα, ἃ σημαίνει τὸν τάφον, κατὰ τὸν Πλάτωνα (cf. *Crat.* 400c; *Gorg.* 493a)· τάφος γὰρ ἐστὶ, φησί, τὸ σῶμα τῆς ψυχῆς· δίκη γὰρ τάφου ἐνθάπτεται ἢ ψυχὴ τῷ σώματι τροπῇ τοῦ μακροῦ εἰς μακρὸν γίνεται· σῶμα κτλ. The source here is once again Orion's *etymologicum*, as Dyck correctly stressed in the apparatus. Furthermore, he indicated that Orion's entry is also the source of *Et. Gen.* ms. A s.v. σώμα (whence *EM* 742.15).

**50** The rest of the explanation comes from a different source (see de Stefani's apparatus). It is interesting to note that the entry on ἄνθρωπος in the *Barberinianus* belongs to the marginal supplements (fol. 22<sup>v</sup>).

**51** The correct reading is probably πράεια γὰρ καὶ πάντας ἐλεοῦσα, just as in Orion's entry (see above, p. 81).

**52** The *Gudianum* is likely the source of *EM* 564.17–24 and of Tzetz. *exeg. in Hom. Il.* 70.25–29 Hermann (see Dyck 1983, 85, app. to ll. 23–33).



Leto, from the verb λήθω, that is to ‘escape notice’ (λανθάνω). Plato says because <the goddess> is gentle and will catch everybody.<sup>53</sup> The benignity and gentleness clearly derive from forgetting the sins committed against her, but Aristarchus says that the name comes from the verb λῶ (‘I desire’), that is θέλω (‘I want’), since one obtains from her what one wishes. The verb λῶ has three meanings: (i) θέλω (‘I will’), whence also Leto, (ii) λῶ (‘I desire’), that is ἐπιθυμέω (‘I desire’), whence also λιλῶ (‘I long for’), (iii) βλέπω (‘I see’), that comes from λάω (‘I see’) and λελιημένος (‘longing for’).

520.4–8 Sturz σώμα, διὰ τὸ σῶον αἷμα καὶ ἄμα· ἢ παρὰ τὸ σῆμα, ὃ σημαίνει τὸν τάφον, κατὰ τὸν Πλάτωνα (*Crat.* 400c), τάφος γάρ ἐστι τὸ σῶμα τῆς ψυχῆς· δικήν γάρ τάφου ἐνθάπτεται ἡ ψυχὴ τῷ σώματι κτλ.

body: because of safe blood and at once. Or from σῆμα (‘tomb’), that means grave, according to Plato, since the body is a grave for the soul. For the soul is buried in the body just as in a grave etc.

Unfortunately, only the first of these three entries can both be read in the edition by De Stefani and verified against the Barberinianus, because the leaves containing the other two entries are lost. Nevertheless, it can be claimed that these quotations from Plato’s *Cratylus* reached the compilers of the *Etymologicum Gudianum* via Orion. By analogy, it may be supposed that the entry on ἥρωες in the *Etymologicum Gudianum* was also gathered from the same source.<sup>54</sup> However, this should be considered a mere working hypothesis, to be verified by studying all the quotations from Plato’s *Cratylus* in the *Etymologicum Gudianum* as well as in Orion. For this purpose, a deep investigation of the textual tradition of both works and of their sources will be needed.

To sum up, this short preliminary investigation reveals the diffuse circulation of Platonic etymologies within the Greek scholarly tradition and confirms once again the longstanding influence of Plato’s *Cratylus* throughout the centuries.

<sup>53</sup> See above, n. 45.

<sup>54</sup> In particular, if we consider the entries on ἥρωες and Λητώ, we can recognize a very similar exegetical structure: after the etymologies taken from Plato, a quotation from the Alexandrian scholar Aristonicus is introduced.

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George J. Xydopoulos

# **Crystal's dictionary of linguistics and phonetics and its adaptation to Greek: lexicographic, terminological and translation issues**

## **1 Introduction**

In this work I discuss lexicographic, terminological and translation issues that occurred during the adaptation process of David Crystal's "Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics" (DLP) into its Greek edition. To do so, I, first make a series of metalexigraphic observations regarding the structure, the content and the publication history of the original English version of the dictionary, from 1980 till its last edition in 2008. More specifically, in section 2, I present the lexicographic profile of DLP, based on the relevant theory and practice about terminological dictionaries, with special emphasis on the particularities of the terminology of linguistics and the way it is accommodated in DLP. In section 3, I provide a detailed presentation of the lexicographic profile of the Greek version of DLP (of the first and of the [forthcoming] second edition) and I discuss all issues pertaining to the content of the megastructure, to the rebuilding of the macrostructure, and to the adaptation of the microstructure to the needs of the Greek-speaking users of the dictionary.

## **2 The lexicographic profile of DLP**

David Crystal's "A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics" (henceforth DLP) is one of the most (or the most) well-known and acclaimed English dictionaries of terms and concepts in general linguistics and phonetics, mainly addressed to students and junior researchers in the field; it has already appeared in six editions, from 1980 to 2008. In the sections that follow, first, I make some brief remarks about the special kind of terminological dictionaries and how they are compiled (section 2.1). Then, I outline the major characteristics of the terminology of linguistics (section 2.3). Furthermore, expanding on these remarks, I discuss the organization and content of the megastructure, the macrostructure and the microstructure of DLP from a (meta)lexicographic perspective.

## 2.1 The nature of terminological dictionaries

Specialized lexicography, as a division of lexicography, is a branch of applied linguistics that is interested in the production of terminological dictionaries. Terminological/specialized dictionaries cover vocabularies in specialized fields of knowledge, thus including words (or terms) used in specific scientific or technological fields and excluding words used for general purposes. In other words, these dictionaries can be viewed as “an explicit formal representation of the knowledge within a certain domain (medicine, chemistry, linguistics, law etc.)” (Martin/Vliet 2003, 336).

In typological terms, general dictionaries are distinguished from terminological ones in that the former cover the so-called general vocabulary while the latter focus on terms used to describe concepts in a specific subject field (Martin/Vliet 2003, 333–35). Of course, items from a specialized vocabulary can be generalized and move onto general vocabulary if they are used by the average speaker in his/her everyday communication (e.g. *vowel*, *consonant*). This instance of the so-called *de-terminologization* has lexicographic consequences as these “general-ized” terms can be excluded from the macrostructure of terminological dictionaries and, instead, appear in general dictionaries (Meyer/Mackintosh 2000). As attested by Bowker (2003, 156), a total of 25% to 40% of lemmas listed in general dictionaries have originated from various specialized domains (see also Xydopoulos/Pavlaou 2008, 1066–67). Of course, the treatment of these “technical” words in general dictionaries differs substantially from that in terminological dictionaries, as the user in each case has clearly distinguishable lexicographic needs. As Martin/Vliet (2003) put it, general dictionaries are more usage-oriented, while terminological dictionaries are more knowledge-oriented.

A terminological dictionary is set up within a well-defined and delimited subject field taking into consideration its function and its projected audience. A critical phase in the whole enterprise is to select the corpora that will serve as the basis of information for the concepts and terms under investigation. These can include either printed or electronic material where available in each subfield. Lexicographers have the responsibility to select the most appropriate primary/secondary/tertiary bibliographical resources in terms of scientific quality, relevance to the project concerned and coverage sufficiency (see Bergenholtz/Tarp 1995, 98ff.).

All corpora collected need to be scanned, manually or automatically, in order to identify and extract the relevant terminology to be included in the dictionary. The decision with regard to which terms are to be included or excluded is to be based on statistical and other corpus-related criteria (e.g. word frequency, concordance). The collected data need to be analysed in order to determine which

terms are used and in what context. This will allow for appropriate definitions of the terms and identification of any synonymic terms that need to be cross-referenced. This analysis will also provide categorial, phonetic and other grammatical information necessary to build each lemma. The proper context analysis will provide crucial information necessary for the conceptual delimitation and for a “most commonly accepted” definition of each term, taking into consideration and reconciling different theoretical approaches or views about each scientific concept relevant to the particular field covered by the terminological dictionary.

The preparation of the entries in a terminological dictionary does not follow a specific microstructural pattern, as is the case with general dictionaries. It is the task of the lexicographer to decide how to present the information, taking into consideration the function of the dictionary along with the profile of the intended readership. The entries are then listed in the macrostructure, either in an alphabetical or in a systematic/thematic manner (see also Bowker 2003, 160–63).

In the next sections we shall see how these lexicographic principles have been implemented in the case of DLP. Before that, a few comments are in order about the nature and the constitution of linguistics terminology that are highly relevant for the organization and content of DLP.

## 2.2 A note about linguistics terminology

Modern terminology of linguistics includes a corpus of terms which is growing rapidly and is enriched by new terms resulting from the constant development of the individual branches of the field. This, according to Bolinger (1968, 554), suggests that linguistics is still an “immature” science. The corpus of linguistics terminology is organized on the basis of the levels of analysis of language, covering interdisciplinary areas of (applied) linguistics as well. Modern linguistics terminology, of course, consists of terms that originated from traditional fields of language study (i.e. traditional grammar, philology) as well as of terms borrowed from sciences bordering to linguistics in its applications, such as mathematics, logic, psychology, philosophy, sociology, computer science, etc. (Giannouloupou 2001, 23–24; Katsoyannou/Efthymiou 2004, 27–28; Xydopoulos 2002, 496).

In formal terms, linguistics terminology includes mainly nominal elements (nouns and adjectives) and a limited number of verbal elements. Terms are derived either as one-word formations, through derivation and compounding or periphrastically, in the form of lexicalized phrases, via syntactic processes (Cabré 1999, 73, 87 and Xydopoulos/Pavlaou 2009, 1064–5).

As is the case with other sciences, linguistics terminology aims mainly at mapping and describing the conceptual structure of a specialized scientific field.

In other words, adopting the onomasiological approach, it identifies a scientific concept and its characteristics, resulting in the naming of the particular concept (see Anastasiadi-Symeonidi 1986; Sager 1990; 1997; 1998; Xydopoulos 2008; cf. Temmerman 2000). Linguistics terminology is characterized by a high level of accuracy in naming a scientific concept so as to prevent any misinterpretations. Of course, it is impossible to exclude ambiguity caused mainly by polysemous terms (e.g. the term *context*) which are only disambiguated in the appropriate contexts (Cabr e 1999; Xydopoulos 2002; Tsakona 2007).

### 2.3 Publication history and design features of DLP

The 1st edition of DLP appeared in 1980 with the (more hesitant) title “A First Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics” by the publisher Andr e Deutsch in London (Crystal 1980). The 2nd edition appeared in 1985 with the modified title “A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics” by Blackwell publishers in Oxford, in association with Andr e Deutsch (Crystal 1985). Given its success, the 2nd edition of DLP was translated in Serbocroatian and Portuguese (see Krystal 1987 and Crystal 1988). The 3rd edition was published in 1991 in Oxford solely by Blackwell publishers (Crystal 1991). The 4th edition was published in 1997 by the same publisher (Crystal 1997) and formed the basis for the 1st Greek edition, published in Athens by Patakis Publishers in 2003 (Krystal 2003; see section 3.3). The 5th edition of DLP appeared in 2003, nearly twenty-five years after the first edition in 1980 (Crystal 2003), while the 6th edition appeared in 2008 by Blackwell in Oxford (Crystal 2008). The 2nd Greek edition of DLP is based on the 6th edition of DLP (Krystal in press; see section 3.4).

In terms of language and directionality, terminological dictionaries can either be monolingual or bi-/multilingual. They can be addressed to users being native or non-native speakers and can either be uni- or bidirectional (see Bergenholz and Tarp 1995, 52–53 and Bowker 2003, 156). In these terms, DLP is considered a unidirectional monolingual (English) terminological dictionary of linguistics addressed to either native or non-native speakers of English.

### 2.4 Coverage and users

Coverage in terminological dictionaries can be either broad or narrow. Generally, terminological dictionaries of broad coverage aim at a part of the specialized vocabulary in question, while those of narrow coverage aim at comprehensive coverage of the terms in a particular field (see Bowker 2003, 156). DLP is a dictionary



of broad coverage as it includes terminology of phonetics and linguistics applying criteria mainly regarding the frequency of use and the datedness of terms.

As claimed earlier, users of terminological dictionaries differ from those of general dictionaries as they mainly form part of specialized audiences that work in the particular field covered by each dictionary (Bergenholtz and Tarp 1995, 19–20 and Bowker 2003, 156–57). In particular, the users can be either trained professionals or trainees or experts from related fields or non-experts. The profile of the users addressed by a terminological dictionary is crucial for determining the technical and linguistic quality and quantity of the information included in the microstructure. In the same vein, a terminological dictionary can have a productive, a receptive or a combined function depending on the users' profile and their lexicographic needs. DLP is a useful (introductory but comprehensive) manual of linguistics terminology, with a receptive function that serves both the language teaching professionals and the academic community dealing (directly or indirectly) with linguistic issues. Throughout its publication history from 1980 to 2008, DLP included that portion of linguistics and phonetics terminology that was appropriate for the level of linguistics knowledge of its readership. It comprised all terms that are mostly used in current bibliography (e.g. *competence, prosody, structuralism, morphology*), or are more popular (e.g. terms of generative grammar theories), and excluded most highly specialized terms that can be encountered only in advanced bibliography by experts in the field (e.g. terms from Hjelmslev's *glossematics*). Because of its "introductory" nature, DLP has given special emphasis on concepts that, although appearing to be simple, are quite difficult to understand and use for new students in the field (e.g. *distinctive features, form, function, word, sentence, utterance*).

## 2.5 Macrostructure

Macrostructure of (printed)<sup>1</sup> terminological dictionaries can be organized either alphabetically or thematically (see Bergenholtz/Tarp 1995, 198). Despite the advantages and disadvantages of either of the two approaches, the choice of order depends on the function of the dictionary. If the dictionary has a receptive function, then the alphabetical order is preferable, as users can conveniently search and find information about individual terms. If the dictionary has a productive

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<sup>1</sup> Here, my focus is on features and properties of terminological dictionaries printed on paper; for a discussion about different media for terminological dictionaries and their impact on macro- and microstructure, see e.g. Martin (1997); Bowker (2003); Martin/Vliet (2003), etc.

function then users benefit a lot from a thematic organization, since they can study all terms that are relevant to a central concept of the discipline in question (Bowker 2003, 157–58 and Bergenholz and Tarp 1995, 199). DLP's macrostructure is organized alphabetically, given that it is a terminological dictionary that is used as a reference resource for linguistics terms and concepts and so has a receptive function.

The 1st edition of DLP included a selection of *ca.* 2,000 entries (i.e. 1,000 main entries and 1,000 subentries) from phonetics and from various areas of linguistics (Barkan 1981; Smith 1982; Crystal 1980, 2–5). The data were collected from a set of twenty books from various areas of linguistics. In terms of coverage, Crystal applied a more user-centered approach and decided not to exhaustively cover all terminology in language sciences (cf. Ducrot/Todorov 1981). He listed only those terms that: (a) were sufficiently “attractive” and useful to the average user (e.g. *competence*, *structuralism*, *generate* vs. *allolog*, *bahuvrihi*); (b) did not appear in general dictionaries (e.g. *alphabet*, *abbreviation*); (c) were originally coined within linguistics and were not borrowed from other disciplines (e.g. *reinforcement*, *runic*); (d) were not names of languages or linguistic families; and (e) were particularly important / meaningful for the discussion in linguistics. Furthermore, DLP, in its first edition, excluded terms that belonged to: (a) traditional terminologies about language (e.g. *anaptyxis*, *alliteration*); (b) other disciplines and had the same meaning in linguistics (e.g. *amplitude*); (c) applied linguistics (e.g. *transfer*, *aphasia*); and (d) comparative philology (e.g. umlaut) (for comments on coverage see Smith 1982, 461–62; Crystal 1980, 2–5).

The 2nd edition included a total of 2,225 entries (i.e. 125 new main entries and 100 new subentries if compared to the 1st edition). The new terms originated mainly from developments in the mid-eighties, in the field of syntax and the theory of transformational grammar, and from alternative syntactic theories like the generalized phrase-structure grammar as well as from phonology, pragmatics and discourse analysis and text linguistics (Crystal 1985, x–xi).

The 3rd edition included *ca.* 200 new entries (bringing the total of macrostructure to *ca.* 2,400 entries) and some 100 subentries. As with the 2nd edition, new terms came from developments in the fields of syntax (i.e. government and binding theory) and phonology (i.e. autosegmental phonology, metrical phonology), from early 1990s (Crystal 1991, xiii).

The 4th edition benefited a lot from encyclopedic works and handbooks on linguistics published in the mid-nineties. As a result, 600 new terms and concepts were added, with substantial contributions from non-linear phonology and semantics, bringing the total to 4,000 terms from major fields in general linguistics and phonetics. Of course, Crystal made a careful selection of the newly-

coined terms to be included and allowed only those that appeared to be institutionalized as attested by two or more (secondary) bibliographical sources. It incorporated new terminology that came from advances recorded in different fields of linguistics such as psycholinguistics and language acquisition, cognitive linguistics, discourse analysis, semantics, phonology, minimalist syntax, computational linguistics, sociolinguistics, acoustic phonetics, grammar, historical linguistics, etc. (Crystal 1997, xv–xvi).

The 5th edition of DLP had to address the increasing popularity of the discipline and thus accommodate an abundance of new terminology that needed to be documented (cf. Bolinger 1968, 554 on the “immaturity” of linguistics). Thus, this edition of DLP comprised over *ca.* 3,000 entries containing some 5,000 terms. However, it did not cover all linguistics and phonetics terminology in use. Special attention was paid to all concepts and terms that reflect the development of linguistics throughout the 20th century and not to the totality of the terminology in linguistics and related fields. As it had been the case with all previous editions of DLP, the 5th edition did not include terms found in general dictionaries (e.g. alphabet) nor systematic terminology of other disciplines related to linguistics (e.g. from literary criticism). In the same vein, this edition did not include any proper names that are usually found in encyclopedic works of reference. Given that linguistics was already an extensively interdisciplinary field in 2003, the 5th edition had to incorporate terms from other fields into linguistics such as comparative philology, language teaching, information technology, computing and logic, psychology, etc. Similarly, it incorporated almost all (mathematical or logical) terms pertaining to linguistics formalization as well as terms from philology and traditional grammar that are of renewed interest these days (Crystal 2003, vi–x).

Finally, the 6th edition of DLP followed the same organization pattern as the previous edition, with some obvious changes. This edition contains a total of 5,100 terms organized in 3,000 entries, reaching a content of nearly 250,000 words. The new and final edition of DLP now includes more terms from the advancing field of Chomsky's minimalist programme during the first decade of the new millennium (Crystal 2008, xi–xii).

## 2.6 Microstructure

The microstructure in a terminological dictionary may consist of different types of information such as a definition, equivalent terms, synonym terms, etc.<sup>2</sup> Of course, the amount and type of information depend on the users' profile, the function of the dictionary as well as whether it is monolingual or multilingual. Monolingual terminological dictionaries like DLP generally provide at least a definition supplemented by encyclopedic information about the term. Additional information can include the grammatical and phonetic form(s) of the term, examples of usage, synonyms or related terms, etc. Bi/multilingual terminological dictionaries have a much simpler microstructure, listing only the equivalent term in the target language(s) accompanied by a subject label referring to the particular field or subfield of the discipline. In some cases, there may also be short definitions and examples of usage.

Because of its pedagogical nature, as admitted by Crystal himself (1980, 5–6), the microstructure of each entry of the 1st edition of DLP was organized in a rather different way than it was expected for a terminological dictionary in the 1980s. The definitions were enriched with encyclopedic information and illustrative examples, while at the end of each entry the users were given bibliographical suggestions (only secondary sources) to further their study on the particular term. The information in the microstructure was structured so as to make each entry independent from others. This way, the users could easily and quickly get the answers they sought without having to navigate through different cross-referred entries.

In the 2nd edition, apart from corrections and improvements to the text, Crystal expanded bibliographical references in each entry. However, in order to maintain the pedagogical purpose of DLP, he did not include any primary bibliographical sources. In the 3rd edition, DLP saw an innovation with the addition of the chart of the International Phonetic Alphabet as part of its megastructure, and included cross-references in the microstructure in order to connect related entries. In the 4th edition a major development was the elimination of the bibliographical references that appeared at the end of most entries in the three early editions. In addition, cross-references were increased so as to facilitate the search of terms.

In the 5th edition, DLP saw important improvements with regard to the content of its microstructure. The definitions became more discursive with the addition of illustrative examples and encyclopedic information of historical or epistemological

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<sup>2</sup> For a discussion of the difference between the microstructure of a general and of a terminological dictionary see Wright (1994, 13) and Martin/Vliet (2003, 334–35). For a clarification of lexicographic terms relevant to terminological dictionaries, see Bergenholtz/Tarp (1995, 15–16).

nature. As was the case beginning with the 1st edition, entries were kept as autonomous as possible without redundant cross-referencing. This feature has both facilitated the search process by the users and saved time (see Bogaards 2003, 30). The autonomy of entries, of course, led to an unavoidable repetition of information, but this disadvantage for an ordinary book turns out to be an advantage for dictionaries. In addition, all major term derivatives were treated as separate entries so as to accelerate the search process. These particular entries were cross-referential of the type “X see Y”. Terms as headwords appeared in bold accompanied by grammatical information about their category to assist users who were not native speakers of English. As in previous editions, defined terms appeared in small capitals inside relevant entries throughout the DLP. Finally, the abbreviations were no longer given as separate entries but, like symbols and IPA, they were instead presented in a separate table at the front matter of DLP's megastructure.

Finally, the 6th edition kept all improvements of the 5th edition and, in addition, many entries that first appeared in the 1st edition of the dictionary were revised, updated and chronologically adjusted to the most recent state of the discipline (in 2008).

### 3 The Greek edition of Crystal's DLP

The 1st Greek edition of DLP was published in 2003 in Athens, Greece by Patakis Publishers under the title “*Λεξικό γλωσσολογίας και φωνητικής*” (henceforth LGF1). The aim of this publication was to offer Greek-speaking students and scholars of linguistics the well-renowned terminological dictionary of Crystal in Greek so as to help them in dealing with concepts and terminology of linguistics in their studies and research; LGF1 was based on the 4th edition of DLP. The 2nd Greek edition of DLP, based on its 6th edition, is currently in press and is expected to be published in 2018 by Patakis Publishers in Athens (cf. section 3.4 below).

Before I examine the profile of LGF in (meta)lexicographic terms, it is worth making a brief note about the nature and particularities of linguistics terminology in Greek along with a quick mention of other reference works dealing with Greek linguistics terminology.

### 3.1 Terminology of linguistics in Greek

As we saw earlier in section 2.2, Greek terms found in linguistics terminology originate from the traditional terminology of philological and historical studies in linguistics, either as direct loans (e.g. *aorist*, *diphthong*, etc.) or as internationalisms (e.g. *morphology*, *phonology*, etc.). It is obvious that these terms form a natural part of Greek linguistics terminology, but this is a very limited portion when compared to terminology imported by means of calquing. Thus the majority of current Greek linguistics terminology comes from other languages and, maybe exclusively, from English, since the findings of current linguistics research are mainly communicated internationally via English (see e.g. Kakridi-Ferrari 2001; Haralambakis 2004).

Modern Greek terminology of linguistics can be found in:

- (1) (a) primary bibliographical resources (i.e. research reports, journal articles, monographs, etc.)
- (b) secondary bibliographical resources (e.g. research indices, abstracts, etc.)
- (c) tertiary bibliographical resources (e.g. textbooks, scientific encyclopedias/dictionaries, terminological manuals for teachers, etc.).

Linguistics terminology in general dictionaries of Greek is rather limited and usually confined to traditional “philological-grammatical terms” (see Xydopoulos/Pavlaou 2009 and references therein). If we accept the claims of Cabré (1999, 38), Iordanidou (2004, 221–22) and Xydopoulos/Pavlaou (2009, 1066), among others, that the occurrence of technical terms in general dictionaries is an important indication for standardization of these terms, then the degree of standardization of linguistics terminology in Greek is relatively low when compared with that of the corresponding English terminology.

### 3.2 Other Greek linguistics dictionaries/glossaries

Expectedly, LGF was not the first and only linguistics terminological dictionary to have appeared in Greek. In 1983, a two-volume dictionary of linguistics (entitled *Λεξικό όρων γλωσσολογίας* “Dictionary of Linguistics Terms” [LOG]) appeared, authored by Sotiris Dimitriou, an anthropologist and a well-acclaimed writer, but not a trained linguist. The dictionary was published by Kastaniotis Publishers in Athens, Greece as part of a six-volume set of terminological dictionaries by the same author, in the broad area of “semiotic” sciences. LOG lists Greek linguistics terms, along with their equivalents in English, French and German ac-

accompanied by extensive encyclopedic definitions. At the end of the second volume there are three bilingual alphabetical indices that facilitate the user in locating English, French and German terms in the dictionary (see Dimitriou 1983).

In 2003, apart from LGF, another major linguistics terminological dictionary in Greek made its appearance. It was the *Σύγχρονο λεξικό όρων και θεμάτων γλωσσολογικών* (“Modern dictionary of terms and issues in linguistics” [SLOTG]). SLOTG was authored by George Sakellariadis, a trained philologist and linguist, and published in Athens, Greece by Savvalas Publications. The dictionary included ca. 1400 terms from various areas of general linguistics with extensive definitions. A bilingual alphabetical index (a.k.a. glossary) at the end of the dictionary listed English linguistics terms along with their equivalents in Greek (see Sakellariadis 2003).

In 2007 and 2008, we saw the appearance of two glossaries of linguistics terms published by the Department of English of the University of Athens as part of an EU funded project. The glossaries were bilingualizations of the glossaries of sociolinguistics, by Trudgill (2003), and of semantics and pragmatics, by Cruse (2006), published by Edinburgh University Press. Both bilingualized glossaries listed the terms in English, as in the macrostructures of the original English glossaries, along with their equivalents in Greek and the translated definition (see Tsakona 2007; 2008).

In 2007 and 2009 two electronic bi/trilingual glossaries/dictionaries of linguistics terminology made their appearance. First, the “Online glossary of linguistics terminology” (OGLT) by Xydopoulos, a bilingual bidirectional (English – Greek) glossary of terms from various fields of linguistics was made available online in 2007, based at the Philology Department of University of Ioannina (see Xydopoulos 2007). OGLT’s lemmas give English or Greek equivalents along with the linguistics field where each term is used. Second, the *Λεξικό γλωσσολογικών όρων: Γερμανικά – Ελληνικά – Αγγλικά* (Dictionary of linguistics terms: German – Greek – English; LGOGEA) by Boutoulousi appeared online in 2009 and was revised and updated in 2013; it is based at the German Department of Aristotle University of Thessaloniki (see Boutoulousi 2013). LGOGEA is actually an online bidirectional trilingual glossary, similar to OGLT in terms of structure and content. It includes a German macrostructure, accompanied by English equivalent terms, that leads to Greek equivalent terms. Within the German macrostructure there are also equivalent terms in English (see Boutoulousi 2009; 2013).

Finally, it is worth mentioning that apart from these fully-fledged (printed or electronic) dictionaries or glossaries, there are various bilingual indices or glossaries that can be found at the end of Greek linguistics textbooks, especially of those published the last twenty years (Xydopoulos/Tsangalidis/Prountzou 2014, 444). These

are actually bilingual lists, indexed or non-indexed, intending to support readers in dealing with terms and their equivalents found in particular books.

Let us now move on to the discussion of the characteristics of LGF and of the way it was compiled.

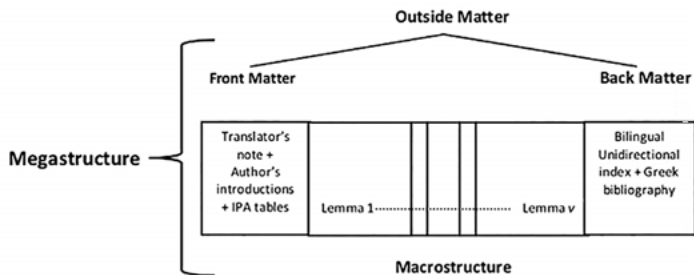
### 3.3 The first edition of LGF

In the sections that follow, I focus my attention on the structure and content of the two Greek editions of Crystal's DLP (i.e. LGF1 and LGF2, respectively) as well as on issues regarding the lexicographic structure, the adaptation of terminology and the translation of DLP's text into Greek.

#### 3.3.1 Building the megastructure

LGF1 maintains the megastructure of the 4th edition of DLP, with some additions (see diagram 1 below). It includes the translations of Crystal's introductions to the 1st, 2nd, 3rd and 4th editions followed by the Greek version of IPA (tables of consonants, vowels and diacritics) at the front matter.

The additions to the outside matter of LGF1 include a translator's note at the front matter, right before Crystal's introductions, and a bilingual alphabetical index and bibliography at the back matter. The unidirectional bilingual (English-Greek) alphabetical index, at the back matter, serves both as a quick reference glossary and as an index for users who only know the English term and wish to find the equivalent term in Greek and be subsequently directed to the relevant lemma. The back matter concludes with a list of *ca.* 75 bibliographical items used by the translator in the process of verifying standardized or non-standardized Greek linguistics terminology (see section 3.3.4 below).



**Diagram 1:** LGF1's megastructure (diagram adapted from Hartmann 2001, 59)



### 3.3.2 Working on the macrostructure

A crucial decision regarding the setting up of LGF1 was how to organize the macrostructure. There were two possible alternatives, either to copy DLP's English-based macrostructure (cf. Tsakona 2007; 2008) or to rebuild the macrostructure following the sorting of Greek terms according to the Greek alphabet.

Given that the aim of LGF1 was to serve as a fully functional Greek linguistics terminology dictionary, the translator opted for the latter alternative. This way DLP's directionality and monolinguality features were kept intact, just switching from English to Greek. Moreover, users had the opportunity to treat the dictionary as a genuinely Greek version, while they were supported in their search tasks by the bilingual index/glossary at the back matter of the megastructure.

The treatment of abbreviations posed a slight problem, since in DLP they had the form of alphabetisms with separate lemmas. In LGF1 they were turned into their Greek equivalent initialisms accompanied by the English original and the full phrase in Greek. Finally, abbreviated terms like *wh-*, which are pronounced as alphabetisms, were listed in transliterated forms of their English pronunciations: e.g. “νταμπλ-γιου-έιτς” [dablujeits]. Symbols like “t” for “trace” were embedded into the lemmas of the full equivalent terms, next to the headwords.

### 3.3.3 Working on the microstructure

LGF's microstructure follows that of DLP with some modifications. The headword is the Greek equivalent term in boldface characters followed by an indicator of the lexical category for nouns (i.e. the corresponding article) and adjectives (i.e. the endings for the three genders). In several cases, alternative Greek equivalents appear in brackets next to the headword:

**γλωσσική επίγνωση (η)** (γλωσσική συναίσθηση (η), γλωσσική συνειδητότητα (η))  
**[language awareness]** Όρος που χρησιμοποιείται ειδικά στην ΠΑΙΔΑΓΩΓΙΚΗ ΓΛΩΣΣΟΛΟΓΙΑ και αναφέρεται στο πόσο είναι κανείς ενημερωμένος, έχει ευαισθησία και διαθέτει κρίση σχετικά με τη γλώσσα του, καθώς και στο πόσο γνωρίζει κανείς τη σχετική ορολογία («μεταγλωσσική επίγνωση»). Στις αρχές τις δεκαετίας του 1990 ενισχύθηκε ιδιαίτερα το έργο προώθησης της γλωσσικής επίγνωσης, αφού ήταν τότε που είχαν αρχίσει να υιοθετούνται σε πολλές χώρες νέες προοπτικές στη διδασκαλία της γλώσσας στα σχολεία.

**Text 1:** Treatment of alternative terms inside lemmas (Krystal 2003, 83)

As we see in Text 1 above, the equivalent of the term *language awareness* is presented with the most preferred equivalent Greek term *γλωσσική επίγνωση* that appears as the headword, while alternative Greek terms *γλωσσική συναισθηση* and *γλωσσική συνειδητότητα* are given in brackets next to it, ordered according to the frequency of use of each term. As a further means of facilitating the users, alternative Greek terms also appear as separate lemmas cross-referring to host lemmas (as seen in Text 2 below):

**μη παραγωγικός -ή -ό [unproductive]** Βλέπε ΠΑΡΑΓΩΓΙΚΟΤΗΤΑ  
**μη παρεμφατικός -ή -ό [non-finite]** Βλέπε ΠΑΡΕΜΦΑΤΙΚΟΣ -Η -Ο  
**μη περιληπτικός -ή -ό [non-collective]** Βλέπε ΠΕΡΙΛΗΠΤΙΚΟΣ  
**μη περιοριστικός -ή -ό [non-defining, non-restrictive]** (1) Βλέπε ΑΝΑΦΟΡΙΚΟΣ -Η -Ο  
 (2) Βλέπε ΠΕΡΙΟΡΙΣΤΙΚΟΣ -Η -Ο  
**μη πλευρικός -ή -ό [non-lateral]** Βλέπε ΠΛΕΥΡΙΚΟΣ -Η -Ο  
**μη πραγματικός -ή -ό [irrealis]** Βλέπε ΠΡΑΓΜΑΤΙΚΟΣ -Η -Ο

**Text 2:** Treatment of alternative terms as separate lemmas (Krystal 2003, 268)

Apart from alternative terms, headwords can be also accompanied by their derivative terms, as is the case in Text 3 below with the derivative adjectives *νευρογλωσσολογικός* and *νευρογλωσσικός* of the main term *νευρογλωσσολογία*. In the same lemma we can see that the formal comment is further complemented by the original English term in square brackets:

**Νευρογλωσσολογία (η) (νευρογλωσσολογικός -ή -ό, νευρογλωσσικός -ή -ό) [neurolinguistics]** Κλάδος της ΓΛΩΣΣΟΛΟΓΙΑΣ που πολλές φορές ονομάζεται και νευρολογική γλωσσολογία (neurological linguistics). Μελετά το νευρολογικό υπόβαθρο της ανάπτυξης και της χρήσης της ΓΛΩΣΣΑΣ και επιχειρεί να κατασκευάσει ένα ΠΡΟΤΥΠΟ για να περιγράψει τον τρόπο με τον οποίο ο εγκέφαλος ελέγχει τις διαδικασίες ομιλίας, ακρόασης, ανάγνωσης, γραφής και νευμάτων. Η κυριότερη προσέγγιση αφορούσε το να οριστούν τα στάδια ενός «νευρωνικού προγράμματος», το οποίο θα μπορούσε να εξηγήσει τα φαινόμενα χρονικού ΑΡΘΡΩΤΙΚΟΥ συντονισμού, ΤΟΠΟΘΕΤΗΣΗΣ ΣΕ ΑΚΟΛΟΥΘΙΑ και άλλων χαρακτηριστικών της ΠΑΡΑΓΩΓΗΣ ΟΜΙΛΙΑΣ. Τα κύρια χαρακτηριστικά αυτής της προσέγγισης βασίζονται στα ερευνητικά ευρήματα από δύο τομείς: (α) τη μελέτη ΚΛΙΝΙΚΩΝ ΓΛΩΣΣΙΚΩΝ καταστάσεων (όπως η αφασία, η δυσarthρία, το τραύλισμα), ώστε να διαπιστωθεί από τα στάδια της ανάλυσης ποια είναι η φύση του υποκείμενου συστήματος· (β) τη μέλετη της παραγωγής της ομιλίας με ΠΑΡΑΜΕΤΡΙΚΗ μέθοδο, στα πλαίσια της αρθρωτικής φωνητικής, ειδικότερα της εξέτασης των «φυσιολογικών» ΛΑΘΩΝ τα οποία προκύπτουν κατά την ομιλία (π.χ. ΠΑΡΑΔΡΟΜΕΣ ΟΜΙΛΙΑΣ, ΔΙΣΤΑΓΜΟΙ).

**Text 3:** Treatment of term derivatives and of English terms (Krystal 2003, 281)

The semantic comment includes the translation of the definition along with illustrative examples (wherever available). If the phenomena discussed are relevant to the Greek language, the Greek adaptations of the examples appear:

**βούληση (η) (βουλητικός -ή -ό) [volition, volitional]** Όρος που χρησιμοποιείται στη ΣΗΜΑΣΙΟΛΟΓΙΚΗ ανάλυση των ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΙΚΩΝ ΚΑΤΗΓΟΡΙΩΝ και αναφέρεται σε ένα είδος σχέσης μεταξύ ενός ΔΡΑΣΤΗ και ενός ΡΗΜΑΤΟΣ. Στην περίπτωση ενός **βουλητικού (volitional)** ρήματος ή μιας δομής, η πράξη που λαμβάνει χώρα είναι το αποτέλεσμα της επιλογής του δράστη, π.χ. *Η Μαρία έφυγε*. Στην περίπτωση ενός **μη βουλητικού (non-volitional)** ρήματος ή μιας δομής, ο δράστης δεν έχει καθοριστική επίδραση στην πράξη, π.χ. *Η Μαρία γλίστρησε*. Πολλά ρήματα έχουν και τις δύο ερμηνείες (π.χ. *Ο Χ χτύπησε τον Υ* –κατά λάθος ή επίτηδες; Ο όρος είχε στο παρελθόν συγκριτικό ρόλο ως προς την ανάλυση των σημασιών ορισμένων ΒΟΗΘΗΤΙΚΩΝ ρημάτων στην αγγλική· για παράδειγμα, η βουλητική έννοια του *will* στην πρόταση *I will go* («θα φύγω», με την έννοια του «είναι απόφασή μου να φύγω») διακρίνεται από άλλες έννοιες όπως αυτή του χαρακτηρισμού μιας πράξης (*They will sit there for hours* «θα περιμένουν εκεί επί ώρες»).

**Text 4:** Treatment of illustrative examples relevant to Greek (Krystal 2003, 74)

In Text 4 above, the examples illustrate a phenomenon regarding volitional and non-volitional verbs that is relevant to Greek, so examples were just translated into Greek. If the phenomena are irrelevant, then examples appear in both English and Greek:

**Μετατροποποίηση (η) (μετατροποποιώ) [postmodification (postmodify)]** Όρος που χρησιμοποιείται σε ορισμένες γραμματικές ΠΕΡΙΓΡΑΦΕΣ και αναφέρεται σε όλα τα ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΑ (2) τα οποία εμφανίζονται μετά την ΚΕΦΑΛΗ μιας ΦΡΑΣΗΣ (μιας ΕΝΔΟΚΕΝΤΡΙΚΗΣ φράσης), π.χ. *Τα αυτοκίνητα στο γκαράζ είναι ακριβά*. Στην αγγλική, αναγνωρίζονται τρία κύρια είδη μετατροποποιητικής δομής: ΠΡΟΘΕΤΙΚΕΣ φράσεις (π.χ. *the cars in the garage...* «τα αυτοκίνητα στο γκαράζ»), ΠΑΡΕΜΦΑΤΙΚΕΣ (ΑΝΑΦΟΡΙΚΕΣ) ΠΡΟΤΑΣΕΙΣ (π.χ. *The car which was in the garage...* «το αυτοκίνητο που ήταν στο γκαράζ») και μη παρεμφατικές (ΑΠΑΡΕΜΦΑΤΙΚΕΣ ή ΜΕΤΟΧΙΚΕΣ) προτάσεις π.χ. *the car parked in the street ... the car to buy* «το αυτοκίνητο το παρκαρισμένο στο δρόμο»... «το αυτοκίνητο για αγορά»...

**Text 5:** Treatment of illustrative examples irrelevant/partly relevant to Greek (Krystal 2003, 262)

In Text 5, examples illustrate postmodification, a phenomenon that is found in Greek, but not as extensively as in English. Examples appear in their original English form, accompanied by a word-by-word translation into Greek.

Finally, alternative spelling forms of English terms were incorporated into the main lemma, e.g. *esophageal* was incorporated into the main lemma of *oesophageal* under the headword *οισοφαγικός*. In addition, proper names were

spelled in Greek, but were also given in their English spelling form to avoid any confusion by the users (e.g. *Τσόμσκι* (*Chomsky*), *Σοσίρ* (*Saussure*)).

### 3.3.4 Adapting the terminology

The translation of DLP and the adaptation of the English linguistics terminology to Greek was not a straightforward task in the compilation procedure of LGF1. In many cases, linguistics terms in DLP already existed in Greek and the task was to locate them in the Greek linguistics literature and validate them, paying special attention to their level of standardization in different authors and texts.<sup>3</sup>

In a similar fashion, a large number of English terms were non-existent in Greek and had to be coined for the first time. In order to render DLP's terminology into Greek, Babiniotis's (1993; 1995) four integrity criteria/conditions were adopted, namely (a) acceptability, (b) informativity, (c) retrievability, and (d) translatability. Acceptability refers to "linguistic well-formedness" of the term; informativity refers to "denotability, transparency and clarity" of the term; retrievability refers to "brevity, monolecticity and derivational consistency" of the term; and translatability<sup>4</sup> refers to "cross-linguistic correspondence" of the term. To fulfill these criteria in rendering DLP's terminology into Greek, four macro-rules were applied, as proposed and discussed by Xydopoulos (2002; 2004; 2008):

- (2) (a) Check the scientific definition of the term
- (b) Verify the degree of standardization of the term
- (c) Check the formation rules for the derivation of terms
- (d) Prevent or avoid ambiguity

The application of each of these macro-rules satisfies one or more of the above criteria. Acceptability is fulfilled by macro-rule (2c); informativity is fulfilled by macro-rules (2a) and (2d); retrievability is fulfilled by macro-rule (2b); and translatability is fulfilled by macro-rules (2a) and (2c). These macro-rules were also adopted (with some rearrangements) in the bilingualization project of Cruse's and Trudgill's glossaries by Tsakona (2007; 2008), while Floros and Grammenidis (2012, 95–96) fully adopt in their work on translation studies terminology the methodological scheme proposed by Xydopoulos (*op. cit.*).

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<sup>3</sup> For a discussion of the procedures for selection of equivalent terms, see Bergenholtz/Tarp (1995, 104ff.).

<sup>4</sup> Or "reversibility" as suggested by Floros/Grammenidis (2012, 93).

Apart from the application of these macro-rules, the adaptation of terminology in LGF1 included a term verification process that involved two phases. In the first phase, in order to determine the degree of standardization of adapted terminology, the proposed terms were checked with reference to two general dictionaries of Modern Greek (LNEG and LKN) and all linguistics textbooks published in Greek that were available at the time (i.e. in 2001). In the second phase, bilingual tables of adapted terminology, organized per linguistics field, were sent out to thirty Greek-speaking linguists, with research and teaching experience in academia, who served as informants with the request to evaluate the proposed Greek linguistics terminology and make alternative suggestions. All suggestions made by these experts/informants were taken into consideration in deciding the equivalent terms to be included as headwords or as alternatives in the macrostructure of LGF1.

### 3.3.5 Translation issues

The text in (all editions of) DLP is written in a simple, properly structured, engaging, and often 'pedagogical' style. However, there are many cases of lemmas (especially in the fields of phonetics and computational linguistics) where the exact meaning of the text was more complicated and more difficult to translate. A special effort was made to make the Greek text in LGF1 as accurate, understandable and explanatory as possible, particularly so in places where the English text was difficult for the user.

Despite the virtues of DLP's text, there have been at times some difficulties in the translation and adaptation of scientific texts (see e.g. Kentrotis 2000, 170–72) that deserve some discussion here. By way of illustration, let us see a few of these difficulties/problems and the way they were dealt with in LGF1.

In a number of cases, a major problem was the need to adapt the language examples into Greek, given the culture-dependence of the linguistics discipline, in the sense of Bergenholtz/Tarp (1995, 60ff.). For instance, the sentence "*Visiting speakers can be awful*" is used in DLP to illustrate the term ambiguity, transformational ambiguity in particular. The presence of the gerund *visiting* in the sentence makes a literal translation into Greek rather difficult. The sentence's two readings can be switched to Greek as: (a) *Ίσως είναι απαίσιο να επισκέπτεται κανείς ομιλητές* "It can be awful to visit speakers", or (b) *Οι ομιλητές που πραγματοποιούν επισκέψεις μπορεί να είναι απαίσιοι* "Speakers who pay visits can be awful". This and other cases of formal and communicative equivalence could only be resolved by translating the data with the additional explanation that these were only relevant in English (see Xydopoulos 2003, 744).

Another serious problem was the translation of functional terms in linguistics such as the verbs *claim*, *argue*, *postulate*, *stipulate*, etc., especially in syntactic constructions with inanimate subjects: *the theory argues* or *the constraint stipulates* which do not apply as such in Greek and had to be transformed into passive periphrases like: *το επιχείρημα που προβάλλεται από τη/στη θεωρία* “the argument made by/in the theory” or *όπως ορίζεται χωρίς τεκμηρίωση από τον περιορισμό* “as stipulated by the constraint”.

Furthermore, there were difficulties in the translation of multiword terms, like *head-driven phrase structure grammar*, which had to be adapted into Greek, taking into consideration the restrictions in the structure of the Greek noun phrase which does not allow multiple pre-modifiers. In satisfying the criteria of 3.3.4 above, such terms had to be translated by respecting monolecticity, on the one hand, and post-modification, on the other, yielding the equivalent Greek term *γραμματική της κεφαλοστραφούς φραστικής δομής* “grammar of the head-driven phrase structure.”

Finally, another translation problem concerned the adaptation of the strict SVO word-order of English, which often had to be turned into a VSO or SVO order in Greek, taking into consideration the information structure in the original text. A problem related to word-order had to do with the expression of indefiniteness in English and in Greek since in English it is marked by indefinite articles but by zero articles in Greek, e.g. *a term* > (*\*ένας*) *όρος* “term”.

### 3.4 The second edition of LGF

Since the publication of LGF1 in 2003 there appeared two more editions of DLP, namely the 5th edition (Crystal 2003) and the 6th edition (Crystal 2008). In the next two sections, I make a brief evaluative note on LGF1 and discuss the transition from LGF1 to LGF2.

#### 3.4.1 A quick note on the pros and cons of the 1st edition of LGF

Since its first appearance, LGF1 was well acclaimed by Greek-speaking scholars and students and, arguably, served its purpose in making Crystal’s DLP accessible to the Greek readership as a reliable dictionary of linguistic terminology. It made a contribution by introducing several new linguistics terms not used before in Greek, but also by standardizing several linguistics terms in the language.

The whole enterprise, of course, had many drawbacks that had to do either with the mistranslation of terms or with not including others that were already

standardized. These terms were mainly in the area of phonetics (see Ladefoged 2007). For instance, the term *plosion* was not translated as the standardized *εκτόνωση* but instead as *έκκρουση* or *εξώθηση*, with the latter being a standardized equivalent for *ejection*. Another example is the term *advanced tongue root* which was translated as *προωθημένη βάση γλώσσας* instead of the more acceptable *προωθημένη ρίζα γλώσσας* (i.e. mistranslating the term *root*). Similarly, *alveolar ridge* was erroneously translated as *κορυφή του φατνίου* instead of the standardized *φατνιακή ακρολοφία* (i.e. by mistranslation of the term *ridge*) and *downdrift* as *κατερχόμενο ύψος* instead of the correct *επιτονική ολίσθηση* (in this case by misinterpreting the whole concept).

### 3.4.2 From LGF1 to LGF2

Given that since LGF's 1st edition, DLP was revised and updated twice, and taking into consideration developments in linguistics during the last decade with their expected impact on the relevant terminology, the preparation of a second edition of LGF was deemed necessary. LGF2 is expected to remedy most of the terminological problems from which LGF1 suffers, but also to renew and update the dictionary's macrostructure in accordance with the improvements made in the most recent edition of DLP (i.e. the 6th edition).

As far as its megastructure is concerned, LGF2 incorporates a list of abbreviations and a list of symbols, preceding the IPA tables in the front matter, as they were first introduced in DLPS's 5th and 6th editions (cf. Diagram 1 above). As is the case with DLP, this measure will actually decongest the macrostructure of LGF, as all abbreviations will not be treated as separate entries anymore, thus increasing the user-friendliness and functionality of the dictionary. Furthermore, *ca.* 600 entries, mainly derivative terms, that were part of LGF1's macrostructure have been either removed or re-accommodated as subentries, whereas *ca.* 1150 new entries reflecting recent developments in the discipline have been added (see section 2.5 above). All Greek terms of LGF1 have been re-verified by consulting all linguistics publications available in Greek (i.e. textbooks, monographs, collective volumes, conference proceedings, glossaries and dictionaries, encyclopedias), which have substantially increased in number during the last decade (see Xydopoulos/Tsangalidis/Prountzou 2014, 436–437).

The microstructure of LGF2 follows the pattern of the microstructure set in the 5th and 6th editions of DLP (see section 2.6 above). The same terminological

and translation problems and difficulties in the microstructure of LGF1, as discussed earlier in sections 3.3.4 and 3.3.5, were encountered and dealt with in the adaptation process of the microstructure for LGF2.

## 4 Conclusion

In this work, I discussed a series of lexicographic, terminological and translation issues pertaining to the adaptation process of David Crystal's "Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics" (DLP) into its Greek edition. In section 2, I examined how the megastructure, macrostructure and microstructure of DLP was first set up in 1980 and evolved through almost three decades into one of the most well-designed and developed terminological dictionaries of linguistics in lexicographic and terminological perspectives. In section 3, I presented a detailed account of the process of turning DLP into a fully-adapted Greek terminological dictionary of linguistics. This process involved a re-design of the macrostructure by applying Greek alphabetization of the lemmas. In addition, the microstructure was enriched with the addition of features (e.g. alternative equivalent terms) to the formal comment, as well as with an adaptation of the semantic comment to the particularities of the Greek language (wherever feasible) and the needs of the Greek readership. Finally, I also highlighted a series of methodological and practical problems related to the translation of the text and the rendering of the English linguistics terminology into its Greek equivalent, suggesting and testing possible solutions.

## Abbreviations

- DLP = *Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics* (Crystal 1980; 1985; 1991; 1997; 2003; 2008)  
 LGF = *Λεξικό γλωσσολογίας και φωνητικής* (Krystal 2003; in press)  
 LGF1 = *Λεξικό γλωσσολογίας και φωνητικής* (1st ed.; Krystal 2003)  
 LGF2 = *Λεξικό γλωσσολογίας και φωνητικής* (2nd ed.; Krystal in press)  
 LGOGEA = *Λεξικό γλωσσολογικών όρων: Γερμανικά – Ελληνικά – Αγγλικά* (Boutoulousi 2009; 2013)  
 LOG = *Λεξικό όρων γλωσσολογίας* (Dimitriou 1983)  
 OGLT = *Online glossary of linguistics terminology* (Xydopoulos 2007)  
 SLOTG = *Σύγχρονο λεξικό όρων και θεμάτων γλωσσολογικών* (Sakellariadis 2003)



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# Václav Blažek

## Agamemnon

Homer informs us that Agamemnon is the older brother of Menelaus and that their father was Atreus:

Homer, *Il.* 3.455–461:

τοῖσι δὲ καὶ μετέειπεν ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν Ἀγαμέμνων:  
‘κέκλυτέ μευ Τρῶες καὶ Δάρδανοι ἠδ’ ἐπίκουροι:  
νίκη μὲν δὴ φαίνεται ἄρηϊφίλου Μενελάου,  
ὕμεις δ’ Ἀργεῖην Ἑλένην καὶ κτήμαθ’ ἅμ’ αὐτῇ  
ἔκδοτε, καὶ τιμὴν ἀποτινέμεν ἦντιν’ ἔοικεν,  
ἧ τε καὶ ἐσσομένοισι μετ’ ἀνθρώποισι πέληται.’  
ὡς ἔφατ’ Ἀτρεΐδης, ἐπὶ δ’ ἦνεον ἄλλοι Ἀχαιοί.

Then the king of men, Agamemnon, spake among them, saying: ‘Hearken to me, ye Trojans and Dardanians and allies. Victory is now of a surety seen to rest with Menelaus, dear to Ares; do ye therefore give up Argive Helen and the treasure with her, and pay ye in requital such recompense as beseemeth, even such as shall abide in the minds of men that are yet to be.’ So spake the son of Atreus, and all the Achaeans shouted assent. (transl. Murray)

Homer, *Il.* 17.79:

Μενέλαος ἀρήϊος Ἀτρεός υἱός

warlike Menelaus, son of Atreus (transl. Murray)

## 1

Besides the most frequent form Ἀγαμέμνων used already by Homer, some variants are known, especially from Attic vase inscriptions: Ἀγαμέσμων, Ἀγαμέμμων, Ἀγαμέννων, Ἀγαμένων (Nachmanson 1913, 246; Frisk I, 6).

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The present study was prepared thanks to a grant of The Czech Science Foundation (GAČR), GA15-12215S. I am very grateful to John Bengtson for his correction of the English.

## 2 Existing etymologies

### 2.1

In his dialogue *Cratylus* (395αβ) Plato tried to explain the name Ἀγαμέμνων by Socrates' words:

κινδυνεύει γὰρ τοιοῦτός τις εἶναι ὁ Ἀγαμέμνων, ὅιος ἂ δόξειεν αὐτῷ διαπονεῖσθαι καὶ καρτερεῖν τέλος ἐπιτιθεὶς τοῖς δόξασι δι' ἀρετῆν. σημεῖον δὲ αὐτοῦ ἢ ἐν Τροίᾳ μονὴ τοῦ πάθους τε καὶ καρτερίας. ὅτι οὖν ἀγαστὸς κατὰ [395β] τὴν ἐπιμονὴν οὗτος ὁ ἀνὴρ ἐνσημαίνει τὸ ὄνομα ὁ Ἀγαμέμνων.'

Yes, for Agamemnon (admirable for remaining) is one who would resolve to toil to the end and to endure, putting the finish upon his resolution by virtue. And a proof of this is his long retention of the host at Troy and his endurance. So the name Agamemnon denotes that this man is admirable for remaining. (transl. Fowler)

### 2.2

This interpretation was kept by Pott (1857–60, 334: “zur Genüge ausharrend”) and Curtius (1879, 311), supported e.g. by Kretschmer (1912, 330), and developed by Heubeck (1968, 357–61) and Hamp (1971, 21–24: \*Ἀγαμένμων, besides Attic \*Ἀγαμένσμων, \*Ober-Mέν(σ)μων'). The second component was identified with the verb μένω ‘I stay, wait; stand fast, abide’.

### 2.3

Prellwitz (1891, 171–72) derived the name Ἀγαμέμνων from \*Ἀγαμένμων and further from \*Ἀγαμέδμων (cf. Attic μεσόμνη vs. Ionic μεσόδημη ‘crossbeam, all from δέμω ‘I build’). The second component should be derived from μέδομαι ‘to provide for, be mindful of, bethink one of’. This idea was developed by Stolz (1909, 13–21) and more or less accepted e.g. by Carnoy (1957, 12), Frisk (I, 6) and Beekes (2010, 8).

### 2.4

De Saussure (1881, 432) and Fick (1894, 400) suggested a third interpretation of the second component, connecting it with μέμονα ‘I have in mind, wish eagerly, yearn, strive’. This idea was further developed by Janda (2005, 135–139).

## 2.5

The first component has been identified with ἄγᾶν ‘much, too much’ [Pindar] < acc. \*ἡḡ-eH-z-η, cf. e.g. ἀγα-κλεής ‘of great renown’ (Beekes 2010, 7–8; Fick 1894, 39).

## 2.6

But the semantic motivations ascribed to the name are rather neutral or even inaccurate, if the name belonged to the supreme commander of the Achaean military forces: (i) ‘very persistent’; (ii) ‘very mindful’; (iii) ‘very eagerly wishing’.

# 3 A new etymology

The aim of the present study is to offer a new solution, based on the functional and etymological correspondences between Greek Ἀγαμέμνων and Vedic *Agní-*.

## 3.1

The most important common feature connecting both mythological personages is their relation to fire. The Vedic theonym *Agní-* has as its primary appellative function the straightforward meaning of ‘fire’. The relation of Agamemnon to fire (cf. also Gantz 1977) is best expressed by Aeschylus in his tragedy *Agamemnon*, where he put in the mouth of Clytaemestra, the wife of Agamemnon, the description of the grandiose chain of beacon fires informing the Argive people about the fall of Ilium after ten years of war (Aeschylus, *Agamemnon* 281–316, transl. Weir Smyth):

Ἥφαιστος Ἴδης λαμπρὸν ἐκπέμπων σέλας, φρυκτὸς δὲ φρυκτὸν δεῦρ’ ἀπ’ ἀγγάρου πυρὸς ἔπεμπεν: Ἴδη μὲν πρὸς Ἑρμαῖον λέπας Λήμνου: μέγαν δὲ πανὸν ἐκ νήσου τρίτον Ἀθῶν ἀἶπος Ζηνὸς ἐξεδέξατο,<sup>285</sup> ὑπερτελής τε, πόντον ὥστε νωτίσαι, ἰσχύς πορευτοῦ λαμπάδος πρὸς ἠδονὴν ἴπευκη τὸ χρυσοφεγγές, ὡς τις ἥλιος, σέλας παραγγείλασα Μακίστου σκοπαῖς: ὁδ’ οὔτι μέλλων οὐδ’ ἀφρασμόνως ὑπνω<sup>290</sup> νικώμενος παρήκεν ἀγγέλου μέρος: ἑκάς δὲ φρυκτοῦ φῶς ἐπ’ Εὐρίπου ροᾶς Μεσσαπίου φύλαξι σημαίνει μολόν. οἰδ’ ἀντέλαμψαν καὶ παρήγγειλαν πρόσωγραίας ἐρείκης θαμνὸν ἄψαντες πυρί.<sup>295</sup> σθένουσα λαμπὰς δ’ οὐδέπω μαυρουμένη, ὑπερθοροῦσα πεδίον Ἀσωποῦ, δίκην φαιδρᾶς σελήνης, πρὸς Κιθαιρώνας λέπας ἠγειρεν ἄλλην ἐκδοχὴν πομποῦ πυρός. φάος δὲ τηλέπομπον οὐκ ἠναίνετο<sup>300</sup> φρουρὰ πλέον καίουσα τῶν εἰρημένων: λίμνην δ’ ὑπὲρ Γοργῶπιν ἔσκηψεν φάος: ὄρος τ’ ἐπ’ Αἰγίπλαγκτον ἐξικνούμενον ὤτρυνε θεσμόν μὴ χρονίζεσθαι πυρός. πέμπουσι

δ' ἀνδαιόντες ἀφθόνῳ μένει <sup>305</sup> φλογὸς μέγαν πώγωνα, καὶ Σαρωνικοῦ πορθμοῦ κάτοπτον πρῶν ὑπερβάλλειν πρόσω φλέγουσαν: ἔστ' ἔσκηψεν εὐτ' ἀφίκετο Ἀραχναῖον αἶπος, ἀστυγείτονας σκοπᾶς: κᾶπειτ' Ἀτρεϊδῶν ἐς τόδε σκήπτει στέγος <sup>310</sup> φᾶος τόδ' οὐκ ἄπαππον Ἴδαίου πυρός, τοιοῖδε τοί μοι λαμπαδηφόρων νόμοι, ἄλλος παρ' ἄλλου διαδοχαῖς πληρούμενοι: νικᾷ δ' ὁ πρῶτος καὶ τελευταῖος δραμῶν. τέκμαρ τοιοῦτον σύμβολόν τέ σοι λέγω <sup>315</sup> ἀνδρὸς παραγγείλαντος ἐκ Τροίας ἐμοί.

Hephaestus, from Ida speeding forth his brilliant blaze. Beacon passed beacon on to us by courier-flame: Ida, to the Hermaean crag in Lemnos; to the mighty blaze upon the island succeeded, third, <sup>[285]</sup> the summit of Athos sacred to Zeus; and, soaring high aloft so as to leap across the sea, the flame, travelling joyously onward in its strength the pinewood torch, its golden-beamed light, as another sun, passing the message on to the watchtowers of Macistus. <sup>[290]</sup> He, delaying not nor carelessly overcome by sleep, did not neglect his part as messenger. Far over Euripus' stream came the beacon-light and signalled to the watchmen on Messapion. They, kindling a heap of <sup>[295]</sup> withered heather, lit up their answering blaze and sped the message on. The flame, now gathering strength and in no way dimmed, like a radiant moon overleaped the plain of Asopus to Cithaeron's ridges, and roused another relay of missive fire. <sup>[300]</sup> Nor did the warders there disdain the far-flung light, but made a blaze higher than their commands. Across Gorgopus' water shot the light, reached the mount of Aegiplanctus, and urged the ordinance of fire to make no delay. <sup>[305]</sup> Kindling high with unstinted force a mighty beard of flame, they sped it forward so that, as it blazed, it passed even the headland that looks upon the Saronic gulf; until it swooped down when it reached the lookout, near to our city, upon the peak of Arachnaeus; and <sup>[310]</sup> next upon this roof of the Atreidae it leapt, this very fire not undescended from the Idaean flame. Such are the torch-bearers I have arranged, completing the course in succession one to the other; and the victor is he who ran both first and last. <sup>[315]</sup> This is the kind of proof and token I give you, the message of my husband from Troy to me.

It is remarkable that Agni is also mentioned in connection with 'beacon' — he is asked for his beacon to protect people from narrow straits (e.g. *RV* 1.36.14):

*ūrdhvō nah pāhy āṃhaso nī ketúnā / vísvaṃ sām atrīṇaṃ daha*

Upright, protect us from narrow straits with your beacon. Burn up every devourer. (transl. Jamison/Brereton)

Already Homer used the metaphor about Agamemnon's eyes like blazing fire, as in *Il.* 2.101–104:

ἦτοι ὄ γ' ὦς εἰπὼν κατ' ἄρ' ἔξετο: τοῖσι δ' ἀνέστη  
ἦρωσ Ἀτρεΐδης εὐρὺν κρείων Ἀγαμέμνων  
ἀχνύμενος: μένεος δὲ μέγα φρένες ἀμφιμέλαινα  
πίμπλαντ', ὅσσε δέ οἱ πυρὶ λαμπετόωντι εἴκτην:



When he had thus spoken he sat down, and among them arose the warrior, son of Atreus, wide-ruling Agamemnon, deeply troubled. With rage his black heart was wholly filled, and his eyes were like blazing fire. (transl. Murray)

### 3.1.1

If *agní-* is derivable from *\*H<sub>1</sub>egni-/\*H<sub>1/2/3</sub>ogni-* or *\*ṅgni-/\*H<sub>1/2/3</sub>ṅgni-*, in the Greek name one would expect a compatible counterpart. The first component ἄγα° is derivable from *\*H<sub>2</sub>egn̥-*, compatible with the pre-Aryan variant *\*H<sub>2</sub>ogni-*, but *\*H<sub>2</sub>egn̥°/\*H<sub>2</sub>ṅgn̥°* would also lead to *\*angn̥°* and after the following nasal dissimilation to *\*agn̥°*, cf. Greek ἰγνύη ‘hollow of the knee, ham’ <*\*H<sub>1</sub>en-ḡnu-*; ἴγνητες ‘native’ <*\*H<sub>1</sub>en-ḡneH<sub>1</sub>-t̥°* (Beekes 2010, 576). But there are examples showing that *\*H<sub>1</sub>ṅC°* can also change into Greek *aC°*, as in Greek ἄκαρος ‘brain’ [*Etymologicum Magnum* 45.13] <*\*H<sub>1</sub>ṅ-ḱ̥H<sub>2</sub>o-* vs. ἔγκαρος ‘brain’ [Lycophron {320–280 BCE}, *Alexandra* 1104; Alcaeus Messenius {197 BCE}] <*\*H<sub>1</sub>en-ḱ̥H<sub>2</sub>o-* and ἴγκρος · ἔγκεφαλος [Hesychius] <*\*H<sub>1</sub>en-ḱ̥ro-* (Nussbaum 1986, 72–73; Beekes 2010, 49–50). This means that the name is also derivable from *\*H<sub>1</sub>ṅgn̥°*. The choice from thinkable variants could be determined by cognates in other Indo-European languages:

- Nuristani: Waigali *āí* ‘fire’ (Turner 1966, #55).
- Iranian: Young Avestan proper name *Dāštāyni-*, maybe also Old Persian/Median *Ag-nu-par-nu* in the cuneiform transcription (*EWAI* I, 44); Yazghulami *aynág* ‘a white stone (= flint?)’ <*\*agn̥iakā-*, besides *wúyn* ‘black’ = ‘burnt’ <*\*aṷa-agn̥(i)a-* (*ESIJ* I, 86).
- Anatolian: Hittite theonym <sup>d</sup>*A-ak-ni-iš* was probably borrowed from Mitanni-Aryan.
- Italic: Latin *ignis* ‘fire’, besides unique inscriptional *ingnis* < *\*engni-* < *\*H<sub>1</sub>ṅgn̥i-* (Schrijver 1991, 63–64, 416).
- Balto-Slavic *\*ungni-*: Old Lithuanian *ungnis* [Bretkun], Lithuanian *ugnis* f., East (Zietala) *ùgnis* m, *ùgnė*; Latvian *uguns* f. & m. (*i*-stem), *uguns* m. (*io*-stem), dial. (Tamian) *uginš* ‘fire’; Slavic *\*ognь* & *\*ogñь* m. ‘fire’ < *\*H<sub>1</sub>ṅgn̥i-* (Derksen 2015, 478).

Especially with regard to the Latin data it is possible to choose the protoform *\*H<sub>1</sub>ṅgn̥°* as compatible with all actually attested forms.

The first nasal is confirmed by such forms as Vedic *āṅgāra-* ‘coal’; Ashkun *aṅgá*, Dameli *aṅgar* ‘fire’, etc.; Sogdian *’nk’yr /angēr/* ‘hearth’, Yaghnobi *inkir* ‘id.’; ?Old Irish *aingel* ‘fire, light’, ?Middle Welsh {first 14th–15th cent.} *engyl*

‘fire’ (GPC); Lithuanian *anglis*, Latvian *ùogle* and *ùogls* f.; Old Church Slavonic *ꙋgъ* ‘coal’ (EWAI I, 48; Turner 1966, #125; Gharib 1995, #1061; Vendryes 1960, A–36; Derksen 2015, 55; Pokorny 1959, 779). Persian *angišt* ‘charcoal, wood coal’ and Ossetic Iron *zyng*, Digor *zing* ‘burnt coal, fire’ (\**uz-anga-*; see Abaev IV, 322–23; ESIJ I, 168), together with the Old Irish gloss *ong* ‘fire, hearth’ (Vendryes 1959, A–36; 1960, O–25), indicate the root \**Hong-*. The Celtic data exclude the reconstruction of the labiovelar \**gʷ*, proposed e.g. by Derksen (2015, 478).

### 3.2

The second component could be derived from the verb *μυνήσκω* ‘I remind, put or call in mind, remember, make mention’, etc., pf. *μύνημαι*, subj. *μύνωμαι* (similarly already de Saussure 1881, 432 and Fick 1894, 400, cited above). The name was probably formed by the suffix *-μων*, gen. *-μόνος*, cf. *ἡγεμών* ‘leader, guide’, *εὖ-θήμων* ‘well-arranged; setting in order’, etc. (Brugmann 2.1., 239–240, 300; Janda 2005, 134–139). The whole compound \**H<sub>1</sub>ngn-menmōn* would mean ‘reminding by fire’, probably with regard to Agamenon’s chain of beacon fires, signaling the conquest of Troy.

## 4

There are also other common features, connecting the Vedic god Agni and the Greek hero Agamemnon:

### 4.1 Light

Aeschylus, *Agamemnon* 522–523:

ἦκει γὰρ ὑμῖν φῶς ἐν εὐφρόνῃ φέρων  
καὶ τοῖσ δ’ ἅπασι κοινὸν Ἀγαμέμνων ἄναξ.

For bearing light in darkness to you and to all assembled here alike, he has returned — Agamemnon, our king. (transl. Weir Smyth)

RV 1.36.3:

*mahás te sató ví caranty arcáyo / diví spr̥santi b<sup>h</sup>ānávaḥ*

Since you are great, your flames range widely; your radiant beams touch heaven. (transl. Jamison/Brereton)

RV 1.69.1:

*ved<sup>h</sup>ā ád̥rpto agnír vijānānn úd<sup>h</sup>ar ná gónāḡ svādmā pitūnām / jāne ná séva āhūryaḥ sán mād<sup>h</sup>ye niṣatto raṇvó duroḡé*

The blazing one, blazing bright like the lover of Dawn, has filled the two conjoined {word-halves}, like the light of heaven. (transl. Jamison and Brereton)

Let us mention that in both Greek and Vedic there are used continuants of the root *\*b<sup>h</sup>eH<sub>2</sub>-* ‘to shine, light’ (*LIV* 68–69).

## 4.2 Wealth

Homer, *Il.* 2.100–108:

... ἀνὰ δὲ κρείων Ἀγαμέμνων  
ἔστη σκῆπτρον ἔχων τὸ μὲν Ἥφαιστος κάμε τεύχων.  
Ἥφαιστος μὲν δῶκε Διὶ Κρονίωνι ἄνακτι,  
αὐτὰρ ἄρα Ζεὺς δῶκε διακτόρῳ ἀργεῖφόντῃ:  
Ἑρμείας δὲ ἄναξ δῶκεν Πέλοπι πληξίππῳ,  
αὐτὰρ ὁ αὖτε Πέλοψ δῶκ' Ἀτρεΐ πομένι λαῶν,  
Ἄτρεὺς δὲ θνήσκων ἔλιπεν πολύαρνι Θυέστῃ,  
αὐτὰρ ὁ αὖτε Θυέστ' Ἀγαμέμνονι λείπε φορῆναι,  
πολλῆσιν νήσοισι καὶ Ἄργεϊ παντὶ ἀνάσσειν.

Then among them lord Agamemnon arose, bearing in his hands the sceptre which Hephaestus had wrought with toil. Hephaestus gave it to king Zeus, son of Cronos, and Zeus gave it to the messenger Argeiphontes; and Hermes, the lord, gave it to Pelops, driver of horses, and Pelops in turn gave it to Atreus, shepherd of the host; and Atreus at his death left it to Thyestes, rich in flocks, and Thyestes again left it to Agamemnon to bear, that so he might be lord of many isles and of all Argos. (transl. Murray)

RV 1.60.4:

*agnír bhuvad rayipátī rayīṅám*

Agni has become wealth-lord of wealth. (transl. Jamison/Brereton)

RV 1.70.5:

*sá hí kṣapāvāñ agní rayīṅám dāśa dyó asmā áraṃ sūktaiḥ /  
etá cikitvo bhúmā ní páhi devānāṃ jánma mártāṃś ca vidvān*

For Agni, the protector of riches on earth, does ritual service {for him} who does ritual service for him {Agni} fittingly with good hymns. (transl. Jamison/Brereton)

RV 1.72.1:

*agnír bhuvad rayipátī rayīṅám satrá cakrāṇó amṛtāni víśvā*

Agni has become the wealth-lord of wealth, making wholly his own all immortal things. (transl. Jamison/Brereton)

### 4.3 Role in the wedding ritual

Hesiod, *Catalogues of Women and Eoiae* 68.13–15:*καί νύ κε δὴ Κάστωρ τε καὶ κρατερός Πολυδεύκης γαμβρόν ποιήσαντο κατὰ κράτος· ἄλλ' Ἀγαμέμνων γαμβρός ἔων ἐμνάτο κασιγνήτῳ Μενελάῳ*

And truly Castor and strong Polydeuces would have made him their brother {lit. their kinsman by marriage}, but Agamemnon, who was his {Tyndareos'} son-in-law, wooed her {Helen} for his brother Menelaos. (transl. Evelyn-White)

RV 10.85.8–9:

*sūryāyā aśvínā varāgnír āsīt purogavāḥ //  
sómo vadhūyúr abhavad aśvínāstām ubhá vará /  
sūryāṃ yát pátye śáṃsantīm mánasā savitádadāt*

The Ásvins were the wooers of Sūryā and Agni was the leader. Soma was the bridegroom; the Ásvins were both wooers, when Savitar gave Sūryā to her husband, as she pronounced {her vow} with her {whole} mind. (transl. Jamison/Brereton)

## 4.4 Comparison with “bull”

Homer, *Il.* 2.480–483:

ἤϋτε βοῦς ἀγέληφι μέγ' ἕξοχος ἔπλετο πάντων  
ταῦρος· ὃ γάρ τε βόεσσι μεταπρέπει ἀγρομένησι·  
τοῖον ἄρ' Ἀτρεΐδην θῆκε Ζεὺς ἤματι κείνῳ  
ἐκπρέπ' ἐν πολλοῖσι καὶ ἕξοχον ἠρώεσσιν.

Even as a bull among the herd stands forth far the chiefest over all, for that he is pre-eminent among the gathering kine, even such did Zeus make Agamemnon on that day, pre-eminent among many, and chiefest amid warriors. (transl. Murray)

*RV* 1.31.5:

*tváṃ agne vṛṣabháh puṣṭivárdhana údyatasruce bhavasi śravnáyyaḥ*

You, Agni, a bull increasing prosperity, should be celebrated by the {priest} who holds up the offering spoon. (transl. Jamison/Brereton)

## 4.5 Universal king

Homer, *Il.* 3.455:

τοῖσι δὲ καὶ μετέειπεν ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν Ἀγαμέμνων

Then the king of men, Agamemnon, spake among them, saying. (transl. Murray)

Homer, *Il.* 3.178–79:

οὗτός γ' Ἀτρεΐδης εὐρὺν κρείων Ἀγαμέμνων,  
ἀμφοτέρων βασιλεύς τ' ἀγαθὸς κρατερός τ' αἰχμητής:

Yon man is the son of Atreus, wide-ruling Agamemnon,  
that is both a noble king and a valiant spearman. (transl. Murray)

*RV* 3.55.4:

*samāno rājā víbhr̥taḥ purutrā śáye śayásu práyuto vánānu*

The common king has been dispersed in many places; he lies in his resting places [= hearths] {spread out} for some distance along the (fire-)logs. (transl. Jamison/Brereton)

RV 1.36.2:

*jānāso agnīm dadhire sahovīdham / havīṣmanto vidhema te*

The people have installed Agni, the increaser of might.  
Bringing oblations, we would do honor to you. (transl. Jamison/Brereton)

RV 1.36.17:

*agnīr vavne suvīryam agnīḥ kāṇvāya saúbhagam*

Agni gained good heroes en masse, and Agni good fortune for Kaṇva. (transl. Jamison/Brereton)

RV 1.36.18:

*agnīr nayan nāvavāstvam bhṛhád Ratham / turvītiṃ dāsyaive sáhaḥ*

Agni, our force against the Dasyu, led Navavāstva of the lofty chariots and Turvīti. (transl. Jamison/Brereton)

## 5 Conclusion

In the present study five or six common features (or epithets) in the mythological biographies of the Vedic fire-god Agni and the supreme commander of the Achaean military forces, Agamemnon, have been collected: fire & light, wealth, bull, role in the wedding ritual and universal king. The most important is apparently “fire”. The name of Agni represents the general Vedic appellative for this phenomenon. In the case of Agamemnon his name seems to be motivated by the lost Greek equivalent of Vedic *agnī-*, Latin *ignis*, Balto-Slavic *\*ungni-* ‘fire’. Concerning the difference in stem-formation, it is tempting to see in the Indo-Iranian+Latin+Balto-Slavic isogloss *\*H<sub>1</sub>ngni-* the original locative in *\*-i* ‘in the fire’, while the hypothetical pre-Greek counterpart *\*H<sub>1</sub>ngn<sub>1</sub>* could represent the suffixless locative.

Note: Janda (2005, 138–39) mentions the remarkably high association between the Vedic appellative *mánman-* ‘thought, understanding, intellect, wisdom’ and the theonym *Agnī-* in *Ṛgveda*: 28 out of 71 attestations of the word *mánman-*; followed by Indra –10; Mitra-Varuṇa – 7; Áśvins – 5; Maruts – 3; Uṣas – 1; Rātri –

1, etc. Janda's idea to compare the syntagm *Agní- & mánman-* with Μέμνων is only a small step from the comparison with Ἀγαμέμνων, discussed here.

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Alcorac Alonso Déniz

# What's in a drop? Making sense of ΨΑΚΑΣ in Aristophanes, *Acharnians* 1150–1151

## 1 The meaning of ψακάς / ψεκάς in Ancient Greek: 'drizzle' and 'drop of rain'

The noun ψακάς (or ψεκάς) occurs in Greek from the 5th c. BCE onwards.<sup>1</sup> Like most forms with the suffix -(ι)άδ-, its grammatical gender is invariably feminine.<sup>2</sup> There is no evidence of its use as a masculine nickname, with the exception of one passage in Aristophanes' *Acharnians*, which will be the topic of this paper.<sup>3</sup>

As for its meaning, ψακάς / ψεκάς denotes primarily the meteorological phenomenon of light rain falling in fine drops, Eng. 'drizzle', which can be extended metaphorically to other liquids:<sup>4</sup>

φάσμα Αἰγυπτίοισι μέγιστον δὴ ἐγένετο· ὕσθησαν γὰρ Θῆβαι αἱ Αἰγύπτιαι, οὔτε πρότερον οὐδαμὰ ὕσθεισαι οὔτε ὕστερον τὸ μέχρι ἐμεῦ [...]. οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἔεται τὰ ἄνω τῆς Αἰγύπτου τὸ παράπαν· ἀλλὰ καὶ τότε ὕσθησαν αἱ Θῆβαι ψακάδι

The Egyptians saw a most wonderful sight, namely, rain at Thebes of Egypt, where there had never been rain before, nor since to my lifetime; for indeed there is no rain at all in the upper parts of Egypt; but at that time a drizzle fell at Thebes.

(Hdt. 3.10)

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I thank Julián V. Méndez Dosuna for his critical remarks and suggestions on a previous draft of this paper, Panagiotis Filos for his help on some aspects on Modern Greek lexicology and Philomen Probert, who kindly checked and corrected my English.

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1 The relation to ψάω 'vanish' is problematic on several accounts (see, for instance, *DÉLG* and *EDG*, s.v.). Lit. *spāgas/spakas* 'drop' is perhaps connected to ψακάς (see Derksen 2015, 418). As for the distribution of ψακάς and ψεκάς, cf. ψακάς Ἀττικοί· ψεκάς Ἑλληνες (Moer. ψ 5 Hansen).

2 For the prehistory of this suffix, see Rau (2004) [2010]. For its use in personal names, see Alonso Déniz (2017).

3 For the use as a woman's personal name, see *infra* § 5.

4 Unless otherwise indicated, English translations are taken from the *Loeb Classical Library* editions. However, I have slightly modified some of them.

οἱ δὲ ὑετοὶ κατακλύζουσι [sc. τὰ δὲ ἵχνη τοῦ λαγῶ] καὶ αἱ ψακάδες

Heavy rains drown [the footsteps of the hare], and so do drizzles.

(X. *Cyn.* 5.4)

ἀναγομένου δὲ τοῦ ὕγρου αἰεὶ διὰ τὴν τοῦ θερμοῦ δύναμιν καὶ πάλιν φερομένου κάτω διὰ τὴν ψύξιν πρὸς τὴν γῆν, τὰ ὀνόματα τοῖς πάθεσιν κεῖται καὶ τισιν διαφοραῖς αὐτῶν· ὅταν μὲν γὰρ κατὰ μικρὰ φέρηται, ψακάδες, ὅταν δὲ κατὰ μείζω μόρια, ὑετὸς καλεῖται

Moisture then is always made to rise by heat and to fall again to the earth by cold; and there are appropriate names for these processes and for some of their sub-species – for instance when water falls in small drops it is called drizzle, when in larger drops, rain.

(Arist. *Met.* 347a.8–12)

κάκφυσιῶν ὀξεῖαν αἵματος σφαγὴν / βάλλει μ' ἐρεμνῆ ψακάδι φοινίας δρόσου

And he coughed up a sharp spurt of blood and hit me with a black drizzle of gory dew.

(A. *Ag.* 1389–1390)

The denominative verb ψακάζω ‘to drizzle’ and its compounds are attested already in classical authors:

ἐξ οὐρανοῦ δὲ κάπὸ γῆς λειμώνια / δρόσοι κατεψάκαζον

Dews from the sky, and meadowy ones from the ground, drizzled over us.

(A. *Ag.* 560–561)

οὐ γὰρ ἔσθ' ἥδιον ἢ τυχεῖν μὲν ἥδη ἴσπαρμένα, / τὸν θεὸν δ' ἐπιψακάζειν

Yes, nothing's more delightful than having the seed in the ground, and the god pattering it with drizzle.

(Ar. *Pax* 1140–1141)

νιφέτω μὲν ἀλφίτοις, / ψακαζέτω δ' ἄρτοισιν, ὑέτω δ' ἔτνει

Let it snow with barley groats, drizzle with loaves of bread, rain with soup.

(Nicopho fr. 21 *PCG*)

A singulative sense, i.e. the expression of a unit ‘drop’ contained in a ‘drizzle’, is attested in the late lexicographers:<sup>5</sup>

ψεκάς· σταγών ‘*psekas*: drop’ (Hsch. ψ 111 Cunningham and Hansen), ψεκάδες· ῥανίδες, σταγόνες ‘*psekades*: drops, droppings’ (Hsch. ψ 110 Cunningham and Hansen), πρῶκες·

<sup>5</sup> For the concept of ‘singulative’ or ‘unitizing’ as a semantic function, see Acquaviva (2015).

σταγόνες, ψεκάδες, σταλαγμοί ‘*prôkes*: drops, *psekades*, droppings’ (Hsch. π 4143 Hansen), ψακάς γάρ ἡ ῥανίς ‘for *psakas* is ‘the drop’” (*Et. M.* 817.13), Lat. *gutta*: ψακάς. ψεκάς, στακτὴ ‘drop: *psakas*, *psekas*, oil of myrrh’ (*Gloss.*).

In some passages, it is difficult to determine if the author is referring to the eventive continuous meaning (‘drizzle’) or to the singulative one (‘drop’):<sup>6</sup>

πλάστιγξ θ’ ἢ χαλκοῦ θυγάτηρ ἐπ’ ἄκραισι καθίζη / κοττάβου ὑψηλαῖς κορυφαῖς Βρομίου  
ψακάδεσσιν

And the disk, the daughter of bronze, sits upon the highest upper point of the cottabus-stand for Bromius’ drops/drizzles.

(Critias fr. 1.9–10 *Vorsokr.* Diels-Krantz)

However, some instances in technical works attest to the singulative meaning ‘drop of rain’ for ψακάς / ψεκάς.<sup>7</sup> Furthermore, in two passages where the singular form is attested in combination with mass nouns (ἀργύριον ‘money’, ψάμμος ‘sand’), the word conveys metaphorically a very small portion of solid entities, confirming the meaning ‘drop’:<sup>8</sup>

ἄχθομαι ὑμῖν, / ἥνικ’ ἄν αἰτίζητ’ ἄρτον πάππαν με καλοῦσαι, / ἔνδον δ’ ἀργυρίου μηδὲ  
ψακάς ἢ πάνυ πάππαν

You annoy me, when you ask me for bread and call me dear daddy, and in our house there’s nary a droplet of money at all. (*Ar. P.* 119–121)<sup>9</sup>

**6** This is the reason for some mismatches in modern lexica. For instance, for *Arist. Met.* 347a 8–11, where the term has in all probability the eventive and continuous sense ‘drizzle’, we find the translation ‘drop of rain’ in *LSJ*, *BDAG* and ‘goutte’ in *DGF*. For *Ag.* 1389–1390 and *Sim.* 47.1–2, where ψακάς has the metaphorical sense ‘drizzle of blood’, *DGF* translates ‘goutte’ and *HWGS* ‘Blutstropfen’, as if it were a singular for plural (*LSJ* and *BDAG* interpret ‘shower’, which is closer to the original). I will deal in another paper with the interpretation of the singulative meaning of nouns related to meteorological precipitations.

**7** E.g. *Arist. Met.* 348a 4–13 and [*Arist.*] *Mund.* 394a 29–33 = Posid. fr. 336a Theiler.

**8** As for the dat. pl. ψακαδισχίσις (*P.Petr.* 2, 35, A3.5–6, 3rd BCE), I will try to show in another paper that it is probably a dat. pl. of a diminutive noun ψακαδίσκιον ‘small drop’ > ‘small spot’ (cf. κοτύλη → κοτυλίσκος → κοτυλίσκιον); see already Mayser (1936, 101).

**9** See for this expression Taillardat (1965, 125–128), Willi (2003, 181). The scholia to this passage are aware of the metaphor: ψακάς· τὸ μικρότατον (Σ<sup>RVLh</sup>, *Pax* 121b). They also consider it (perhaps mistakenly) a rural expression: μηδὲ ὀβολοῦ ὄντος ἡμῖν διὰ τὸν πόλεμον. γεωργός γάρ ἐστι· διὸ καὶ τῆ ψακάδι ἄρμοδιως ἐχρήσατο ‘For we do not have even an obol because of the war’. He is a countryman and he uses “drop” accordingly’ (Σ<sup>RV</sup> *Pax* 121a). The same expression is found in Latin: *quoi nec parata est gutta certi consili* / [*neque adeo argenti*] ‘Not a drop of

ἴσον ἐπὶ ψαφαρὴν ἀντλεῖν ἄλα, κἀπὸ Λιβύσσης / ψάμμου ἀριθμητὴν ἀρτιάσαι ψεκάδα, / ἴσον καὶ παίδων στέργειν πόθον

Like baling the sea on to the dry land and counting a drop from the Libyan sand is to court the love of boys. (AP 12.145.3–5)<sup>10</sup>

These two senses of ψακάς / ψεκάς are paralleled by νιφάς, another noun referring to a meteorological precipitation phenomenon, which usually denotes a ‘snowstorm’ (eventive and continuous), but occasionally can refer to a ‘snowflake’ (singulative):

ὡς δ’ ὅτ’ ἄν ἐκ νεφέων πτῆται νιφὰς ἢ ἐχάλαζα / ψυχρὴ ὑπὸ ῥιπῆς αἰθρηγενέος Βορέου

And as when from the clouds there flies snow or chill hail, driven by the blast of the North Wind that is born in the bright heaven.

(Hom. *Il.* 15.170–171)

ὡς τε νιφάδες χιόνος πίπτωσι θαμειαὶ / ἤματι χειμερὶ

As flakes of snow fall thick on a winter’s day.

(Hom. *Il.* 12.278–279)

In sum, ψακάς / ψεκάς exhibits two meanings in Ancient Greek texts: ‘drizzle’, from which the denominative ψακάζω / ψεκάζω ‘to drizzle’ is derived, and ‘drop of rain’, which metaphorically can denote ‘a small drop’ or ‘a small quantity’ of a liquid or solid entity.

## 2 Aristophanes, *Acharnians* 1150–1155 and Antimachus

In one of the final scenes of the *Acharnians*, Lamachus is summoned to prepare himself to leave Athens and defend the northern Attic passes against an imminent Boeotian raid. Meanwhile, Dicaeopolis receives an invitation to attend a

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certain counsel is ready for you, or indeed of money’ (Plaut. *Pseud.* 397–398). Cf. also Sp. *añadir al guiso una gota de sal* ‘Add a little salt to the stew.’

**10** The passage is difficult. The expression ἀριθμητὴν ἀρτιάσαι ψεκάδα was interpreted by Jacobs (1802, 307) as ἀριθμῆσαι ψεκάδα ‘count one drop’. According to Gow/Page (1965, 564), it means “get the total of counted grains precise” (ἄρτιος), “square the total”. I will study the image in another paper.

public feast organized by the priest of Dionysos (1069–1094). A swift dialogue follows, in which the former bemoans his luck as he prepares his meager food supplies and his weaponry, whereas the latter joyfully gets ready for the banquet (1095–1142). After reflecting on the disparate fortunes of Lamachus and Dicaeopolis in a short anapestic introduction which resembles a *kommation* (1143–1149), the chorus launches a bitter attack against some Antimachus in two lyric stanzas (iambo-choriambic rhythm),<sup>11</sup> which start with the following lines:<sup>12</sup>

Ἀντίμαχον τὸν Ψακάδος, †τὸν ξυγγραφεῖ, τὸν μελέων ποιητῆν,†	1150–1151
ὡς μὲν ἀπλῶ λόγῳ κακῶς ἐξολέσειεν ὁ Ζεὺς·	1152–1153
ὄς γ' ἐμὲ τὸν τλήμονα Λήναια χορηγῶν ἀπέλυσ' ἄδειπνον.	1154–1155

Antimachus son of *Psacas*, the draftsman, the composer of wretched lyrics,  
to put it bluntly, may Zeus destroy him utterly!

For when he sponsored a Lenaean chorus he dismissed poor me without a dinner.

The chorus puts several additional curses on Antimachus: a bitch shall take away from him a sizzling squid when he is ready to eat it (1156–1161); he shall come at night on his horse and a drunk Orestes shall hit him on the head (1162–1168); when he looks for a stone to throw back at his aggressor, he shall find instead fresh dung with which he shall hit the comic Cratinus (1168–1173).

All that we know about this Antimachus is the information transmitted by the scholia. Most of them agree in considering him a poet and a *choregos*, but the reason for the chorus' resentment towards him seems to have been a matter of dispute among commentators. According to some, he behaved in a miserly manner towards the members of the chorus,<sup>13</sup> but others believed that he proposed a bill forbidding comic composers to mock citizens by name, and, as a result, several poets refrained from forming a chorus, so that *choreutai* allegedly starved.<sup>14</sup> A shorter version of the latter interpretation contends that the decree

<sup>11</sup> See Parker (1997, 149–151). Although not strictly a parabasis, the chorus' intervention exhibits several parabolic characteristics (see Totaro 1999, 15–17 and Lauriola 2010, 222–226).

<sup>12</sup> I reproduce the text and line division in Olson (2002). The translation is Sommerstein's (1980, 149), with slight modifications.

<sup>13</sup> οἱ δὲ λέγουσιν ὅτι [sc. ὁ Ἀντίμαχος] ποιητῆς ὦν καλὸς (κακὸς?) χορηγῶν ποτε μικρολόγως τοῖς χορευταῖς ἐχρήσατο (Σ<sup>ELLH</sup> 1150a; cf. *Suda* α 2683).

<sup>14</sup> ἐδόκει δὲ ὁ Ἀντίμαχος οὗτος ψήφισμα πεποιηκέναι ὅτι μὴ δεῖ κωμωδεῖν ἐξ ὀνόματος, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ πολλοὶ τῶν ποιητῶν οὐ προσήλθον ληψόμενοι τὸν χορὸν, καὶ δῆλον ὅτι πολλοὶ τῶν τῶν ποιητῶν οὐ προσήλθον ληψόμενοι τὸν χορὸν, καὶ δῆλον ὅτι πολλοὶ τῶν χορευτῶν ἐπέινων.

that Antimachus had supposedly defended did not allow *choregoi* to give anything to the chorus, i.e., *choreutai* ceased to be paid.<sup>15</sup> Olson (2002, 348) supposes that the three Antimachi attested in Old Comedy, the one mentioned by Aristophanes in *Acharnians*, the one ridiculed in *Clouds* (1022–1023), and the banker mentioned by Eupolis (fr. 134PCG = Σ<sup>EM</sup> Ar. *Nub.* 1022), could all be one and the same man.<sup>16</sup> Be that as it may, Antimachus must have been a real citizen who lived in Athens and was in all probability still alive around 425 (*pace* Wilson 2000, 320 n. 93).

As for Ψακάδος following Ἄντίμαχον in 1150,<sup>17</sup> a scholium in the Ravennas manuscript (R, ca. 950) suggests two alternative explanations:

τὸν Ψακάδος ἔφη, οἱ μὲν ὅτι οὕτως ἐπεκαλεῖτο διὰ τὸ συνεχῶς πτύειν, ἢ διὰ τὸ μηδὲν ἀναλώσαι.

Some consider that [the chorus] says ‘son of *Psakas*’ because he was nicknamed in that manner for his habit of spitting, or because he never spent anything. (Σ<sup>R</sup>1150c)

Conversely, the *Suda*, the paroemiographers and the scholia of the more recent codices (14th–15th c.) agree in sticking to the first explanation, i.e. that Antimachus spread an excessive amount of saliva droplets as he talked:

ψεκάς, δρόσος, Ἄντίμαχος οὕτως ἐκαλεῖτο Ψεκάς, ἐπὶ τῶν πτυελωδῶν. οὗτος δὲ μελῶν ἦν ποιητής. οὕτω δὲ ἐκλήθη, διότι προσέρραινε τοὺς ὀμιλοῦντας (*sic*) διαλεγόμενος.

*Psecas*. Dew. Antimachus was nicknamed so, *Psecas*. [It is said] of those who spittle. He was a poet of lyric verses. And he was so called because he spattered with saliva his conversation partners when he talked.

(*Suda* ψ 39 Adler; cf. α 2683)<sup>18</sup>

ψεκάς, ἢ δρόσος, οὕτως ἐκαλεῖτο Ἄντίμαχος πτυελώδης ὢν. οὗτος δὲ μελῶν ἦν ποιητής. οὕτω δὲ ἐκαλεῖτο, διότι προσέρραινε τοῖς ὀμιλοῦσι διαλεγόμενος.

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ἐχορήγει δὲ τότε ὁ Ἄντίμαχος ὅτε εἰσήνεγκε τὸ ψήφισμα (Σ<sup>ETLh</sup>1150a; cf. *Suda* α 2683 and ψ 39 Adler).

**15** φασὶ γὰρ αὐτὸν γράψαι ψήφισμα ὥστε τοὺς χοροὺς μηδὲν ἐκ τῶν χορηγῶν λαμβάνειν (Σ<sup>R</sup>1150c).

**16** The scholiasts say that the Antimachus mentioned in Ar. *Nub.* 1022 (cf. also *Suda* α 2684 Adler) was mocked for being a beautiful and effeminate catamite, and add that there was a second Antimachus, who was mocked for being a villain; a third, called “son of *Psakas*”; a fourth, a banker mentioned by Eupolis; and a fifth, a historian, who was perhaps the same as the first one.

**17** The so-called 4th hand in the Laurentianus plut. 31, 15 (14th c.) and the *Suda* have Ψεκάδος.

**18** The scholium of *Nub.* 1022 which enumerates the different *Antimachoi* (see n. 16) has ψαδακος in one of the versions (Σ<sup>E</sup>), which is a *vox nihili* resulting from the transposition of *delta* and *kappa*.

*Psecas*: the dew. Antimachus was dubbed in that manner because he used to spit. He was a poet of lyric verses. And he was so called because he spattered with saliva his conversation partners when he talked

(Diogenian. 8.71)<sup>19</sup>

Ψακάς δὲ οὗτος ἐπεκαλεῖτο, ἐπειδὴ προσέρραινε τοὺς ὁμιλοῦντας (*sic*) διαλεγόμενος

He was nicknamed *Psacas* because he spattered his conversation partners with saliva when he was talking. (Σ<sup>EF</sup>1150a)

Ψακάς ὁ Ἀντίμαχος ἐπεκαλεῖτο, ὁ συγγραφεύς, ὁ τῶν μελῶν ποιητὴς ἐπειδὴ προσέρραινε τοὺς ὁμιλοῦντας (*sic*) διαλεγόμενος

Antimachus, the *syngrapheus*, the poet of melic songs, was nicknamed *Psacas* because he spattered his conversation partners with saliva when he was talking. (Σ<sup>Lh</sup>1150a [see app.crit.] and d)

Another man was allegedly nicknamed Ψακάς for identical reasons: ἦν δὲ τις καὶ Ὀλυμπιόνιος καλούμενος Ψακάς διὰ τοῦτο (Σ<sup>ETh</sup>1150a; cf. *Suda* α 2683 and ψ 39 Adler).

Olson (2002, 340) concludes that Ψακάς, which is nowhere to be found as a personal name in Attic literary or documentary texts, “is probably not a true patronymic, but a joke.” The interpretation that Antimachus spread too much saliva as he talked and was consequently dubbed “son of Ψακάς” has been accepted by most modern scholars (see Ribbeck 1864, 262; Blaydes 1887, 437; Green 1892, 89; Leuween 1901, 184; Merry 1901, 64–65; Graves 1905, 129; Rennie 1909, 255; Starkie 1909, 223–224; Rogers 1910, 175–176; Radke 1959, 1355; Cantarella 1953, 223; Mastro marco 1979, 198, n. 169; Sommerstein 1980, 210; Thiery 1988, 157; Rodríguez Adrados 1991, 75, n. 216; Macía Aparicio 1993, 134, n. 75; Henderson 1998, 207, n. 134; de Cremoux 2008, 152–153; Olson 2002, 340; Kanavou 2011, 47).

Some scholars translate Aristophanes’ text literally: “illum Psacadis filium” (Longueville 1838), “filius Guttae” (Blaydes 1887), “le fils ‘de la Goutte’” (van Daele in Coulon 1923), “τὸ γιὸ τοῦ Σταγονίδη” (Koumanoudis 1985), “figlio di Psakàs” (Cantarella 1953), “el de Psácade” (Rodríguez Adrados 1991), “figlio di Psacade” (Lauriola 2008, 185).

Others try to render the interpretation of the scholia: “the son of Spluttering” (Green 1892), “offspring of Sputter” (Rogers 1910), “son of Splutter” (Merry 1901, Rennie 1909), “figlio di Sputacchione” (Russo 1953), “il figlio di Scharac-

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Greg. Cypr. [*Cod.Leid.*] 3.41, Apost. 18.51. The version in Erasmus’ *Adagia* (2.9.44) is simply a misinterpretation of the Dutch scholar.

chio” (Mastromarco 1979, Lauriola 2010, 223), “son of Showers” (Sommerstein 1980), “Antímaco, el de Chaparrón” (Rodríguez Monescillo 1985), “le fils Duchrachin” (Thiercy 1988), “hijo de Tiraperdigones” (Macía Aparicio 1993) “el hijo de Espurreo” (Gil Fernández 1995), “son of Drizzler” (Henderson 1998), “fils de Postillon” (de Cremoux 2008), “son of sputter” (Kanavou 2011, 47).

### 3 Did Antimachus spread an excessive amount of saliva when he talked? The linguistic evidence

For all the unanimity of scholars, the interpretation of Antimachus as a person who used to shower his conversation partners with saliva as he spoke is hardly right.

To begin with, everything about Antimachus in the scholia is easily inferred from the text itself. Despite the metrical and textual problem of 1151,<sup>20</sup> it is clear from the text that he was a poet and probably a member of a board of *ξυγγραφεῖς* ‘draftsmen’ or ‘commissioners’.<sup>21</sup> Antimachus was also a *choregos* at

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**20** The line exhibits τὸν ξυγγραφῆ, τὸν (τῶν R and P) μελέων ποιητῆν in the manuscripts, with an initial iambic metron followed by a choriamb and a bacchiac, which is echoed by κἄθ’ ἕτερον νυκτερινὸν γένοιτο in the antistrophe (1163), with an initial choriamb instead. Some modern editors do not alter the transmitted text (e.g. Coulon 1923, Cantarella 1953, Sommerstein 1980), assuming that the contracted ξυγγραφῆ is possible and that an iambic metron can respond to a choriamb. But contracted forms of nouns and personal names in -εύς in 5th c. Attic drama are only found in Euripides’ Doric songs: Ὀδυσσῆ (*Rh.* 708), Ἀχιλλῆ (*El.* 439), βασιλῆ (fr. 781.24 *TrGF* Kannicht). Elmsley (1830) deemed line 1151 to be an interpolation derived from the scholia, and he proposed to dispense with ξυγγραφεύς and read τὸν μέλειον τῶν μελέων ποιητῆν ‘the wretched poet of the wretched lyric songs.’ A variation of this correction is τῶν μελέων τὸν μέλειον ποιητῆν, conjectured by Dobree (1833, 193). A more radical approach is adopted by Bothe (1845, 108), who erases τὸν ξυγγραφῆ and αὐτῷ κακόν in 1162. For other substitutions of τὸν ξυγγραφῆ proposed by modern scholars, see Rogers (1910, 232). Other editors retain the noun ξυγγραφεύς and accordingly suggest other emendations for the verse: τὸν μέλειον ξυγγραφέα ποιητῆν θ’ ‘the wretched composer and poet’ (Blaydes 1882), ξυγγραφέα, τῶν μελέων ποιητῆν ‘composer, poet of the wretched lyric songs’ (Rogers 1910), τὸν μελέων ξυγγραφέα ποιητῆν θ’ ‘the composer and poet of the wretched lyric songs’ (Elliott 1914).

**21** In the legislative practice of Athens before 411 BCE, the *συγγραφεῖς* were citizens appointed to draft or compose (*συγγράφω*) proposals eventually ratified by the appropriate bodies (see the examples in inscriptions and historical sources in Smith 1920, 16–31; Kahrstedt 1932, 1387–1388; Rhodes 1997, 27). The acc. ξυγγραφῆ (*recte* ξυγγραφέα) is hardly an interpolation (see n. 20). Only if ξυγγραφέα was in the transmitted text, some ancient commentator could have



the Lenaia festival, and he did not offer the banquet to members of the chorus (1154–1155). The alleged *lex Antimachea* was made up by late scholars eager to find a connection between the chorus' grudge against Antimachus and the noun *ξυγγραφέα* in 1151 (Körte 1921, 1234–1235, Halliwell 1984, 86–87). The divergences in the content of the law and the use of expressions like *ἔδoκει* ( $\Sigma^{\text{EFLh}}$ , cf. n. 14) and *φασί* ( $\Sigma^{\text{R}}$ , cf. n. 15) point to a blatant invention.<sup>22</sup> Similarly, the second interpretation of *Ψακάδος* provided by the Ravennas scholium (*διὰ τὸ μηδὲν ἀναλώσαι* 'because he did not spend anything' ( $\Sigma^{\text{R}}$ ); see § 2) is mere guesswork, just like the scholium to *ἀπέλυσ' ἄδειπνον* (1155) in later codices: *ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀπεστέρησε τοὺς μισθοὺς* 'Instead of saying "he despoiled me of my salary"' ( $\Sigma^{\text{EFLh}}$ 1155c).

More importantly, all other scholia assumed incredibly that *Ψακάς* was Antimachus' nickname, rather than his patronymic: *Ἀντίμαχος οὕτως ἐκαλεῖτο Ψεκάς* (*Suda* ψ 39), *Ψακάς δὲ οὗτος ἐπεκαλεῖτο* ( $\Sigma^{\text{EF}}$ ; cf. *Suda* α 2683), etc. (for the rest of the instances see § 2). This explanation is obviously at odds with the text of all the manuscripts, which unanimously exhibit *Ἀντίμαχον τὸν Ψακάδος*. Strangely enough, some modern scholars seem to have accepted this interpretation and dispense with the patronymic in their translations: "spuckender Antimachos" (Ribbeck 1864, 177), "de[r] sabbernde[r] Wicht" (Wissmann 1881), "das Spritzbüchsenmaul" (Seeger 1968), "τον Αντίμαχο [...] τον σαλιάρη" (Roussos 1992).<sup>23</sup> Some scholars (e. g. Starkie 1909) believe that the interpretation is based on a copy of *Acharnians* that had *Ἀντίμαχον τὸν Ψακάδα* in 1150. As far as I know, this variant appears only in the citation of the verse in a manuscript of the *Suda* (*Parisinus* gr. 2623, 15th c.): *καὶ φησιν Ἀριστοφάνης περὶ Ἀντιμάχου* "Ἀντίμαχον τὸν Ψεκάδα ὡς μὲν ἀπλῶ λόγῳ" 'And Aristophanes says about Antimachus: "Antimachus the Psecas, to put it bluntly"' (τ 424 Adler), instead of the reading *Ἀντίμαχον τὸν Ψεκάδος* of all other sources. Arguably, the interpretation as an epithet of Antimachus found in the scholia has been incorporated into the quotation of 1150 of the *Parisinus* gr. 2623. This intrusive gloss is paralleled by the *varia lectio* *ἀπέκλεισε δειπνων* (1155) of the Ravennas manuscript,

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eventually over-interpreted the technical term and made him the draftsman of the *lex Antimachea*. Furthermore, the discrepancy between *συγγραφ-* (Koine) in the scholia and *ξυγγραφ-* (Attic) in the text can be easily accounted for if we accept that the former was simply a gloss of the latter.

<sup>22</sup> Arguably, other references in the scholia to laws against *ὄνομαστί κωμωδεῖν* have no factual base at all and are drawn from Hellenistic views on censorship in Classical Athens (Halliwell, 1991, 56; pace Gil Fernández 2007, 68–69).

<sup>23</sup> See also Hug 1929, 1831.

instead of ἀπέλυσ' ἄδειπνον or ἀπέλυσεν ἄδειπνον of later manuscripts, which in all probability originated in the explanatory note of the scholia (ἀπέκλεισε δείπνων Σ<sup>EF</sup>).<sup>24</sup>

The above evidence raises serious doubts about the explanation of the patronymic Ψακάς in the scholia. As generally happens with Aristophanic scholia, “plain ignorance is rampant” (Wilson 2007b, 54) and “the great bulk of annotation upon ἱστορία is [...] untrustworthy or entirely worthless” (Rutherford 1905, 383).

Linguistically, the interpretation of the scholia of ψακάς as ‘drizzler’ > ‘sputterer’ assumes a backformation of the verb ψακάζω. Leaving aside the fact that this sense never occurs in Ancient Greek (see § 1), ψακάς could hardly be understood as a backformation of ψακάζω by the 5th c. BCE Greek speakers. To begin with, deverbative adjectives in -άδ- are for the most part not based on -άζω verbs: κρεμάννυμι (cf. aor. κρεμάσαι) ‘hang up’ (Hom.+) → κρεμάς ‘beetling’ (A.), φθίνω ‘waste’ (Hom.+) → φθινάς ‘wasting’ (S.+), μείγνυμι (cf. aor. ἐμίγην, Hom.+) → μιγάς ‘mixed pell-mell’ (Eur.+). A similar pattern is found in deverbative nouns in -άδ-, which are perhaps nominalizations of ancient adjectives: μαίνομαι ‘to be mad’ (Hom.+) → μαινάς ‘frantic woman’ (Hom.+), φυγεῖν ‘escape’ (Hom.+) → φυγάς ‘fugitive’ (Hdt.+), λάμπω ‘shine’ (Hom.+) → λαμπάς ‘lamp’ (Hdt.+), ἴσχω ‘restrain’ (Hom.+) → ἰσχάς ‘anchor’ (Soph.+).<sup>25</sup>

Conversely, whenever an -άζω verb is found alongside a deverbative -άδ- adjective or noun, the former is the derived form: σποράς ‘scattered’ (Hdt.+) → σποράζω ‘scatter’ (*IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 8388, 3rd c. BCE), ἰλλάς ‘rope’ (Hom.+) → ἰλλάζει-δεσμεύει. συστρέφει. ἀγελάζει ‘bind up’ (Hsch. ι 574 Latte), λιβάς ‘anything that drips’ (Soph.+) → λιβάζομαι ‘run out in drops, trickle’ (Antiphan. *Megalor. AP* 9.258), λαμπάς ‘torch’ → λαμπάζω ‘give light’ (Man., 4.318),<sup>26</sup> πεμπάς ‘group of five’ (X.+) → πεμπάζομαι ‘reckon up on the five fingers’ (Hom.). Incidentally, πτυάς ‘sputterer’, a kind of serpent, according to Dioscorides (*Eup.* 2.125) directly derives from πτύω (\*\*πτυάζω is never attested). Furthermore, some -άδ- forms are denominative: νομή ‘pasturage’ (*h. Ven.*+) → νομάς ‘roaming, grazing’ (ἵπποι, *S. Tr.* 271; cf. νέμω), Βρόμιος (Pi.+) → βρομιάς ‘of Bacchus (fem.)’ (Pi.), ἵππος → ἱππάς ‘of the horse’ (Hdt.), λίθος ‘stone’ → λιθάς ‘(group of) stone(s)’ (Hom.+), ἀμοιβή ‘change’ (Hom.+) → ἀμοιβάς ‘as change of raiment’ (Hom.+; cf. ἀμείβω ‘to change’). The -άζω verbs associated with the mentioned forms can

<sup>24</sup> Elmsley (1830) preferred the text transmitted by Ravennas and printed ἀπέκλεισ' ἄδειπνον.

<sup>25</sup> Similar pairs are attested with different root vocalism: νομάς ‘roaming about for pasture’ (Hdt.): νέμω ‘pasture’ (Hom.+), λογάς ‘chosen’ (Hdt.+): λέγω ‘pick up’ (Hom.+).

<sup>26</sup> A deverbative is also possible (see *DÉLG*, s. v. λάμπω).

either be based on the the secondary -άδ- noun or on the primary form: νομάζω ‘graze’ (Nic. *Th.* 950), βρομιάζομαι ‘be in a frenzied state’ (Glauc. *AP* 9.774.2), ιππάζομαι ‘drive horses’ (*Il.*+),<sup>27</sup> λιθάζω ‘fling stones’ (A.+), ἀμοιβάζω ‘exchange’ (Men. *Prot.* p. 22). Be that as it may, a backformation of the type supposed in ψακάζω ‘to drizzle’ → ψακάς ‘drizzler’ does not account for any of these forms.

More importantly, the expected derivation ψακάς ‘drizzle’ → ψακάζω ‘to drizzle’ matches other non-deverbative or non-denominative nouns in -άδ-: ψιάς ‘drop’ (Hom.+ ) → ψιάζει· ψακάζει ‘drizzle’ (Hsch. ψ 170 Cunningham and Hansen), χερμάς ‘large pebble’ (Pi.+ ) → ἐχερμάζομεν· τὴν γῆν εἰργαζόμεθα (Hsch. ε 7609 Latte), κασαλβάς ‘whore’ (Ar.) → κασαλβάζω ‘behave like a whore’ (Hermipp. fr. iamb. 5.2 *IE*<sup>2</sup>). Consequently, the signification ‘drizzler’, of ψακάς = ψακάζων, can hardly have been conceived by Aristophanes even as a pun, since a natural linguistic rationale for its success, i.e. the backformation of -άδ- nouns from -άζω verbs, is lacking. Like all other interpretations found in the scholia (see *supra*), this one is also a mere guess, which relies on a false analogy (νομάζω ‘graze’ : νομάς ‘one who grazes’ :: ψακάζω ‘drizzle’ : x, where x = ‘one who drizzles’), which happens to be unsupported by the linguistic and textual evidence.

That the explanation of Ψακάς in the Greek scholia is an invention is confirmed by two more similarly absurd pieces of scholarly ingenuity. The first one appears in the *Etymologicum Magnum*:

Ψακάς. ὄνομα αὐλητρίδος· οὕτως δὲ ἐκαλεῖτο, ἐπειδὴ ἀπὸ πότων θάπτον ἀπέτρεχε, πρὸς ὀλίγον παραμένουσα. ψακάς γὰρ ἡ βάνις

*Psakas*. Name of a flute player. She was so called because she used to go out running from drinking-bouts and only stayed for a little while. For *psakas* is ‘the drop’.

(*Et. M.* 817.11–13)

The second is attested in a scholium to Juvenal’s famous misogynistic *Sixth Satire*, where the poet describes a despotic and fatuous mistress who mistreats her house staff (474–511) and in particular a slave girl named *Psecas*, who is beaten for not making her more beautiful:

disponit crinem laceratis ipsa capillis/ nuda umeros Psecas infelix nudisque mamillis

Unlucky *Psecas* will be arranging her hair with her own strands torn, with her shoulders and her breasts stripped bare.

(*Iuu.* 6.490–491)

<sup>27</sup> Perhaps analogical on αἰχμάζω (see Risch 1974, 29).

The scholium explains the passage as follows:

psecazin (ms. pseucazin) Graeci dicunt, quando minutum sive rarum pluit. ornatrices igitur componentes rarum ac parvum aquae solent mittere ac velut psecazin (ms. pseucazin). ergo nominis etymologiam ab arte sumsit

The Greeks say ψεκάζειν when it rains a little or for a short time. Therefore, when the adorners set it (sc. the hair) up, usually they put in and sort of drizzle a bit of water. (Juvenal) has extracted the etymology of the name from the job. (Σ<sup>π</sup>)<sup>28</sup>

This interpretation, accepted by Radke (1959, 1354–1355) and Courtney (1980, 283), echoes the one assumed by the Greek scholia to Ar. *Ach.* 1150 and it equally amounts to nothing:<sup>29</sup> *Psecas* was just a frequent slave name in imperial Rome (see infra § 5). Although Juvenal’s *scholia vetustiora* only mention Aristophanes once (cf. the scholium *ad* 2.92), it is possible that the interpretation of *Psecas* ultimately depends on a scholar’s work on the Athenian playwright.

In sum, there is no reason to believe that ψακάς might have been used by Aristophanes with any other sense than ‘drizzle’ or ‘drop of rain’.

## 4 Two problematic modern explanations: ὁ ψακάδος ξυγγραφεύς and τὸν ψακαδᾶν

Some modern scholars disregard the scholiasts’ opinion and interpret ψακάδος as a noun instead of a name.

Hall and Geldart (1906) and Wilson (2007a) print Ἄντίμαχον τὸν ψακάδος, τὸν ξυγγραφεῖ, τὸν μελέων ποιητήν (1150–1151).<sup>30</sup> As for the syntax and sense, Hall and Geldart write in their apparatus: “τὸν ξυγγραφεῖ] fortasse ξυγγραφέα, ut ψακάδος pro ψηφίσματος sit παρ’ ὑπόνοιαν.” They assume that ψακάδος is an objective genitive and it is used instead of ψηφίσματος; τὸν ψακάδος ξυγγραφεῖα is therefore “the draftsman of a drizzle” or “of a drop”, which should be understood metaphorically as τὸν ψηφίσματος ξυγγραφεῖα “the draftsman of a decree.” However, this hypothesis rests exclusively upon the alleged *lex Antimachea* mentioned in the *scholia*, which, as I have shown *supra* (§ 3), must have

<sup>28</sup> The *scholia recentiora* are less explicit: ψεκάζ. *nomen ancillae quae comebat crinem dominae* “*psecas*. Name of a servant who arranged her mistress’s hair” (Σ<sup>UTE</sup>).

<sup>29</sup> On the history and nature of the *scholia vetustiora* (Σ<sup>π</sup>), see now Bernadó Ferrer (2015).

<sup>30</sup> For the textual problem of 1151, see *supra* n. 20.

been invented by some ancient scholar. Furthermore, the rationale for understanding a decree metaphorically in terms of a drop or a drizzle is hard to imagine. Even if we assume that ψακάς was used here metaphorically (a very small, insignificant thing, see § 1), the pun is obscured by the fact that the phrase τὸν ψακάδος ξυγγραφέα leaves the alleged underlying reference to a decree totally undetermined. Moreover, the lack of any grammatical deixis is detrimental to this hypothesis. Unsurprisingly, Hall and Geldart, who were not fully convinced by their own proposal, left the transmitted text untouched.

Combining Hall and Geldart's emendation, the interpretation of the scholia which take Ψακάς as Antimachus' nickname, instead of his patronymic, and Ψακάδα as a v.l. in the *Suda* (cf. supra § 3), Starkie (1909)<sup>31</sup> proposes to read Ἀντίμαχον, τὸν ψακαδᾶν ξυγγραφέα, τὸν μέλεον ποιητὴν 'Antimachus, the spluttering draughtsman, the scald rhymer.' The noun ψακαδᾶς, which is attested nowhere else, is supposedly an equivalent of ψακάζων, and similar to other deverbative nouns in -ᾶς: φαγάς 'glutton', κατωφαγάς 'gluttonous' (: φαγεῖν), τρεσᾶς 'coward' (: τρέσαι 'flee from fear'). However, for all its originality, Starkie's proposal is hard to accept, since the parallels given by Starkie are all deverbative, whereas ψακαδᾶς could only be a denominative (see § 3).

Starkie's proposal \*ψακαδᾶς can be seen as a denominative similar to other formations found in late Greek: κλειδᾶς, from κλειδοποιός 'locksmith', ὀρνιθᾶς 'poulterer', ῥαφιδᾶς 'embroiderer' (see Masson 1972, 99–101). The colloquial ending -ᾶς was particularly favored by Attic writers for the creation of humorous nicknames (see Peppler 1902, 40–41): Βακχᾶς, a mock term for Dionysus used by Sophocles in one of his satirical plays (fr. 674 *TrGF* Radt), Κορνᾶς (Ar. *Eq.* 534 and Cratin. fr. 349.2 *PCG*), derived from κόννος 'fringe of hair' (Curbera 2013, 130–131). Terms of derision also exhibit -ᾶς in comic writers, cf. σαννᾶς 'idiot' (Cratin. fr. 489 *PCG*; see Curbera 2013, 140). As it happens, the denominative of ἐμβᾶς 'slipper' (gen. -άδος) has a derivate in -ᾶς, ἐμβαδᾶς 'cobbler', which, according to one scholium (*schol.* Plat. *Ap.* 18b Greene), was a nickname of Anytus, Socrates' accuser, used by two contemporaries of Aristophanes (Theopomp. Com. fr. 58 *PCG* and Archipp. fr. 31 *PCG*; for the connotation of the nickname, see Gavrilo 1996).

Had Aristophanes created \*ψακαδᾶς as an insult for Antimachus, the interpretation should have been, as the parallels above show, 'seller of drizzle' or 'seller of drops'. However, Starkie's emendation is methodologically problemat-

<sup>31</sup> According to Starkie, τὸν ψακαδᾶν ξυγγραφέα = τὸν ψακάζοντα ξυγγραφέα, but there is no evidence that the verb could apply to persons.

ic, since it requires replacing the transmitted text Ψακάδος, which does not seem to be corrupt, with a created word attested nowhere else.

To sum up, the hypothesis that links ψακάδος to the following noun (ξυγγραφή or ξυγγραφέα) does not satisfactorily explain Aristophanes' line. Consequently, Ψακάδος must be constructed with Αντίμαχον.<sup>32</sup>

## 5 An alternative interpretation of *Ach.* 1150: drops and the smallness metaphor in Ancient Greek onomastics

I have shown before that the metaphorical meaning of ψακάς connoting smallness is attested in Aristophanes (ἀργυρίου ψακάς 'a droplet of money'; see § 1).

Personal names derived from adjectives meaning 'little, short' (βραχύς/βροχύς, (σ)μικρός, μικ(κ)ός, τυννός, etc.) are fairly common in Ancient Greek (Bechtel 1898, 9–12 and Bechtel 1917, 484–486). Arguably, the smallness conveyed by ψακάς / ψεκάς is also behind the use of the noun as a woman's personal name. There are some isolated examples in Greek sources,<sup>33</sup> but most cases appear in Latin sources (*Psacas* and much more frequently *Psec(h)as*).<sup>34</sup> According to the *TLL*, Caelius *apud* Cicero and Juvenal (see § 3) apparently used *Psecas* as a generic term for 'a slave woman', but the instances of this form are more likely to be personal names.<sup>35</sup>

Other nouns (or derivatives of them) signaling small entities are attested as personal names. After σπιθαμή, the very small space one can embrace between

<sup>32</sup> The construction name + patronymic is attested at the beginning of the verse: Ἀμυνίας μὲν ὁ Προνάπους (*V.* 74; see Poultney 1936, 22–23 for other cases).

<sup>33</sup> See Risch (1975, 110–112). In *IGUR* 535 (Rome, ἐνθάδε κείται πᾶσιν [π]οθινός [Ἐ]ξετέων [Ἀ]μασεύς καὶ [Ψ]εκάδος), [Ψ]εκάδος is probably the matronymic (see Klaffenbach 1953, 290). Similarly, in a late dedication to Kore from Pisidia (*SEG* 19, 828, *Kaynar Kalesi*), the formula Κλωδία Μανοῦ Ψεκάδος perhaps contains the name of the mother, Μανοῦ (nom. Μανοῦς), and the name of the grandmother, Ψεκάδος (see Bean 1960, 49). For the inflexion of personal names in -οῦς in Pisida, see Dubois (2010, 412–413).

<sup>34</sup> See Solin (1996, 531) and Solin (2003, 1206) for other spellings (*Spechas*, *Psaechas*). It is also a nymph's name in Ovid (*Met.* 3.172).

<sup>35</sup> See *TLL*, X 2 (2006), p. 2408. Although *psecas* is interpreted as the profession of *Arcelaus* in a Roman inscription (*CIL* VI, 9840; now lost), an interpretation as two personal names in asyndeton cannot be ruled out.

the thumb and little finger, are created Σπιθαμαῖος and perhaps Σπιθάμης.<sup>36</sup> In MGk the expression ἄνθρωπος μιας (σ)πιθαμῆς indicates a very short person (cf. also σπιθαμιαίος). The word πάσσαλος (Att. πάτταλος), a ‘pin’, can also signify an insignificant thing,<sup>37</sup> hence the personal names Πάτταλος and Πασσαλᾶς.<sup>38</sup> MGk πινέζα ‘drawing pin’ (from Fr. *punaise*) is used colloquially for a very small person. Other small entities are behind the personal names Πάταικος, Γρύττος, Κολλυβᾶς, Νόσσοσ and Φόρυς (see Curbera 2013). Cross-linguistically, babies and little people are conceived as small things or animals (cf. Eng. *peanut, midge, mite, tad, Thumbling*).

Nouns in the same semantic sphere as ψακάς provide additional evidence of the use of precipitation phenomena as a smallness metaphor in onomastics. The noun νιφάς can mean ‘snowstorm’, but also ‘snow-flake’ (see § 1). According to the scholium to *Pax* 121, νιφάς was also used for a very small thing: ψακάς· τὸ μικρότατον, ὃ καὶ νιφὰς καλεῖται (Σ<sup>RVLH</sup>; cf. n. 9). Νιφάς is probably a woman in Atrax in the 3rd c. BCE (Bouchon *et al.* 2016, n. 316),<sup>39</sup> and this name is widely attested in Latin sources (Solin 2003, 1216).

The word σταλαγμός ‘dripping’ is attested metaphorically for a small quantity in Attic drama, like ψακάς:

σὺ δ’ ἄλλα μοι σταλαγμὸν εἰρήνης / ἕνα εἰς τὸν καλαμίσκον ἐνστάλαξον τουτοῖ

No, please drip me just one drop of peace into this fennel stalk!

(Ar. *Ach.* 1033–1034)

θέλω τύχης σταλαγμὸν ἢ φρενῶν πίθον

I want a drop of luck rather than a jar of intellect.

(Diog. fr. 2.1 *TrGF*)

**36** According to Tavernier (2007, 314 with previous references), the patronymic in the epitaph Σατραβατης Σπιθάμειω (*Ios PE* II 381, Hermonassa, 4th BCE; cf. *CIRB*1066) is considered a hypocoristic form of the Iranian name Σπιταμένης, cf. Σπιτάμας and Av. *Spitāma-*. But, despite the Iranian son’s name, the hypothesis of an Iranian loan cannot account for the use of <τ> instead of <σ> (see Zgusta 1955, 149). Crucially, Schmitt (2006, 193–195) does not even mention Σπιθάμης in his discussion of Σπιτάμας.

**37** ἄλλα σπεύσαθ’, ὡς εἴωθ’ ἐκεῖ / τοῖς μὴ παροῦσιν ὀρθροῖς ἐς τὴν πύκνα / ὑπαποτρέχειν ἔχουσι μηδὲ πάτταλον ‘Now hurry, because the drill on the Pnyx is, in by dawn or go home with nary a clothespin’ (i.e. no part of their fee) (Ar. *Ec.* 282–284).

**38** Another explanation is found in Robert (1963, 149) and Robert (1978, 520).

**39** According to Casevitz (1981, 158) we have a masculine Νίφας or Νιφᾶς. The editors print Νιφᾶς (but Νίφας in the index).

In fact, a famous fragment of the comic poet Anaxandrides shows that σταλαγμός was used in Athens as a nickname for a short person:

ἐὰν δὲ μικρὸν παντελῶς ἀνθρώπιον, Σταλαγμόν (sc. καλεῖται)

If he's a very small individual, you call him Drop.

(Anaxandr. fr. 35.3 PCG; see Millis 2015, 170)

Moreover, *Stalagmus* is the name of a slave in Plautus' *Captivi* and the title of a lost play by Naevius (fr. 70 CRF).

Last but not least, σταγών 'drop' and the diminutive σταγόνιον are attested as women's personal names in Greek and Latin sources (see Schmidt 1878, 268 and for some forms Bechtel 1917, 599).<sup>40</sup> In my opinion, ῥάνις and λιβάς (from λείβω), both attested as woman's personal names (*CIL* XIV, 2737 and Solin 2003, 1215), convey the same metaphor of smallness.

According to some scholars, the idea of smoothness ("moisture is soft") is behind the use of δρόσοι for 'small animal' (cf. also ἔρσαι) and personal names like Δρόσος and Δροσίς, as well as other entities mentioned in the preceding paragraphs (see Bechtel 1902, 114–115, Irwin 1974, 35–37). Arguably, the smallness image contained in these words when they indicate 'drop' (cf. δρόσοι· ψεκάδες [Hsch. δ 2408 Latte] and ἔρσαι· δρόσοι, ψεκάδες [Hsch. ε 583 Latte]) is a better semantic option than moisture.

Finally, ψιάς 'drop', used by Homer,<sup>41</sup> is a synonym of ψακάς and also of the rare ψιάξ with a well-known depreciative suffix:<sup>42</sup> ψιάκα· ψακάδα (Hsch. ψ 174 Cunningham and Hansen). Crucially, the form is attested as the name of an Athenian painter who worked around 520 BCE: Φοίαχς ἔγραψεσεν (Immerwahr 1990, 59, n. 314; cf. also n. 315, 318 and 319).

The above evidence shows that small things, including drops, could be used as nicknames. Metaphorically, infants can be depicted as small things. Other words etymologically related to ψακάς also connote smallness. The rare

<sup>40</sup> Cf. also *Stagonio* *CIL* VI, 24891 and *AE* 1991, 323b. The alleged Στάγων, a masculine personal name, given by Bernabò Brea/Cavalier/Campagna (2003, n° 277) is probably a ghost-word. The inscription only shows the genitive, which corresponds to a feminine personal name. According to Hesychius, σταγόνες can refer to daughters: σταγόνες· ῥανίδες· θυγατέρες (Hsch. σ 1578 Hansen).

<sup>41</sup> αἱματοέσσας δὲ ψιάδας κατέχευεν ἔραξε 'But he shed bloody rain drops on the earth' (*Il.* 16.459). The word survives in Mod. Cyrp. ψιάδιν 'drizzle'.

<sup>42</sup> The grammatical gender is unknown.



nouns ψάκαλον and perhaps ψάκαλος designate new-born animals,<sup>43</sup> and the personal name Ψακελίας is attested in Thessaly.<sup>44</sup> Probably related to these forms are Att. [Φ]σακύθε,<sup>45</sup> with the suffix -υθ-, which is particularly well attested in personal names derived from adjectives conveying the idea of smallness; cf. Μικύθη, Σμίκυθος, Σμικυθίων. The association with smallness also explains MGk ψιχάλα ‘drop of rain’ (ψιχαλίζει ‘drizzle’), a by-form of AGk ψεκάδα, which has been assimilated by folk etymology to ψίχουλο / ψίχαλο ‘crumb of bread’ (cf. AGk ψίξ, ψικίον).

Finally, the connotation of smallness plays an important role in a list of adjectives and nicknames that Pollux puts together εἰς τὸν ὀλίγα ὑπ’ ἀσθενείας λέγοντα ‘for a person who says very little due to weakness’ (VI, 145). Some adjectives in the passage signal the idea of a speech-impaired or stupid person (cf. Eng. *dumb*): ἄλογος ‘speechless’, ἄφωνος ‘voiceless’, ἄγλωττος ‘dumb’, ἀμήχανος ‘incapable’, ἀδύνατος ‘powerless’, ἀσθενής ‘weak’. In particular, the adjectives on Pollux’s list associated with smallness or shortness had an offensive meaning: ὀλίγος, βραχύς (cf. Sp. *corto* ‘dim’), συμκρός. The two nouns meaning ‘drop’ mentioned by the lexicographer in the same list, ῥάνις and ψακάς, were in all probability also used with a belittling or derogatory connotation.

Returning now to Ψακάς, Antimachus’ patronymic, there is no other evidence of its use as a masculine personal name. The editors of *LGPN* IIIA (accepted by Kanavou 2011, 47 n. 203) mistakenly quote a *Hirtius Psacas*, but in the document (*CIL* IV, 3905, Pompeii) a woman *Hirtia Psacas* is mentioned (see Risch 1975, 108). As for the name of the Olympian victor mentioned by the scholia to *Ach.* 1150 (see § 2), there is no evidence of its declension, and consequently its accentuation Ψακάς in *LGPN* IIIA is merely conjectural. A form Ψακάς is excluded in the case of Ar. *Ach.* 1150, since the typical Ionic declension in -ᾶδ- is never attested in 5th c. Athens for local citizens (see Threatte 1996, 86–87). With

**43** τὰ δὲ τῶν ὀρνίθων καὶ τὰ τῶν ὄφρων καὶ τῶν κροκοδείλων ἔνιοι ἔμβρυα καὶ ψακάλους (ψάκαλα Nauck) καλοῦσιν, ὧν εἰσὶ καὶ Θετταλοὶ ‘The babies of birds, snakes and crocodiles are called *psakaloi* (or *psakala*?) by some people, and in particular by Thessalians’ (Ar. Byz. fr. 205A Slater), cf. ψά(ι)καλον· ἔμβρυον, βρέφος (Hsch. ψ 29 Cunningham and Hansen), ψακαλοῦχοι· ψάκαλα ἔχουσαι. εἰσὶ δὲ ἔμβρυα (Hsch. ψ 32 Cunningham and Hansen, cf. Soph., fr. 793 *TrGF* Radt).

**44** *SEG* 29, 546.12; Olosson < Erikinion, ca. 375–350 BCE (see in particular Helly 1979, 176). For the form of the name, cf. ψάκελον· μέγα (Hsch. ψ 33 Cunningham and Hansen), probably related to ψάκαλον. Since the semantic evolution ‘small’ > ‘big’ is unnatural, the sense ‘big’ of ψάκελον might have drawn from a false interpretation of the context. A parallel is found in Sp. *nimio* ‘insignificant’ < Lat. *nimius* ‘great beyond measure’.

**45** *IG* I<sup>3</sup>, 656.1 (ca. 510–500 BCE ?).

the suffix *-ίας*, Ψακαδίας seems to be attested as a Thessalian masculine personal name.<sup>46</sup>

Based on the fact that Ψίαξ was also used as a masculine personal name in Athens, Ψακάς might have also been a nickname for boys, by which Athenian citizens were still known in their adulthood.<sup>47</sup> Crucially, some deverbative nouns in *-άδ-* were masculine (φυγάς ‘fugitive’), and adjectives could also apply to masculine entities:

νῦν ὧν προσδεόμεθά σευ τὸν παῖδα καὶ λογάδας νεηνίας καὶ κύνας συμπέμψαι ἡμῖν

Now therefore, we beseech you, send your son, and chosen young men and dogs.

(Hdt. 1.36.2)

Ἀργείων οἱ χίλιοι λογάδες

The thousand picked [sc. men] of the Argives.

(Th. 5.67.2)

μονάδα δὲ Ξέρξην ἔρημόν φασιν οὐ πολλῶν μέτα [...] μολεῖν

And Xerxes himself, they say, alone and forlorn, with only a few men [...] has arrived.

(A. Pers. 734–736)

This might account for the use of the noun ψακάς, a feminine noun, as a metonymy for babies of both sexes.

## 6 Humorous patronymics in Old Comedy and Ψακάς

It is a well-known fact that Aristophanes and other Old Comic poets resort to patronymics with humorous intent. Admittedly, the joke is easy to understand when the relationship with a known word or entity is evident:

Διόνυσος, υἱὸς Σταμνίου

Dionysus, son of *Stamnion*.

(Ar. R. 22)

<sup>46</sup> CID 2, 9.7 (Delphi, ca. 350 BCE).

<sup>47</sup> A metronymic seems to me less likely.

καὶ Καλλίαν γέ φασι / τοῦτον τὸν Ἴπποβίνου / κύσθου λεοντῆς ναυμαχεῖν ἐνημμένον

And Callias, we're told, that son of *Hippobinos*, fights at sea in a lionskin made of pussy.  
(Ar. R. 428–30)

Εὐριπίδου δὲ δρᾶμα δεξιώτατον / διέκναισ' Ὀρέστην, Ἠγέλοχον τὸν Κυντάρου / μισθωσάμενος τὰ πρῶτα τῶν ἐπῶν λέγειν

He ruined *Orestes*, Euripides' most clever play, by hiring Hegelochus, the son of *Kyntaros*, to play the leading role.

(Stratt., fr. 1.2–4 PCG, cf. Orth 2009a, 49)

In the first passage, Dionysus is associated with *στάμνιον* 'little jar (for wine)' (cf. Ar. *Lys.* 196). In the second one, the transformation of Callias' patronymic Ἴππόνικος into Ἴππόβινος (with *βινέω* 'fuck'), or if one accepts Sternbach's (1886, 238–239) emendation, into Ἴππόκινος (with *κινέω* 'screw'), creates a salacious limerick (Callias was reputed to be a philanderer). In the third one, the patronymic of the actor Hegelochus is probably a wordplay on the adjective *κύντερος* 'more dog-like', 'shameful' (Cannatà 1998; see Orth 2009a, 53–54 for previous hypotheses).

The absence of context can blur the comic intent of the patronymic, as in the following fragment:

τὸν Κλεόμβροτὸν τε τοῦ / Πέρδικος υἱόν

Cleombrotus the son of *Perdix*.

(Phryn. fr. 55 PCG)

Ancient and modern scholars have assumed that the patronymic Πέρδικος indicates Cleombrotus' uncontrolled sexual appetite (Stama 2014, 282).<sup>48</sup> Admittedly, partridges were conceived as lascivious birds, but also as lame and deceivers (Thompson 1895, 137–138).

In other cases, the wordplay signaled by the patronymic clearly depends on the intertextuality within the passage or with other verses early in the play. Since Lamachus' father's name was Xenophanes, we can assume that the patronymic Γόργασος was a nickname used with comic effect in the following verse:

<sup>48</sup> The interpretation is based on the phrase that follows Phrynichus' quotation: τὸ δὲ ζῷον ἐπὶ λαγνεῖας συμβολικῶς παρείληπται 'The animal is used to symbolize lust' (Ath. 389a). It is certainly an insertion (see Olson 2008, 305 n. 130).

κάνθάδ' εὐδηλος γέρων / κλάειν κελεύων Λάμαχον τὸν Γοργάσου

Here too an old man is visible, telling Lamachus, son of Gorgasus, to go to hell!

(Ar. *Ach.* 1130–1131)

Lamachus has just described his shield as γοργόνωτος ‘with the Gorgon on it’ (*Ach.* 1124). The chorus has invoked Lamachus before as ὦ γοργολόφα ‘You of the fearsome crest’ (*Ach.* 567), an epithet connected to Athena and war (cf. Ar. *Eq.* 1181), and Lamachus uses the metonymy Γόργων for his shield (*Ach.* 574). Arguably, Dicaeopolis uses the name of the obscure (to us) hero Γόργασος to mock Lamachus as a warmonger (see also Kanavou 2011, 29–30).

Patronymics are particularly exploited as a comic expedient in three passages of *Wasps*:

ἀτὰρ ἄθλιός γ' εἴμ' ὡς ἕτερος οὐδεὶς ἀνὴρ, / ὅστις πατὴρ νυνὶ Καπνίου κεκλήσομαι

Really, no one else has the trouble I have! I'm all set to be called the son of *Kapnias*!

(V. 150–151)

Bdelycleon's joke has a straightforward sense: early in the scene Philocleon has tried to escape his house disguised as smoke (καπνός), and his son Bdelycleon has successfully prevented it. However, καπνίας may have resonated ambiguously enough to an Athenian ear. The comic poet Ecphantides was nicknamed Καπνίας, supposedly for his obscure style,<sup>49</sup> and modern scholars have suggested that there is a comic allusion to this playwright of a previous generation (see Biles/Olson 2015, 134–135).<sup>50</sup> Furthermore, the wine that had a smoky taste or was made from the vine with smoke-colored grapes (κάπνειος ἄμπελος) was referred to as καπνίας.

Bdelycleon plays with the name of Aischines' father in another scene:

<sup>49</sup> Ἐκφαντίδης ὁ τῆς κωμωδίας ποιητῆς Καπνίας ἐπεκαλεῖτο διὰ τὸ μηδὲν λαμπρὸν γράφειν (Hsch. κ 716 Latte; cf. Ecphant. T 5 PCG).

<sup>50</sup> A certain Theagenes was dubbed Καπνός, according to the scholia, for his continuous bragging (see Eup., fr. 135 PCG). Theagenes and Proxenides, mentioned by Aristophanes (Ar. *Av.* 1126–1129), are two blusterers (see Dunbar 1995, 595), as deduced from the context and the fake demotic of the latter, Κομπασεύς ‘Bragman’ (κόμπος ‘boast’). Proxenides is again mentioned in the *Wasps*, where he and the “son of Sellos” are equated with smoke (V. 326–327), which is also interpreted as an allusion to empty talk (cf. Biles/Olson 2015, 193).

καὶ σὺ προσθεῖς Αἰσχίνην ἔντυφε τὸν Σελλαρτίου

And you, suffocate them by applying a billow of Aeschines, son of *Sellartios*!

(Ar. V. 459)

Bdelycleon mocks again one Aischines, son of Sellos, at V. 1243–1244 and another “son of Sellos” is mentioned by Philocleon, who calls him ψευδαμάμαζυς ‘a false vine’ (Ar. V. 324–326). Arguably, Aristophanes has modified the patronymic, making up the second part of a compound with ἄρτιος ‘perfect’ (Molitor 1970, 126 n. 1; for another interpretation, see Kanavou 2011, 90–91).<sup>51</sup>

Finally, a certain Amynias, also “son of Sellos”, is ridiculed at the beginning of the so-called “second parabasis”:

πολλάκις δὴ ἴδοξ' ἔμαυτῶ / δεξιὸς πεφυκέναι καὶ / σκαῖος οὐδεπώποτε, / ἄλλ' Ἀμυνίας ὁ  
Σέλλου / μάλλον, οὐκ τῶν Κρωβύλου

I've very often thought that I am naturally intelligent and never ever stupid, but Amynias son of Sellos, he who descends from those of *Krobylos*, is even more so.

(Ar. V. 1265–1266)<sup>52</sup>

Men with long hair piled it up on the back of the head in a bun called κρωβύλος (Bremer 1911, 47–72, Biles/Olson 2015, 450–451). Amynias' long hair has already been referred to in the mock compound Κομηταμυνίας (V. 466; see Biles/Olson 2015, 234). Κρωβύλος was also a nickname of the orator Hagesippus (Aesch. 3.118), was the name of a comic poet (Körte 1922, 1941), and is attested elsewhere (see Bechtel 1898, 79–80).

Some of the above evidence (Ἴπποβίνου, Κυντάρου and Σελλαρτίου) could support the hypothesis that Aristophanes may have modified Antimachus' real patronymic in *Ach.* 1150, but conclusive proof is lacking, since Antimachus' father remains for the time being unidentified. Moreover, some patronymics exhibit a noun as a nickname (Σταμνίου, Πέρδικος, Καπνίου, Κρωβύλου; cf. also Κόρακος mentioned *infra*). Scholia and modern commentators may still be right, and Antimachus' patronymic resonated with a joke. It could be argued, however, that if the line's punch depended on the patronymic, Aristophanes would have placed it in a prominent position, in order to provoke laughter ἐκ τοῦ παρὰ

51 One scholium to V. 459 preposterously connects Σέλλος with σέλας ‘flame’ and with the use of καπνός as a nickname for braggarts (see n. 50): παρὰ τὸ “σέλας”. ὁ γὰρ καπνός τοῦ σέλαος γέννημα. τὸ σέλας γὰρ ποιεῖ τὸν καπνόν ‘From *selas* ‘flame’. For smoke is generated by flame. For flame produces smoke’ (Σ<sup>VTLhAld</sup>).

52 The reading Κρωβύλων of some manuscripts is undoubtedly a mistake.

προσδοκίαν (see Starkie 1909, LXVII–LXVIII for a list of examples). Since Antimachus is not mentioned early in *Acharnians*, the pun can only be expected to have been activated by the pragmatic information that the audience and Aristophanes shared about Antimachus (information that in all probability already escaped ancient commentators and scholiasts, and unfortunately still eludes us), by some gesticulation made by the chorus as they danced and sang, by the context of the ode, or by a combination of the above.<sup>53</sup>

As far as the text is concerned, the dissimilarity between the ‘nobler’ name Ἀντίμαχος and the ‘lower’ patronymic Ψακάδος presents a startling contrast. Furthermore, Ψακάς in 1150, with its metaphorical connotations (‘small thing’, but also ‘dumb’, see § 5), in all probability prepared the listener for the real joke at the end of 1151. Despite the textual problem in this verse, and whatever the preferred solution to it,<sup>54</sup> Aristophanes arguably played on the ambiguity of the genitive μελέων, which can be related either to μέλη / μέλεα ‘lyric songs’ or to μέλεα ‘useless, unhappy things’ (the Homeric adjective μέλεος is often used by Attic tragic writers).<sup>55</sup> As Elmsley (1830) brilliantly saw, this pun could suit Aristophanes’ humorous characterization of a rival as a verse-monger.<sup>56</sup> Informatively, the poet and draftsman Antimachus is the focus of the utterance, and, quite unsurprisingly, has been syntactically promoted to a relevant position at the beginning of the phrase. Combining the patronymic Ψακάς and μελέων, Aristophanes skillfully highlights the object of derision of the entire ode.

Aristophanes’ use of Ψακάς as a comic patronymic has a striking parallel in a fragment of an unidentified playwright:

Λάμπωνα δὲ τὸν Κόρακος θεῶ

Contemplate Lampon, the son of Raven.

(*Com.Ad.* fr. 1105.98 PCG)

<sup>53</sup> According to some modern scholars (see Moulton 1981, 22–23, Lauriola 2010, 224–225), Antimachus could immediately be associated with the political war faction of the city, on account of the second member of the compound (μαχος). In my opinion, this is farfetched.

<sup>54</sup> See supra n. 20.

<sup>55</sup> Aristophanes uses the uncontracted forms of neuters in -ος in other lyric songs, and in particular μελέων at *Av.* 744, 749, 1374 (cf. also ἐπέων in *Av.* 908).

<sup>56</sup> For the wordplay see οἱ νῦν δὲ κισσόπλεκτα καὶ / κρηναῖα καὶ ἀνθεισιπτότα μέλεα μελέοις ὀνόμασι / ποιοῦσιν ἐμπλέκοντες ἀλλότρια μέλη ‘Whereas today’s poets produce miserable (μέλεα) ivy-woven, spring-fed, flower-flitting, bizarre songs (μέλη), and fold miserable (μελέοις) vocabulary into them’ (*Antiph.* fr. 207.7–9 PCG). For the interpretation of Antiphanes’ passage, see Ieranò (2013, 384–385).

Lampon was a member of a board of ξυγγραφεῖς and a famous seer, often depicted by Attic comic writers as deceitful and gluttonous (see Dunbar 1995, 358).<sup>57</sup> His patronymic is unknown, but Κόραξ, attested as a personal name (cf. Masson 1973–1974), is evidently used here as Lampon's patronymic (see Orth 2009b, 58). Its combination with the imperative of θεάομαι<sup>58</sup> might humorously denote Lampon's activities in the field of ornithomancy.<sup>59</sup> Ravens and omens are frequently associated (Dillon 2017, 146–148),<sup>60</sup> and Aristophanes ridicules Lampon for swearing by a bird, instead of by a god: Λάμπων δ' ὄμνυσ' ἔτι καὶ νυνὶ τὸν χῆν', ὅταν ἐξαπατᾷ τι 'Even today Lampon swears "by Goose!" when he's up to something crooked' (*Av.* 521). Furthermore, ravens are depicted as thieves in Attic drama (*Crat.* fr. 76 *PCG*)<sup>61</sup> and MGk κοράκι refers metaphorically to a swindler or to a duplicitous person who takes advantage of others, which suits perfectly the characterization of Lampon in the following verses in the fragment.

All in all, the best translation to serve the purpose of the joke and the metaphorical meaning conveyed by ψακάς as a personal name is probably Lat. *filius Guttae*, since the Latin word also denotes smallness (see n. 9). Fr. "Antimachos, fils de Sipeuquerien" (Debidour 1965, 106), although capturing the essence of Aristophanes' pun, is less felicitous because it resorts to a lexical innovation.

## 7 Conclusion

The interpretation of Antimachus in *Achamians* 1150 as a man who emitted an excessive amount of saliva as he spoke, on the basis of the patronymic Ψακάς, is nothing but an invention of an ancient scholar. It is based on an unwarranted reanalysis of ψακάς as a backformation from ψακάζω.

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57 The identification of Lampon, ξυγγραφεύς in *IG* 1<sup>3</sup>, 78.59–60 (ca. 440–435 BCE), with the oracle interpreter mentioned by ancient comic writers was first suggested by Foucart (1880, 247), and his hypothesis has been almost universally accepted. However, *LGPV* II s.v. Λάμπων hesitantly mentions them as two separate individuals (3 and 5), cf. also the *Athenian Onomasticon* online (4) and (5) (<http://www.seangb.org/>, accessed 31.07.2017).

58 For θεάομαι in the context of divination, see *Pi. Py.* 8.45–46.

59 Orth (2009b, 58) sees here a reference to the expression ἐς κόρακας 'go and be hanged'.

60 The tomb of Strymon, Alexander's favorite seer, was decorated with a raven (Posidipp. *Epigr.* 35 Austin and Bastianini).

61 The Scholia were aware of this metaphorical meaning of κόραξ as thief, cf. *Sch. Av.* 1292a (Σ<sup>RVEFM</sup>) and *Sch. P.* 1125 (Σ<sup>VTLh</sup>).

I have tried to show that the use of ψακάς ‘drop of rain’ as a personal name depends on the metaphorical connotation conveyed by the noun, i.e. ‘a very small thing’. In this sense, Ψακάς belongs to the group of Ancient Greek nicknames which served as endearing designations of newborns and children, often represented metaphorically as small entities. These nicknames could eventually accompany an individual throughout his or her adult life.

Consequently, in *Acharnians* 1150–1151 the success of Aristophanes’ joke does not depend exclusively on the personal name Ψακάς, as the scholia and modern scholars have assumed. Arguably, one of the two meanings of the deliberately ambiguous μελέων ‘useless things’ (1151) matches the connotations of smallness expressed by the immediately preceding nickname Ψακάς (1150).

## Abbreviations

- BDAG* = Montanari, Franco *et al.* (2015), *The Brill Dictionary of Ancient Greek*, Leiden.  
*DÉLG* = Chantraine, Pierre *et al.* (2009), *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque. Avec un supplément*, Paris.  
*DGF* = Bailly, Antoine (1963<sup>26</sup>), *Dictionnaire grec-français*, Paris.  
*EDG* = Beekes, Robert S.P. (2010), *Etymological Dictionary of Greek*, Leiden.  
*HWGS* = Passow, Franz (1841–1857), *Handwörterbuch der griechischen Sprache*, Leipzig.

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Panagiotis Filos

# Aspects of folk etymology in Ancient Greek: Insights from common nouns

## 1 Introduction

Etymology in classical antiquity, both as a multifaceted linguistic subject and a metalinguistic account of the diverse attitudes developed by various ancient authors towards it, has been the topic of various modern studies, albeit from different perspectives (philosophical, linguistic, literary, etc.).<sup>1</sup> A particular offshoot of this broad subject, namely ‘folk etymology’, has remained on the sidelines of modern research, except for studies of particular topics, such as personal names, place names, etc.

A comprehensive, up-to-date account of ancient Greek folk etymology, evidently in the form of a lengthy monograph, remains a desideratum. In this short study, I aim to refer briefly to some important aspects of this niche subject before I move on to examine in more detail the usefulness of sample evidence from common nouns. This particular set of forms has attracted less attention in modern studies, at least in the sense of a typology-orientated approach, even though it can obviously offer some very useful insights into the phenomenon. Ancient attitudes pertaining, directly or indirectly, to folk etymology will be examined in an ancillary fashion, but will indeed be explored inasmuch as they can cast some additional light on the phenomenon.

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It is a real pleasure for me to contribute with this short study to the *Festschrift* in honor of Prof. J.N. Kazazis. In addition to my due grateful acknowledgements to the volume editors, I would like to thank B. Joseph (Ohio State University), R. Janko (University of Michigan), W. de Melo (University of Oxford), Ph. Probert (University of Oxford), Ch. Tzitzilis (Aristotle University of Thessaloniki) and A. Fliatouras (Democritus University of Thrace) for useful comments and constructive discussions on different occasions, especially in the context of an one-day workshop on Greek linguistics held at Aristotle University of Thessaloniki on May 31, 2017. All errors remain my own responsibility.

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<sup>1</sup> For a concise yet informative account of ancient Greek theories of etymology, see Garcea (2014). For etymology in more general terms, see Schmitt (1977), which is essentially a collection of republished important studies by various scholars, and Durkin (2009).

## 2 Folk etymology

Folk etymology is a complex and largely ‘unsystematic’ linguistic phenomenon. One can hardly point to fixed patterns and standard rules in any particular language, given its irregular occurrence. The term *folk etymology* or *popular etymology* (cf. also Fr. *étymologie populaire*, Germ. *Volksetymologie*, Mod. Gk. λαϊκή ετυμολογία or παρετυμολογία; etc.) may be defined as “the process by which a form is reshaped to resemble another form, or sequence of forms, already in the language” (Matthews 2014, s.v. *popular etymology*).<sup>2</sup> A rather more refined definition is “the remodeling of a word involv[ing] the replacement of one or more of its syllables by another word with which it is associated semantically” (Durkin 2009, 202).<sup>3</sup>

Despite any opacity observed in the above, and most other relevant definitions, one may readily cite examples of folk etymology from various languages: e.g. Eng. *sparrowgrass* is the end-form of the remodeled original word *asparagus*, apparently due to subconscious confusion with the words *sparrow* and *grass*. Similarly, Eng. *hangnail* (< OEng. *ang-* + *nægl* ‘aching nail’, i.e. ‘a corn on the foot’) came into being thanks to the confusion between *ang-* and *hang*. A more complex, yet very interesting example from a well-known modern language is Fr. *choucroute* ‘cabbage with charcuterie’ < Germ. *Sauerkraut* ‘sour cabbage (literally)’. The form was remodeled after Fr. *chou* ‘cabbage’ and *croûte* ‘crust’: note particularly the near-homonyms *Kraut* ~ *croûte*, even though it is in fact Fr. *chou* that semantically corresponds to Germ. *Kraut* (i.e. synonyms).

Ancient languages too can offer some interesting examples of folk etymology. For instance, Latin *nōmen* ‘name’ is a possible case of folk etymology: the long *-ō-* in the stem is unetymological and could be attributed to confusion with the quasi-homonymous root *gnō-* as e.g. in *gnō-sc-o* ‘to know’ (cf. Sihler 2000, 86). Greek too can provide us, in its diachrony, with a fair number of examples: e.g. AGk. [Εὐξείνου <] Ἄξει(τι)νος (Πόντος) ‘Black (Sea)’ (lit. ‘(In-)hospitable (Sea)’) < Iran. (Scythian?) *axšæna* ‘dark; northern’. Similarly, an interesting case from later times is Med.-Mod. Gk. διαφεντεύω ‘to rule over’ < δηφεντεύω < Lat.

<sup>2</sup> The original (German) term *Volksetymologie*, coined by E. Förstermann in 1852, was used in a twofold sense: for a word transposed into an alien lexical family; or, for loanwords, common and proper alike, which are phonologically (mis-)associated with native lexical items for the sake of semantic clarity and transparency (see Moysiadis 2005, 250; cf. also Schmitt 2007, 138–139).

<sup>3</sup> Note here, though, a crucial difference between these two definitions: Matthews speaks of forms, while Durkin of syllables (in conjunction with meaning of course), i.e. the former refers to morphological entities, while the latter to phonological units.

*defendo* through contamination with *διά* and *αὐθεντεύω* ‘to be someone’s patron, *defendor*’ < AGk. *αὐθέντης* ‘master, author, perpetrator’ (Hatzidakis 1905–1907 I, 172, *apud* Tonnet 2003, 131).<sup>4</sup>

## 2.1 Folk etymology: some terminological disambiguation

Despite a fair number of good examples like those cited above, a cross-linguistic neat definition and comprehensive description of folk etymology remains a challenging task. In fact, there are several ambiguities and misconceptions about folk etymology, both as a phenomenon and a term (cf. e.g. Panagl 2005, Michel 2015).

First, one ought to point out that the alternative modifiers ‘folk’ and ‘popular’ (sc. etymology) do not *necessarily* imply something ‘popular’ or ‘folksy’; in other words, folk etymology is not normally a matter of sub-standard (vs. standard) etymology, since it is eventually accepted, consciously or subconsciously – or at least conventionally tolerated – by virtually all native speakers of a certain language (barring a few language experts, perhaps).<sup>5</sup> Obviously, many of these forms arise in a more colloquial context, at least at an initial stage; but one would hardly ever think of a situation of ‘etymological diglossia’, i.e. of a long-lasting stand-off between ‘popular’ and ‘standard’ etymology in a really socio-linguistic sense.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> For other examples of folk etymology in English (and beyond), see Durkin (2009, 203–204, esp. n. 16). For interesting examples from German, see Panagl (2005) and Michel (2015). For Modern Greek, note e.g. Γεννάρης ‘January’, in lieu of (standard demotic spelling) Γενάρης (< (formal) Ιανουάριος < Lat. *Ianuaris*), due to contamination with γεννάω ‘to give birth (to)’ (cf. birth of lambs in winter). Note also common nouns like Mod. Gk. αϊτόκλημα ‘honeysuckle’ (lit. ‘holy-vine’ < αϊγόκλημα ‘goat-vine’; cf. αἶγ-α, -ας [eγ-] (< AGk. αἶξ, αἶγός) ‘goat’ vs. ἅγι-ος, -α, -ον [aj-] (adj.) ‘holy’); etc. See additional examples from Modern Greek in Moysiadis (2005, 253–254) and particularly in Fliatouras (2017).

<sup>5</sup> See Schmitt (2007, 138–139), Durkin (2009, 204). It is true, however, that scholarly views about this issue may vary to some extent.

<sup>6</sup> Note, though, that the words produced through folk etymology do not always have a standard(ized) form, i.e. sometimes alternative forms can coexist, out of which one *may* prevail eventually in a certain language: e.g. Eng. *mangrove*, *mangrowe* and *mangrave* ‘a tropical tree or shrub which grows in dense thickets near water, i.e. swamps, estuaries, etc., and whose twisted roots may partly grow above the ground’. All three forms derived from Spanish *mangue* or *mangle* (and ultimately from a native Cariban or Arawakan word) through contamination with Eng. *grove*, *grow*, and apparently even *grave* (?) respectively (cf. Durkin 2009, 204).

Moreover, the phenomenon of folk etymology does not really relate to etymology proper, i.e. it is not in principle a matter of an *originally* erroneous (or outright false) etymological analysis competing with / encroaching upon proper etymology;<sup>7</sup> by contrast, it is rather a case of *a posteriori*, mistaken morpho-(phono-)semantic association(s) between two (or more) irrelevant forms established subconsciously by the average native speaker; or, to put it more formally:<sup>8</sup> “speakers are, unconsciously, altering word forms in order to create iconic connections with other words, rather than in an effort to explain their origins” (Durkin 2009, 204).<sup>9</sup>

On the other hand, it could hardly be deemed some kind of impressionistic view the fact that a good number of forms relating cross-linguistically to the phenomenon of folk etymology are loanwords, especially place names and personal names, e.g. *Australia* → Mod. Gk. Αύστραλία → (low register) Άστραλία (cf. Gk. ἄστρα ‘stars’).<sup>10</sup> It is also true that many words prone to modification due to folk etymology are compounds or at least are (mis-)perceived as such; in fact, it is often the case that only one part of a compound will undergo some change due to folk etymology: e.g. Eng. *artichoke* < It. *articiocco* (contrast It. *-ciocco* with the near-homonymous, yet semantically irrelevant Eng. *choke*); Eng. *bridegroom* < Mid. Eng. *brydegrome* < OEng. *bryd-guma* (*guma* ‘man’ replaced by the near-homonym *groom*).

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7 It need hardly be said that etymology became a proper (sub-)discipline only after the establishment of sound linguistic principles and rules (cf. sound change laws, comparative method, internal reconstruction, etc.) in the 19th century, and especially in the last quarter of that century (cf. e.g. the Neogrammarian school). Before that time, most etymological interpretations were often impressionistic and not so rarely resembled folk etymology (cf. also [3] below).

8 Note that the Mod. Gk. terms for folk etymology, namely *παρετυμολογία* ‘deviating etymology (lit.), false association’ and *λαϊκή ετυμολογία* ‘popular etymology’, seem to imply two different things at first sight, i.e. erroneous etymology (by non-experts?) vs. mistaken association of irrelevant forms (by laymen) (cf. Moysiadis 2005, 250). Nonetheless, *παρετυμολογία*, which is seldom used in English, is a potentially more generic term since it may also comprise (the few cases of) lexical items produced through learned false etymology, i.e. due to hypercorrection / etymological overregulation (cf. also learned puns), e.g. Mod. Gk. *θεοδόλιχος* ‘theodolite’ (< Fr. *théodolite*) due to partial confusion with AGk. *δόλιχος* ‘long course’ (cf. Fliatouras 2017, 34–35).

9 There are many other terms, of course, which partly overlap with the terms ‘folk/popular etymology’: *phonosemantic analogy*, *homonymic attraction*, etc. (for more details cf. Moysiadis 2005, 250; Panagl 2005, 1346; Michel 2015, 1004).

10 One may add as a special by-case the falling together of two forms (morphemes, words, etc.), which are/become (near-)homophonous in the course of time: e.g. *shame-fast* replaced by *shame-faced* ‘caught in shame’; *buttonhole* ‘to detain in conversation (by or as if by holding on to the outer garments of a collocutor)’ in lieu of *buttonhold*; etc.



In addition to the above major points, there are obviously other aspects that ought to be taken into account on certain occasions; for instance, (socio-)linguistic factors like register, but also more abstract linguistic concepts, such as lexicalization (and vice versa), phonemic-semantic opacity (vs. transparency), etc. Last but not least, language contact mechanisms and phenomena (e.g. interference, accommodation, adaptation) must also be taken into consideration sometimes. In general, there are often many secondary factors to be dealt with; in their turn, they can offer additional insights and place the findings of a study on folk-etymology into broader perspective (cf. Durkin 2009, 205–207; Sihler 2000, 73ff.; Hock 1991, 167ff.).

Finally, one ought to note that a more thorough theoretical-typological analysis of folk etymology (cf. e.g. an interesting classification of Modern Greek forms –in phonological, morphological, semantic *continua*– in Fliatouras 2017) is less straightforward in the case of ancient languages: (i) there are far fewer (safe) forms in general; (ii) the data comes from written texts, mostly literary, while folk etymology often thrives in oral speech (including dialectal forms); (iii) etymology is often obscure, and one normally has to reconstruct / guess the previous stages (cf. also Michel 2015, 1006).

## 2.2 Folk etymology and quasi-related phenomena

There are certain forms which may leave us in doubt as to whether they are primarily related to folk etymology or are (also) linked to other linguistic phenomena. For instance, the substitution of a part of a compound (or even of a whole word within a phrase) does not obviously constitute in itself a case of folk etymology, unless certain conditions like those referred to in the previous paragraph (2.1) apply. In fact, we may simply be dealing here with linguistic phenomena, such as accommodation, adaptation, interference, code-switching, loan/semantic translation, semi-calques, etc. (cf. Durkin 2009, 205; Matthews 2014, s.vv.).

In general, there are several phenomena which may resemble or overlap with folk etymology; but these are essentially different, notably there is essentially no significant morpho-(phono-)semantic reshaping due to subconscious confusion with some other word. These phenomena are numerous, but one may highlight the most important ones (cf. Panagl 2005, 1350–1351 and Michel 2015, 1009–1013 for some other phenomena and/or terms, such as Mondegreen, mal-apropism, contamination, *etymologie croisée*, etc.):

(i) *reanalysis*, namely the rearrangement of word / morpheme boundaries: e.g. Eng. *a nick name* < *an ick name* ‘an augmented/additional name’; AGk.

modal particle ἄν (e.g. Attic) < οὐκ-αν < οὐ-καν (?) (thanks to the confusion over the οὐ(-κ) variants);<sup>11</sup> Mod. Gk. νοικοκύρης ‘landlord’, from acc. sg. το-ν-οικοκύρη(v) < τον οικοκύρη(v) ‘the landlord’;

(ii) homonym / synonym / antonym impact on the morphological / phonological / semantic value of some words: e.g. Hom. ἦμαρ vs. Class. Attic ἡμέρα ‘day’, with rough breathing probably introduced into Attic from the antonym ἑσπέρα ‘evening, dusk’; post-classical Gk. ἐφέτος ‘this year’ (but cf. ἔτος, ἐπέτειος, etc.), probably after the semantically related prepositional phrase (PP) ἐφ’ ἡμέραν ‘daily’; etc.;

(iii) *back-formation*, that is, the coining of a new form due to erroneous morphosemantic analogy: e.g. Eng. verb *donate* from the noun *donation*, after similar pairs of verbs in *-ate* with nouns in *-ation*; Med.-Mod. Gk. ξέρω (< ξεύρω) ‘to know’ from an aorist ἐξεῦρον (cf. also the role of morpheme reanalysis: ἐξεῦρον ← ἐξ-εῦρον/-ῆῦρον), originally an aorist of the AGk compound verb ἐξευρίσκω ‘to find out, discover’, after verbs like βάλλω (pres.) – ἔβαλον (aor.) ‘to throw, hit, etc.’ (proportional analogy);<sup>12</sup>

(iv) *hypercorrection*, i.e. the erroneous/excessive use of a feature (normally phonological) or form by a speaker in his/her effort to avoid a mistaken or ‘stigmatized’ language usage:<sup>13</sup> e.g. the presence of word-initial aspiration in Eng. (*h-*)*armful* (cf. the near-homonym *harmful*), especially in a certain sociolinguistic/dialectal context in which varieties that drop word-initial aspiration are considered low-register, sub-standard, ‘aberrant’, etc.<sup>14</sup> Similarly, post-classical Greek οὐχ ἦλπιζον (with an unetymological aspirate spelling -χ) in lieu of οὐχ ἦλπιζον (2nd c. AD, Greek papyrus text from Egypt (BGU 3.846.6)). Note also an adverb βεβαίως ‘firmly’ in lieu of expected βεβαίωζ in a mid-4th c. BC epigraph-

**11** See Sihler (2000, 91), who in fact opts for the term *metanalysis* (cf. also Durkin 2009, 207–208). Note, though, that this particular example is not the safest case of reanalysis since the exact provenance of ἄν is still debated.

**12** On this phenomenon, see Sihler (2000, 89–90).

**13** Note also the relevant, yet less common term *hyperurbanism* which is some kind of register-related hypercorrection, i.e. the speaker uses erroneous forms, which (s)he believes belong to a ‘higher’ speech register than his/her own, e.g. *kitching* for *kitchen* after actual cases of sociophonological variation like *going* [-ŋ] vs. *goin*’ [-n] (cf. Sihler 2000, 92).

**14** Some other cases, though, look like middle ground between folk etymology and hypercorrection: e.g. Eng. *handiron* instead of an expected *andiron* (Hock 1991, 203). See also Hock (1991, 205–206) for some clearer examples of hypercorrection, from both modern and ancient languages; for instance, the occasional unetymological addition of a ‘prestigious’ final -r in American English, e.g. (*I*) *saw* /sɔr/ instead of expected /sɔ:/; or, the hypercorrect aspiration in Latin words under the impact of Greek loanwords, e.g. *pulcer* > *pulcher* ‘beautiful’.

ic text (house purchase document) from Amphipolis in ancient Macedonia,<sup>15</sup> probably in an attempt to avoid a voiced <B>, the *shibboleth* of ancient Macedonian (cf. e.g. Mac. Βερ(ε)νίκᾱ vs. Att. Φερενίκη);<sup>16</sup>

(v) blends, namely the coining of new words through fusion, normally the joining together of the beginning of one word with the end of another: e.g. Eng. *brunch* (< *breakfast* + *lunch*), *smog* (*smoke* + *fog*), etc.;

(vi) puns (cf. also terms like *paronomasia*, *assonance*, etc.), namely words/phrases used by individuals for humorous, rhetorical or more mundane purposes (e.g. commercials). Puns are often based on (near-)homophony (oral speech) and/or (near-)homography (written speech): e.g. *the (w-)hole matter*; etc.<sup>17</sup>

In general, folk etymology is related to other phenomena, but ought to be distinguished from them. The most important point is the dichotomy between conscious and subconscious (?) morphological metaplasm: the former category is made up of word-games, puns, deliberately false etymologies for linguistic/ideological/mythical/religious/political reasons, etc. (cf. (v)–(vi) above); the latter category comprises (more) genuine cases of erroneous modification (including folk etymology), i.e. words subjected to some form of morpho-(phono-)semantic metaplasm by the speakers of a certain language (cf. (i) – (iii) above; (iv) is somewhere in the middle since the form(s) and the motives of hypercorrection vary).

<sup>15</sup> See Hatzopoulos (1991), 38–43 (text VII, l. 5).

<sup>16</sup> Similarly, note the use in Latin of an unetymological diphthong, in the pronunciation and/or in the spelling, in an excessive effort to avoid the common pitfall of monophthongization in Vulgar Latin: e.g. *saeculum* in lieu of correct *sēculum*, *scaena* instead of *scena* (< AGk. σκηνή), etc. Note also examples from Modern Greek like Δικταῖον/Ἰδαῖον ἄνδρον (sic) in lieu of correct ἄντρον due to the katharevousa-driven spelling ἀνδρας /anδras/ favored over the wrongly dismissed (: ‘vulgar, non-genuine Greek’), demotic-prone pronunciation/spelling ἀντρας /a<sup>n</sup>dras/. The same (pseudo-)hellenization tendency is noticeable in the change of the /b, d, g/ voiced stops, often found in loanwords, into corresponding Modern Greek voiced fricatives /v, ð, γ/: e.g. μουστάρδα ‘mustard’ (< It. *mostarda*); βαμβάκι ‘cotton’ in lieu of demotic μπαμπάκι (< Pers. *pamba(k)*). See also Durkin (2009, 206–207) on changes affecting only the written form of a word; cf. Sihler (2000, 92–93) too.

<sup>17</sup> Of course, puns may also materialize in the form of phrases, etc.: e.g. *a new golf war between the two famous rivals*; AGk. γαλήν ὄρω ‘I see a weasel’ (Ar. *Frogs* 304) instead of γαλήν’ (= γαλήν-ά) ὄρω ‘I see calm (sea)’, a clear allusion to a performance mistake by an actor (Hegelochos) playing the role of Orestes three years earlier. Note also Pope Gregory’s Latin phrase: *non Angli sed angeli* ‘Not Angles but angels’ (cf. Matthews 2014, s.v. *paronomasia*)

### 3 Ancient Greek etymology

Etymology in antiquity was a concept different from what we think about it nowadays.<sup>18</sup> The ancient Greek term *ἐτυμολογία* points at first sight to the ‘art/discipline of (seeking) the true origin/meaning (*ἔτυμον*)’ of words. However, for the Greek and Latin grammarians (cf. 3.1 below) the actual goal of etymology was not simply the discovery of the ‘true meaning’ of a word, but also the discovery of its ‘correct’ form (cf. Grebe 2001, 143). A rather late and more refined definition of etymology (*Schol. Dion. Thrax* 14.23–24) refers to ‘the unfolding of words (*ἀνάπτυξις τῶν λέξεων*), by which their true meaning may be made clear (*τὸ ἀληθὲς σαφηνίζεται*)’ (cf. Garcea 2014, 579). In other words, for the (more learned) Greeks in antiquity, etymology ought to be concerned with the true nature of a word, especially of a proper name, rather than with the analysis of its morphophonological structure and the concomitant explanation of its semantics.

#### 3.1 Etymology in ancient Greek literature

Etymology as a concept, but even as a term, is conspicuous from the beginnings of ancient Greek literature, and its presence may be felt throughout the timeline of ancient Greek literature down to the post-classical period. In fact, etymology-related references occur in genuinely literary, i.e. poetic and prose works, but also in treatises by grammarians, and in fact even in the New Testament and other early Christian texts. In more concrete terms, etymological awareness from Homer down to the post-classical Greek texts is often manifested in the form of (pseudo-)etymological analyses of personal names and related terms (e.g. theonyms, etc.), ethnonyms, place names, etc. (see 4.1 below). Of course, common nouns, be it abstract concepts or appellatives, have also been the subject of ancient etymological analyses.

A discussion of ancient Greek etymological matters must obviously start with Homer: note, for instance, the etymology *ὄδυσσάμενος* ‘the man angry at and/or (probably) incurring the anger, i.e. doomed to odium’ proposed for the prominent Homeric hero Odysseus (*Ὀδυσ(σ)εύς*, *Ὀλυσ(σ)εύς*), apparently from

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<sup>18</sup> For a modern definition, see e.g. Matthews (2014, s.v. *etymology*): “the study of the historical relation between a word and the earlier form[s] [...] from which it has [...] hypothetically developed. [...] Loosely described as a study of the ‘origins of words’; [...]”

an implied present form \*ὀδύ(ζ)ομαι / \*ὀδύσ(σ)ομαι / \*ὀδυίομαι (?) (*Od.* 19.407–409); cf. also (4.1.2) below.<sup>19</sup>

In post-Homeric Greek poetry (epic, lyric, drama), there are similar phenomena, e.g. *Cyclopes* ‘Circle-eyed (sc. creatures, beings)’ in Hesiod (*Theog.* 144–145), obviously in relation to the single circle-like eye in their foreheads. Similarly, *Epaphos* (Aesch., *Prometheus Bound* 850–851) is associated (: ἐπώνυμον ... Ἔπαφον) with ἔφαψις ‘touch’, which refers to the myth of his parents Zeus and Io (cf. Aesch. *Supp.* 45). In general, the etymology-relating name (ἐπώνυμον) becomes a commonplace for heroic, mythical and religious names in poetry (Garcea 2014, 580).

Etymology is also present in prose, notably philosophy. Pre-Socratic philosophers and sophists, especially Protagoras, Prodicus and Heraclitus showed a particular interest in language, notably in the interpretation of words, the relationship between words and things, etc.<sup>20</sup> But above all, it is Plato, especially in his work *Cratylus*, who appears to be most concerned with etymological matters (cf. also 4.1 below).<sup>21</sup> Aristotle, the Stoics and other later philosophers also discuss issues that directly or indirectly pertain to etymology (cf. Robins 1997, 19ff.; Garcea 2014, 580–582).<sup>22</sup>

Etymology became even more prominent in the Hellenistic and Roman periods. Philologists, grammarians and lexicographers, who could at times have a philosophical background, especially at the early stages of these new disciplines, developed their etymological research in a direction closer to the modern linguistics.

<sup>19</sup> Note a Dutch monograph (PhD thesis) dedicated to etymology in Homer: Rank (1951).

<sup>20</sup> On the other hand, Democritus was particularly keen on proper names, which he considered conventional (θέσει) (fr. B26 D.–K.).

<sup>21</sup> Plato’s *Cratylus* deals inter alia with the contrast ‘nature vs. convention’. Etymology is viewed as the association of words, notably proper names, with the things they refer to; cf. Socrates in that same Platonic dialogue who attributes the coining of names to a name-giver (ὀνοματοθέτης) rather than to speakers. A long list of etymologies (ca. 150 names), mostly cases of *paronomasia*, is used in support of this argument: e.g. Ἀπόλλων (405b–e) is linked to Ἀπολούων ‘washing away’ and Ἀπολύων ‘delivering’ (god of purification); etc. In general, lexical forms are analyzed down to their primary elements (πρῶτα ὀνόματα) (cf. Garcea 2014, 580–581).

<sup>22</sup> Aristotle differentiated himself from his teacher, Plato, and posited (e.g. *Poetics*, *On Interpretation*) that morphophonological analysis, especially of compound names, is not as conducive as the analysis within a proposition. On the other hand, the Stoics saw etymology – in fact, the term *etymology* is probably a Stoic term (4th c. BC) – as a means to reintroduce the natural correspondence between words and things by removing ‘anomalies’. Finally, among the later Greek philosophers with etymological interests one ought to mention Chrysippus in particular (Garcea 2014, 582; Robins 1997, 25).

tic sense, with particular emphasis on proper names, but also on the so-called γλώσσαί, i.e. rare or foreign/dialectal words; cf. e.g. the philological work on Homer and other classical literary authors in the Library of Alexandria.<sup>23</sup>

In their majority, the etymological approaches attested in ancient Greek literature are often marked by: (i) personal views, even when it comes to some otherwise clear etymologies; (ii) impressionistic analyses rather than sound linguistic principles: e.g. ἄνθρωπος supposedly derived from ἀναθρεῖ ... ὁ ὄπωπεν (Pl. *Cratylus* 399c); (iii) preference for mythological explanations, especially in the case of ethnics (e.g. Θετταλός/Θεσσαλός, son of Γραικός, etc.), hero names (e.g. Ἀχιλλεύς, Ὀδυσσεύς, etc.) (see 4.1.1 below), but also of theonyms (e.g. Δημήτηρ: ἡ διδοῦσα μήτηρ τῆς ἐδωδῆς, etc.); (iv) (possible) ideological/religious/ethnic bias and/or (covert/overt) political interests.

## 4 Ancient Greek folk etymology

Ancient Greek folk etymology can hardly be considered an unambiguous concept. As mentioned above (2.1), one needs to differentiate between folk etymology proper and the various individual views espoused by ancient literary authors, particularly philosophers and grammarians, but also orators and poets (esp. comedians), which are often the ‘idiosyncratic’ etymological products of a learned mind, usually in the form of word games, puns, and generally, etymological guesswork. For instance, many of Plato’s etymologies, especially in *Cratylus*, are rather idiosyncratic (e.g. Ὀρέστης: τὸ θηριῶδες ... ἄγριον ... καὶ τὸ ὀρεινὸν ἐνδεικνύμενος [394e]) and may even be employed for the sake of the plot of his philosophical dialogue and its various theoretical implications (cf. 3.1 above). Obviously, one cannot be categorical whether all of these Platonic etymologies are artificial or a reflection of certain popular views of his time, at least

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<sup>23</sup> The most well-known work on ancient Greek glosses is obviously the *Συναγωγή πασῶν λέξεων κατὰ στοιχεῖον* by Hesychius of Alexandria (5th/6th c. AD) who draws on previous works (cf. e.g. an early work *Γλώσσαί* on ancient Macedonian glosses written by Amerias (3rd c. BC)). The final stage of the ancient philological tradition are the Byzantine scholars and the Byzantine etymological dictionaries (e.g. *Etymologicum Magnum*), which are mostly compilations of ancient dictionaries.

on a number of occasions: for instance, the correlation of ἡμέρα with ἕμερος may well be related with contemporary views.<sup>24</sup>

By contrast, folk etymology proper in the context of ancient Greek would presuppose the fulfilment of certain conditions: first, it ought to be accepted by the average ancient Greek speaker, even though this is obviously very hard to ascertain nowadays; second, one may only speak with certainty of a folk etymology phenomenon if both the original and the later, modified forms are known/detectable, at least to some degree. Nonetheless, that requirement too cannot be fulfilled on many occasions for obvious reasons (but cf. 4.1.1.–4.1.2 below about some relevant points concerning personal names and place names).

In general, it is often difficult to establish a clear-cut distinction between ‘idiosyncratic’ views and folk etymology proper in the context of ancient Greek literature. It goes without saying that idiosyncratic pseudo-etymologies like those advanced by Plato cannot be taken seriously into account in the context of a study on ancient Greek folk etymology (cf. also the two preconditions cited above). In other words, one ought to opt for an analysis of ancient Greek forms potentially linked to folk etymology (place names, personal names, but also common nouns, particularly appellatives) through the lens of linguistic theory rather than simply rely on ancient views about their etymological provenance.

## 4.1 Proper names

Proper names have traditionally been in the spotlight of folk etymology studies due to their obvious importance, linguistic, literary, historical, etc. Proper names are by definition a special category of the lexicon, especially as far as morphology and semantics are concerned; note e.g. Greek personal names like Θεόδωρος vs. Δωρόθεος, which are characterized by the alternating order of their compound parts (morphemes), in a manner that is hardly feasible for common nouns (but cf. e.g. Homeric adj. ποδ-ώκης vs. ώκύ-πους ‘swift-footed’). In general, the etymological analysis of proper nouns is often a complicated task, not least because of their special semantics (cf. Michel 2015, 1011; Panagl 2005, 1347–1348).

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<sup>24</sup> On the possibility of early iotacism as regards the pronunciation of <H> in Athens, at least in certain sociolinguistic groups around Plato’s time (late 5th–early 4th c. BC), see Brixhe (2007, 494).

In addition to these complexities, there is a certain opaqueness concerning the original morphosemantic identity of many proper names, be it personal names or place names (or whatever else within this same field): note e.g. cases of ancient Greek proper nouns in the form of substrate words, loanwords, short(ened) forms, affectionate terms, etc. It is no wonder that folk etymology is a (more) common phenomenon in the case of proper names, although on many occasions we are more likely to suspect it rather than prove it in an unambiguous manner.

The two main categories are personal names (and all other relevant terms: e.g. theonyms, heroic names, ethnics, etc.) and place names (toponyms). I will briefly refer to both categories below, in the context of folk etymology, before I proceed to examine the case of common nouns, which are the main subject of this study.

#### 4.1.1 Personal names

Personal names are often prone to folk etymology phenomena, and this tendency can virtually be traced back to the origins of ancient Greek literature, namely Homer.<sup>25</sup> The case of a major Homeric hero, namely *Odysseus*, was mentioned above (3.1) as an early example of ambiguous (folk?) etymology in the context of ancient Greek literature; nonetheless, it is impossible to tell whether this is a literary etymological view or a more common one.

The name of another major Homeric hero, namely Achilles (Ἀχιλλεύς), is equally interesting. The name of the hero has traditionally been associated with ἄχος ‘pain, grief, etc.’. If this etymological association is true, then Achilles would correspond to a meaning ‘the one who has grief/whose people have grief (or, ‘he who frightens the people’)’ (cf. also Beekes 2014, 161, 162–163).<sup>26</sup> Obviously, this case, just like that of the etymology of *Odysseus*, looks like a vicious circle; namely, one cannot be certain whether this is actually the original etymology (and form) of these two names or whether some posterior paronomastic

<sup>25</sup> Note also examples of folk etymology in relation to German personal names, e.g. *Timothea* (from Greek via Latin) became *D(i)emut* through confusion with OHG *diomuoti*, MHG *diemuot* ‘humility’ (Schmitt 2007, 139).

<sup>26</sup> The literature on the etymology of this name is considerable, and the suggested etymologies numerous. Most interpretations focus on ἄχος (but cf. e.g. F. Bader who relates the name to the root of the ethnonym *Achaeans*). For a new suggestion (‘who overcomes death’), based inter alia on a different interpretation of ἄχος, but especially for an up-to-date bibliography, see Nikolaev (2007).



association with/adaptation of these two names, virtually akin to folk etymology, eventually modified them.<sup>27</sup>

Nonetheless, other prestigious ancient Greek names can provide some useful insights. For instance, the name *Alexander* (Ἀλέξανδρος) is traditionally related to a meaning ‘who defends/wards off men’ (ἀλέξω ‘to defend/ward off’ + ἄνδρ- ‘man’). On the other hand, we are also aware nowadays of the name *Alakšandu(š)*, King of Wilusa, which occurs several times in a Hittite text (a treaty with the Hittite Great King Muwattalli II, ca. 1290–1272); *Alakšandu(š)* has been linked by some scholars to *Paris-Alexander*, prince of Ilios (Troy) in the Homeric poems. Could Anatolian *Alakšandu(š)* have been the basis for the ancient Greek Ἀλέξανδρος, which would be remodeled at a later stage through folk etymology? That is far from certain, though, since the ancient Greek name could in fact be the original form and the Anatolian name an adapted loan form from ancient Greek: note, for instance, that the feminine counterpart *Alexandra*, which as semantics indicates, is built upon the masculine form *Alexandros*, occurs as *a-re-ka-sa-da-ra* in Linear B tablets (cf. tablet MY V 659 [61]) from the mid-2nd millennium BC already.<sup>28</sup>

The etymology of many other ancient Greek personal names is equally ambiguous, ranging from etymologically sound to completely arbitrary (cf. terms like *significant name*, *paronomasia*, *figura etymologica*, etc.). Obviously, arbitrary etymological analyses, puns and word games concerning personal names in ancient Greek literary texts are not part of a folk etymology study: note e.g. an ancient analysis of the name Παισωνίας (cf. παῦσ-ις + ἄνια) as ‘doctor’; nonetheless, it is sometimes difficult to discern one category from another, given also the multifarious morphological typology and the semantic ramifications of ancient Greek onomastics.

On the other hand, folk etymology of personal names seems to operate better, or is at least more easily recognizable when it comes to compound names. Obviously, any morphosemantic modification of a compound personal name due to the blurring of the morphosemantic transparency of the initial form will

<sup>27</sup> Note also that both names end in -εύς (Ἀχιλλεύς, Ὀδυσσεύς), a termination that is still considered by a number of scholars a loan element of potentially non-Indo-European origin. For the extensive bibliography on the -εύς forms, see Chantraine (1933, 125–131) and Meier-Brügger (1992, II, 26). One also ought to cite here the important monograph by Perpillou (1973).

<sup>28</sup> Beekes (2010, s.v. ἀλέξω) argues that the *communis opinio* nowadays favors the Greek name as the model form for its Anatolian counterpart rather than the other way around; nonetheless, the debate is not really over, as recent research indicates. Note also the old but interesting study by Hoffmann (1939), which of course could not have taken into account any data from the (yet undeciphered) Mycenaean texts.

normally take place over the course of time and/or when the morphosemantic identity of the original form is not recognizable due to other reasons, e.g. if it is a borrowing (cross-dialectal or cross-linguistic). A good example in that respect is provided by some personal names from Iranian borrowed into ancient Greek, since both languages are known, even if not equally well. A number of them seem to have undergone modification in Greek through folk etymology: e.g. Persian names beginning with *Baga-* are normally, even though not always, rendered into ancient Greek as forms starting with *Μεγα-* (e.g. \**Baga-pāta* ‘protected by the gods’ → AGk. *Μεγα-βάτης*), probably through the mediation of an Anatolian language, which smoothed out some of the phonological differences between the Persian original and the ancient Greek end forms, and consequently facilitated the operation of folk etymology within ancient Greek; the unetymological choices of *μεγα-* and *-βάτης* may be accounted for by their common occurrence in ancient Greek word formation (cf. Schmitt 2007, 139ff.).<sup>29</sup>

#### 4.1.2 Place names

Place names are also known for their tendency to undergo some kind of metaplasms under the impact of folk etymology. In fact, many toponyms become morphosemantically opaque over the course of time, especially those originating from a different language, such as one spoken by a previous or an adstrate/substrate population; note, for instance, the native Indian American place name *Appalachian (Mountains)*, which is contemporarily related sometimes to English *apple* by means of popular etymology (cf. Panagl 2005, 1347–1348).

Ancient Greek place names also underwent some kind of morphosemantic modification on various occasions due to the effect of folk etymology.<sup>30</sup> As a matter of fact, a fair number of ancient Greek place names are of pre-Greek and/or obscure origin (cf. e.g. Furnée 1972; Lindner 2003; Beekes 2014, 163–64). Nonethe-

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<sup>29</sup> Ethnonyms may also provide us with useful folk etymology insights: e.g. *Αιθιοπες* is traditionally related to Greek *αἶθω* ‘to burn, shine, etc.’; but it could well be an adapted form of a non-Greek form through folk etymology. Note also the obvious close connection of folk etymology phenomena concerning ethnonyms to folk etymology phenomena affecting place names (cf. also 4.1.2).

<sup>30</sup> On the other hand, some cases look like a cross between popular etymology and mythical imagination, if not motivation: e.g. the popular (?) etymology of *Πέλλα* from *πέλλη* ‘(dark-colored) cow’, an animal that played a role in the founding myth of the city (cf. Hesychius, s.v. *πέλλα*).

less, when the source language of an ancient Greek toponym is well-known, or may at least be figured out with some plausibility, a reasonable etymological assumption is possible; note, for instance, the example about the etymology of the ‘Black Sea’ in ancient Greek mentioned in (2) above. Obviously, one may adduce many other examples: for example, the name of the ancient Greek colony of Messambria (Μεσημβρία) is most likely the adapted form of an original Thracian compound in -βρία ‘city’ (cf. also other ancient Greek city names in -βρία in Thrace, e.g. Σηλυ(μ)βρία); by virtue of folk-etymology and through morpheme boundary rearrangement (reanalysis), the original Thracian place name in -βρία was associated with the original ancient Greek common noun μεσημβρία (μεσημβρ-ία) ‘midday, south’ (cf. examples in Katičić 1976, I, 148).

## 4.2 Common nouns

Ancient Greek common nouns are normally studied on an individual basis when it comes to folk etymology.<sup>31</sup> But if common nouns, notably appellatives, can be grouped together and classified according to certain semantic criteria, then one may be able to trace possible patterns as far as the typology of folk etymology is concerned. In fact, this kind of mapping is less feasible in the case of proper names, since these are in some sense unique, while their etymology is often even more opaque (see 4.1.1–4.1.2 above).

In what follows, I am going to examine briefly a concise, yet representative set of (selected) forms, i.e. common nouns potentially (or, more safely) related to folk etymology, with an aim to provide a preliminary, sketchy account of possible patterns of classification for ancient Greek forms pertaining to folk etymology. Obviously, a more detailed and comprehensive analysis in the future should lead us to firmer conclusions.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> Note also several (short) studies focussing on (potential) cases of folk etymology occurring in particular ancient Greek authors, e.g. Aristophanes, Aristotle, etc.

<sup>32</sup> It is rather unnecessary to stress that a comprehensive study of the numerous ancient Greek common nouns labeled as possible cases of folk etymology in modern etymological dictionaries of ancient Greek (e.g. Frisk 1960–1972; Chantraine 2009; Beekes 2010) would require a lengthy study, since such an analysis presupposes a detailed discussion of the alternative etymologies proposed for many of these forms. It also goes without saying that there are not many unambiguous examples of ancient Greek folk etymology, at least as far as common nouns (appellatives) are concerned. However, even these relatively few, but (more) reliable cases can offer us some useful clues.

Beekes (2010) has been used as a reference work for my survey.<sup>33</sup> The survey has revealed that the terms ‘folk etymology’ and ‘popular etymology’ occur in more than 150 entries (in fact, around 160 entries, plus a dozen more occurrences relating to proper names);<sup>34</sup> however, the really safe cases are rather few. At any rate, any list of forms of this kind would be simply indicative, primarily for two reasons: (a) a reference to (potential) ‘folk’ or ‘popular’ etymology, which may in fact be eventually refuted, does not entail by any means that no other entries are discussed, in more indirect wording perhaps, in relation to this phenomenon; (b) the criteria used by Beekes and especially the conclusions reached to by the author (and his collaborators) do not always represent a *communis opinio*, at least not on certain occasions. For these reasons, a list like this should essentially be considered a starting point for further investigation rather than a definite set of well-established examples.<sup>35</sup>

On closer inspection, one may classify the forms into five main different groups, primarily according to the degree of plausibility regarding their (folk) etymological associations. I have selected a few representative examples from each group, with an aim to highlight the rationale of the proposed classification and research direction:

(A) The first group comprises words which may (more) safely be related to folk etymology; in other words, we are more certain about the original form and can detect the degree of its morpho-(phono-)semantic metaplasm in the course of time. Some representative forms are the following:

(i) δρόξιμα ‘raw fruits’ < τρώξιμα (cf. τρώγω ‘to munch’). The alleged change from τρώξ to δρόξ-, which involves both the voicing of the initial dental stop and the shortening of a long open /ɔ:/ into a short and closer (?) /o/ is attributed to the impact of the near-homonymous morpheme δρόσ- as e.g. in δροσ-ερός

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**33** My predilection for Beekes (2010) over Frisk (1960–1972) and Chantraine (2009) does not imply any kind of acknowledgement of a hypothetical increased scholarly authority for the first over the other two seasoned works. In fact, Beekes was selected in its capacity as the more recent major etymological dictionary of ancient Greek, and in fact a dictionary written in English. On the other hand, one ought to point out that many of the proposed etymologies in this dictionary are marked by the legacy of Furnée’s theory (1972) about the alleged heavy impact of Pre-Greek on the ancient Greek lexicon (cf. also the preface in Beekes 2010). For a more sober approach to this topic, see Morpurgo Davies (1986).

**34** Proper names are not normally discussed, at least not as such; therefore, they have not been taken into account here either.

**35** For reasons of economy, I will not normally cite Beekes (2014) alongside Beekes (2010), unless it is necessary.

‘fresh’ (for vegetables). The association looks more plausible when semantics too comes into the equation: τρώγ- ‘to munch’ ~ δροσ- ‘fresh (vegetables)’.

(ii) πο(υ)λύπους < πώλυπος ‘sea polypr, cuttlefish’. A folk etymological modification here could indeed be attributed to the near-homonymy of πώλυπος with πολύ- ‘many’ and πούς (gen. ποδ-) ‘foot’, which obviously caused some morpheme reanalysis πώλυπ-ος → πο(υ)λύ-πους (note the apparent accent shift too). Nonetheless, the moot point is whether we do mean to accept πώλυπος as the original rather than a parallel form to πο(υ)λύπους, given the semantics of the word. Note also the Latin word *polyprus* (from an earlier ancient Greek form πώλυπος?), even though it does not offer much help in terms of the original ancient Greek vocalism.

(iii) τετρακίνη < θριδακίνη ‘lettuce’. The modification here could be attributed to subconscious confusion between two morphemes that correspond to two subsequent ordinal numbers: τετρα- ‘fourth’ ~ τρι- ‘third’.<sup>36</sup> Obviously, the match is far from perfect, i.e. θρι-(δα-) vs. τρι-, however it looks sufficient in terms of (subconscious) iconicity to effect the change. It goes without saying that it is rather pointless to ponder seriously over the actual meaning of ‘four’ over ‘three’ when it comes to plant shapes, notably the number of vegetable leaves (cf. *clover*, *trefoil* and the like in English).<sup>37</sup>

(iv) τρυφαλῖς < τροφαλῖς ‘fresh cheese’. The change here is attributed to the near-homonymous form τρυφή ‘luxury, etc.’ The suggested mis-association is not very complicated from a morphophonological point of view, since it essentially requires the raising of a short mid-back vowel /o/ into a short back high /u/ (non-Attic-Ionic dialects); or, most likely, into a front high rounded /y/ (Attic-Ionic, and later, Koine Greek), given that most occurrences are found in later authors. Nonetheless, the alleged confusion is morphophonological (plus semantic) rather than simply phonological since folk etymology operates in a more complex framework. The semantic confusion is also not impossible to accept, even though it is not straightforward. Note, though, that Hesychius also cites forms like τραφαλλῖς, τράφαλλος, etc. (cf. *LSJ*, s.v.), which make the whole problem even more complicated.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>36</sup> On the potential morphophonological impact between subsequent numbers, note the change \**penkwe* > *quinque* ‘five’ in Latin, i.e. the unetymological *qu-*, probably after the preceding number *quattuor* ‘four’. The equally unexpected long *-ī-* is normally attributed to the ordinal *quintus* ‘fifth’.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. also Τρινακρία (< Θρινακίη ?) in the sense of ‘fork-island’, i.e. Sicily (?).

<sup>38</sup> One may also think here of lexical items with alternative forms due to some kind of morphophonological ‘fluctuation’ (including morpheme/syllable augmentation for reasons of

(B) The second group of words that may be related to folk etymology modification, and in fact with some increased degree of plausibility, includes words whose original form is a relatively identifiable loanword (cf. also Iranian names in 4.1.1):

(i) ἔγγαρος < ἄγγαρος ‘Persian mounted courier’. Even though the precise form of the Persian original word is not absolutely certain (OPers. *angarā* (?); cf. Beekes 2010, s.v. ἄγγαρος) the alternative ancient Greek form ἔγγαρος must obviously have come about under the impact of ancient Greek compound words starting with ἐν-/ἔγ-, e.g. ἔγγαμος.<sup>39</sup>

(ii) ἑξατράπης < σατράπης ‘satrap’. A case that looks similar to the previous one, namely the alternative, less common form ἑξατράπης could have been formed under the impact of some ancient Greek compound form(s) with ἐξ-. Nonetheless, there are hardly any ancient Greek words starting with ἑξατρ-, which raises legitimate doubts. In addition, Schmitt (2007, 137, on the basis of previous work of his own) argues that the alternative form ἑξατράπης appears mostly in ancient Greek inscriptions from Asia Minor; for this reason too, he attributes the variant ἑξατρ- to substrate influence (Anatolian) as well as to a more accurate rendering of the initial xš- cluster of the original Persian form *xšaθrāpa-van* ‘protecting the kingship, protector of the empire’.

(iii) αἴθριον ‘forecourt, hall’ < Lat. *atrium*. This late form was probably modified under the influence of the Greek root αἴθ-(ω) ‘to light up’, notably the semantically relevant term (: architectural concept) αἴθ-ουσα ‘portico, loggia, etc.’; cf. also the morphologically identical, even though semantically (more) distant neut. adj. αἴθριον ‘clear, bright; kept in open air’ (*LSJ*, s.v. αἴθριος, -ον).

(iv) δάκτυλος ‘date’, probably of Semitic origin (cf. Arabic *daqal*). The reshaping into δάκτυλος is not clear whether it is due to a conscious (note the shape of the fruit) or subconscious process (or something in between). For this reason, it is rather difficult to talk about a straightforward case of folk etymology on this occasion.

In conclusion, there seems to be some increased diversity in cases of folk etymology involving loanwords as the original forms; or, one may wonder with some reason whether this category simply offers us a clearer glimpse of the

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iconicity or emphasis) in oral speech. Note, for instance, the alternative forms χρεμίζω, χρεμετίζω ‘neigh’, which are attributed by Beekes (2010, s.v.) to ‘popular expressive enlargement’ (*sic*).

<sup>39</sup> Cf. Schmitt (2007) on folk etymology phenomena concerning Iranian personal names borrowed into ancient Greek (cf. 4.1.1). Some of the highlighted mis-associations and correspondences, especially as far as morphophonology is concerned, hold true for borrowed Iranian common nouns too.

complex *modus operandi* of the phenomenon thanks to our more thorough knowledge of the original (loan) form.

(C) In this group one may assign possible, yet not certain, cases of folk etymology on the basis of some relevant evidence; for instance, indirect evidence from other languages, Indo-European or not, with which ancient Greek had some special relationship, either as a cognate language and/or in the context of language contact.

(i) κάμπη ‘caterpillar’ may have undergone some modification from its original form under the impact of AGk. καμπή ‘curve’ (cf. κάμπτω < \*κάμπ-ιω). Nonetheless, the Skt. form *kapanā* points to a potentially different original form (cf. especially -μ-).

(D) This group comprises hypothetical cases of folk etymology, primarily on the basis of morphophonological features that point to a possible non-Greek origin, and particularly concerns pre-Greek forms. The difference between this group and group (A) is that the evidence for folk etymology here is flimsy; namely, we do not know much about the supposed original form. In fact, this group includes numerous *potential*, but hardly very certain cases of folk etymology *stricto sensu*.

(i) κιλλίβας (cf. also later κελλίβας) ‘three-leg stand, frame’. The ending -βας (cf. also other words in -βας, e.g. όκρι-βας) could be related originally to some pre-Greek suffix, according to Beekes (2010, s.v.), although this is not certain. Similarly, a later association with βαίνω (cf. root βαν-) through folk etymology is possible but equally unclear.

(ii) κόλλοψ ‘peg/screw for tightening the lyre strings; thick skin on the upper part of the neck of oxen or pigs; bar by which a windlass was turned’. The existence of alternative forms (cf. κόλλαβος) and particularly the alternation of the morphemes -σπ-, -απ-/αβ- is considered a pre-Greek feature by Beekes (2010, s.v.).<sup>40</sup> Hesychius, on the other hand, correlates the form to κόλλα in the sense of ‘thick (part of neck)’; this sounds in fact more like popular etymology. Cf. also example (i) in (E) below.

(iii) ίνυξ ‘a particular bird name (*lynx torquilla*); spell, charm’. This common noun is of unknown provenance (cf. other nouns in -γξ like σύριγξ, στριγξ, etc.),

<sup>40</sup> Cf. also alternative associations with κόλλα or Lat. *callum* ‘thick skin, callosity’, which are rejected by Beekes (2010, s.v.).

but according to Beekes (2010, s.v.) it was later related to the verb ἰύζω ‘shout, yell’ through some form of folk etymology with regard to supposed ‘bird crying’.

(E) Cases for which a folk etymology explanation is practically tantamount to guesswork and/or go back to ancient scholia, (pseudo-)etymological views advanced by lexicographers, etc., but lack any robust linguistic substantiation. It goes without saying that this category of forms must also be large:

(i) κῤρῖς (cf. also κῤρῖς, κῤρῖς) ‘shrimp, small crustacean’. According to Beekes (2010, s.v.), the suffix -ῖδ- and the existence of alternative forms just like in κόλλαβος above (see (D)) point to a pre-Greek origin.<sup>41</sup> Other modern views (e.g. Frisk, Chantraine) are equally problematic (see Beekes 2010, s.v.). On the other hand, Athenaeus relates the word to κῤρα ‘head’, perhaps due to folk etymology (cf. homonymity). But obviously, we cannot be certain whether this view was widely accepted, even though it would not be too far-fetched an assumption.

On the basis of the above sample analysis, and on the understanding that (some) of the above points are not irrefutable, one may highlight a few basic facts:

(i) The number of plausible examples of folk etymology is relatively small in ancient Greek, as is actually also the case across all languages, ancient and modern alike. In fact, the two safest categories (A–B) concern forms whose original forms are attested and/or are more easily identifiable; or forms which have been borrowed into ancient Greek from a more well-known language. For all the other forms (C–E) the evidence for the original form ranges from indirect and/or flimsy to pure guesswork.

(ii) A fair number of forms are related to a special semantic category, namely flora and fauna. In fact, several of them seem to be related to pre-Greek (?) forms, (possible) loanwords from other ancient languages, etc. Even if Beekes often tends to overemphasize the impact of pre-Greek on the formation of the ancient Greek lexical stock, there is an increased degree of plausibility for his etymological predilection on this particular occasion.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> Note, though, that the origin of the suffix *-id-* is unclear, i.e. whether it should be attributed to some pre-Greek substrate or be related to Indo-European morphology, as the *communis opinio* holds nowadays (cf. Meier-Brügger 1992, II, 25).

<sup>42</sup> On the formation and makeup of the ancient Greek lexicon, see some interesting points in Morpurgo Davies (1986). The author argues, on the basis of a thorough survey of a good amount of entries from Chantraine (2009 [1968–1980]), that a large part (ca. 50%) of the an-



(iii) From the viewpoint of morphology, there is an increased number of forms that are (deemed to be) derivatives or compounds. In other words, many forms give us the impression that they have a transparent multi-morpheme structure. This feature is important since as mentioned above (2, 2.1), folk etymology often operates through subconscious morphosemantic confusion, which facilitates morpheme substitution.

## 5 Conclusions

Ancient Greek folk etymology is considered a haphazard phenomenon, and its major typological features and general tendencies remain rather understudied. Nonetheless, the brief examination of a selected number of common nouns in this short study has demonstrated a few basic facts. First, (near-)homonymy is a primary factor for the operation of folk etymology, whereas (near-)synonymy between the original and the posterior morphemes (rather than between the respective syllables on a phonological level) is less important, at least at an initial stage (but cf. Michel 2015, 1013–1015 and particularly Fliatouras 2017 about the importance of morphology and semantics in the development of the phenomenon in modern languages). In conjunction with this, one may note that several forms are (deemed) derivatives / compounds, which leads to the replacement of their morphemes (perceived as stems and/or suffixes) in the context of folk etymology. Second, some of the clearest examples of ancient Greek folk etymology are those involving a loanword from a well-attested language as the original form (category (B) in (4)); in those cases, there is little doubt about the linguistic profile of the original form on the one hand, and its modification within ancient Greek on the other. Third, a fair number of the forms selected for this study as more transparent cases of folk etymology metaplasm (: morphosemantic) seem to have particular semantics; namely, they seem to be related to flora and fauna.

The above preliminary conclusions may prove to be useful in the direction of a future, comprehensive study of ancient Greek folk etymology. New research will have to take into account some of the following points: (i) a reliable, detailed etymological analysis of as many *potential* cases of folk etymology as

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cient Greek lexicon is of unclear, i.e. basically non-Indo-European origin. The more recent work on Pre-Greek by Beekes (2014) is marked by the same strong views as his etymological dictionary (2010); namely, far too many words are deemed to be of Pre-Greek origin, in accordance with Furnée's views (1972).

possible – on an *individual* basis – is a prerequisite for any large-scale study. Increased confidence in the results of etymological analyses could allow perhaps a more thorough theoretical-typological analysis alongside studies of the phenomenon in modern languages (cf. e.g. Fliatouras 2017) despite the obvious difficulty here with (written) data from an ancient languages; or, it could even let us attempt a rough statistical analysis in place of more impressionistic approaches. (ii) A *comprehensive* examination of the (relatively) more reliable cases, i.e. of the forms whose morphosemantic change(s) can be analyzed with some degree of certainty, would provide clearer indications about the basic features ('mechanisms', trends, limitations, etc.) of the phenomenon in the context of ancient Greek. (iii) Onomastics ought to be treated as a separate, special field, but a comparison between proper nouns and common nouns in the context of folk etymology will always be most welcome, as long as (i) and (ii) have previously been implemented, to some extent at least, in this case too (cf. also Michel 2015, 1015–1016 for research desiderata in the study of folk etymology in general).

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## Michael Meier-Brügger

### εὖ-

By way of my short contribution to this Festschrift, I would like to thank John N. Kazazis for all he has done and will continue to organize and realize in the Centre for the Greek Language (CGL) and especially for the Lexicography Division. He performed well, εὖγε!

I will, therefore, focus on the lexical item εὖ-, still present in Modern Greek today in the laudable adverb just used above and as the first part in a large number of compounds. My aim is to outline briefly – in the manner of an entry in an etymological dictionary – the history of this productive lexical item, going back to its roots in the common mother tongue (Proto-Indo-European = PIE) of the cognate Indo-European linguistic community of which Greek is a substantial member. Thanks to research in the field of comparative historical grammar, today we have much more knowledge than before of historical phonology, morphology, syntax and lexicography in all Indo-European linguistic branches. Often the results of this research are known only to specialists, but they are worthy to be disseminated.<sup>1</sup>

The oldest available data on εὖ- is a reconstructed so-called acrostatic PIE noun *\*h<sub>1</sub>ósu-* (strong stem, which is the starting point for endings like nominative and accusative singular) vs. *\*h<sub>1</sub>ésu-* (weak stem, which is the starting point for endings like the genitive singular) ‘thing that is real; existent goods’. Associated with this noun was a so called proterodynamic PIE adjective *\*h<sub>1</sub>ésu-* (strong stem) vs. *\*h<sub>1</sub>séu-* (weak stem) ‘having goods; good’. The comparative evidence guaranteeing this reconstruction is provided by Hittite (cf. *aššu*), Ancient Greek (s. below), Old Indic (cf. Vedic *su-*), etc.<sup>2</sup> This noun and the corresponding adjective present a well known formative schema evidenced by the well documented PIE noun *\*pólh<sub>1</sub>u-* (vs. *\*pélh<sub>1</sub>u-*) and the adjective *\*pélh<sub>1</sub>u-* (vs. *\*p<sup>o</sup>lh<sub>1</sub>éu-*) ‘many’, cf. Greek *πολύς, πολυ-* ‘many, much’, Old Indic *purú-*, *puru-* ‘id.’.<sup>3</sup> Both nouns,

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1 The present data are taken first from the following etymological dictionaries (in chronological order): Frisk I (1960, 594ff.) and III (1972, 96ff.) s.v. *εὖς*; Chantraine (1999, 388) (the original text is older) s.v. *εὖς*; Mayrhofer II (1996, 734-36) s.v. *sú<sup>1</sup>* and Mayrhofer II (1996, 533ff.) s.v. *vásu-*; Beekes I (2010, 484ff.) s.v. *εὖς*; Dunkel II (2014) s.v. Investigations and discussions in all senses are delivered in the *-u-* stem monograph by Lamberterie (1990 II, 746ff.); more specific on morphological aspects are Watkins (1982), Zimmer (1994), Pinault (1995), Pinault (2001, 162ff.).

2 See the presentation and comments on all data in NIL (2008, 239–43) s.v. *\*h<sub>1</sub>es-u-*.

3 See the morphological survey with facts given in Meier-Brügger (2010, 425ff.).

\**h<sub>1</sub>ósu-* and \**pólh<sub>1</sub>u-*, are derivatives in *-u-* from verbal roots; cf. for the former PIE \**h<sub>1</sub>es-* ‘to exist, to be’ and for the latter PIE \**pleh<sub>1</sub>-* ‘to fill’.

The reconstruction of PIE \**h<sub>1</sub>ósu-* is not so smooth as it seems first: Besides, there are testimonies of another slightly different PIE \**h<sub>1</sub>wósu-* with the same meaning, cf. Old Indic (Vedic) *vásu-*, Avestan *vohu-*, Luvian *vasu-* and also some Celtic forms. The reason for this ambiguity between PIE \**h<sub>1</sub>ósu-* and PIE \**h<sub>1</sub>wósu-* is not yet understood: Are there two items, PIE \**h<sub>1</sub>ósu-* and PIE \**h<sub>1</sub>wósu-*, initially with different meaning? Or do we have to deal with a PIE \**h<sub>1</sub>wósu-*, from which an additional PIE \**h<sub>1</sub>ósu-* arose, probably built on the zero grade \**h<sub>1</sub>usu-*, which finally became \**h<sub>1</sub>su-* via syncope?<sup>4</sup>

Greek εὖ- is attested throughout the history of the Greek language. Mycenaean attests personal names like *e-u-me-de* /*Ehu-mēdes-*/ and *e-u-me-ne* /*Ehu-menes-*/.

In the Homeric language there certainly are a lot of εὖ-, ἤϋ- and εὐ- compounds as adjectives and personal names: cf. adjectives εὐπλόκαμος, ἠύκομος, εὐρύχορος, etc., or personal names like Εὐτέρπη, etc.). In addition, there exists also the isolated adjective εὖς and ἠύς (nominative and accusative singular, with no feminine) and the adverb εὔ.<sup>5</sup> A Greek candidate for a PIE \**h<sub>1</sub>wósu-* background is the Homeric expression δωτήρες ἑάων, but a PIE abstract noun \**h<sub>1</sub>és-ah<sub>2</sub>-* ‘possession’ seems to fit better as the starting point.<sup>6</sup> To be sure, the first member of ὑ-γιής has to be kept separate from our consideration here of εὖ-.<sup>7</sup> Later on in the language εὖ- remains alive as the first member of compounds.

The original meaning of PIE \**h<sub>1</sub>es-* is ‘to exist, to be present’. Therefore, the PIE noun \**h<sub>1</sub>ósu-* signified originally ‘that which is present; thing; possession, goods’, and consequently the PIE adjective \**h<sub>1</sub>ésu-* had the meaning ‘having things; generous; good’. “Wellness” was clearly a consequence of ‘possession’ (of goods).

Since Mycenaean times, the antonym of εὔ- ‘good, brave, strong’ is δυσ- ‘bad’. The same opposition is found elsewhere in IE, cf. for instance the Indo-Iranian pair *su-* vs. *dus-*.<sup>8</sup> The antonym δυσ- has to be connected with the PIE verbal root \**deu(s)-* ‘to lack’.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>4</sup> See the facts and the thorough discussion in NIL (2008, 253-58) s.v. \**h<sub>1</sub>wes-*.

<sup>5</sup> See *Lfgre* II 1991 s.vv. For the accentuation of the adverb εὔ < \**éhu*, see Hoenigswald (1998).

<sup>6</sup> See Nussbaum (2013); earlier considerations in Nussbaum (1998).

<sup>7</sup> See Weiss (1994), who provides good arguments for a first compound member ὑ- going back to \**h<sub>2</sub>ju-*.

<sup>8</sup> See Schlerath (1969). For Welsh, see Zimmer (1995).

<sup>9</sup> See Dunkel (2014) II s.v. *dus-*.

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Wojciech Sowa

## Macedonian βίρροξ (Hsch. B 627)

From the beginnings of ancient philology, Greek grammarians were confronted with different forms of language. They first explored literary works written in different literary dialects, occasionally making notes on “popular” forms using different conventions. Apart from observing the existence of different linguistic registers and uses of dialect forms for special purposes, e.g. as markers of a literary genre or for stylistic reasons (cf. Theocritus using artificial Aeolic, or Balbilla with epigrams on the Memnon colossus imitating the language of Sappho and Alkaios), there was a general recognition that the Greeks spoke in different ways, as a result of the fact that throughout its entire history from Mycenaean times onwards, the Greek language has been attested in a variety of geographical dialects.<sup>1</sup>

In the course of research on the various dialects of Ancient Greek, the lexicon has not been studied in the same way as has been done with phonology and morphology. The same seems to be true of syntax. This situation, however, should not be considered especially strange. The majority of forms attested both in inscriptions and in the other sources can be interpreted as “normal” Greek words, which may differ in their phonetic shape or (less frequently) their morphological features. It seems clear, however, that the research of the Greek dialectal lexicon can contribute much to the question of the contacts between various dialects, as well as to their external history. The dialectal lexicon of Greek offers many interesting forms which may be used for the purposes of Indo-European reconstruction (etymology, morphology, etc.). To be sure, the dialectal data, specially from glosses and ancient grammatical entries, should be treated with extreme caution, especially due to their mostly problematic prove-

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<sup>1</sup> Ancient authors have been quoted according to the electronic editions in the Thesaurus Linguae Graecae project prepared for the Packard Humanities Institute. The lexicon of Hesychius has been quoted according to the editions of Latte (1953–1966) and Schmidt (1861–1862). The Lesbian inscriptions are quoted by number after Hodot (1990, 272–317) using the specification of the finding place of Lesbian inscriptions as: MYT Mytilene, MAT Methymna, ERE Eressos, LES Lesbos without determination of a city and NAS the island of Nessos. The Lesbian poets, however, have been quoted according to the edition of Lobel/Page (1955), and according to Page (1974). The non-Aeolic inscriptions have been quoted after the electronic edition in PHI CD 6/7 (prepared by the Greek Epigraphy Project at Cornell University). The abbreviations follow the standard model.

nance.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, the glosses are still one of our most important sources of our knowledge of the dialectal lexicon (of course after the epigraphic sources), as they are without doubt a certain source of dialectal material, being sometimes the unique attestations of single formations in Greek.

Among the glosses, the lexical material from languages other than Greek occupies a special place. This is the case for Ancient Macedonian, which, due to the lack of either epigraphical or literary evidence, can be approached only through interpretation of the glosses as a sort of testimony of the vernacular speech of the ancient Kingdom of Macedonia. This group of ca. 150 lexemes (see Pudić 1971, 210–218) comprises forms which are obviously Greek (of Attic origin), Macedonian *hapax legomena*, and forms which “have Greek cognates, but differ from them in their phonemic shape to an extent which goes far beyond the limits of dialectal variation in ancient Greek” (Katičić 1976, 111; cf. also Sowa 2006 for a detailed typology of the forms). Furthermore, the glosses come from multiple sources of varying reliability.<sup>3</sup> The Macedonian glosses therefore should be studied according to the same methodology as the lexical forms belonging to other dialects of Greek. The use of various methods of historical linguistics, as well as a detailed philological approach, can help us to contest traditional etymologies and to propose new ones. An important role should also be given to the relationship to other ancient Balkan languages as well as to the other Greek dialects, even though influences from other idioms cannot be ex-

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**2** The most extensive source is the Lexicon of Hesychius of Alexandria, dated to the 5th/6th c. CE, although the oldest manuscript, Codex Marcianus Graecus 622, dates from the 15th c. This Lexicon is based on earlier works, especially on a lexicon by Diogenianus from Heraklea Παντοδαπή λέξεις (quoted by Hesychius under the name Περιεργασμένης), which has not been preserved; among others, the glosses by Aristarchus, Apion, Heliodorus, and Kyrillus and the orthographical works by Herodianus were also used (cf. Latte 1953, XLII–XLVII). The Lexicon of Hesychius is of great importance as far as the exegesis of classical texts is concerned, but the question of how far it can be considered a reliable source of dialectological data, and especially whether the glosses attest the real state of the vernacular spoken in the different regions of Greece, remains a difficult question to answer.

**3** The tradition of Macedonian glosses points to a certain Amerias, a grammarian of the Hellenistic period, who wrote his Γλώσσα in the 4th/3rd c. BCE and according to Athenaeus was himself of Macedonian origin (Ath. 4.176c). It seems, however, that Amerias became famous mostly for his other works, glosses and scholia to Homer (Γλώσσα Ὅμηρικαί). It seems plausible that Amerias could gather some forms from (then already hellenized) Macedonia, but on the other hand there is also the danger that among the forms which were added to the glosses during the period after Amerias, individual forms could have been falsely ascribed to Macedonian due to his authority as a “Macedonian native speaker”.

cluded either. The following observations are intended to illustrate one such possible case.

Under the entry B 627, the interesting form βίρροξ was noted by Hesychius with a confirmation of its Macedonian origin, apparently an adjective in the meaning ‘hairy, shaggy’: βίρροξ· δασύ· Μακεδόνες. This adjective is probably related to other forms listed by Hesychius, cf. in the same meaning entry Hsch. B 535 βεῤῥόν· δασύ and B 464 βειρόν· δασύ (without reference to possible provenance), as well as epigraphically attested forms known from Greek dialects, especially Thessalian, cf. the attested PN Βίρουν (-ουνοιος, PHER III, PHARS a. 230–200) ‘velludo, peludo’,<sup>4</sup> with a distinctive orthographical variation <ι>/<ε>/, <ρ>/<ρρ>. This, according to García Ramón, could point to a Macedonian provenance of the name, and thus attest to some sort of linguistic relationship to Thessalian (García Ramón 2004, 236<sup>2</sup>, 242, 253; Heubeck 1978). Such an assumption would certainly agree with certain current views on the status of Ancient Macedonian, according to which it should be interpreted as a Greek dialect of Northwest provenance which absorbed non-Greek elements (Brixhe/Panayotou 1994, 205–220), or perhaps of an Aeolic provenance, with strong influences from the northwestern dialectal area as well as from the non-Greek languages of the Northern Balkans (e.g. Peters 2000, 383<sup>26</sup>)— an assumption which seems to be supported by the analysis of the material yielded by ancient literary sources.<sup>5</sup> Cf. also the claims of classical historians such as Hammond, that “the Macedonians

4 Attested in a decree concerning the award of citizenship and the distribution of land (*IG IX,2*, 234 l. 16):

Παρμενίσκος Ἀγαθούνειος  
Μυλλίνας Βιρούνειος  
Βίρουν Μυλλίνας  
Γάλιος Πολυκλείτειος  
Θίβρουν Ὑβρίσταιος  
Βίρουν Χορριούνειος  
Αὐτόνοος Μύλλειος

5 It seems furthermore that the ancient Macedonians were not regarded by the Greeks as non-Greek foreigners inhabiting the area next to other Greek tribes; see e.g. Herodotus 1.56, for whom the Macedonians are actually a Doric tribe who lived in the area around Mt. Pindos. For a critical review of existing theories on the nature and genetic relations of Macedonian, see Méndez Dosuna (2012, 133–145), who reaches the conclusion that in light of attested material, including the glosses and the Pella malediction tablet as well as other epigraphical documents ascribed to Macedonian, this idiom was actually a Greek dialect: “It must have been a close sibling to NW Doric Greek except for two crucial features: the voicing of plosive /p t k/ to [b d g] and of fricative /f θ s x/ to [v ð z γ], and possibly the future of the ordinary sigmatic type” (Méndez Dosuna 2012, 145).

from Lower Macedonian spoke an Aeolic dialect, those from Upper Macedonia a “north-western” Greek dialect” (Hammond 1994, 131–134).

According to the traditional view expressed by Hoffmann, the form βίρροξ should be explained as containing the stem βερρ- : βιρρ- in which the variation between /e/ and /i/ is the same as in the Greek forms χείλιοι and χίλιοι, or Aeol. κέρναμι and Hom. κίρνημι (Hoffmann 1906, 52). Hoffmann notes the Thessalian examples and derives Βιρρουν (Βιρρων) as a sort of a “nickname” from the base form βίρρος, which he ultimately refers to the form βύρση ‘fell’ (as if from \*βόρσα), quoting the parallel formation Δάρρων (attested as a name glossing a Macedonian ghost, cf. Hsch. Δ 274 Δάρρων· Μακεδονικός δαίμων, ᾧ ὑπὲρ τῶν νοσοῦντων εὐχονται, Hoffmann 1906, 53) – an obvious Macedonian counterpart of Gr. θάρρων (from Att. θάρρος, Hom. θάρσος; see Frisk I, 654). According to Hoffmann, the formation of the word should be related to forms known from Latin such as e.g. *atrōx*, *ferōx* (to *atro-*, *fero-*), with singular examples known also from Greek (ρόμοξ, βέβροξ, *ibidem*).

Hoffmann’s view has been rightly contested by Kalleris, who, however, did not reach any final conclusion on this form (Kalleris 1954, 131ff.), suggesting that the cognates of βίρροξ were lost in all other Greek dialects except for the Macedonian (*idem*, 133). He denies the relationship with Lat. *burrus*- *birrus* ‘hooded woolen cloak’, and observes that one cannot be sure that the double <ρ> in the transmitted form is to be interpreted as a result of assimilation from an \*/rs/ cluster. More importantly, he points out the chronological problem, which in the case of Greek precludes the possibility of a borrowing from Latin.<sup>6</sup>

As neither Hoffmann’s nor Kalleris’s views explain the attested gloss in a satisfactory manner, an alternative interpretation of βίρροξ may be proposed. As I have attempted to show elsewhere, there is a good chance that a number of features traditionally ascribed to Macedonian can actually be explained and interpreted within the framework of Greek dialectology and Greek historical grammar. If βίρροξ is interesting from an etymological point of view, it may also be of interest from the point of view of dialectal contacts between various forms of Greek and the idioms used in the regions to the north of its traditional range.

<sup>6</sup> Attested βίρρον as in Suda B 309,4 Βίρρον: ἰμάτιον Ῥωμαϊκόν (also Suda E 3873 Ἐφεστρίς: ἰμάτιον Ῥωμαϊκόν. λέγεται δὲ καὶ μανδύης καὶ βίρρον· ἅτινα ἐν ὄνειρῳ βλεπόμενα θλίψεις σημαίνουσιν) seems to be a foreign element borrowed very late: cf. Lat. *birrus* ‘cuculla brevis’, which might be ultimately of Celtic origin, and OIr. *berr*, W. *byrr* ‘short’ < Proto-Celtic \**birros*, of unknown etymology (Delamarre 2003, 76).

The Greek noun δέρη, δειρή, has the meaning ‘throat, neck’ (cf. Hsch. Δ 669 δέρη· \*τράχηλος. γ (AS) αὐχίν)<sup>7</sup> and is attested since Homer (Ion. δειρή), cf. also Arc. δερφα already in a specialized meaning ‘gully, glen’. The form is productive and has become part of various compounds (mostly *bahuvrihi* with -δειρος) as well as poetical formations, e.g. pl. δείρεα (Euph. after μέλεα ‘limbs’), or δέρις (Alciphr.) after ῥάχις ‘spine’.

On the basis of Arcadian δερφα one may reconstruct a Proto-Greek \**deruā*, which in light of comparison to OInd. *gñvā́*-‘neck, back part of the throat’, YAv. f. *grīuuā́*- ‘neck (of daevas)’, Russ. *grīva*, Pol. *grzywa* ‘mane, long hair at the horse neck’, Latv. *grīva* ‘estuary’ ultimately continues a parent form containing a labiovelar \**g<sup>u</sup>erH-ueh<sub>2</sub>* or \**g<sup>u</sup>riH-ueh<sub>2</sub>*.<sup>8</sup> Because of the semantics, these forms have traditionally been connected to the verbal root \**g<sup>u</sup>erh<sub>3</sub>-* ‘to devour’ as in Greek Epic aor. ἔβρωσ (with introduced null grade), Vedic conj. *garan*, or Arm. *eker* ‘ate’ and the late attested -*ské-* present formation βιβρώσκω, etc. (LIV<sup>2</sup>, 211). Of course, the discrepancy between \**g<sup>u</sup>erh<sub>3</sub>-ueh<sub>2</sub>* which has to be assumed for Greek \**deruā* and \**g<sup>u</sup>rih<sub>3</sub>-ueh<sub>2</sub>* as reconstructed on the basis of comparative material needs an explanation. Pokorny suggests two forms \**g<sup>u</sup>er-uā* and \**g<sup>u</sup>ri-uā*, which he derives from one root \**g<sup>u</sup>er*, \**g<sup>u</sup>erā* ‘devour, gullet, vorago’ with *aniṭ* and *seṭ* variants (IEW 474ff.); according to him, the *i*-containing form is explained as “built on the basis of the feminine.” However, such an analysis operates with far too many unknowns and so must be considered unsatisfactory.

Frisk reconstructs \**g<sup>u</sup>erH-* for the Greek forms and states that the attested Aeol. δέρα (as in Sapph. 94, 16.)<sup>9</sup> is actually an error for expected \*\*βερα (Frisk 367ff.). For Beekes, the required “-i-” extension is “highly problematic”, and the Aeolic example with a dental instead of labial “excludes the labiovelar”; as a consequence, the Greek and Indo-Iranian and Balto-Slavic forms must be kept

7 Cf. the Arcadian document IPark 14 from Orchomenos, dated 369–361 BCE, ll. 14ff.: δύο ἀπὸ τῶνιου εὐθυορφίαν πὸς δερφᾶν πὸς λόφον· δύο ἀπὸ τῶνιου ἐν τὰν δερφᾶν ἐν ταῖ βουσοῖ ὅπυ τὰ φαδῶ· ἀπὸ τῶνιου ὅπερ τὰμ Φυλάκω ἐν τῶι κρομποῖ (Thür/Taeuber 1994, 126).

8 Most examples testify to an *i*-containing shape of the root \**g<sup>u</sup>rih<sub>3</sub>-*; cf. also MPers. <glyw> /*grīw*/ ‘neck, throat’, or Slavonic derivatives like *grīvna* ‘neckband, necklace, weight, coin’. Alongside the Latvian form, one may also quote some river names in Lithuania, e.g. *Grīva* in the region of Samogitia, which should be explained as a trace of the lost noun \**grīva*, which would formally be a counterpart to Slavic forms such as Pol. *grzywa* (quoted above), Serbo-Croatian *grīva* ‘mane’, Slovenian dial. *grīva* ‘the balk with grass on it’. It seems, then, that both Baltic topographic terms and the Slavonic term for ‘hair’ have developed from an inherited, originally anatomical meaning ‘neck, throat’, still found in Indo-Iranian (Smoczyński 2007, 204, Petit 2010, 34, 106).

9 καὶ πό[λλαις ὑπα]θύμιδας  
πλέκ[ταις ἀμφ’ ἀ]πάλαι δέραι  
ἀνθέων .[ ] πεποημμένας

separate (Beekes *EDG* 317). One has to emphasize, however, that even if the development of Common Greek labiovelars to labials before a front vowel in Aeolic is one of the most important features of this dialectal group (Lejeune 1972, 47ff.; Thumb/Scherer 1959, 94), the number of forms which seem to continue the non-Aeolic pattern (i.e. dental in place of labial) both in literary and in epigraphic sources is relatively high, so that the  $\delta$  of  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha$  should not be treated as a definitive reason to exclude *a priori* the comparison with the aforementioned forms.<sup>10</sup>

In fact, a relationship between the two reconstructed forms  $*g^u\text{erh}_3\text{-}\underline{u}eh_2$  or  $*g^u\text{rih}_3\text{-}\underline{u}eh_2$  seems to be possible on account of their identical semantics and use of the same suffix. It is also probable that the thematic inflection after the *-e-h<sub>2</sub>* class has been substituted for the older athematic one, a parallel being the paradigmatic change of nom. sg.  $*g^u\text{enh}_2$  ‘woman’, gen. sg.  $*g^u\text{n-eh}_2\text{-s}$  to nom.  $*g^u\text{en-eh}_2\text{-}$ , leading in consequence to the type nom. sg.  $*g^u\text{erh}_3\text{-uh}_2$ , gen. sg.  $*g^u\text{rih}_3\text{-}\underline{u}eh_2\text{-s}$  (Rasmussen 1989, 89). Rasmussen also connects the Greek and Indic forms to the verbal root  $*g^u\text{erh}_3\text{-}$ ; the presence of /i/ should then be explained as part of a suffixal segment  $/\text{-}\underline{u}h_2\text{-}/\sim/\text{-}\underline{u}eh_2\text{-}/$ , attested in Indo-European morphology in feminine derivatives of *ju*-formations, cf. e.g. Ved. *śundhyūḥ* next to *śundhyū* ‘clean, shining, jewel’. A derivational process from  $*g^u\text{erh}_3\text{-}$  ‘to devour’ to a nominal formation by means of the suffix  $/\text{-}\underline{u}eh_2\text{-}/$  may thus be assumed, which would lead to the formation of a neuter verbal noun  $*g^u\text{erh}_3\text{-}$  ‘swallowing’. Such a noun

**10** Cf. the interpretation by Hamm, who states that in the texts of Sappho and Alkaios the actual number of forms yielding the Aeolic development of labiovelars is small. She assumes that the labial reflex was regular only in the context  $/\_ /e/$  in the first syllable, which according to her had a tendency to be pronounced as [a] anyway. On the other hand, she contests the possibility that all forms with dental reflex could be borrowed from other dialects and would interpret their presence as the result of a process of penetration of “normal and Homeric” vocabulary in the course of the transmission of Lesbian poetry at a very early stage (Hamm 1958, 15). It seems, however, that the Lesbian epigraphic material also yields a number of forms with common Greek /t/ in place of the Lesbian /p/ expected in such contexts. These forms could be considered recent borrowings from other dialects or the κοινή; cf. e.g.  $\sigma\pi\tau\epsilon\iota\sigma\alpha\iota$   $\delta\iota\pi\lambda\omicron\alpha\iota\varsigma$   $\tau\alpha\iota\varsigma$   $\alpha\pi\upsilon$   $\tau\omega$   $\psi\alpha\rho\iota\sigma\mu\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$  MYT 35 (2nd c. BCE; official; dialectal),  $\tau\epsilon\tau\epsilon\rho\eta[\kappa]\omicron\nu\tau\omicron\varsigma$   $\tau\alpha\nu$   $\pi\rho\omicron\varsigma$   $\tau\omicron\nu$   $\delta\alpha\mu\omicron\nu$   $\epsilon\theta\nu\omicron\iota\alpha\nu$  (KYM 016, 29f.; 2 BCE–2 AD; honors for Kleanax; dialectal hybrid form with stem borrowed from κοινή (otherwise  $*\pi\epsilon\alpha\rho\epsilon\omega$ ,  $*\pi\epsilon\alpha\rho\epsilon\eta\mu\iota$  would be expected) and dialectal ending; the whole phrase I consider the translation of the Latin expression *fidem erga populum conseruauit* (Sowa 2005, 646–49) as well as some irregularities in development, e.g. enclitic  $-\tau\epsilon < *-\text{k}^u\text{e}$  in Lesbian, Thessalian and Boeotian (cf. with other examples Lejeune 1972, 49; Thumb/Scherer 1959, 94; Rix 1992<sup>2</sup>, 87ff.) or the pronoun  $\tau\iota\varsigma < *k^u\text{is}$ , which occurs a total of 34 times (in all inflectional forms) in two functions: introducing an indirect question and as indefinite pronoun (Hodot 1990, 137).

is not continued in the historical languages,<sup>11</sup> but the feminine form was chosen to express the meaning ‘throat’, namely \*g<sup>m</sup>erh<sub>3</sub>-jeu-eh<sub>2</sub> with mobile stress, which led in turn to different derivational variants: nom. sg. \*g<sup>m</sup>érh<sub>3</sub>juh<sub>2</sub> > \*g<sup>m</sup>éruh<sub>2</sub> > \*g<sup>m</sup>éruh<sub>2</sub> (Arc. δερφα), gen. sg. \*g<sup>m</sup>rh<sub>3</sub>juéh<sub>2</sub>s > \*g<sup>m</sup>rh<sub>3</sub>uéh<sub>2</sub>s > \*g<sup>m</sup>rih<sub>3</sub>uéh<sub>2</sub>s > \*g<sup>m</sup>rih<sub>3</sub>uáh<sub>2</sub>s (Ved. grīvā-; Rasmussen 1989, 90).

It seems, then, that we have to operate with two formations: one based on the full grade of the root in the nominative, and one with zero grade of the root in the oblique cases. It is tempting to try to refer βίρροξ to non-Greek continuants of the \*g<sup>m</sup>rih<sub>3</sub>-allomorph, as preserved in Old Indic grīvā- and the Slavic reflexes. Naturally, due to the state of preservation of Macedonian material, our knowledge of the historical phonology and phonetics of this idiom, as well as its derivational patterns and morphology, is very limited, but nevertheless it is attractive to connect the gloss with the attested Thessalian personal name.

All of the quoted forms, i.e. βίρροξ, βερρόν, βειρόν and Thess. Βιρουν (Βιρων), may be interpreted as built on the basis of an -o- stem \*birro-. Whereas the forms with geminate <ρ> seem to belong to one dialect continuum, βειρόν on the other hand could be the counterpart from a different dialectal system, if not simply due to a late orthographic convention. The presence of geminate /r/ could be analyzed in different ways. Already Hoffmann suggested that the geminate is the result of assimilation from /rs/ → /rr/, which could be interpreted as a Lesbian and Thessalian feature. However, this assimilation is regular only in forms of the sigmatic aorist; in other cases it is regularly observed in Attic, whereas in non-Attic dialects it occurs but sporadically (Lejeune 1972, 125).<sup>12</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Cf. however parallels such as Ved. vā-yú ‘wind’ or yá-yu ‘willingly sacrificing’.

<sup>12</sup> As in the abovementioned interpretation of βίρροξ by Hoffmann, as in βύρση < \*βόρσα ‘fell’. One may compare the similar situation in the case of glosses Hsch. A 731, 732 ἄγορῖς· ἄγορά· ἄθροισις b and ἀγόρριον· ἐκκλησία ‘assembly’, in both cases without any indication of dialectal provenance. The glosses have been quoted as Lesbian by Hoffmann, on the basis of the geminate /r/ as the development of an assumed inherited \*/rs/ group: ἄγορῖ- < \*agors-i- (though with some doubts; Hoffmann 1893, 228). However, such an interpretation is very problematic. The forms are attested neither in Lesbian inscriptions nor in the literary dialect. Elsewhere in Greek the regular form is ἀγορά/ή, which is attested as a part of the compound αγορανομος in Lesbian inscriptions (ASS 03, 3; ERE 06, 5, etc; Hodot 1990, 100<sup>38</sup>), and the noun ἀγορά is also attested for Thessalian; its use corresponds to the Homeric ‘assembly of people, many people’ (cf. *Schol.* in B 95: ex. ἀγορή· τὸ πλῆθος); cf. also the epitheton of Athene Αθανα Αγοραία in Atrax, which may be interpreted as ‘protector of gatherings’ (García Ramón 1997, 536ff.). The ancient sources, however, point to the existence of a competing form ἄγυρις, attested already in Homer, cf. P 661 κείμενον ἐν νεκῶν ἀγύρει· πολέες γὰρ ἐπ’ αὐτῷ, in the meaning ‘gathering, crowd’ (Hsch. A 861 ἄγυρις· σύνοδος, συναγωγή <στρατοῦ>; Hsch. A 862 \*ἀγύρει· [ἀθροίσματι· ἦ] συγκροτεῖ (Π 661); Hsch. A 863f. ἀγυρίζειν· συνάγειν, ἀγυρτάζειν; Hsch. A 863f.

In the history of Greek, many cases of phonetic lengthening can be seen to fit a more general pattern deriving from the treatment of certain prehistoric consonant clusters. This is especially noticeable in the case of consonant clusters involving liquids and nasals. In core Aeolic the usual outcome was assimilation to the liquid/nasal, producing a geminate, but elsewhere we typically find simplification of the cluster to the liquid/nasal alone accompanied by “compensatory lengthening” of the preceding vowel, thereby preserving the heavy syllable of the input form. If we assume gemination to be a stage through which non-Aeolic dialects also passed, the conventional spelling with a double consonant perhaps reflects the phonetic situation in old Ionic, although the surviving Aeolic usage must have strengthened the position of such forms in the system. These etymologically “motivated” forms then remained in use alongside the more modern Ionic forms with a single liquid/nasal (Horrocks 1997, 209ff.), cf. e.g. the Aeolic development of \*/ln/ to geminate /ll/ in ἀπελλεῖν (Hsch. entry A 5945\* ἀπελλεῖν· ἀποκλείειν inf. ‘to enclose’)<sup>13</sup> vs. /l/ and lengthening of the preceding vocal in Hom. (Ion.) εἰλέω (Lejeune 1972, 153).

As stated above, it may be tempting to try to analyze βίρροξ as based on the oblique case allomorph \*g<sup>w</sup>rih<sub>3</sub>- (OInd. grīvá-). If we compare the attested forms

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ἀγυρμός· \*ἐκκλησία Ab συγκρότησις, ἔστι δὲ πᾶν τὸ ἀγειρόμενον. καὶ τῶν μυστηρίων ἡμέρα πρώτη), which could be of Aeolic (Lesbian) origin, keeping in mind the correspondence between Aeol. /u/ and Att. /o/, which has been generally considered a feature of Aeolic, Arcadian and Cypriot as against Ionic (and Doric), cf. e.g. ονυμα, δευρυ, υμο-, υπισθα (Lesbian) or Cypr. 3sg. middle -τυ ~ -το, Arc. κατυ, υνεθυκε, etc. (Buck 1910, 25; Thumb/Scherer 1959, 89). The correspondence was observed in ancient grammatical sources, cf. Hdn. *Περὶ παθῶν* 3.2.364.5ff.: ἀγορά γὰρ ἦν καὶ ἄγυρις, καὶ παρὰ τοῖς Αἰολεῦσιν εὐρίσκομεν τὸ μόγις μύγις, τότε τύτε, also Eust. *Comm. ad Hom. Il.* 2.647.20: δηλοῦσιν οἱ παλαιοί. (v. 11) Τὸ δὲ «εἰς ἀγορήν» οὐκ ἀποστερεῖ οὐδὲ τὴν σύγκλητον ἄγυριν τοῦ λέγεσθαι ἤκειν εἰς ἀγορήν; cf. also An. Ox. 2.399.5 with reference to the Aeolic dialect: τὸ ἄπλουν ἄγυρις, τὸ γυ ψίλον Αἰολικῶς· ὡσπερ ὄνομα ὄνυμα, οὕτως ἀγορά ἄγορις καὶ ἄγυρις (Meister 1882, 55<sup>4</sup>); it is not however clear whether the /u/ in ἄγυρις may really be explained by this rule, because it applies only in the context of a following nasal or in Auslaut (Thumb/Scherer 1959, 89). According to Lejeune, the form contains the zero grade \*h<sub>2</sub>g<sup>(l)</sup>-, which irregularly developed into /ur/ and not, as expected, into /or/ (Lejeune 1972, 201<sup>1</sup>). One has to emphasize that there are no arguments for treating the glossed forms as belonging to either epigraphical or literary Lesbian. ἄγυρις, on the other hand, could belong to the dialectal vocabulary, but it may be also a result of the false association with other dialectal forms with /u/ in place of /o/. The gemination still remains unexplained; cf. however the Euboian form ἀγυρρις cited by Lejeune (1972, 119<sup>7</sup>), but it does not contain the suffix -σις.

**13** With no indication of possible dialectal origin in Hesychius. The form has been quoted as a Lesbian word by Hdn. *Περὶ ὀρθ.* 2.477.10f.: ἀπέιλω καὶ ἀπειλή: διὰ τῆς εἰ διφθόγγου. οἱ γὰρ Αἰολεῖς διὰ τοῦ ε ἐκφέρουσιν αὐτὰ οἶον ἀπέλλω, ἀπέλλη ὡσπερ κείρω κερῶ. cf. also *Et. M.* 120.52: ἀπελλεῖν: ὁ ἐστὶν ἀπειργεῖν, Αἰολικῶς ἀπελλεῖν.



βίρροξ, βερόρον, βειρόν and Thess. PN Βιρουν, we may try to explain the correspondence [ir]:[irr]:[err]:[e:r] within the rules for treatment of the consonant cluster \*/r̥i/ (parallel to \*/n̥i/) in different Greek dialects. In Aeolic, for instance, clusters consisting of a sonant plus following glide /i/ were palatalized and geminated, and the glide disappears (Blümel 1982, 93). The question then becomes whether the gemination could not be interpreted as simply a graphical expression of the emerging long quantity of the phoneme (Brixhe 1978, 66ff.): cf. Proto-Greek \*ager-*iō* > /ager'r'o:/ (palatalization) > /agehro:/ (depalatalization) > Lesb. ἀγέρρω [agerro:] (EM 8.13; *h*-assimilation) vs. Boeot. ἀγείρω [age:ro:] (Korinna PMG 654a iii 25; Blümel 1982, 96). In Thessalian, however, such clusters in the context after /i, e, u/ are represented in the same manner as in Lesbian, but after /a, o/ one may find examples of geminate consonants, whereas in Lesbian only diphthongs are attested (even if some counterevidence can be introduced as well), cf. Lesb. μάκαιρα, μοίρα, ὄνοιρος (but μορραν in Sapph. Σ 261A) vs. Thess. λαισταρρα, δουραντα, Κορρος, etc. (Blümel 1982, 97ff.).

The phenomenon is attested both for epigraphic Aeolic and for literary dialects as well (e.g. Lesbian), where examples may be found which parallel the discrepancy of [ir]:[irr]:[err]:[e:r] in βίρροξ and related forms. The most notable case is the name of king Priam, cf. Hsch. Π 193 Πέρραμος· βασιλεύς in ancient sources traditionally quoted as originating from Aeolic dialect,<sup>14</sup> always with a reference to the peculiarities of Aeolic phonetics;<sup>15</sup> cf. also the explicit quotation as Aeolic in Comp. I, 20: τὸν δε Πρίαμον Πέρραμον and the same example in Comp. III, 1 (Hoffmann 1893, 207, 215).<sup>16</sup> The form occurs only twice in literary dialect (Alc. 42, 2: Πέρραμωι καὶ παῖσ[ι] and Sapph. 44, 16: χῶρις δ' αὖ Περράμοιο

14 Cf. Hdn. *Περὶ παθῶν* 3.2.303.12–16 (= *Et. M.* 665.40): Πέρραμος: Πρίαμος Αἰολικῶς· πότε δύο ρρ καὶ πότε ἔν; καὶ ἔστιν εἰπεῖν, ὅτι, ἐὰν σύμφωνον ἐπιφέρηται ἐν οἷον τρίτος τέρτος, οὐκέτι δύο ρρ· οὐ γὰρ ἡδύνατο δύο ρρ· καὶ γε ἐὰν μὲν ἦ καθαρὸν, δύο· ἐὰν δὲ σύμφωνον, ἔν, οἷον κοπρία κόπερρα ὑπερθέσει.

15 Cf. Schol. in *Schol. in Hes. Op. et dies* 664.1–15: Οἱ γὰρ Αἰολεῖς μετὰ ἄλφα, ἂν ἦ φωνῆεν, προστιθέασιν τὸ υ· οἷον, ἀηρ αὐήρ, ἀώς αὐώς, ἅγιος αὐγιος, ἀάτην τὴν βλάβην καὶ τὴν ἀκρόρεστον αὐάταν, καὶ τὰ ὅμοια· συμφώνου δ' ὄντος μεταξύ, οὐκέτι· ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν μετὰ φωνῆεν τιθεμένων συμφώνων διπλασιάζουσιν αὐτὰ, ἢ τοῖς αὐτοῖς συμφώνοις, ἢ ἀπλῶς συμφώνοις· τοῖς αὐτοῖς μὲν, ὡς τὸ ἔννη, ἄμμες, ὕμμες, πέρραμος ὁ πρίαμος·.

16 Cf. the description of the phenomenon in *Περὶ ὀρθ.* 604.30–605.5: Αἰολεῖς χέλλιοι λέγουσιν. τοῦτο δὲ ἔθος ἔχουσι ποιεῖν ἐπὶ τῶν γραφομένων διὰ τῆς εἰ διφθόγγου οἷον φθειρω φθέρρω, σπειρω σπέρρω. εἰ δὲ τις εἴποι, ὅτι καὶ τὸ ι εἰς τὸ ε τρέπουσι οἷον Πρίαμος Πέρραμος, τρίτος τέρτος, οὕτως οὖν καὶ τὸ χίλιοι διὰ τοῦ ι γραφόμενον χέλλιοι γέγονε παρ' αὐτοῖς κατὰ τροπὴν τοῦ ι εἰς τὸ ε, λέγομεν ὅτι οἱ Αἰολεῖς τὸ ι τὸ συνεσταλμένον πεφύκασι τρέπειν εἰς τὸ ε οἷον Πρίαμος Πέρραμος, τρίτος τέρτος, κοπρία κόπερρα, τὸ δὲ χίλιοι τὸ ι μακρὸν ἔχει.

θυγ[α]τρεις[ ] and corresponds to the regular form Πρίαμος, attested from Homer onwards (e.g. A 255: ἦ κεν γηθήσαι Πρίαμος Πριάμοιο τε παῖδες).

The gloss Πέρραμος is an interesting example of a characteristic feature of Lesbian phonetics, namely the treatment of the inherited sequence [-riḱV-], which is attested in the material in the shape [-errV-].<sup>17</sup> According to Hoffmann, the presence of -εppo-, -εppa- < \*-rio-, \*-ria- may be found exclusively in Aeolic, where a vowel /i/ following a sonant /r/ developed into a glide /j/ and then disappeared (Hoffmann 1893, 321). Lejeune admits a different line of development, including first the metathesis of [ri] > [ir], then the “lowering” of [i] > [e] in the context of a following resonant, and finally gemination: [priḱamos] > [pe-riḱamos] > [perramos]; cf. also τέρτος for τρίτος, Δαμοκερτος for Δαμοκριτος (Lejeune 1972, 143<sup>2</sup>, 256, cf. also Rix 1992<sup>2</sup>, 61).<sup>18</sup> According to Thumb/Scherer, the phenomenon should be explained within the framework of the generally assumed dialectal treatment of the groups *Rs* or *Rj*, which “sonst Ersatzdehnung zu Folge haben, ergeben im Kleinasiatisch-Aiolischen die Geminaten μμ, νν, λλ, ρρ”; however, relevant examples are attested only in the literary dialect, cf. χέρρας, φθέρρω, ἄέρρει (Thumb/Scherer 1959, 95).<sup>19</sup> In fact, the epigraphical evidence is negative in this case. The only parallel example in Lesbian inscriptions is the name of the month Αγεppανιος, cf. Αγεppανιω μηννος in ERE 05, 27.45, in opposition to the form Αγγιανιος in other dialects (Hodot 1990, 87). Blümel points to the Thessalian phonetics, where a secondary /j/ may palatalize and geminate any preceding consonant, i.e. /-VRḱV-/ → /-VR'R'V-/, cf. επανγγελια, κυρρος, πεpp-, προυppa; however, in the case of the context /-TrḱV-/ one observes the simplification of the geminate (Blümel 1982, 56; cf. 96ff.). The evi-

<sup>17</sup> A parallel situation may be observed in the case of Hsch. T 558 τέρτα· ἡ τρίτη nom. sg. fem. ‘the third’; cf. τρίτος τέρτος in Herodianus, ascribed by the author to Aeolic. This numeral is not directly attested in Lesbian inscriptions, where instead the common Greek τρίτος is the current form, cf. masc. τρίτος και εικοιστος MYT 045, 21 (3rd c. BCE.), fem. Μηννος Αμαλω[ω]μηννος τριτα KYM 012, 17 (middle of the 2nd c. BCE.; cf. Blümel 1982, 274). On the other hand, one may quote the PN Τερτικων (in the form of a patronymic adj.), cf. ERE 526 a 37: Ηρωιδα τε τω Τερτικωνειω τω Ηρακλειω and acc. attested in Alc. fr. 129.8: τὸν δε τέρτον τὸν δε κεμήλιον ὠνύμασσ[α]ν (cf. also Pi. Ol. 8, 46: Γ' οὐκ ἄτερ παίδων σέθεν, ἀλλ' ἅμα πρώτοις ἄρξεται και τερτάτοις).

<sup>18</sup> According to Peters, the development *\*-trija* > *\*-ter'ra* “umgesetzt als *-tera*” is a characteristic feature of “altpeloponnesisch” (Peters 1986, 319<sup>49</sup>; Peters 1993, 375<sup>12</sup>), cf. also Méndez Dosuna (1994, 118-121); for the general treatment of inherited *-CRḱa-* formations in Greek, cf. Peters (1980, 130-147).

<sup>19</sup> Such a tendency has been generally ascribed to Aeolic; cf. Thessalian, where examples of lowering after [r] occur in Pelasgiotis: κρεννεμεν, κρεσις, πετροετειφιδα, Υβρεστας, απελευθερεσξες vs. Lesb. κριννω, Υβριστας (Blümel 1982, 46). Cf. also Myc. ]pi-ra<sub>2</sub>-mo[ KN X 7860.1 /piḱamos/ (?).

dence from Lesbian poetry is also problematic, since both kinds of forms, namely those with *-CriV-* > *-Crr-* > *-Cerr-* and those without such a development (*-riV-* > *-riV-*) may be observed. Such a situation may be to some extent a result of different accentual/metrical treatments, e.g. Sapphic Περάμοιο could yield a single sonant as a result of the simplification of the geminate due to metrical needs, Περάμοιο ~~~ vs. Περάμωι ~- (cf. Hamm 1958, 25ff.).<sup>20</sup>

If βῖρροξ and βεῖρρόν both continue the same stem *\*g<sup>u</sup>rih<sub>3</sub>-*, one may analyze it in the same way as the Aeolic examples above: *\*g<sup>u</sup>rih<sub>3</sub>-o-* > *\*g<sup>u</sup>ri-o-* > *\*g<sup>u</sup>ri̇-o-* > *\*g<sup>u</sup>r'r'-o-*, and finally *\*g<sup>u</sup>err-o-*. This would imply that the form βεῖρρόν is more ancient than the attested “Macedonian” gloss βῖρροξ. Such a reconstruction also requires the assumption that the Indo-European and Proto-Greek labiovelars were treated in the same way in Macedonian (βῖρροξ) as in Aeolic. Unfortunately, we know very little about the real phonological prehistory of Macedonian, and the assured material testifies only a single example of a labiovelar treatment, which seems to go along with the known Greek pattern: cf. the glosses Hsch. N 556 νίβα· χιόνα· καὶ κρήνην and Suda N 363 νίβα· χιόνα· καλεῖται δὲ οὕτως καὶ κρήνη ἐν Θράκη, both without an indication of dialectal provenance, but due to the known rule *Mediae Aspiratae* > *Mediae* ascribed to Macedonian speech (cf. Greek νίφα). In fact, the number of possible forms yielding continuants from original labiovelars among the Macedonian glosses is very limited, and the examples from personal names show varying treatments, so that it seems impossible to formulate a single phonological rule (Méndez Dosuna 2012, 136ff.).<sup>21</sup>

**20** It seems that the Lesbian forms, even if corresponding to those of Ionic, result from an independent development: “for a long and continuous period the Asiatic Aeolians had been talking about *Priam* independently of the Ionians” (West 1973, 191). Miller treats the two forms as belonging to two different poetic traditions, in which case Πέρραμος would be an element of inherited Aeolic and Πρίαμος a separate development of the Ionian epic phase (Miller 1982, 33ff.).

**21** According to Hatzopoulos (2007b, 227–236, *passim*) the PN Ἐπόκιλλος (< *\*h<sub>3</sub>ek<sup>u</sup>-*) attests to shift *\*k<sup>u</sup>i* > [k<sup>i</sup>] > κι. As noted by Méndez Dosuna, this could be an isogloss shared with Thessalian, cf. *\*k<sup>u</sup>is* > κίς (Att. τίς) in Eastern Thessalian (Pelagiotis). Méndez Dosuna contests this hypothesis and points to the fact that both κίς and /t/ in West Thessalian (Thessalotis) τίς are irregular outcomes (for expected *\*πις*) that are probably due to a deviant phonetic evolution typical of grammatical words (Méndez Dosuna 2012, 137). Such examples quoted by Hatzopoulos as PN Ἰκκότα, Ἰκκότιμος (from *\*hek<sup>u</sup>-*), Ὀκκος (from *\*h<sub>3</sub>ek<sup>u</sup>-*) and Λυκκηία (to *\*Lúk<sup>u</sup>-*) are according to Méndez Dosuna not probative and cannot be used as an argument in favor of the tentative evolution of *\*k<sup>u</sup>o* > κκο in Macedonian (*ibidem*), especially since the forms ἴππος / ἴκκος remain a problem of Greek phonology (unexpected aspiration, *i*-vocalism and geminate -ππ-/-κκ-). Méndez Dosuna emphasizes that geminate <ππ> / <κκ> is a pan-Hellenic phenomenon, but on the other hand suggests an origin in expressive gemination

From the point of view of word formation, we may treat βίρροξ as an example of a secondary formation built with a *-k-* suffix to an existing *o-*stem (apparently preserved in βεῤῥόν). This reflects a nonproductive pattern for forming diminutive or disparaging derivatives (cf. Risch 1974<sup>2</sup>, 161ff., 176), although one can point to a handful of other formations in *-οξ*, as e.g. βέβροξ (βέβροξ· ἀγαθός, χρηστός, καλός Hsch. B 439), apparently to βεβρός (but with the opposite meaning, cf. Hsch. 440 βεβρός· ψυχρός, τετυφωμένος Hippon. fr. 71 Kn.), or ῥόμοξ ‘wood-worm’ to Hsch. P 438 ῥόμος· σκώληξ ἐν ξύλοις, which have sometimes been treated as non-Greek words (cf. Beekes *EDG* 209, 1291).<sup>22</sup> The material at our disposal precludes formulating any statements concerning whether such derivatives should be ascribed to Macedonian as well.

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in order to explain forms such as Ὀκκος, Λυκκῆία. The example of PN Βέτταλος is more interesting according to him, and has to be interpreted as a local variant of the ethnonym Att. Θετταλός, Boeot. Φετταλός, Thess. Πετθαλός, whose etymon must be reconstructed with an initial aspirate labiovelar *\*g<sup>wh</sup>*. If Macedonian should be considered a separate Indo-European language more closely related to Thracian and Phrygian, one should consider the expected outcome to be *\*Γε-* and not *Βε-* (in Phrygian all three rows of tectals have been continued by a single one, namely by velars, cf. Sowa 2008, 31, 52). Βέτταλος must then be the result of a development *\*g<sup>wh</sup>e > \*k<sup>wh</sup>e > [p<sup>h</sup>e] > [fe] > [ve]*, with a shift *K<sup>ve</sup> > Pe*, a typical feature of Aeolic, and ultimately should be considered a loan from Thessalian (Méndez Dosuna 2012, 136). Whether *k<sup>ve</sup> > πε* in Upper Pieria is difficult to answer, as this form could be either a loan element in Thessalian or a vernacular variant in an area within Ancient Macedonia. Actually, there could be a dental reflex of *\*g<sup>wh</sup>u* before front vowel attested in PN Θηρωνι if from *\*g<sup>wh</sup>uēr-*, but the entire picture could be even more complicated, since one may point to probable examples of palatalized reflexes of labiovelars before front vowel. As I have argued elsewhere, the phenomenon of palatalized labiovelars may be a typical isogloss of so-called Balkan-Indo-European, with traces in Albanian, Armenian, non-Aeolic Greek dialects (cf. Arc. orthographies <ζ>, <τζ> for <τ>, cf. ζ = τε, τζετρακατια or the use of a local variant of *san* letter <И> in Иις [sis] < *\*k<sup>wh</sup>is* [IPark. 8 = *IG* V 2, 262]), and probably Messapian as well (Sowa 2009, 291ff. with literature). It seems, however, that in the Thracian-Macedonian (at least geographical) complex, a general tendency to palatalize original labiovelars may also be found; cf. the coexistence of the toponyms *Germisara*, *Ζερμιζεγρα* and *Ζαρμιζεγετσα*, which may easily be referred to forms such as Alb. *zjarm* or Arm. *jerm*, Ζηρινθία and *Zerynthius* as epithets of Artemis and Apollo (Solta 1980, 22, Katičić 1976, 140) < *\*g<sup>wh</sup>uehr-*, and the probable Greek substitution Θέρμη for Σέρμη/η < *\*g<sup>wh</sup>ermo-* ‘warm’, pointing to a voiced sibilant [z]; cf. also Hsch. Σ 430 σερμοί· θερμοί (Sowa 2009, 293ff.).

**22** It would be tempting to interpret *-οξ* as corresponding to Lat. *-ox*, as in *fer-ōx*, *atrōx*, *uelōx* (~ *uelēs*), etc. Balles 2008, 107). Some of these examples should, however, be interpreted as old compounds containing the IE element */-oks/* < *\*-h<sub>3</sub>k<sup>wo</sup>-* (for the type, see Schaffner 2005, 541–559). In the case of βίρροξ, however, the phonology would speak against such a comparison, since one would rather expect a labial reflex *-οψ*.

In conclusion, the form βῆροξ· δασύ· Μακεδόνες is interesting for several reasons. It seems that in light of the evidence adduced above, a new interpretation of this gloss is possible, as a form based on the *o*-stem continued in the same meaning in βεῖρόν, which should ultimately be referred to the oblique stem of the inherited formation *\*g<sup>w</sup>érh<sub>3</sub>i<sub>w</sub>h<sub>2</sub>*, *\*g<sup>w</sup>rh<sub>3</sub>i<sub>w</sub>éh<sub>2</sub>s* (cf. the discrepancy between Arc. δερφα and OInd *grīvā-*). It has been assumed that *\*g<sup>w</sup>ri-* (probably before a vocalic suffix) underwent an inner-Greek development typical of Aeolic dialects (Lesbian/to some extent Thessalian) and was then remodeled to the shape *\*g<sup>w</sup>errV-*, followed by the labiovelar treatment typical for the Aeolic group.<sup>23</sup> One may therefore ask whether the information on the dialectal provenance (Μακεδόνες) is actually correct and not just a more or less geographical term (cf. e.g. the conventional use of the term “Phrygian” in Hesychius’s Lexicon to refer to anything from Asia Minor, irrespective of whether the form comes from Phrygian or Phrygian Greek). It might rather be the case that the form βεῖρόν is an Aeolic dialectal element, which then spread to Macedonia as a loanword, specifically as a nickname.

It seems that the problem of the Ancient Macedonian idiom and Ancient Macedonian identity remains central to the description of linguistic relationships in the ancient Balkans. To some extent, the unfortunately politicized question on the nature of Macedonian – a separate language or “just” a Greek dialect – has serious consequences for historical linguistics, which one may briefly summarize in the following way: if Macedonian was a separate language, what were its characteristics? How can it be placed among other Indo-European languages of the ancient Balkans? On the other hand, if we assume that there was no separate Macedonian language and therefore that the Macedonians spoke a variety of Greek and were themselves Greeks, what is the place of Macedonian among other Greek dialects both from a synchronic and a diachronic point of view? Can we find the features ascribed to Macedonian in other Greek dialects, and if so, in what distribution?

The literary evidence can of course hardly be used as proof for or against the Greekness of Macedonian speech, but it does yield valuable information on the close proximity of customs and traditions between some Greek (specifically Doric) tribes and the inhabitants of the north. Due to the lack of other epigraph-

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<sup>23</sup> One may ask whether δρίος ‘corpse, thicket’, attested e.g. in Hsch. Δ 2375 δρία· τόποι σύνδενδροι [τόποι] καὶ χλωώδεις, could not be analyzed as the formal continuant of *\*g<sup>w</sup>riV-* of non-Aeolic provenance. Keeping in mind that Arc. δερφα is actually attested in a metaphoric, topographic sense, it might be an attractive direction to explore.

ic evidence, we must interpret the glosses as the only testimony of the vernacular speech of this region.

In this connection, those glosses, which do not seem to have any connection to the attested Greek material, seem to be the most interesting group from an etymological point of view. The most important task, then, is an examination of the direct source of the form (if possible), including the conventions and traditions of various literary genres. The historical-comparative method and interdisciplinary analysis are also necessary to explain these sometimes-unique attestations of single formations in Greek. These Macedonian *hapax legomena*, however, cannot be cited in favor of either the “Greekness” or the “Balkanness” of Macedonian speech; the existence of particular forms which are attested in one Greek dialect exclusively, while in other dialects etymologically unrelated synonyms occur, supports the “specific” character ascribed to a lexical item (cf. the criteria for studying the dialectal lexicon of Greek in García Ramón (1997, 521–552), and above all García Ramón (2004, 235–264).

The observations above do not presume to be the last word in the discussion and should be understood as suggestions. They may, however, help to push our attempts to interpret the enigmatic gloss βίβροξ· δασύ· Μακεδόνες in a new direction and, in consequence, help us to gain new insights into the fragmentarily attested language of ancient Macedonia.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> “Alle Theorien, die bisher mit einer selbständigen Balkansprache ‘Makedonisch’ operierten, sind deutlich zu revidieren” (Hajnal 2003, 124).

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Marina Benedetti

# Rules for *o*-ablauting perfects in ancient grammatical treatises: reflections on Theodosius' Κανόνες

## 1

In his work on the Greek verb, Georg Curtius makes the following remark:

Nichts verdunkelt den Blick in das Wesen des griechischen Verbalbaues so sehr wie die immer noch weit verbreitete Meinung, jedes Verbum müsse sich “durchconjugiren” lassen. [...] Von der spätesten Schicht der abgeleiteten Verba abgesehen – fast jedes Verbum so zu sagen eine Familie vorstellt, die ihre besonderen Schicksale hat und ein ganz individuelles Gepräge trägt. Ich möchte zweifeln, ob eine andre Sprache in gleichem Grade wie die griechische diesen Individualismus, wie wir es wohl nennen dürfen, entwickelt hat.

(Curtius 1877, V)

In accordance with this claim, the author expresses surprise at widespread teaching practices not attaining to the principle of textual evidence: “ist es bisweilen merkwürdig zu sehen, wie Formen, die sogar Schüler aus unsern Gymnasien als ganz gewöhnliche lernen, entweder gar keine Gewähr haben oder nur ganz vereinzelt an versteckten Orten vorkommen” (*ibid.*).

The stress on the “individualistic”, idiosyncratic behaviour of each verb lexeme, and the related invitation to attain to documentary evidence reflects, of course, Curtius’ philologically oriented attitude. On the other hand, the aim at building full paradigms reflects, as said, a widespread teaching practice.

The practice censured by Curtius has a long prestigious background, and was taken to its extremes by some old grammarians and teachers of Greek. One of the most remarkable and influential exponents of this practice is Theodosius from Alexandria, author of a handbook, the Κανόνες εισαγωγικοί περί κλίσεως ὀνομάτων καὶ ῥημάτων (probably composed between the end of the 4th and the beginning of the 5th century)<sup>1</sup> proposing rules for noun and verb inflection. For

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This study has been realized within the research project MuMIL-EU (Hera JRP “Uses of the Past” n. 5087-00344A)

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<sup>1</sup> Some references: Hunger (1978); Wouters (1988, 30ff.); Kaster (1997, 366ff.); Dickey (2007, 83; 2015, 478); Pagani (2015, 830ff.); Matthaios (2015, 267).

the verb τύπτω – selected as an exemplar for instructions for conjugation<sup>2</sup> – Theodosius provides an impressive amount of forms. Thus, for the first person singular of the indicative we are faced with the following forms:

1. Present:	τύπτω (active)/τύπτομαι (middle + passive)
2. Imperfect:	ἔτυπτον (active)/ἔτυπτόμην (middle + passive)
3. first Aorist:	ἔτυψα (active)/ἔτυψάμην (middle)/ἔτύφθην (passive)
4. second Aorist:	ἔτυπον (active)/ἔτυπόμην (middle)/ἔτύπην (passive)
5. first Future:	τύψω (active)/τύψομαι (middle)/τυφθήσομαι (passive)
6. second Future:	τυπῶ (active)/τυποῦμαι (middle)/τυπήσομαι (passive)
7. Perfect:	τέτυφα (active)/τέτυπα (middle)/τέτυμμαι (passive)
8. Pluperfect:	ἔτετύφειν (active)/ἔτετύπειν (middle)/ἔτετύμην (passive)

Each of these 22 forms is further inflected for all persons and numbers (including duals), and for all (finite and non-finite) moods, thus producing an impressive amount of forms.

With respect to exhaustivity, Theodosius could not have achieved more, and he actually goes too far, providing – through consistent recourse to analogy – a large amount of forms otherwise unattested, bizarre, unlikely or even impossible according to modern doctrine (such as a “contracted” future – “perispomenic”, in Theodosius’ terminology – τυπῶ, τυπεῖς, τυπεῖ).<sup>3</sup>

Not surprisingly, Theodosius’ method, and the resulting huge amount of bizarre and unlikely forms, have given rise to annoyed or ironic remarks by several scholars. Let me simply quote one:

Centena sunt in Graeco sermone, ubi usus ab analogia diversus abit, plurima sunt pueris nota, at alia sunt non minus certa, quae Atticistas quidem omnes fugerunt et Grammaticos omnium temporum, e quorum numero est usus verbi unius omnium notissimi τύπτω, in

<sup>2</sup> The use of τύπτω as an exemplar verb for paradigms was well established before Theodosius, as it occurs (with other verbs as well) in conjugation tables preserved in papyri and tablets at least since the 2nd c. AD. For a collection of such texts, cf. the online resource *Catalogue of Paraliterary Papyri*; cf. also Weems (1981, 165); Wouters (1988); Luiselli (1999).

<sup>3</sup> Of course, defectivity in the literary documents which have been transmitted up to our time does not necessarily imply defectivity in the system, or in the texts which ancient grammarians had at their disposal. Nevertheless, we can be pretty sure that many of the forms quoted by Theodosius were actually never found in texts. On this issue, cf. also § 4 below. On the presence of an amount of purely artificial forms (in Theodosius as well as in other grammatical texts), cf. Wouters (1988, 80 with references), Dickey (2007, 83), Van Elst (2011, 413), Weems (1981, 166), Luiselli (1999, 78: “non-existent forms were often devised on analogical grounds to fill the gaps in the inflectional series for the sake of completeness and regularity”).

quo cognoscendo et ediscendo innumerabilis discipulorum multitudo inde ab antiquis temporibus tirocinium fecit, nam qui olim περί κλίσεως ὀνομάτων καὶ ῥημάτων scriptitabant omnes in barytonis hoc exemplo utebantur et discipulos exercebant. Olim nata sunt monstra et portenta formarum τυπῶ, ἔτυπον, ἔτυπόμην, τέτυπα, ἐτετύπειν, τυπτέτων, τυπτόμεθον, alia, quae in magistellorum cerebris nata sunt, in Graecorum libris nusquam leguntur; at leguntur et explicantur (apud THEODOSIUM etc.)

(Cobet 1873, 329ff.)

Disapproval and irony are only partially mitigated by the acknowledgment of the didactic advantages of this method. The selection of a specific verb as the basis for setting out a full paradigm, as stressed by R.H. Robins, responds to the

didactic purpose of setting out the grammar of the language without at this stage burdening the teacher and the learner with a heavy lexical load. Theodosius and his successors were telling their readers “If all the morphologically possible forms and all their variants were to be formed on a single verb root, this is what it all would look like”. Pupils could then derive and correctly analyse those forms that were in actual use with lexically different verb roots.

(Robins 1993, 112)

The *Κανόνες* were meant as a didactic tool for teaching of Classical Greek, the language of literary usage (with focus on a specific variety, namely Attic prose of the 4th century BC), within a tradition which dominated school curricula over many centuries.<sup>4</sup> They exerted a significant influence in Greek linguistic doctrine, linking their fate with another very successful work such as the *Τέχνη γραμματική* attributed to Dionysius Thrax (Dickey 2015, 478).<sup>5</sup> Their prestige is confirmed by their being the object of extensive commentaries by Charax and Choeroboscus. Also, thanks to the extraordinary success of Choeroboscus' commentary (8th–9th c. AD), for many centuries the *Κανόνες* constituted the main source for handbooks on Greek, and exerted an influence which reached beyond the Byzantine world up to the European Renaissance. Their historical importance for ancient scholarship cannot be disregarded.

But, in addition to all this, can such a bizarre, unfashionable work be of some interest for modern scholarship? Surely no-one would consider the

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Wouters (1988, 80); Dihle (1994, 439). On the “archaistically-oriented revival of obsolete forms” (such as the first person dual middle ending -μεθον), cf. Luiselli (1999, 78 and *passim*).

<sup>5</sup> A complete conjugation table of τύπτω, probably composed on the basis of Theodosius' work, was added as a supplement to the *Τέχνη γραμματική*; the table had already been added to the *Τέχνη* at the time of the Armenian translation (5th c. AD); the Armenian translation of the *Τέχνη* thus provides a *terminus ante quem* for Theodosius' *Κανόνες*. Also see Weems (1981, 223ff.); Wouters (1988, 30, n. 33).

Κανόνες as a reliable description of the Greek language. There are nevertheless, in my opinion, good reasons for throwing a glance at the Κανόνες today: their attempt at a systematic description of Greek grammar (a grammar seen “through the eyes” of Byzantine Greek scholars) invites us to reconsider various aspects of this language, as we hope to show in what follows.<sup>6</sup>

## 2

One major feature of the Κανόνες is that they formulate not only paradigms but also sets of synchronic rules apt to generate all possible forms for each lexeme.<sup>7</sup> In the following, we shall focus on a specific case study, namely what we now call the *-o-* ablaut grade of strong perfects.<sup>8</sup>

In Theodosius’ system, the perfect shows distinct inflections for the three voices, “active” (subst. ἐνέργεια, adj. ἐνεργητικός), “passive” (subst. πάθος, adj. παθητικός) and “middle” (subst. μεσότης, adj. μέσος).<sup>9</sup> “Active” and “middle” perfects share the same set of endings (the α-set, today labelled as *active*), whereas “passive” perfects are characterized by the other set of endings (the μαι-set, today: *middle* or *mediopassive*; e.g., τέτυμμα, πέφρασμα). The formal opposition between “active” and “middle” perfects rests upon the *stem*: the class of “active” perfects corresponds to our *kappatic* and *aspirated* perfects (e.g. τέτυφα, πέφρακα), the class of “middle” perfects coincides with our *root* (unaspirated) perfects (e.g. τέτυπα, πέφραδα).<sup>10</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Cf. van Elst (2011, 405): “the Κανόνες deserve to be studied in their own right.”

<sup>7</sup> On the term Κανών as “theoretical rule for inflection”, cf. Wouters (1988, 78 with references). The question of Theodosius’ predecessors does not concern us here. A text typology much older than the Κανόνες and somehow related to it is represented by the inflectional tables preserved in papyri providing noun and verb paradigms (see n. 2 above). The relationship between the Κανόνες and the inflectional tables raises nevertheless complex issues; cf. Wouters (1988, 78); Pagani (2015 with references).

<sup>8</sup> For a synthesis on the ablaut of the perfect in Greek – from a modern point of view –, cf. Kümmel (2014).

<sup>9</sup> When necessary, quotation marks will be used to refer to Theodosius’ terminology, and italics to refer to modern terminology: so, “active” (which translates ἐνέργεια, ἐνεργητικός) refers to the use of this label by Theodosius, *active* to the use of this label by modern authors.

<sup>10</sup> It is not necessary to dwell on this classification here. A thorough analysis of the treatment of voices in the perfect system will be published in Benedetti (forthcoming).

A subset of “middle” (i.e.: *root*) perfects is characterized by a “turn” of an ε into an ο (i.e., by *o*-ablaut): Theodosius formulates the corresponding rule, generating perfect forms such as πέποιθα (: πείθω), λέλογα (: λέγω), κέκορα (: κείρω).<sup>11</sup>

The relevant passages concerning *o*-ablauting perfects are quoted in (1) and (2): in (1) we have Theodosius’ text, and in (2) Choeroboscus’ commentary.

(1)

Παραλήγουσαν δὲ τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχει τῷ ἐνεργητικῷ ὁ μέσος παρακειμένος, οἷον νένηκα νένηθα, εἰ μὴ πω ἐν δισυλλάβῳ μέλλοντι τὸ ε εὐρεθεῖη ἢ μόνον ἢ μετὰ τοῦ ι· τότε γὰρ εἰς ο αὐτὸ τρέπει ὁ μέσος, λέγω λέξω λέλογα, κείρω κερῶ κέκορα, πείθω πείσω πέποιθα

(*Can.* 50.10ff.)

The middle perfect has the same penultimate (syllable) as the active perfect, as νένηκα νένηθα, unless in a disyllabic future occurs an ε, either alone or with an ι; in that case the middle perfect turns this to ο, λέγω λέξω λέλογα, κείρω κερῶ κέκορα, πείθω πείσω πέποιθα (shortly above he has mentioned also τέμνω τέτομα)

(2)

Ἰστέον <δὲ> ὅτι παραλήγουσαν τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχει ὁ μέσος παρακειμένος τῷ ἐνεργητικῷ παρακειμένῳ, οἷον τέτυφα τέτυπα, νένηκα νένηθα, πέπληχα πέπληγα, νένυχα νένυγα, πέπηχα πέπηγα, ὄρυχα ὄρυγα, ἤμειφα ἤμειβα, ἤγερκα ἤγερα. Δεῖ προσθεῖναι «χωρὶς εἰ μὴ εὐρεθῆ ἔν δισυλλάβῳ μέλλοντι τὸ ε ἢ μόνον ἢ μετὰ τοῦ ι»· τότε γὰρ τρέπειται τὸ ε εἰς ο ἐν τῷ μέσῳ παρακειμένῳ, οἷον λέγω λέξω λέλογα, τέκω τέξω τέτοκα, νέμω νεμῶ νόμομα, μένω μενῶ μέμονα, γείνω γενῶ γέγονα, κείρω κερῶ κέκορα, σπείρω σπερῶ ἔσπορα, φθείρω φθερῶ ἔφθορα, κτείνω κτενῶ ἔκτονα, <πείθω πείσω πέποιθα, λείβω λείψω λέλοιβα>· πρόσκειται «ἐν δισυλλάβῳ μέλλοντι» διὰ τὸ ἐγερῶ ἤγερα καὶ ἀμείψω ἤμειβα· ἐπὶ τούτων γὰρ οὐκ ἐτράπη τὸ ε εἰς τὸ ο ἐν τῷ μέσῳ παρακειμένῳ, ἀλλ’ οὐκ εἰσὶ δισύλλαβοι οἱ μέλλοντες

(Choerob. in *Theod.* 105.12ff.)

It has to be known that the middle perfect has the same penultimate as the active perfect, such as τέτυφα τέτυπα, νένηκα νένηθα, πέπληχα πέπληγα, νένυχα νένυγα, πέπηχα πέπηγα, ὄρυχα ὄρυγα, ἤμειφα ἤμειβα, ἤγερκα ἤγερα. It must be added “unless in a disyllabic future occurs an ε, either alone or with an ι”: in that case, in fact, the ε is turned into ο in the middle perfect, such as λέγω λέξω λέλογα, τέκω τέξω τέτοκα, νέμω νεμῶ νόμομα, μένω μενῶ μέμονα, γείνω γενῶ γέγονα, κείρω κερῶ κέκορα, σπείρω σπερῶ ἔσπορα, φθείρω φθερῶ ἔφθορα, κτείνω κτενῶ ἔκτονα, <πείθω πείσω πέποιθα, λείβω λείψω λέλοιβα>. It is added “in a disyllabic future” because of the forms ἐγερῶ ἤγερα and ἀμείψω ἤμειβα: in these forms, in fact, the ε has not been turned into ο in the middle perfect, but their futures are not disyllabic

11 Neither λέλογα nor κέκορα occur outside grammatical texts; on this cf. § 4.

## 3

As noted above, Theodosius' Κανόνες and the extensive commentary of Choeroboscus exerted a remarkable influence on the grammatical tradition and on the teaching of Classical Greek. Thus, the rule for *o*-ablaut spreads and survives into the Port Royal scholarship and is relaunched in Claude Lancelot's *Nouvelle méthode pour apprendre facilement la langue grecque* (1655).<sup>12</sup> Here it is proposed as a rhyming rule in octosyllabic verses accompanied by a prose commentary (p. 201ff.):

(3)  
 Regle LXVIII  
 De la penultime de ce Parfait.<sup>13</sup>  
 L'Actif & le medion aime  
 Au passé mesme penultiesme.  
 Hors que [...]  
 Et qu'au Futur dissyllabique  
 Pour toujours l'o bref applique;  
 D'ou vient qu' εἶ, l' οἶ fera,  
 Comme ἀλείφω, ψω, ἦλοιφα.

[...] Dans les Verbes de deux syllabes, de quelque coniugaison qu'il soient, l'ε penult. du Futur I. Actif se change en o en ce Parfait : comme τρέπω, τρέψω, τέτροπα, *verto*: λέγω λέξω λέλογα, *dico* : νέμω νεμῶ νένομα, *distribuo* : τέμω τεμῶ τέτομα, *seco* : πείρω περῶ πέπορα, *transadigo* : ἀνατέλλω ἀνατελῶ ἀνατέτολα, *exorior*, composé τέλλω. Que s'ils ont plus de deux syllabes, ils retiennent leur ε , comme ὀφείλω ὀφελῶ ὄφελα , *debeo* : ἀγγέλλω ἀγγελῶ ἤγγελα , *nuncio*.

[...] Par la mesme analogie ceux qui ont ει , soit dissyllabes ou polysyllabes, le changent en οι , comme ἀλείφω, ἀλείψω, ἦλοιφα, *ungo* : πείθω, πείσω, πέποθα, *persuadeo* : εἶκω, εἶξω, ἔοικα, *similis sum*.

The rule survives into the English and the Italian translations which appeared almost one century later, in 1749 and 1752 respectively (cf. (4) and (5) below):

(4)  
 The Active and Middle Perfects have generally the same penultimate.  
 Except that [...]  
 Likewise ε in the first Future dissyllable is changed here into ο.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Available online: <https://archive.org/details/nouvellemethode00lancgoog>.

<sup>13</sup> i.e., of the “middle” perfect.

<sup>14</sup> *The Abridgment of the New Method of learning easily and expeditiously the Greek tongue. Translated from the French of Messieurs de Port Royal. With considerable Improvements,*



(5)

La penultima il passato  
 Dell'attivo ha sempre a lato  
 [..]  
 Di due sillabe sovente  
 Il futuro o aver consente:  
 E con questa istessa norma  
 Et il dittongo in oi trasforma.<sup>15</sup>

In 17th- and 18th-century Europe, students were trained to learn Classical Greek by memorizing rules which go back (at least) to Theodosius, and were expected not only to recognize but to create, according to them, *o*-ablauting perfects.

## 4

The most striking feature emerging from the above passages is that most of the forms which are generated by this *o*-ablaut rule do not actually occur elsewhere in the extant literature.

Among them are the following forms quoted by Theodosius and/or Choeroboscus: ἤλοιφα, κέκορα, λέλοιβα, λέλογα, νένομα, ἀνατέτολα, τέτομα, τέτροπα. Though none of us is likely to have encountered any of these in literary prose (we have to keep in mind that literary prose was the ideal target language), just by looking at them we have no difficulty in guessing the corresponding verb lexeme: ἀλείφω, κείρω, λείβω, λέγω, νέμω, ἀνατέλλω, τέμνω, τρέπω.

In most cases, the forms quoted are plausible; they are – in large measure – “possible but non-existing” forms (insofar as they do not exist outside grammatical treatises). Of course, some of them may have occurred in texts which were known at Theodosius’ time, but there is no reason to assume that it must be so for all of them. A similar assumption would disregard the nature of this text itself, which fulfills both a descriptive and a normative purpose, teaching how to correctly create perfect forms. We have to keep in mind, in fact, that the “mental gymnastics” imposed by the Κανόνες was not simply directed to reception of the

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London, printed for J. Nourse at the Lamb opposite Katherine-Street in the Strand; and G. Hawkins at Milton’s Head near Temple-Bar, Fleet-Street, 1749, 109. <https://books.google.it/books/reader?id=obBWAAAACAAJ&hl=it&printsec=frontcover&output=reader&pg=GBS.PA109>.

<sup>15</sup> *Nuovo metodo per imparare facilmente la lingua greca tradotto dall’idioma francese, e disposto in ordine assai chiaro, e brieve*. Napoli: nella stamperia di Giovanni Di Simone, 1752, 237.

literary heritage; learners were expected to acquire an active competence in the imitation of Classical Greek (Wouters 1988, 80, Van Elst 2011, 413).

These forms are shaped according to synchronic rules invented by ancient grammarians. And, interestingly enough, the outcomes of these synchronic rules may converge with those of Indo-European reconstruction: the perfect λέλογα, quoted by Theodosius and Choeroboscus, is perfectly consistent with the asterisked form “?\*1e-lóg-” found in LIV<sup>2</sup>, s.v. \*1eǵ-.

Such a curious coincidence, combined with the remark made above that modern specialists of Greek are able to immediately associate non-attested forms such as ἤλοιφα, κέκορα, λέλοιβα etc. with corresponding verb lexemes, suggest some reflections.

Of course, the kind of Greek described in the handbooks of Theodosius and his followers is a purely artificial construction, based on massive recourse to analogy, which helps fill the gaps of a finite evidence. Each individual morphophonemic trait identified by the grammarian on the basis of attested forms (and described in terms of substitution of elements in given morphological contexts) is expanded and generalized, with no consideration for lexical idiosyncrasy, irregularity, defectivity.

In this respect, Theodosius’ work – absolutely reproachable from a philological perspective – is a methodologically interesting effort to reconstruct an ideal grammar.

This ancient scholar attempts to build up a system,<sup>16</sup> by extracting generalizations from limited textual evidence, a task which is not totally unfamiliar to scholars engaged in linguistic reconstruction. On the other hand, his approach is inevitably not historical or diachronic, but strictly synchronic and, in a sense, “generative”.

For today’s linguists Theodosius’ methodology is interesting, even independently of its results. But some results also deserve our attention. Theodosius makes predictions about possible forms, thus reaching excesses which have aroused sharp and sometimes derisive critics (cf. § 1 above). Nevertheless, in the specific case examined above, his predictions, on the basis of purely synchronic evidence, may converge with predictions we can make on the basis of the successes of modern historical linguistics.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Surely building upon a previous heritage, which Theodosius’ success completely outclassed.

<sup>17</sup> On the other hand, we find no rules, as far as I know, concerning the *o* ~  $\emptyset$  ablaut in the paradigm of the perfect; this may be at least partly related to the prominence assigned to the 1st person indicative singular (according to a well-established teaching practice).

Let us consider, for example, in the case of *o*-ablauting perfects, how the synchronic asymmetry between pairs like πείθω : πέποιθα on the one hand and κείρω : κέκορα on the other is accounted for.

In the first couple, an *i*-element occurs after the *apophonetic* vowel both in the present and in the perfect; in the second couple an *i*-element occurs in the present but not in the perfect.

Why κέκορα and not κέκοιρα? This question puzzled, as Choeroboscus reports (105, 29ff.), some people who wondered why one should have κέκορα (and ἔφθορα) instead of κέκοιρα (and ἔφθοιρα; modern authors would asterisk these forms!), i.e. why the *i*-element occurring in the present is not preserved in the perfect, differently from what is observed in πέποιθα.

Needless to say, modern linguistics easily accounts for this asymmetry in diachronic terms: in the first case, the *i*-element is part of the *root* (\**bheydh-*), hence, it is maintained throughout the verbal paradigm; in the second case, the *i*-element is not part of the root (\*(*s*)*ker-*) but is the outcome of a phonetic development specifically related to the formation of some tense stems (among which the present),<sup>18</sup> hence it does not occur throughout the whole paradigm.

This kind of explanation was not available, of course, to ancient grammarians who, once the question had been put to them, had to solve it in *synchronic* (one may say: systematic) terms; they had to look for *synchronic* evidence of the different status of the -*ει*- in πείθω on the one hand and in κείρω on the other. This was achieved through the reference to a third form class, namely the future. In fact, in the passages in (1) and (2) above, the perfect is put in relationship not just with the present (the usual quotation form of the verb) but also with the future, thus providing triple correlations (present / future / perfect): λέγω / λέξω / λέλογα; κείρω / κερῶ / κέκορα; πείθω / πείσω / πέποιθα in Theodosius, to which Choeroboscus adds τέκω / τέξω / τέτοκα; νέμω / νεμῶ / νένομα; μένω / μενῶ / μέμονα; γείνω / γενῶ / γέγονα; σπείρω / σπερῶ / ἔσπορα; φθείρω / φθερῶ / ἔφθορα; κτείνω / κτενῶ / ἔκτονα (sequences thought to be easily memorized by students).

The future provides the clue for discriminating between the -*ι*- of πείθω and that of κείρω: the former -*ι*- persists also in the future (πείσω) whereas the latter does not (κερῶ); the perfect, as emerges from (1) and (2), conforms to the future: starting with the futures πείσω and κερῶ and applying the rule “turning” an -*ε*-

<sup>18</sup> A *-ye/o-* present from the root \*(*s*)*ker-* does not seem to be attested in any other Indo-European language (cf. LIV<sup>2</sup> s.v. \*(*s*)*ker-*), although such a form would be perfectly consistent with present stem formation rules in the parent language.

into an *-o-* one can generate the form of the perfect, correctly predicting whether it will have an *-ι-* (πέποιθα) or not (κέκορα).<sup>19</sup>

It is thus interesting to observe how grammarians could rely upon synchronic evidence for recovering the contrast between the *-ει-* of πείθω and the *-ει-* of κείρω (today accounted for in diachronic terms) and thus making correct predictions about new forms: though κέκορα does not seem to be attested outside grammatical treatises, it is exactly this form (and not κέκοιρα) that we would predict today, using the tools of historical linguistics, if we were to postulate an ancient root perfect of *\*(s)ker-*.

Furthermore, Theodosius correctly captures the incompatibility between *o-*ablaut and “active” (i.e., *kappatic* and *aspirated*, see above) perfects. Thus, his rules generate the perfect forms λέλογα (classed by him as “middle”) and λέλεχα (classed as “active”), both otherwise unattested (the verb is λέγω), but exclude an equally otherwise unattested *\*\*λέλοχα*, which would actually look like a ghost form also according to the views of modern historical linguistics. Instead, a form such as λέλογα is perfectly consistent with modern views, as observed above: curiously, if we are looking for documentary evidence of the reconstructed IE stem “*\*?le-lóg-*” (LIV<sup>2</sup>), we need not look at ancient texts, but at later grammatical treatises.<sup>20</sup>

This bizarre phenomenon highlights a character of the Greek language itself: thanks to its relatively transparent morphology, it offers synchronic clues which allow us to recover – long before the advent of historical linguistics, and by means other than those of historical linguistics – formative details that reach back into Indo-European grammar. This suggests an important methodological *caveat* for modern scholars, when confronted with the distinction between genuine inherited forms and new forms shaped according to inherited patterns. As we have seen, an archaic feature such as the *o-*ablaut of the perfect survived and enjoyed a sort of artificial vitality within a scholarly tradition which, unattained by philological techniques, developed a rather “linguistic”, if we may say so, approach.<sup>21</sup>

As a consequence, across centuries generations of scholars and students had to exert their skills in learning by heart and generating forms which they would

<sup>19</sup> On the restriction to the disyllabic future, cf. Choeroboscus’ explanation in (2).

<sup>20</sup> Forms such as λέλογα, ἤλοιφα, κέκορα, λέλοιβα, νόνομα, ἀνατέτολα, τέτομα, τέτροπα (see above) repeatedly occur in manuals and grammatical commentaries through many centuries.

<sup>21</sup> A γραμματική τέχνη which has set apart from its philological roots. As observed by Matthaios, “a clear split between the two subject areas of ancient scholarship, namely the interpretation of literature and the study of language independently of its realization in literary contexts” starts in Late Antiquity (Matthaios 2015, 250).

never encounter in their readings of Greek literature, but which, in some exceptional cases, we now may find asterisked in Indo-European reconstructions.

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Emilio Crespo

# Connective particles and literary units in Attic forensic speeches

## 1 Introduction

In the third book of his *Rhetoric* (1414a 31ff.), Aristotle distinguishes four main parts in most Attic forensic speeches, based on their functions and contents.<sup>1</sup> This paper explores the hypothesis that these main parts are marked not only by their contents and functions but also by their introductory particles, and investigates whether the connective particles and coordinating conjunctions that appear at transitions between the main parts of forensic speeches are randomly distributed, or whether any of them are preferred, with the others attested only occasionally or even scarcely at all. Should the latter prove to be the case, this would indicate that the introductory particles or conjunctions can provide clues in terms of signalling the transition between two main parts of a forensic speech.<sup>2</sup>

By examining coordinating conjunctions and connective particles at corresponding points in a number of forensic speeches, I also aim to describe one aspect of the particles' relative frequency, in contexts where two or more of them have a similar semantic value. I will not, however, address their use and relative frequency in contexts other than transitions between the main parts of most forensic speeches or in other literary genres.

It is expected that some chronological developments will be found, enabling the formulation of hypotheses concerning the authorship or the date of speeches that may be attributed to a given author but show deviations from others by the same author. Finally, one might also expect to find some evidence to distinguish coordinating conjunctions from connective particles.

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<sup>1</sup> This article was written with the financial support of the Spanish Ministry of Economy and Competitiveness (Research Project FFI2015-65541-C3-1-P). The English translations cited are taken from the Loeb Classical Library, in some cases slightly modified.

<sup>2</sup> Whereas coordinating conjunctions are mutually exclusive and do not combine with each other, connective particles may combine with coordinating conjunctions. See Denniston (1954); Ruigh (1971); Bakker (1993); Sicking/van Ophuijsen (1993); Rijksbaron (1997); Menge/Thierfelder/Wiesner (1999); Crespo/Conti/Maquieira (2003, 206ff.; 341ff.); Crespo/De la Villa/Revuelta (2006); Bakker/Wakker (2009); Revuelta (2014); Denizot/Spvak (2017); Poccetti/Logozzo (2017).

## 2 The parts of forensic speeches as a criterion

In the third book of his *Rhetoric* (1414a 31ff.), Aristotle argues that most forensic speeches are divided into four main sections, the names of which are today understood as prologue, narrative, proof and epilogue:<sup>3</sup>

1. ἀναγκαῖα ἄρα μόρια πρόθεσις καὶ πίστις. ἴδια μὲν οὖν ταῦτα, τὰ δὲ πλεῖστα προοίμιον πρόθεσις πίστις ἐπίλογος (Arist. *Rhet.* 1414b 7–9). So then the necessary parts of a speech are the statement of the case and the proof. These divisions are appropriate to every speech, and at the most the parts are four – exordium, statement, proof, epilogue.

Such main parts are defined by Aristotle as follows:

2. Prologue: τὸ μὲν οὖν ἀναγκαιότατον ἔργον τοῦ προομίου καὶ ἴδιον τοῦτο, δηλῶσαι τί ἐστὶν τὸ τέλος οὗ ἔνεκα ὁ λόγος (Arist. *Rhet.* 1415a 22–24). So then the most essential and special function of the exordium is to make clear what is the end or purpose of the speech.
3. Narrative: τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶ τὸ λέγειν ὅσα δηλώσει τὸ πρᾶγμα, ἢ ὅσα ποιήσει ὑπολαβεῖν γεγονέναι ἢ βεβλαφέναι ἢ ἡδικηκέναι, ἢ τηλικαῦτα ἢλίκα βούλει, τῷ δὲ ἐναντίῳ τὰ ἐναντία ... ἀπολογουμένῳ δὲ ἐλάττων ἢ διήγησις (Arist. *Rhet.* 1416b 36–1417a 8). That is, one must say all that will make the facts clear, or create the belief that they have happened or have done injury or wrong, or that they are as important as you wish to make them. The opposite party must do the opposite ... In defence, the narrative need not be so long.
4. Proof: Τὰς δὲ πίστις δεῖ ἀποδεικτικὰς εἶναι· ἀποδεικνύναι δὲ χρή, ἐπεὶ περ τεττάρων ἢ ἀμφισβήτησις, περὶ τοῦ ἀμφισβητουμένου φέροντα τὴν ἀπόδειξιν (Arist. *Rhet.* 1417b 21–23). Proofs should be demonstrative, and as the disputed points are four, the demonstration should bear upon the particular point disputed.
5. Epilogue: Ὁ δ' ἐπίλογος σύγκειται ἐκ τεττάρων, ἕκ τε τοῦ πρὸς ἑαυτὸν κατασκευάσαι εὖ τὸν ἀκροατὴν καὶ τὸν ἐναντίον φαύλως, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ αὐξῆσαι καὶ ταπεινῶσαι, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ εἰς τὰ πάθη τὸν ἀκροατὴν καταστῆσαι, καὶ ἐξ ἀναμνήσεως [...] ἀρχὴ δὲ διότι ἃ ὑπέσχετο ἀποδέδωκεν, ὥστε ἅ τε καὶ δι' ὃ λεκτέον. λέγεται δὲ ἐξ ἀντιπαραβολῆς τοῦ ἐναντίου (Arist. *Rhet.* 1419b 10–13 and 32–34). The epilogue is composed of four parts: to dispose the hearer favourably towards oneself and unfavourably towards the adversary; to amplify and depreciate; to excite the emotions of the hearer; to recapitu-

<sup>3</sup> The division into four sections goes back to Isocrates, according to D.H. *Lys.* 17.



late [...] We should begin by saying that we have kept our promise, and then state what we have said and why. Our case may also be closely compared with our opponent's.

### 3 Function of the section lexically expressed in introductory sentences

The contents and the function performed by each of the four main sections of a forensic speech are expressed by the lexical contents of their introductory sentences, among other things. The narrative is thus often introduced by a sentence that rounds off the prologue and a coordinated clause that announces the contents towards which the speaker is heading. Consider 6:

6. Prologue → Narrative: Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν μέχρι τούτου· περὶ δὲ τῶν γενομένων πειράσομαι ὑμῖν διηγήσασθαι τὴν ἀλήθειαν· δίκη δὲ κυβερνήσειεν. Ὑπερῶν τι ἦν τῆς ἡμετέρας οἰκίας (Antipho 1.13–14). Enough, though; I will now try to give you a true statement of the facts: and may justice guide me. There was an upper room in our house.

In 6 above, *μέχρι τούτου* points to the preceding prologue and *περὶ δὲ τῶν γενομένων πειράσομαι ... διηγήσασθαι* announces the narrative that follows. The clause introduced by *μὲν οὖν* rounds off the topic of the prologue, and the following sentence introduced by *δέ* refers to the contents of the narrative, launched by the last sentence cited in 6, which is asyndetically linked to the previous one.

The speaker may also signal the transition from the narration of events to the presentation of proofs by means of lexical elements, as in 7:

7. Narrative → Proofs: Τὰ μὲν γινόμενα ταῦτ' ἐστίν· ἐκ δὲ τούτων ἤδη σκοπεῖτε τὰ εἰκότα (Antipho 5.25). Those are the facts; now draw the logical conclusions.

In the above example, *τὰ μὲν γινόμενα* refers to the contents of the preceding narrative, and *σκοπεῖτε τὰ εἰκότα* to the subsequent arguments of probability.

The purpose of the proof and epilogue may also be indicated by the lexical contents of the passage that serves as a transition from one to the other. Consider 8:

8. Proofs → Epilogue: Ὅσα μὲν οὖν ἐκ τῶν κατηγορηθέντων μέμνημαι, ὧ ἄνδρες, ἀπολελόγημαι· οἶμαι δὲ καὶ ὑμῶν ἀποψηφίσασθαι. Ταῦτά γὰρ ἐμέ τε σώξει, καὶ ὑμῖν νόμιμα καὶ εὖορκα γίγνεται (Antipho 5.85). All the charges

which I can remember, gentlemen, I have answered; and for your own sakes I think that you should acquit me. A verdict saving my life will alone enable you to comply with the law and your oath.

The prepositional phrase ἐκ τῶν κατηγορηθέντων and the perfect ἀπολελόγημαι point to the arguments previously put forward by the litigant, and ἀποψηφίσασθαι to his appeal for a favourable verdict, one of the functions of the epilogue.

## 4 Connective particles at transitions between main sections

Taking the speech structure defined by Aristotle as my starting point, I have closely studied the conjunctions of coordination and connective particles attested at the boundaries between two main sections in a number of speeches by several Attic orators. Accordingly, we see that the first sentence in 9 below, introduced by τοίνυν, closes the prologue, while the following one, introduced by γάρ, opens the narrative of events pertaining to the case:

9. Prologue → Narrative: ἐγὼ τοίνυν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑμῖν ἅπαντα ἐπιδείξω τὰ ἑμαυτοῦ πράγματα (...) Ἐγὼ γάρ, ὦ Ἄθηναῖοι, ἐπειδὴ ἔδοξέ μοι γῆμαι ... (Lys. 1.5–6). I shall therefore set forth to you the whole of my story from the beginning; ... When I, Athenians, decided to marry ...

In 10, the beginning of the narrative is announced by ἄρξομαι διηγείσθαι in the first sentence, and the narrative is brought in by the explanatory γάρ in the last sentence:

10. Prologue → Narrative: δεῖ δ' ὑμᾶς (...) ἐξ ἀρχῆς τῶν πραγμάτων ἀπάντων ἀκοῦσαι (...) ὅθεν οὖν ἡμεῖς τε ῥᾶστα διδάξομεν καὶ ὑμεῖς μαθήσεσθε, ἐντεῦθεν ὑμῖν ἄρξομαι διηγείσθαι. Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ αἱ νῆες αἱ ὑμέτεραι διεφθάρησαν (Lys. 13.4–5). You must hear the whole of the circumstances, gentlemen, from the beginning, ... I shall therefore start my relation at a point from which it will be easiest both for me to explain and for you to understand. When your ships had been destroyed ...

The sentences in 11 constitute the boundary between the sections devoted to the narrative and the proofs in Speech 3 of the *Corpus Lysiicum*. The clause introduced by μὲν οὖν sums up the narrative of events (cf. τὰ γεγενημένα), and the exposition of proofs begins with the last δὲ sentence (cf. πειράσομαι ... διδάσκειν ὑμᾶς):

11. Narrative → Proofs: Τὰ **μὲν οὖν** γεγενημένα καὶ ἐμοῦ καὶ τῶν μαρτύρων ἀκηκόατε· ἐβουλόμην δ' ἄν, ὃ βουλή, Σίμωνα τὴν αὐτὴν γνώμην ἐμοὶ ἔχειν, ἴν' ἀμφοτέρων ἡμῶν ἀκούσαντες τάληθῆ ῥαδίως ἔγνωτε τὰ δίκαια. ἐπειδὴ **δὲ** αὐτῷ οὐδὲν μέλει τῶν ὄρκων ὧν διωμόσατο, πειράσομαι καὶ περὶ ὧν οὗτος ἔψευσται διδάσκειν ὑμᾶς (Lys. 3.21–22). So now you have heard from the witnesses as well as myself the story of what took place; and I could wish, gentlemen, that Simon had the same intentions as I, so that after hearing the truth from us both you might have arrived with ease at the just decision. But since he cares nothing for the oaths that he has sworn, I will try also to inform you concerning the lies that he has told.

The first two sentences in 12, respectively introduced by *μὲν τοίνυν* and *ἔτι δέ*, round off the subsections devoted to the deposition of witnesses (cf. *μεμαρτυρήκασι*) and to the exposition of arguments (cf. *ἐκ τεκμηρίων δεδήλωκα*), and the last one, introduced by *οὖν*, is the beginning of the peroration (cf. *δέομαι*), one of the subsections of the epilogue:

12. Proofs → Epilogue: Ὅσων μὲν **τοίνυν**, ὧ ἄνδρες δικασταί, ἐδυνάμην ὑμῖν μάρτυρας παρασχέσθαι, μεμαρτυρήκασί μοι· **ἔτι δέ** καὶ ἐκ τεκμηρίων δεδήλωκα ὑμῖν ὡς ὀφείλει Τιμόθεος τὸ ἀργύριον τῷ πατρὶ τῷ ἐμῷ. **δέομαι οὖν** ὑμῶν συνεισπρᾶξαι μοι τοὺς ὀφείλοντας, ἃ μοι ὁ πατήρ κατέλιπεν (D. 49.69). All matters, men of the jury, in proof of which I was able to provide witnesses, have been proved to you by witnesses; further, I have shown you by circumstantial evidence that Timotheus owes the money to my father. I beg you therefore to aid me in recovering from my father's debtors the estate which he left me.

## 5 Corpus of data

I have carefully studied the 26 speeches referred to in 13 below, chosen from the roughly one hundred forensic speeches that have come down to us, in order to compile the list of the particles used at transitions between their main parts. My selection was guided by the following principles. First, although “the orators form a more or less homogeneous group” in terms of the usage of coordinating conjunctions and connective particles (cf. Denniston 1954, IX), I have tried to obtain a degree of variety by selecting speeches from several authors. Secondly, preference was given to speeches that could be divided with reasonable certainty into the four main sections identified by Aristotle. Thirdly, a greater number of works belonging to the so-called *Corpus Lysiacum* were chosen on the

grounds that, as argued by D.H. (*Lys.* 17ff.), all of his speeches fall into the four-fold division of prologue, narrative, proof and epilogue. When identifying the boundary between the main parts of each speech, I make use of editions and commentaries by Doherty (1927), Carey (1989), Carey/Reid (1985) and Gagarin (1997), among others. Some speeches that were considered early on in the development phase of this paper were ultimately omitted because they raised doubts as to where the boundary between two main parts should be set, or because narrative and proofs were blended together. When selecting speeches I do not consider second speeches (δευτερολογία) of accusation or defence, on the grounds that narrative is unattended in such speeches, nor do I take into account political or epideictic speeches. As expected, the narrative is more extensive in speeches of accusation, which were delivered in court before the defence speech. The results of my analysis are displayed in the table shown in 13:

13. Particles at the boundaries between the main parts of forensic speeches.

Author	Date BC	Beginning of Narrative	Beginning of Proofs	Beginning of Epilogue
Antipho 1	ca. 416	1st: asyndeton (14) 2nd: γάρ (18) <sup>4</sup>	οὖν (21)	μὲν οὖν ... δέ (31)
Antipho 5	ca. 415	(μὲν δὴ ...) δέ (19f.) <sup>5</sup>	asyndeton (25)	μὲν οὖν ... δέ (85)
Antipho 6	419 or 412	asyndeton (11) <sup>6</sup>	μὲν οὖν ... δέ (15) <sup>7</sup>	οὖν (51)
And. 1	399	γάρ (11)	μὲν οὖν ... δέ (70)	οὖν (141)
Lys. 1	ca. 403?	γάρ (6) <sup>8</sup>	asyndeton (27)	μὲν οὖν ... δέ (47)
Lys. 3	ca. 392	γάρ (5)	μὲν οὖν ... δέ (21)	δέ (46)

**4** The *narratio* is divided into two sections, the second of which is introduced by γάρ: πειράσομαι τὰ λοιπὰ ὡς ἐν βραχυτάτοις ὑμῖν διηγήσασθαι, ὡς γεγένηται ἡ δόσις τοῦ φαρμάκου. Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐδεδειπνήκεσαν (18) ‘I shall try to give you as brief an account as I can of the administration of the poison which followed. After supper was over ...’

**5** The prologue (1–7) is followed by a preliminary προκατασκευή (8–19), introduced by μὲν οὖν ... δέ, in which the speaker criticizes the prosecution’s procedures. The προκατασκευή is defined by D.H. (*Lys.* 17) as τὰ μέλλοντα ἐν ταῖς ἀποδείξεισι λέγεσθαι ‘a preview of the arguments to be used in the proof.’

**6** The narrative is preceded by a preliminary attack (7–10) against the plaintiff for not having confined himself to the issue.

**7** After giving an account of the events relating to the charges, the defendant goes on to narrate other events (34–40) which, he contends, do not pertain to the issue. In this second narrative, facts and proofs are blended together.

**8** The narrative (a masterpiece according to D.H. *Lys.* 18.) is longer than expected for a speech of defence (6–27), but the defendant stresses the fact that he will relate the events from the beginning.

Author	Date BC	Beginning of Narrative	Beginning of Proofs	Beginning of Epilogue
Lys. 7	after 397/6	γάρ (4)	τοίνυν (12)	ἀλλὰ γάρ (42)
Lys. 10	384/3	γάρ (4)	μὲν οὖν ... δέ (5)	μὲν οὖν ... δέ (31)
Lys. 12	403	asyndeton (4)	καί (22)	μὲν τοίνυν ... δέ (79) <sup>9</sup>
Lys. 13	ca. 398	γάρ (5) <sup>10</sup>	οὖν ... δέ (48–49)	δέ (92)
Lys. 16	392–89	1st: γάρ (4) 2nd: γάρ (10) 3rd: γάρ (13)	καίτοι (5) καίτοι (11) καίτοι (18)	ὥστε (21)
Lys. 19	387?	γάρ (12)	μὲν οὖν ... δέ (24)	μὲν οὖν ... δέ (60)
Lys. 22	386?	1st: γάρ (2) 2nd: γάρ (8)	μὲν οὖν ... δέ (4) μὲν τοίνυν ... δέ (10)	asyndeton (22)
Lys. 23	ca. 403	γάρ (2)	τοίνυν (12)	asyndeton (16)
Lys. 24	?	γάρ (6) <sup>11</sup>	τοίνυν (7)	ἀλλὰ γάρ (21)
Lys. 31	ca. 400	γάρ (8) <sup>12</sup>	οὖν (24)	asyndeton (34)
Isoc. 17	393–1?	γάρ (3)	μὲν οὖν ... δέ (24)	μὲν οὖν (56)
Isoc. 19	391–0?	γάρ (5)	μὲν οὖν ... δέ (16)	ὥστ' (47)
Is. 8	ca. 365	γάρ (7)	asyndeton (9)	μὲν οὖν ... δέ (44f.)
D. 27	364/3	γάρ (4)	μὲν οὖν ... ἐπειθ' (8)	τοίνυν (60)
D. 30	362/1	γάρ (6)	καὶ ... μὲν ... δέ (9)	τοίνυν (39)
D. 36	350–349	μὲν οὖν (4)	μὲν οὖν ... δέ (18)	μὲν οὖν ... δέ (60)
D. 37	346–5	asyndeton (4)	μὲν δὴ ... δέ (17)	ἀλλὰ (57)
D. 41	?	γάρ (3) <sup>13</sup>	μὲν οὖν ... ἐπειθ' ... (6)	οὖν (29)
D. 54	341?	asyndeton (3)	μὲν τοίνυν ... δέ (13)	τοίνυν (42) <sup>14</sup>

**9** According to Sickling/van Ophuijsen (1993, 10), the epilogue begins at 81: Κατηγορήται δὲ Ἐρατοσθένους καὶ τῶν τούτου φίλων ‘Such is the accusation against Eratosthenes and those friends of his.’ The boundary would be better placed at 79: Περὶ μὲν τοίνυν Θηραμένους ἰκανὰ μοί ἐστι τὰ κατηγορημένα· ἤκει δ' ὑμῖν ἐκεῖνος ὁ καιρός ‘Well, I have dealt sufficiently with Theramenes in my accusation. You now have reached the moment.’ The first clause closes the argument concerning Theramenes’ life and the epilogue begins with the δέ-clause and the speaker’s address to the jury.

**10** The narrative is interspersed with proofs and comments on the proofs.

**11** Paragraphs 4–6, between the end of the prologue and the beginning of the narrative, sum up the speech delivered by the plaintiff and constitute a preliminary account of the main affair up for judgment (πρόθεσις or προκατασκευὴ *propositio*).

**12** The narrative is preceded by a preliminary account of the main charge. This statement (introduced by γάρ) constitutes a separate section (5–7) in this speech but is generally either part of the prologue (as in Lys. 1, 3, 14 and 32) or interrupts the narrative (as in Lys. 7).

**13** *Prooemium* and διήγησις are not neatly separated (cf. Carey/Reid 1985, 168).

Author	Date BC	Beginning of Narrative	Beginning of Proofs	Beginning of Epilogue
D. 56	322	γάρ (5)	μὲν τοίνυν ... ὅέ (19)	μὲν οὖν (45)

## 6 Concluding remarks

The results listed in the table provided in 13 enable us to draw a number of conclusions as to the use of coordinating conjunctions and connective particles at the boundaries between the main sections of Attic forensic speeches. These conclusions, however, can only be provisional until a complete survey and a comparison of the use of various linking methods at these points and their behaviour in forensic speeches on the whole have been carried out.

One notable trend which is initially apparent is the striking consistency of the speeches taken into account. Although they range from around 420 BC to around 320 BC and were written by several authors, the differences among them are not significant enough to be of help in determining the authorship or the chronology of a given speech. Notably, γάρ marks the transition between the prologue and the narrative in the vast majority of the speeches studied. Meanwhile, οὖν is the particle most frequently employed in the transition between the narrative and proofs and between the proofs and the epilogue, although its use is subject to greater variability.

Secondly, the evidence furnished by 13 shows that the scope of connective particles which introduce the main sections of a forensic speech may encompass pieces of text larger than the sentence in which they are found. Thus, γάρ at the beginning of the narrative introduces not the single sentence in which it occurs, but the whole embedded narrative, which in some speeches amounts to several pages of text. The notion that the scope of a coordinating conjunction or a connective particle may encompass a piece of text larger than the single clause or sentence in which it occurs has been convincingly applied in the analysis of γάρ when it introduces embedded narratives in tragedy (cf. De Jong 1997). The table in 13 provides further instances of this sort of explanatory γάρ, which alternates with the lack of a conjunction (asyndeton) introducing an explanation.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Carey/Reid (1985, 85ff., 99ff., 103).

Thirdly, in my corpus the transitional (or progressive) and logical (or inferential) connective particles most frequently attested are μὲν οὖν ... δέ, οὖν and τοίνυν, whereas ἄρα, δὴ and οὐκοῦν, among other conclusive (combinations of) particles, are poorly attested or simply absent.<sup>15</sup> The occurrence of καί (D. 30.9) or of (μὲν ...) δέ (Lys. 13.92) unpreceded by a transitional or logical particle introducing a main part should be understood as the use of the unmarked member of a meaningful opposition instead of the marked term, consisting of a particle which conveys a narrower sense than the one expressed by καί and by δέ. The collocation μὲν δὴ ... δέ occurs only twice (Antipho 5.19ff. and D. 37.17) in the contexts that I have considered. This combination is, however, frequently used by historians as a formula of transition, with the clause introduced by μὲν δὴ often summing up the preceding section of the narrative and the clause introduced by δέ starting the new topic (cf. Denniston 1954, 258).<sup>16</sup>

The absence of other progressive and logical connective particles at the boundaries between the main parts of the forensic speeches considered is striking. Δὴ and οὐκοῦν, which also have both transitional and inferential values in other contexts, do not occur at the boundaries between two main parts of the forensic speeches studied, although “in Demosthenes and Aeschines ... οὐκοῦν in statements is very common” (Denniston 1954, 438). As for the particle δὴ, “there is a slight proportionate increase in Lysias and Isocrates of connective δὴ, and in Plato examples are numerous. Finally, in Demosthenes the connective sense is far the commonest” (Denniston 1954, 238). Nor are the exclusively

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**15** Denniston (1954, 426ff. and 575) classifies the connective uses of οὖν and τοίνυν as follows: (1) progressive, or “proceeding to a new point, or a new stage in the march of thought;” the connected members have the same argumentative orientation; (2) inferential (also called logical); and (3) resumptive, or indicating return from a digression or the resumption of the main line of thought. According to Sicking/van Ophuijsen (1993, 27), “an obvious defect of this account is its failure to specify the difference between οὖν and other allegedly progressive particles such as δέ on the one hand, and other allegedly inferential particles on the other hand.” To remedy this, they suggest a unitary formulation of the value expressed by οὖν based on the pragmatic status attributed to the information given by the text that precedes the particle. For the sake of clarity, I adhere to Denniston’s classification.

**16** Some particles are restricted to or used mainly in dialogue or continuous speech, or in a particular literary genre. Thus in Homer, ἦ, ἦ μὲν, τοι, μὲν τοι are almost completely confined to speeches. δῆτα is mainly used in dramatic dialogue and hortative ἀλλά is rare in oratory. In Thucydides, τοίνυν is restricted to Athenian speeches, and in Thucydides and Xenophon τοι is hardly used except in speeches.

logical ἄρα (when used as a connective) or the exclusively inferential particles τοιγάρτοι and τοιγαροῦν found in the contexts examined.<sup>17</sup>

It is also noteworthy that the particles μήν and μέντοι, as well as the combinations ἀλλά δή, ἀλλά μήν, γε μήν, καὶ μήν, καὶ μὲν δή, all used with a progressive sense in Attic, do not occur at the boundary between two main sections of the forensic speeches taken into account.<sup>18</sup> The absence of καὶ μὲν δή in its progressive sense is especially remarkable, as this combination is particularly common in Lysias, where it occurs twenty-one times according to Denniston (1954, 396) and the progressive use of καὶ μὲν δή is by far the commonest. The combination καὶ μὲν δή is also common in Lysias' speech on love in Plato's *Phaedrus*, a passage written either by Lysias or in imitation of his style, where this combination of particles occurs five times in four and a half pages of text (231d, 232b, 232b, 233a, 233d).

Fourthly, the transitional and logical particles most commonly found in transitions between the main parts of the forensic speeches taken into account are οὖν and τοίνυν. However, they are not used indistinctly. There is a tendency for οὖν and τοίνυν to differ in scope. The evidence offered by 13 indicates that the former is preferred at boundaries between main sections. Consider 14:

14. νῦν οὖν μνησθέντες καὶ τῶν ἰδίων ἕκαστος δυστυχημάτων καὶ τῶν κοινῶν τῆς πόλεως τιμωρεῖσθε τὸν αἴτιον τούτων. Θαυμάζω δ' ἔγωγε, ὧ ἄνδρες δικασταί, ὅ τί ποτε τολμήσει πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἀπολογεῖσθαι (Lys. 13.48f.). So now let each of you remember the misfortunes caused both to individuals and to the common wealth of the city, and take vengeance on their author.

The narrative of events is closed by the sentence introduced by οὖν, and the first section of the proofs, the *refutatio*, begins with the subsequent δέ sentence.

On the other hand, τοίνυν, which seems to express more or less the same meaning in some contexts,<sup>19</sup> is in most cases employed in relation to briefer developments than those closed by οὖν, as in 15, in which τοίνυν is used between proofs, but μὲν οὖν ... δέ (44f.) at the transition between the proofs and the epilogue:

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Denniston (1954, 236ff.) for transitional and logical δή; 436ff. for οὐκοῦν; 41 for logical ἄρα; 566ff. for logical τοιγάρτοι and τοιγαροῦν; and Tronci (2017) for the distribution of ἄρα, οὐκοῦν, οὖν and τοίνυν in Plato's *Theaetetus*.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Denniston (1954, 336ff.) for progressive μήν; 242 for ἀλλά δή; 344ff. for ἀλλά μήν; 348 for γε μήν; 351ff. for καὶ μήν; 396 for καὶ μὲν δή; 406ff. for μέντοι.

<sup>19</sup> Its logical force (*scil.* of τοίνυν) is for the most part not very strong, rather weaker, on the whole than that of οὖν, which comes nearest to it in meaning" (Denniston 1954, 568).



15. Ἡμεῖς τοίνυν καὶ ἄλλα τεκμήρια πρὸς τούτοις ἔχομεν εἰπεῖν (Is. 8.15). Now, there are other proofs, besides these, which we can state.

The preference of τοίνυν for briefer developments explains its frequency in oratory to resume the thread of a speech after the reading of evidence, laws or other documents, or after the narration of an incident, as seen in the following examples:<sup>20</sup>

16. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἡ ναυμαχία καὶ ἡ συμφορὰ τῇ πόλει ἐγένετο, δημοκρατίας ἔτι οὐσσης, ὅθεν τῆς στάσεως ἤρξαν, **πέντε ἄνδρες ἔφοροι κατέστησαν** ὑπὸ τῶν καλουμένων ἐταίρων (...) **ὡς τοίνυν τῶν ἐφόρων ἐγένετο**, μάρτυρας ὑμῖν παρέξομαι (Lys. 12.43–46). But when the sea-fight took place, with the disaster that befell the city, and while we still had a democracy (at this point they started the sedition), **five men were set up as overseers** by the so-called “club-men”... Now, to show **that he was one of the overseers**, I will offer you witnesses.
17. καὶ οἱ **τριακόνα κατέστησαν**, καὶ τί οὐ τῶν δεινῶν τῇ πόλει ἐγένετο; ἐπειδὴ **τοίνυν οἱ τριάκοντα κατεστάθησαν** εὐθέως κρίσιν τοῖς ἀνδράσι τούτοις ἐποίουν ἐν τῇ βουλῇ, ὁ δὲ δῆμος ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ ἐν δισχιλίοις ἐψήφιστο (Lys. 13.34–35). And **the Thirty were established**, and every conceivable misery befell the city. **And then, as soon as the Thirty were established**, they promptly brought these men to trial before the Council; whereas the people had decreed that it should be “before the court of two thousand.”

The particle δέ, expressing a semantic content wider than τοίνυν, is often used to resume the thread of the speech after the deposition of witnesses (cf. D. 47.52), but τοίνυν is clearly preferred.

Therefore, far from being mere devices employed to obtain lexical variation, the connective particles οὖν and τοίνυν differ at the very least in that the former is often used within a larger scope in the discourse, while τοίνυν is preferentially confined to boundaries between smaller sections. A similar phenomenon is seen with connective δέ, which tends to be used on a higher level than καί.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>20</sup> Thus in Lys. 31, the proofs are introduced by οὖν (cf. 31.24), while τοίνυν is used after every call to the witnesses in the narrative (cf. 31.15; 17.20).

<sup>21</sup> “There is a certain tendency, I think, to use δέ, rather than καί, for connecting sentences (...), while it is hardly used at all for connecting single words” (cf. Denniston 1954, XLVIII; Sickling/van Ophuijsen 1993, 15ff.).

However, οὖν and τοίνυν also occur in similar contexts. If we consider the results given in 13, we see that although οὖν is predominant, τοίνυν also occurs between the main sections of the forensic speeches studied. On the other hand, μὲν οὖν and οὖν also occur between smaller units, as seen in 18 and 19:

18. Ὅσα μὲν οὖν ἐκ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων τεκμηρίων καὶ μαρτυριῶν οἷά τε ἦν ἀποδειχθῆναι, ἀκηκόατε· χρῆ δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν θεῶν σημείοις εἰς τὰ τοιαῦτα οὐχ ἥκιστα τεκμηραμένους ψηφίζεσθαι (Antipho 5.81). Proof as complete as the presumptions and **the evidence supplied by things human could make** it has now been presented to you. But in cases of this nature **the indications furnished by heaven** must also have no small influence on your verdict.
19. ἀναβιβασάμενος δ' αὐτὸν βούλομαι ἐρέσθαι, ὧ ἄνδρες δικασταί. τοιαύτην γὰρ γνώμην ἔχω· ἐπὶ μὲν τῇ τούτου ὠφελείᾳ καὶ πρὸς ἕτερον περὶ τούτου διαλέγεσθαι ἀσεβὲς εἶναι νομίζω, ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ τούτου βλάβῃ καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν τοῦτον ὄσιον καὶ εὐσεβές. ἀνάβηθι οὖν μοι καὶ ἀπόκριναί, ὅ τι ἂν σε ἐρωτῶ (Lys. 12.24). I propose **to put him up on the dais** and question him, gentlemen of the jury. For my feeling is this: even to discuss this man with another for his profit I consider to be an impiety, but even to address this man himself, when it is for his hurt, I regard as a holy and pious action. So **mount the dais**, please, and answer the questions I put to you.

In 18, the particles μὲν οὖν ... δέ mark the transition between two subsections within the proofs (devoted to the “human proofs” and to the “signals coming from the gods,” respectively). In 19, οὖν resumes the thread of the narrative after a brief digression.

The boundary between narrative and proofs, or between proofs and epilogue, is often gradual and smooth, and this seems to have triggered the use of τοίνυν at this point in some speeches. As we have seen, this particle resumes the thread of the speech after the deposition of witnesses and the recitation of laws, and alternates with asyndeton (e.g. Lys. 23.11–12). When used after the statement of evidence, τοίνυν appears in a smooth transition from narrative to proofs, or from proofs to the epilogue, and it is not easy to draw a sharp distinction between the two main parts involved. Consider 20:

20. λέγε τὴν τοῦ ἱατροῦ μαρτυρίαν καὶ τὴν τῶν ἐπι σκοπούντων.

## ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΑΙ

Ὅτι μὲν τοίνυν οὐ μετρίως τινὰς καὶ φαύλας λαβὼν πληγὰς, ἀλλ' εἰς πᾶν ἐλθὼν διὰ τὴν ὕβριν καὶ τὴν ἀσέλγειαν τὴν τούτων πολὺ τῆς προσηκούσης ἐλάττω δίκην εἴληχα, πολλὰχόθεν νομίζω δῆλον ὅμῃν γεγενῆσθαι.

(D. 56.12ff.)

... read the depositions of the surgeon and of those who came to see me.

## The Depositions

That the wounds I received, then, were not slight or trifling, but that I was brought near to death by the outrage and brutality of these men, and that the action which I have entered is far more lenient than the case deserves, has been made clear to you, I think, on many grounds.

As usual, τοίνυν occurs with a resumption of the thread of the speech after the deposition of witnesses. In this case, however, the sentence introduced by τοίνυν belongs to the final subsection of the narrative, and at the same time it constitutes a smooth transition to the speaker's *refutatio*, a subsection of proofs, which is with the final sentence.

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Georgios K. Giannakis

# The east/west and right/left dualism and the rise of some taboos in ancient Greek language and culture

## 1 Introductory remarks

Despite the occasional studies on individual semantic areas (e.g. Parker 1983, 328–331 for the general term for taboo in Greek; a more general study but not exclusively for Greek by Havers 1946, and the studies on specific taboos of Indo-European by Meillet 1958, Bonfante 1939, and Watkins 1975), a systematic and full-fledged study of the phenomenon of taboo in ancient Greek is still a desideratum. In the present study we will discuss taboos of ancient Greek that concern two areas, the cardinal points and the points of orientation, as they derive from the semantically and culturally loaded dualistic oppositions of east vs. west and right hand/side vs. left hand/side. But before doing that, a few general remarks with regard to the nature of taboos are in order.

Linguistic taboos are part of the metaphorical use of language constituting a mechanism whereby language users avoid certain linguistic items from fear lest their usage causes harm or danger to them. Taboos are marked language in the sense that normal language is non-marked and natural language, whereas a linguistic taboo marks off certain linguistic usages as bearing a special semantic load, emphasizing certain aspects or making correlations of its meaning in specified contexts. Thus, linguistic taboos are exceptional and in this sense irregular and peculiar linguistic usage. Such linguistic usages are often characterized by special social beliefs and determined by cultural injunctions that demand the avoidance of reference to or mention of certain concepts and the employment of other oblique and covert ways of expression. For instance, it seems that cross-culturally and cross-linguistically the strongest taboo is death and disease, a direct reference to which is avoided by speakers who build a large host of metaphorical expressions for referring to them (cf., among others, van Gennepe 1904, 48ff. and 59ff., Hertz 1960, Allan/Burridge 1991, 153ff. and 2006, 203ff.). A taboo may be a single word, a concept, a name, an animal, a dietary item, an object or even a thought whose mention is, in the speaker's cultural and/or personal milieu, believed to cause some harm or even death and destruction. This wide area covered by taboos is elegantly captured by Stevens in the following excerpt under the lemma "Taboos" in the *Encyclopedia of Anthropology*:

Examples of widespread taboos include entry by members of one sex into areas or activities restricted to the other; entry into certain adult activities by children, or into sacred areas or activities by uninitiated or otherwise profane persons; entry of objects associated with wildness or violence and death, such as weather gear, weapons, or butchering instruments, into areas demarcated for peace, socialization, healing, or sacred activities, such as the home, hospital, or temple; performance of acts involving tying or cutting or closing, or symbolic representations of any of these, by pregnant women; committing incest; physical contact with people with various sorts of bodily lesions, or with menstruating women, or with corpses; exposure of the adult genitals; and various magical activities.

(Stevens Jr. 2005, 2153)

As further stated by Stevens, “In such senses, taboos are culturally universal, and the concept has important implications not only for ritual behavior but for social and political organization” (*loc. cit.*). Thus, taboos cover a large range of themes that concern the collective stance of people, groups or individuals in a society in the face of a wide spectrum of actions, acts, beliefs, preconceptions and concepts that have an impact on their general and personal behavior.

There seems to be a “magic touch” in the concept of taboos by means of which an effort is made to establish a dynamic mystical distant connection between the taboo object and society, a connection triggered by similarity and contact. The rationale of such an association is founded upon the belief that among things that look alike, behave similarly or have amongst themselves some kind of contact there is a causal relation and, thus, it is possible to exercise upon them some influence, or they can be handled in a purposeful and deliberate way. Under this hypothesis it is believed that taboos offer a metaphysical confirmation and/or sanctification to conventional rules and ethics established by society, thus making them in a way sacred and obligatory for all members of the community (see Radcliffe-Brown 1952 [1939], 133ff.; Frazer 1911). As stated by Allan/Burridge,

Taboos arise out of social constraints on the individual’s behaviour where it can cause discomfort, harm or injury. People are at metaphysical risk when dealing with sacred persons, objects and places; they are at physical risk from powerful earthly persons, dangerous creatures and disease. A person’s soul or bodily effluvia may put him/her at metaphysical, moral or physical risk, and may contaminate others [...]. Infractions of taboos can lead to illness or death, as well as to the lesser penalties of corporal punishment, incarceration, social ostracism or mere disapproval.

(Allan/Burridge 2006, 1)

Hastings, on the other hand, says that “Tabus need rather to be studied in relation to their proximate conditions, which are not biological but historical. In other words, tabus are primarily matters of custom, forming part of the social inheritance, not of the individual heredity” (Hastings 1922, vol. 12, 183). It

should be noted, however, that not all linguistic interdictions are explained as taboos, as such interdictions are often imposed by various other rules of social behavior with regard to what it is allowed for one to speak about or not, or what is permitted to be done and what not. Taboos seem to be above such legal or religious prescriptions, although they may at times acquire religious significance; taboos are rather features of folk culture than prescriptions of legal nature or of other such rules of social behavior. In this sense, then, taboos belong to a class of concepts that share an often volatile and ever-changing world of beliefs, prejudices and assumptions, and depending on the circumstances they may be lost, recreated or replaced by other taboos in the course of time.

From the viewpoint of language evolution, the power of taboos is such that they are rightly considered an important mechanism of language change, since there is an effort to avoid the usage of part of the vocabulary and of other linguistic material and replace it by other less loaded linguistic items, eventually resulting in the creation of new types of linguistic expression.

Taboos may also be determined by pragmatic and situational concerns, e.g. age, sex and social position of the collocutors or the specific setting of the utterance. In these situations, taboos make various evaluative classifications and hierarchical gradings of linguistic usages or customs on the basis of the social position, class or sex of the members of the linguistic community. For instance, some linguistic acts that are considered taboo are not allowed to certain groups of speakers, e.g. priests, non-adults, etc.; some other acts are allowed only to certain classes of speakers, e.g. priests, adults, males (as opposed to females), etc. Furthermore, certain linguistic terms with negative semantic load (e.g. vulgar, insulting and offensive language, etc.) are graded by means of hierarchical scales so that their usage varies according to the circumstances or the social setting or norms. Such axiological hierarchies of linguistic material often lead to the creation of synonyms that are allowed in referring to something that may be tabooed in certain usages but not in others, for instance body parts, especially anatomical terms referring to the genitals and their functions, or to terms for other bodily needs such as urination, defecation, etc.

As far as their linguistic formation is concerned, taboos are created by two main mechanisms, namely either by some kind of deformation of a term or by means of euphemisms. In the first case the taboo word is replaced or undergoes some phonetic alteration (partial or more extended), e.g. by replacing one or more phonemes by others, by phoneme transpositions within the word, by adding some phoneme(s), and other such means which result in a new form for the taboo word. For instance, in ancient Greek the following words are believed to be in essence the same basic word but in many different shapes for taboo rea-

sons: δνόφος, γνόφος, ζόφος, κνέφας, ψέφας, and ψέφος, all with the meaning ‘darkness, blackness’, often with reference to the world of the dead. In these words there is a variation of the initial syllable by means of a phonetic differentiation (δνο-, γνο-, ζο-, κνε-, ψε-). We could add similar cases from other languages, such as OHG *demar*, AS *thimm*, Skt. *támas* (with \**t-*), but also ON *dimmr* ‘darkness’, OE *dim(m)*, OSwed. *dimbar* (with \**dh-*), where the \**t-/dh-* alternation is perhaps already a feature of the protolanguage (cf. Havers 1946, 124). Havers also adds another word group from Slavic languages, namely *sěnŭ*, *stěnŭ*, *těnŭ*, all with the meaning ‘shadow’, in which there is a variation in the beginning of the word and which is explained as the result of taboo, since among others things these words all correlate with items that refer to the spirit of the dead, a correlation that seems to have a more universal character. Kronasser (1952, 170ff., 193ff.) suggests that in the same sphere of taboo belongs also Gk. *νύξ* (from \**voξ*, cf. Lat. *nox*, Skt. *nák*, acc. *náktam*, Go. *nahts*, etc.), where the original *-o-* changes to *-u-* as a taboo deformation,<sup>1</sup> although now the *o > u* change in Greek is also explained by Cowgill’s Law (see Sihler 1995, 42–43).

Another interesting example of taboo-deformation is the terminology for ‘tongue, language’ as an anatomical term or as a tool of articulate speech. In its latter function, language is manipulated in such a way that it is also used as a mechanism for sacred, mystical, prophetic, magical and apotropaic language, especially used in curses and other linguistic interdictions that are intensely loaded with taboo and forbidden language. As for the former function, i.e. as an anatomical term, the polymorphism attested in several Indo-European languages speaks for its tabuistic character. The basic form in Indo-European is \**d̥h̥gʰuh₂-*, but in the different languages this protoform exhibits an initial *d/l-* alternation (perhaps also under the influence of terms deriving from IE \**leigh-* ‘lick’, like Gk. *λείχω*, Lat. *lingō*, Skt. *léhmi*, etc.). Thus we have two sets of words for ‘tongue, language’ differing in the initial consonant: Lat. *dingua*, Osc. *fangvam* (with *f-* from \**d(h)-(?)*), Old Irish *tengae*, Middle Welsh *tafawl*, OIc. *tunga*, Go. *tuggo*, OCS *zunga*, OE *tunge*, Toch. A *kantu*, Toch. B *kantwo* (with *t-k > k-t* metathesis), etc.; with *l-* we have items like Lat. *lingua*, Arm. *lezu*, Lith. *liežuvis*, etc., whereas in other cases there is some other initial sound change, e.g. Old Pruss. *insuwis*, OCS *jězykŭ*, and in Indo-Iranian we have forms like Skt. *jihvā-*, Av. *hizvā* and *hizū*. It is believed that this multiplicity of forms is explained as due to taboo. Greek innovates with the word γλώσσα, which is usual-

<sup>1</sup> This deformation by means of the vowel *u* is sometimes referred to, especially in older literature, with the term “sakrale u” (‘sacral u’); see for instance Havers (1946, 46) and Specht (1949).



ly connected with γλῶχες and γλωχίς ‘tip of an arrow, head of a pointed thing’, but eventually of unknown etymology (cf. Havers 1946, 60–61, 122–123; Kronasser 1952, 170–171; Mallory/Adams 1997, 594; for Italic see de Vaan, EDL s.v. *lingua*. Cf. further Chantraine DELG s.v. γλῶχες; Mayrhofer KEWA and EWAia s.v. *jihvā-*).

From Sanskrit we have the following word pairs, used in a certain ceremonial and ritual context (see Gonda 1980, 277): *sakula* for *nakula* ‘ichneumon’, *bhagāla* for *kapāla* ‘skull, head’ (with metathesis and devoicing of *bh* and *g* which change to *p* and *k*, respectively), *mandra* ‘lovely’ for *bhadra* ‘blessed’. Watkins (1995, 535–536) mentions the case of the forms *\*per[k]-aunos* (cf. the Slavic god *Perun*) and *\*ker[p]-aunos* (cf. Gk. κεραννός), where for taboo reasons we have the metathesis and/or loss of the consonants *p-* and *-k-*.

With euphemisms one avoids direct reference to taboos by using oblique and covert ways of referring to something that is considered dangerous and taboo, be that a name, an animal, a fatal disease, or something else that causes uneasiness and fear. As already mentioned, cross-culturally and cross-linguistically, one area with rich material of euphemisms and other metaphorical language is death (for general references, see above; for Greek and Indo-European, see Giannakis 1998 and 2001 and forthcoming).

## 2 Linguistic taboos in Ancient Greek and Indo-European

In many cultural traditions the concepts of taboo and forbidden language conflate with the ritually significant and the sacred (Frazer 1911, 131ff., 224ff. and *passim*; Steiner 1956, 68). Such is the case of Indo-European and of ancient Greek, where what is sacred and sanctified sometimes constitutes a taboo. We could say that death and the supernatural is also part of the sacred, a fact that justifies the tabuistic approach on the part of the Indo-European speakers. In one of the earliest studies of Indo-European taboos, Antoine Meillet (1958 [1906]) discusses a number of typical examples of such taboos. Among them are included terms for the bear, for the concept of ‘left’, and for sight and the eyes. The rest of the present study will deal with two such cases of taboos, namely the cardinal points and the points of orientation with their various significations and/or symbolic references. In particular, our starting point will be the dualism created by the symbolic opposition between east vs. west on the one hand and right vs. left on the other. The focus will be ancient Greek, but within the comparative

framework of cognate Indo-European linguistic and cultural traditions, with material drawn mainly from Greek, Italic, Sanskrit and Hittite, and occasionally from other languages.

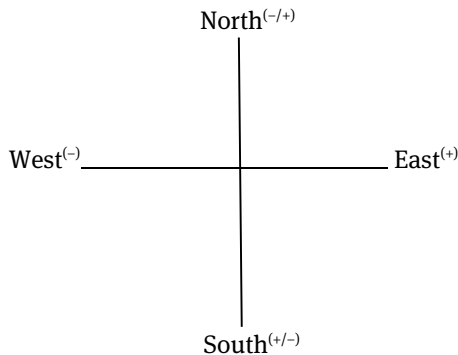
## 2.1 The cardinal points and points of orientation

In most metaphors and metaphorical language in general, concepts are structured in terms of other concepts. These are the so-called “structural metaphors”, where a whole system of concepts is organized with respect to one another. Lakoff/Johnson (1980, 14ff.) label these metaphors “orientational metaphors”, since most of them have to do with spatial orientation. As stated by Lakoff/Johnson (14), such metaphors are based on our physical and cultural experience. In fact, they tend to be culture-specific, depending on what special connotations every culture has assigned to the various orientational concepts. Therefore, the orientational metaphors (like many other metaphors) are primarily experiential metaphors, and then, by means of similarity and internal coherence, they are drawn onto the intellectual sphere as well, assigning specific values to the different points, e.g. ‘up’ equals good, more, happy, and the like; ‘down’ equals bad, less, unhappy and similar concepts; the ‘future’ normally is placed ahead of us and of the present moment, although at times we also find it in the back; likewise the ‘past’ is normally located in the back with respect to the present moment, although at times it may feature before us; cf. the use of expressions of preposition/adverb *πρό*, lit. ‘before, in the front’, with past tense referring to past action and past time (on this logical and philosophical paradox, see Dunkel 1982–1983, 66–87).

The east is naturally and by definition associated with the light of the rising sun and with all good and positive qualities that come with it, while the west is associated with the setting of the sun, and thus with darkness, night and all its negative and dangerous connotations accompanying it. In general, we can draw the following associations: east = light = life = god = good = abundance, and by contrast, west = darkness = death = evil = bad = emptiness/chaos (see also Havers 1946, 102ff.). As stated by Frankfort/Frankfort (1946, 30), “the spatial concepts of the primitive are concrete orientations which have an emotional colour; they may be familiar or alien, hostile or friendly ... Day and night give to east and west a correlation with life and death.” And it seems that it is a human universal, which may also become a linguistic universal, that abstract concepts are built upon concrete local concepts, which have acquired special denotative, emotional, symbolic and semiotic value within specific contexts. The concept of ‘time’, for instance, in primitive cultures is conceived in terms of space, i.e. it is

qualitative and concrete, not quantitative and abstract. Thus, time is tightly connected to nature and natural cycles: birth, maternity, marriage, death are seen both in nature and in man's life. The before-now-after of time is conceived in terms similar to those of space and other such concrete things. Therefore, life and death are also seen in terms of spatial conceptions, e.g. 'up' is good and life, 'down' is bad and deadly, etc. (see Frankfort/Frankfort 1946, 32).

The association of the west with darkness and death creates an entire series of beliefs and metaphorical language for death, dying, and afterlife. For instance, in some languages there arose expressions like English "to go west" with the meaning 'to die' (see the use of the Greek verb  $\delta\upsilon\omega$  'sink, disappear; die' discussed in 2.1.2 below). The general principle is that in an eastward direction, i.e. what is in the front (= east) is good and propitious, and conversely what lies in the back (= west) is unpropitious and bad; the south/north seems to have a mixed connotation, but primarily positive and secondarily negative for the south (= the right-hand side in an east-orientated posture) and, in contrast, primarily negative and secondarily positive for the north (= the left-hand side), as in the following diagram:



**Diagram 1:** Cardinal points

The human body facing east serves as the reference point, providing a ready-made vehicle for conceptualizing spatial orientation and its corresponding linguistic coding. Spatial orientation is commonly used in order to conceptualize physical, social, mental, moral, etc. states or qualities, and thus provides a convenient tool for proceeding to analogous linguistic expression of these states. There seems to be since ancient times a homology between the human body and its parts and the cosmos and its structure (see Lincoln 1986). As stated by Hagège, "The consciousness of the human speaker is usually the point of reference with respect to which spatial and temporal distances are judged, and values are

defined: more generally, the *ego* is the center around which any *deixis* or designation of the universe is arranged. This *deixis* normally makes us perceive spatial and temporal proximity and the notion of “more”, as positive terms in the sphere of the *ego*, while lesser qualities and distant referents are negatively-marked terms. These determinations are then recorded in the hierarchy of values and the relative order of mention” (Hagège 1990, 142). In other words, in the relative order, the close, the more, and positive term comes first, and the distant, the lesser, and the negative term comes second, seen in collocations like *here and there, sooner or later, more or less, good and bad, up and down, life and death*, and, correspondingly, *east and west, north and south* (and not the other way around), etc.<sup>2</sup>

In some traditions the east/west and the right/left oppositions have been sacralized and are incorporated in ritual proscription: the right hand is for performing ritual acts, the left can be used to deal with dirt and pollution (e.g. among the Oyo Yoruba and other peoples); dances are performed rightward; many other ritual and symbolic acts do the same, e.g. the construction of mandalas (see Vidal-Naquet 1986, 61ff.); prayers and rites of expiation and purification are performed facing eastwards, whereas cursing and similar acts of condemning are performed facing westwards; the east signals purity, the west signals pollution. See, for instance, Parker (1983, 191; also 225) who states that “in 415, after the profanation of the mysteries, ‘the priests and priestesses stood facing west and cursed [the offenders] and shook their purple robes, according to the ancient custom’.” The right/left (also east/west) = auspicious/inauspicious association is also seen in interpretations of signs and portents or acts of human culture: the direction of the flight of certain birds (omens) or the direction of the rising smoke in sacrificial rites are used as auspicious or inauspicious signs for the future events so that humans have to properly adjust their behavior and/or activity. As put by Blumenberg, “The setting up of means of orientation also counteracts elementary forms of confusion – of perplexity, at the least, and, in the limiting case, of panic. A precondition of this is the delimitation of directions and figures out of the continuum of the pregiven. The catalog of the winds ... is a distinguishing mark of a life-world in which weather can become testing” (Blumenberg 1985, 42). Thus, dividing space and time and assigning names to the individual pieces is man’s way to tame nature, and of turning the unknown, strange and hostile into known, familiar and friendly; simply to orient oneself in space and time.

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<sup>2</sup> With respect to ‘north and south’, normally there is an association of the former with the concept ‘up’ and of the latter with ‘down’, but this is only a relative and by no means absolute symbolic distinction; such evaluations are usually culture-specific and culture-bound designations.

In Indo-European there is such a symbolic evaluation and assignment of the cardinal points of orientation, the most prominent feature being a dualistic division between right and left. We will return to the right/left polar opposition a little later. First, we will deal with the symbolic dualism east/west and in general the cardinal points.

### 2.1.1 The cardinal points and points of orientation in ancient Greek

In Indo-European there is a particularly significant semiotic reference to and special symbolism of the cardinal points, and more specifically the contrasts built on the duality east/west. The sacralization of this duality has a direct impact on the language used to express these opposites. In ancient Greek the word ἀνατολή, commonly in the plural ἀνατολαί, in addition to the meaning ‘east’, also refers to the fact of life, wellbeing and regeneration. By contrast, the term δύση and more commonly in the plural δυσμαί refers to the ‘west’ (often accompanied by the word ἥλιος ‘sun’), but it also acquires a number of negative connotations, e.g. death, destruction, downfall, danger, etc., as in δυσμαί ἡλίου ‘sun set’ (a frequent collocation); τὸ γῆρας δυσμαί βίου ‘old age is the west of life’ (Ar. *Poet.* 1457b); βίου δύντος αὐγαί ‘when the light of life was lost’ (Aesch. *Ag.* 1123) with the participle of the verb δύω ‘sink, be lost’ used. With respect to the death of a person, the verb δύω is also widely used in the metaphorical parallelism of the person with a shining star, as in the following epigram where Plato addresses his friend Aster. To do so he uses a simile comparing him, while alive, to the morning star, but now he sheds the dim light of the evening star as he lies dead among the dead (see Alexiou 2002, 187):

Ἀστήρ πρὶν μὲν ἔλαμπες ἐνὶ ζωοῖσιν Ἐώος,  
νῦν δὲ θανάων λάμπεις Ἐσπερος ἐν φθιμένοις

Aster, once you shone like the morning star among the living.

Now you are dead, you shine like the evening star among those departed

(AP 7.670; Alexiou’s transl.)

The east/west (= light/dark) opposition is widely used in ancient Greek and, as it seems, perhaps in Indo-European as well, in an extended way to refer to life and death, respectively. Life is portrayed as the ability to see the rising sun, and metaphorically equals the light of the rising sun. In some branches, particularly in Greek, we observe the virtual identification of light with life and its opposite darkness with death. Dunkel (1993) discusses this motif for Greek, Indic, and Hittite, concluding in the following basic equation: “seeing/looking at the sun” =

“being/staying alive” and with its opposite equating with death. Thus, from Greek we have expressions like the following (see also Giannakis 2001, 2011, 137–142 and forthcoming):

ζῶειν καὶ ὄρᾶν φάος ἡέλιοιο  
to live and see the sunlight (Hom. *Il.* 24.558)  
ζῶει καὶ ὄρᾷ φάος ἡέλιοιο  
he lives and sees the sunlight (Hom. *Il.* 18.61; *Od.* 4.833, etc.)  
ζῶντα καὶ βλέποντα  
being alive and able to see (Aesch. *Ag.* 677)  
ἐμεῦ ζῶντος καὶ ἐπὶ χθονὶ δερκομένοιο  
for as long as I live upon the earth and can see (Hom. *Il.* 1.88, *Od.* 16.439)  
οὐδὲ μὲ φησὶ/δηρὸν ἔτ’ ὄψεσθαι λαμπρὸν φάος ἡέλιοιο  
and now boasts over me, saying I cannot live to look much longer on the  
shining sunlight (Hom. *Il.* 5.120).

Often a combination of the verb ‘to see’ with some other “life”-verb is used, as in the next example where ‘see’ and ‘breathe’ co-occur:

βλέποντα κάμπνέοντα  
seeing and breathing (Soph. *Ph.* 883 and 1349; *Aj.* 962).

Indic texts offer similar contexts, phraseology, and meanings, as in the following representative examples:

jyók paśyāt sūryam uccārantam  
he will long watch the rising sun (RV 4.25.4b)  
jyók paśyema sūryam  
may we long watch the sun! (RV 9.4.6b)  
jyóg jīváḥ práti paśyema sūrya  
may we alive see for long the sun! (RV 10.37.7d; cf. also 10.37.8d)

The Indic *Uṣas* ‘Dawn’ (etymological equivalent of the Greek Ἥως and the Roman *Aurora*) upon her appearance in the east every morning acts as the messenger of the new day and dispels the darkness of the night, the fears and the anxiety of the people during the night, bringing all back to life, as in RV 1.113.16 (here and in the next examples the translations are by Jamison/Brereton):

úd irdhvaṃ jīvo ásur na ágād  
ápa prágāt táma á jyótir eti  
áraik pánthāṃ yátave sūriyāya  
áganma yātra pratirānta áyuḥ

Raise yourselves up! The living life-force has come here to us.  
 Away, forth has gone the darkness; light comes hither.  
 She has left a path for the sun to drive on.  
 We have come to where they lengthen lifetime.

In st. 11 of the same hymn, seeing the bright light of the Dawn equals being alive. Thus, in 11cd: *asmābhir ū nū praticākṣiyābhūt/ó té yanti yé aparīṣu pásyān* ‘(This dawn) has now come to be gazed upon by us. And there are those coming hither who will see (the dawn) in the future’. However, seen in a more realistic way, every new day brings man closer to his death, and the Uṣas assumes a negative role, the reminding of the withering of life, e.g. RV 1.92.10:

púnaḥ punar jāyamānā purāṇī  
 samānām varṇam abhī śumbamānā  
 śvaghnīva kṛtnúr víja āminānā  
 mártasya devī jaráyanti áyuh

Being born again and again though ancient, (always) beautifying herself to the same hue,  
 like a successful (gambler) with the best throw who diminishes  
 the stake (of his opponent), the goddess keeps diminishing  
 the lifetime of the mortal as she ages him.

Dawn is invoked to dispel darkness, keep away evils, and renew life; she is also invoked for continuance of life, as some of the quoted passages clearly show, as well as for the existence of the family. The very presence or existence of the Dawn is proof of the maintenance of order in life and nature, the preservation of the cycles of days, seasons and years, and of the stability of the universe (see Gonda 1975, 164). In other cases, a plea is made to some deity or supernatural power to prolong life, where again the image of the rising bright sun represents life, as in RV 10.59.5 (where Asunīti seems to be a death goddess that leads the soul of the deceased to the world of the dead):

ásunīte máno asmāsu dhāvaya  
 jivátave sú prá tirā na áyuh  
 [rārandhī naḥ súriyasya saṃdṛśi]  
 gḥṛténa tvām tanúvaṃ vardhayasva  
 You leader to (the other) life, keep our mind firm in us.  
 Lengthen our lifetime, for living.  
 Find pleasure in our seeing the sun;  
 strengthen your own body with ghee.

To the above one can compare a number of similar passages from Vedic that may point to a common inheritance from Indo-European. Thus, we may further quote here the following from Vedic Sanskrit:

RV 10.14.12cd

tāv asmábhyaṃ dṛśáye sūriyāya  
púnar dātām āsum adyéhá bhadrām

Let these two here today grant a fortunate life again to us,  
to see the sun,

where the expression ‘to see the sun’ = ‘to be alive’. As the hymn is a prayer to Yama (the Lord of the Underworld) and the context is funerary, the expression ‘to see the sun’ may refer to the transfer of the deceased to the blissful world of the blessed dead, i.e. the *pitáras* (lit. ‘the Fathers’). This, of course, is a specifically Indic idea, but despite the different imageries, in a way even here the expression can be said to make reference to ‘being alive’, in another world or level of existence. In the following cases the equation of light with life is more obvious:

RV 1.116.25

páśyann aśnuván dīrghám áyuḥ

And both seeing and reaching a long lifetime ...

RV 7.66.16

tác cákṣuḥ ... páśyema śarádaḥ śatām jīvema  
śarádaḥ śatām

might we see for a hundred autumns. Might we live for a hundred  
autumns!

But, as noted by Durante (1976, 117), the most common and formulaic expression, usually occupying the end of the line, is *svâr* (= *sūryam*) *dṛśé* ‘see the sun’, as in RV 1.23.21, whereas the same idea is encapsulated in the compound adjective *svardṛk*, which, among other meanings, also means in a few cases ‘living’ (i.e. ‘seeing the sun’ → ‘being alive’) referring to people, like RV 2.24.4, 7.58.2, 7.83.2, 9.76.4. For a discussion of this adjective, see Renou (EVP 15, 1.2).

Similar phraseology is attested in Avestan texts, e.g. Y.43.16, *astuuat̥ ašəm xīiāt̥ uštānā aojōnhuuat̥ xʷəng darəsōi* ‘may corporeal truth be available, strong



with vitality, in the view of the sun' (Humbach 1991, 156); Y. 50.2, *arəžəjiš ašā pourušū huarē pišiasū* 'one who lives decently with truth among the many who block the sun(light)?', as interpreted by Humbach (1991, 183), but Durante interprets it in a slightly different way: "colui che vive rettamente secondo verità tra i molti che vedono il sole [i pii i semplicemente i viventi?]" (1976, 117). In Iran, however, the concept of light has entered the dual ethical system light/darkness and has acquired a religious significance, which is not a feature of Indo-European, or at least of Greek and Indic.<sup>3</sup> In India, this idea is capitalized in the mythologization of the heavenly light in the form of the Dawn (*Uṣas*) with her revitalizing power. Life begins or is reaffirmed by the continuous and secure reappearance of the Dawn.

The examples may be easily multiplied, but these are good enough to demonstrate the parallel structures and functions with the Greek material quoted earlier.

The *tertium comparationis* is provided by Hittite, where the adverbial that expresses the duration (Gk. *δηρόν*, Skt. *jyók*<sup>4</sup>) is taken over by the frequentative form *uški-* 'to watch' of the verb *au(š)-* 'to see', as in KUB XXIV 5 Rs. 7–8 (after Dunkel 1993, 107):

nu-wa-za apūš dā ammuk-ma-wa arḥa tarni  
nu-wa <sup>D</sup>UTU AN-E IGI.ḪI.A-it ušgallu

Now take those for yourself, but let me free.  
Let me keep seeing (durative verb *ušgallu*) the sun of heaven with my eye[s].

We see the same in a prayer of Mursilis, where the idea of staying alive is expressed by the durative form *uškizzi* of the verb. The text comes from KBo IV 8 II 10–11:

TI-anz-aš nu <sup>D</sup>UTU ŠAME IGI.ḪI.A-it uškizzi

She lives. She watches the sun of heaven with her eyes,

<sup>3</sup> Insler (1975, 304) rejects the interpretation of the passage as meaning 'among the many seeing the sun' on linguistic grounds, saying: "(1) The root 'to see' in Iranian is only *spas*, never *\*pas*; ... (2) *xvarē* is monosyllabic here, whereas *hvar/n-* 'sun' is always disyllabic in the Gāthās." He thus associates *piyant-* with Vedic *piśuna-* 'liar, betrayer', and translates "as he lives honestly in harmony with truth among the many who secretly betray (us) ?", whereas Kellens/Pirart (1991, 242) opt for no solution under the weight of too many obscure lexical items of the hemistich.

<sup>4</sup> The word *jyók*, from *\*dyok*, is etymologically related to *dyáus*, just like Lat. *diū* 'for a long time' (an old locative of *dies*?), but with many questions with regard to its morphology (see Mayrhofer KEWA and EWAia s.v.).

or *id.* 18–19:

TI-anza kuit nu nepišaš <sup>D</sup>UTU-un ŠAME IGI.ĤI.A-it uškizzi

Because she is living, she watches the sun of heaven with her eyes.

Light is the sacred source of life and warmth; what brings joy, and what uncovers the hidden, the source of truth and knowledge. The sun (and personified Sun) “sees” everything and everybody; he is the celestial overseer of all. His presence implies life, as he scatters the darkness of death; it also implies truth, as it scatters the clouds of darkness that conceals truth. Those who see the light are alive, and partake of all that life has to offer. To see the (sun)light means also to see things as they are, to understand the world, and to experience the physical surroundings. Light and sight go together in the same way that sight and knowledge go together. In a twisted way, this association is seen on the mythopoetic plane in the myth of Oedipus, as well as in the stories of the blind bards, prophets, seers, and other famous people who lacked physical sight but enjoyed amply spiritual insight and knowledge. Foley puts the symbolic function of sun and light in the following way: “The sun’s light does serve as a diurnal boundary of sorts, but not simply as a divider between day and night without further implication” (Foley 1991, 154). Light is a cosmic power, but also the power of life, and in this sense “*φῶς* ist das Tageslicht als die Helligkeit, in der man sich bewegt, in der sich die Welt artikuliert, in der sie übersehbar und verständlich wird, in der die Unterscheidung zwischen hier und dort, zwischen diesem und jenem möglich ist, in der man schreiten und greifen kann” (Bultmann 1948, 13).

The mythopoetic language of the ancient Indo-Europeans has utilized this image of the sun’s light in the best possible way, and the metaphor of light as life and that of death as removal from light is among the most descriptive and most powerful ones. Thus, this metaphor for death is common and easy to understand: life is conceived as equivalent to light, its opposite, i.e. death, is darkness; the east as source of the daily light is identified with life, the west is, by contrast, the opposite of the east and is identified with darkness and death. To see the light of the sun equates to being alive, seen, for instance, in *Il.* 5.120, *οὐδὲ μὲ φησί/δηρὸν ἔτ’ ὄψεσθαι λαμπρὸν φάος ἡελίοιο* ‘and now boasts over me, saying I cannot live to look much longer on the shining sunlight’ (Lattimore’s transl.). The expression *φάος ἡελίοιο* is in Homer the “metonymic equivalent of life” (Foley 1991, 152). In *Od.* 11.93, the blind prophet Teiresias wonders why

Odysseus left the sunlight (*λιπὼν φάος ἡελίοιο*) to journey to the dead and the unpleasant world of Hades (*ὄφρα ἴδῃ νέκυας καὶ ἀτερπέα χῶρον*).<sup>5</sup>

The conception of darkness may vary in degree of density or in the specifics of the imagery. Thus, we have the death of a man as deep darkness, or seen as a cloud or mist that casts a veil of darkness over his eyes. This cloud of mist or darkness that envelops the dying man may be seen symbolically in beliefs that Death had his head wrapped with a dark cloud, or later images of Death keeping his head covered with a black cloth. In Greek this is referred to as *Ἄιδος κυνέη* ‘the dogskin cover of Hades’, which, according to the *Shield of Herakles* (227), was *νυκτὸς ζόφον αἰνὸν ἔχουσα* ‘with the awful gloom of night’, and which the Scholia explain as *περιέκειτο δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν νέφος ἤγουν ἄορασία*, that is a cloud making Death “invisible.”<sup>6</sup> This is a point that scholars based upon theories about the etymology of Greek *Ἄιδης*, from the root *\*uid-* ‘see’ with the negative prefix *\*h-*, but this etymology has been successfully refuted by Thieme (1952, 35ff.).<sup>7</sup> Tibullus (1.1.70) conceived of the death-god thus with a wrapping around his head: *tenebris Mors adoperta caput* ‘death covered by the head with

5 In a slightly different image, the interplay between eyes, seeing, and death (= non-seeing) is attested in many occasions in Greek myth and literature, e.g. in Sophocles’ *Ajax*, where Athena beclouds the eyes of the hero whom she wants to destroy. From the Indo-European root *\*derk-* ‘to watch’ we receive a number of terms that have some associations with death, e.g. Gk. *δράκων*, Olrish *-dris* ‘monster’ as in *muirdris*, etc. The figure of the Gorgon from the Greek tradition is another example in case; the mere sight of the Gorgon was believed to have destructive and petrifying powers turning men into stones (see also Watkins 1995, 447).

6 For the significance and symbolism of the dog in ancient Indo-European culture and its connection to death, see Schlerath (1954).

7 Thieme (1952, 35–55) developed a rather convincing and longstanding thesis that *Ἄιδης* is a compound formation based on IE *\*sm̥-uid-* ‘the Gatherer’ or ‘the Uniter’, that is the place of one’s meeting with his relatives, the forefathers (cf. Skt. *pitārah*), an idea supported by textual and cultural evidence from many Indo-European traditions, mainly Indo-Iranian and secondarily Greek and others. Thus, we have in Sanskrit the combination *sám vid-* in expressions like AV 6.63.3cd *yaména tvám̐ pitṛbhiḥ samvidānā uttamām̐ nākam̐ ádhi rohayemám̐* ‘United with Yama, with the Fathers, make this man ascend to the highest firmament’ (cf. also RV 8.48.13, 10.14.4, and 10.169.4), whereas elsewhere the verb *gam-* ‘come’ is used with the preverb *sam*, as in RV 10.14.1 *vaivasvatām̐ samgámanam̐ jánānām̐* ‘(Yama) the son of Vivasvan who gathers together men’. Another etymological suggestion was made by Janda (2000, 69ff.), who etymologizes the word as *\*saiuid-*, a derivative noun from the adjective *\*seh₂i-uo-* plus the common suffix *-id-* for Greek, i.e. from the IE root *\*seh₂i-* ‘bind, tie’. Under this assumption the name of *Ἄιδης* properly means ‘the Binder’, something that agrees perfectly with the idea of the “binding god”, the god who uses strings, knots, fetters and nooses in order to hunt down his victims and lead them to his otherworldly underground house. Admittedly, this explanation is quite appealing and is, if not better, equally plausible with Thieme’s suggestion.

darkness'. Homer seems to identify the wrapping of darkness about the head of the dead with a μοῖρα, namely that of death, e.g. *Il.* 12.116ff. μιν μοῖρα δυσώνυμος ἀμφεκάλυπεν/ἔγχρει Ἴδομενῆος 'the ill-named destiny had covered about him with the spear of Idomeneus'. This kind of μοῖρα blinds the doomed or covers the eyes, e.g. *Il.* 5.82ff. τὸν δὲ κατ' ὄσσε/ἔλλαβε πορφύρεος θάνατος καὶ μοῖρα κραταιή 'and the dark-colored death and powerful destiny seized both his eyes'. Cf. also 16.333ff., 20.476ff., and elsewhere.<sup>8</sup> In *Od.* 20.351–352, Theoklymenos addresses the suitors with the following ominous words: ἄ δειλοί, τί κακὸν τόδε πάσχετε; νυκτὶ μὲν ὑμέων/εἰλύαται κεφαλαί τε πρόσωπά τε νέρθε τε γούνα 'Poor wretches, what evil has come on you? Your heads and faces and the knees underneath you are shrouded in night and darkness', where the metaphor of darkness and night for death is clear. Euripides (*Phoen.* 1453) offers the same picture of death as darkness. As he sees his death approaching, Polyneices utters his last words to his mother and his sister saying, ἤδη γάρ με περιβάλλει σκότος 'now darkness surrounds me', meaning of course 'I am dying'. This is a common metaphor for describing the very moment of death. Nothing is more normal for the dying in Greek literature than losing the ability to see the light: he has just gone to the world of darkness (cf. verb σκοτώω 'kill', lit. 'send to darkness', also surviving in Modern Greek in the form σκοτώνω in the same meaning).

To kill a man, therefore, was to veil him with black darkness, the main feature of the west and the sinking sun. In Homer and elsewhere we find euphemistic and metaphorical expressions associating death with darkness or removal from light, as in the following examples:

τὸν δὲ κατ' ὀφθαλμῶν ἐρεβεννὴ νύξ ἐκάλυψε  
and him dark night covered by his eyes (*Il.* 5.659 (and elsewhere))  
τὸν δὲ σκότος ὄσσε κάλυψεν  
darkness covered his eyes (*Il.* 6.11)  
εἰ γὰρ θανόντι νύξ ἐπ' ὄμμασι πέσοι  
if when I die night falls on my eyes (*Aesch. Sept.* 403)

In other cases it is death who envelopes its victim (in darkness), e.g.

θάνατος δέ μιν ἀμφικάλυψε  
death covered him on both sides (*Il.* 5.68), etc.

<sup>8</sup> The belief that the dead can also cause harm or even death to others who see his face may be reflected in the taboo that requires that the body of the dead, especially the face, be covered; as is known, this is a prevalent idea even today in many cultural traditions.

Along the lines of these associations an interesting and extremely important feature is the usage of various terms with the meaning ‘cover, hide, enclose’, and the like. Thus, from the IE root \**kel-* ‘cover’ we receive in different languages, especially Germanic, a large number of terms referring to hell and related terminology: Go. *halya*, ON *hel*, OSax. *hell*, OHG *hella*, Mod. Germ. *Hölle*; and cf. also the Gothic verb *huljan* ‘hide’, and furthermore OHG and ASax. *helan*, OE *heal*, Oícel. *hel* ‘goddess of death’, MHG *holde* ‘spirit (of the dead)’. In Greek this root gives the verb *καλύπτω* ‘cover, hide’ (perhaps from zero-grade root), and the name *Καλυψώ*, a (death) goddess that holds Odysseus prisoner on her island. Another term from Greek is the noun *κέλυφος* (which shows the normal grade of the root), a noun that refers to a hollow, a sheath, a case, or a shell; cf. further Lat. *occulō*, *cēlō*, Old Irish *celid* ‘conceal, hide’, Cymr. *celu* ‘id.’, *argelu* ‘id.’.<sup>9</sup> The name *Καλυψώ* seems to be based on an aorist (or desiderative, so Meillet 1919, 384) stem *καλυψ-* of the verb *καλύπτω*. Feminines in *-ώ* in Greek are commonly formed on verbal stems, but very frequently they are formations of a popular type (cf. Chantraine 1979, 115–117), e.g. *Πειθώ* : *πειθομαι*, *Πεφραδών* : *πέφραδον*, *φράζω*, *Κλωθώ* : *κλώθω*, *Κλειώ* : *κλείω* (epic), *κλέω* (Attic), *Πευθώ* : *πεύθομαι*, *κερδών* : *κέρδος*, *κερδαίνω*, *ήχώ* : *ήχή*, *ιάχω*, *φειδών* : *φειδομαι*, etc. (cf. Güntert 1919, 29).

Güntert (1919), in his detailed study of the etymology, meaning and Indo-European origin of Calypso, despite many speculative points, concludes that Calypso is a death-goddess, and that the myth of Odysseus with the goddess represents a belief within the wider perspective of Indo-European. The verb *καλύπτω* is used in some peculiar collocations, expressing the idea of death by means of the metaphor of removal from or lack of light. Below a few more examples are listed, in addition to those given earlier (all examples come from the *Iliad*):

τὸν δὲ σκότος ὄσσε κάλυψεν  
and him darkness covered by his eyes (4.503)  
ἀμφὶ δὲ ὄσσε κελενὴ νύξ ἐκάλυψεν  
and him dark night covered by his eyes (5.310)  
τέλος θανάτοιο κάλυψεν  
the end of death covered (him) (5.553)<sup>10</sup>  
τὸν δὲ κατ’ ὀφθαλμῶν ἐρεβεννὴ νύξ ἐκάλυψεν

<sup>9</sup> Some add here also *κολεόν* ‘seath of a sword’, and with epic lengthening *κουλεός* (\**κολεφος*), but this is uncertain (see Beekes EDG s.v.).

<sup>10</sup> For a discussion of *τέλος*, *κύκλος*, and other related terms in Indo-European, see Giannakis (1998a).

black night covered him over the eyes (13.580 = 5.659)  
 τῷ δέ οἱ ὄσσε, / νύξ ἐκάλυψε μέλαινα  
 dark night covered his two eyes (14.438-439)  
 θανάτου δὲ μέλαν νέφος ἀμφεκάλυψεν  
 the black cloud of death covered him on both sides (16.350).

Other collocations of the verb καλύπτω with different nouns denoting the means or place of hiding/covering are also found, especially with earth, grave, etc., all in the sense of removing someone from the light either by covering or burying in the depths of the earth, as in the following cases:

ἐγὼ δ' ἀστοῖς ἀδῶν καὶ χθονὶ γυῖα καλύψαμι  
 being pleasing to my citizens may I cover my limbs with earth (i.e. die)! (Pind. *Nem.* 8.65)  
 πυρὶ <με> φλέξον ἢ χθονὶ κάλυψον  
 burn me with fire or cover me with earth (Aesch. *Prom.* 582)  
 τάφῳ καλύψαι  
 to cover in a grave (Soph. *Antig.* 28)  
 γῆ καλύπτων  
 covering with earth (Eur. *Phoen.* 1634) (which compares to OIcel. *hulja auri* 'humo conde-  
 re'; cf. Güntert 1919, 31, n. 1)  
 χέρσῳ καλύπτειν τοὺς θανόντας ἐναλίους  
 to bury on land those who died at sea (Eur. *Hel.* 1066).

Such collocations of καλύπτω with γαῖα, τάφος, χθών, etc. are quite common also later in (funerary) inscriptions. The association with death, dying, and removing from life suggests that there is a special connection also of the goddess Calypso with death.

In post-Homeric literature we find the rhyming verb κρύπτω 'hide', used in contexts similar to those of καλύπτω (Güntert 1919, 32–33). Support for the synonymous status of the two verbs may come from the following inscriptions (cf. Kaibel, *Epigr. Gr.*): στυγνὸς ἀμφεκάλυψε Ἄιδης 'the gloomy/hateful Hades covered (me) from every side' (no. 208.4); μοῖρα δὲ ἔχε μὲ πέδῳ Ἀσκραίῳ κρύψασα 'Moirā holds me, having concealed me with a fetter from Ascrea' (no. 497.5). A third synonym is the verb κεῦθω, found mainly in funerary inscriptions. This verb is perhaps etymologically related to such words as OIcel. *skauðer* 'sheath', Go. *skauda-raip* 'shoe-strap', and cf. also Gk. σκῦτος 'skin, hide; leather thong' (from IE *\*skeu-t-/skeu-dh-*, with *s*-mobile). On the other hand, we have words like OE *hȳdan*, Eng. *hide*, Skt. *kuhara-* 'cavern', just like the Homeric κευθμός (*Il.* 13.28), κευθμών 'innermost part, recess', κεῦθος 'a lower part' (cf. ὑπὸ κεῦθεσι γαίης 'in the depths of the earth', as in *Il.* 22.482, *Od.* 24.204); κεῦθος νεκῶν 'the recess of the dead' (Soph. *Ant.* 818). The word κευθμών is also used for the netherworld, e.g. γαίης ἐν κευθμῶνι 'in the earth's innermost recess'

(Hes. *Theog.* 158); Ταρτάρου μελαμβαθῆς κευθμών ‘the deep black vault of Tartarus’ (Aesch. *Prom.* 222); ἦκω νεκρῶν κευθμῶνα ‘I have come from the vaults of death’ (Eur. *Hec.* 1); ἠλιβάτοις ὑπὸ κευθμῶσι γενοίμαν ‘I wish I were in the arched cliffs of the hiding places’ (Eur. *Hipp.* 732).<sup>11</sup> See Chantraine DELG s.v. κεύθω, Mayrhofer KEWA s.v. *kuhara-*, and Pokorny (1959, 951ff.).<sup>12</sup>

From Latin we get some evidence for similar usages of the verb *condo*, in various collocations with the meaning ‘to cover the dead with s.th.’, as in the following expressions: *reliquias ossaque terra condere* ‘cover the remains and the bones with/in earth’; *condere corpora defunctorum in lapide sarcophago* ‘cover the bodies of the dead in a stone sarcophagus’; *in sepulcro condere* ‘cover in a grave’; *tumulo condere* ‘cover in a tomb’; *humo condere* ‘cover with earth’. The participle *conditi*, lit. ‘the ones hidden/covered’, (in the plural) acquires then the pregnant meaning ‘dead’, especially in funerary inscriptions, cf. Arnob. *nat.* 1.46: *prodire ab aggeribus conditos* ‘bring forth from the tombs those buried’, etc. (cf. Güntert 1919, 129–130).

Similar images are attested in Indic culture. For instance, in RV 10.18.11, earth is requested to cover the dead body as a mother wraps her child with her skirt:

<sup>11</sup> See also the compound κυθ(ν)ώνυμος ‘of hidden name’, said of Oedipus (Antimachus Colophonius 55); the form with -ν- in Hesychius, who also gives the adjective κυθνώλης ἐξώλης, explaining its possible formation from the name of the island Κύθνος, when Amphitryo destroyed it (i.e. Κύθνος + ὄλλυμι). To the above can be added the name of the island Κύθειρα (Güntert 1919, 187–188), and the adjective κυθυγενής ‘born in secret’. Cf. further the gloss in Suda κευθῆνες· οἱ καταχθόνιοι, i.e. the dead. As noted earlier, one remarkable feature of such terms is that they all contain the vowel [u], which has been claimed by scholars to have a special significance for sacred vocabulary (see, among others, Havers 1946, 46; Specht in *Festschrift Havers* under the colorful title “Zum sakralen u”, etc.).

<sup>12</sup> There are also other synonymous expressions where some other combination is used, like *Il.* 5.47 *συγερός δ’ ἄρα μιν σκότος εἶλε* ‘the hateful darkness seized him’; 5.696 *τὸν δ’ ἔλιπε ψυχῆ, κατὰ δ’ ὀφθαλμῶν κέχυτ’ ἀχλύς* ‘the life left him and a mist spread over his eyes’, etc. Güntert (1919, 139) believes that he can identify a figure of Calypso in the Sanskrit word *vavrā-* ‘opening, pit, abyss’, from root *vr-* ‘cover’. The idea of covering, hiding, enclosing, and the like, seems to be a powerful one for the mythopoeia of the ancient Indo-Europeans. In ancient India, perhaps the best-known myth is the slaying of *Vṛtra* by Indra. *Vṛtra* is the serpent that prevents the waters from flowing, inhibiting thus any kind of growth and causing misery and death. The name *Vṛtra* derives from the root *vr-*, as does *vavrā-*. And still another term that derives from the same root is *vala* ‘enclosure’ (of the cows that Indra lets free), personified as *Vala*, the legendary guardian of cows, whom Indra rent when he robbed Paṇi of his cows (cf. Macdonell 1898, 158ff.). Considering the special associations of water with the world of the dead, as well as the special association of the abode of the dead with the pasture of cows, this myth may represent some version of a proto-myth, of which the myth of Calypso might be still another version.

úc chvañcasva pṛthivi má ní bādhathāḥ  
 sūpāyanāsmāi bhava sūpavañcanā  
 mātā putrāṃ yāthā sicā  
 abhy ènam bhūma ūṛṇuhi  
 Arch up, Earth; do not press down.  
 Become easy to approach for him, easy to curl up in.  
 Like a mother her son with her hem,  
 cover him, Earth.

However, the image of Earth as mother to whom all living creatures finally return upon death is a universal of human culture, but still presents culture-specific features that are worth investigating, particularly the linguistic expression of this image.

The fascination of the Indo-Europeans with the idea of covering or enclosing is widely attested in the individual branches, with some expected variations, but with the same basic tenets everywhere: the enclosure poses a threat to life, a god or hero will stage a battle, finally breaking the constrictions of the enclosure, setting life in motion again. This is the most fundamental liberating act that a god or hero ever undertook in any such etiological myth, although this could be seen as one of the oldest and perhaps most universal folktales and popular beliefs.

On many occasions there is an allusion made by the dying to the sweetness of light (= life), as opposed to the bitterness of darkness (= death), as in Soph. *El.* 1224 (= 1354), ὦ φίλτατον φῶς ‘dearest light!’, like φίλτατον ἦμαρ ‘dearest day’ (in *Phil.* 530); and cf. the greeting to the morning sun: χαῖρε φίλον φῶς ‘I greet the dear light’ (*Zenob.* 6.42); φίλον τὸ φέγγος τοῦτο τοῦ θεοῦ, φίλον ‘dear is this light of the god, dear!’ (*Eur. Alc.* 722,); ἡδὺ γὰρ τὸ φῶς λεύσσειν ‘to see the sweet light’ (*Iph. Aul.* 1218ff.); τὸ φῶς τόδ’ ἀνθρώποισιν ἥδιστον βλέπειν, τὰ νέρθε δ’ οὐδέν ‘this light for men to see is sweetest, but not that of the underworld’ (*ibid.* 1250ff.); οὐδέν γλυκερώτερον ἀγᾶς ‘nothing is sweeter than the morning light’ (*Kaibel, Epigr.* 560.7); κούκέτι μοι φῶς/οὐδ’ ἀελίου τόδε φέγγος ‘life is no longer mine, nor the dayspring’s splendor’ (*Iph. Aul.* 1281ff.). From the same work (1506ff.) we have:

λαμβοδοῦχος ἄμερα Δι  
 ὅς τε φέγγος, ἔτερον  
 ἔτερον αἰῶνα καὶ μοῖραν οἰκίσομεν.  
 Χαῖρε μοι, φίλον φῶς

O dayspring/Torch of God/And glorious light! /To another world I go  
 Out of this place/Out of time/To dwell./And now, and now,  
 Beloved light/Farewell! (Ch.R. Walker transl.)



In some (if not all) of the above statements there is a heliocentric philosophy, something that becomes more evident later in post-Classical Greek and Roman beliefs (see Usener 1948, 186). Cf. also Lukian. *dial. mort.* 27, 9 ἡδὺν γὰρ ἦν τὸ φῶς, καὶ τὸ τεθνάναι δεινὸν καὶ φευκτέον ‘for the light was sweet, and death terrible and something one should flee from’, where there is a virtual identification of light with life, by means of the direct opposition between φῶς and τεθνάναι. In *Il.* 16.645ff. the life of the fighting men depends on light and clear sight, and this is precisely what Aias is asking from Zeus:

Ζεῦ πάτερ, ἀλλὰ σὺ ρῦσαι ὑπ’ ἠέρος νῆας Ἀχαιῶν,  
ποίησον δ’ αἶθρην, δὸς δ’ ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ἰδέσθαι·  
ἐν δὲ φάει καὶ ὄλεσσον, ἐπεὶ νῦ τοι εὖαδεν οὔτως

Father Zeus, draw free from the mist the sons of the Achaians,  
make bright the air, and give sight back to our eyes; in shining  
daylight destroy us, if to destroy us be now your pleasure (Lattimore transl.).

The dead cannot enjoy the benefits of nature, e.g. *Il.* 8.480–481, οὐτ’ αὐγῆς Ὑπερίονος Ἡελίοιο τέρποντ’ οὐτ’ ἀνέμοισι ‘they have delight neither of the light of Sun god Hyperion nor of the winds’ (cf. also 8.555–559). The place of Hades lacks the sweet light of life, but is replete with στυγερός ... σκότος ‘hateful darkness’ (*Il.* 5.47) which, on the semantic level, is matched by the Vedic *támaḥ ... ájuṣtam* ‘darkness of no delight’ (RV 7.75.1).

Light is warmth that maintains life. This metaphor can be built also with other stars and bright objects which represent warmth, light, and life, as in the epigram for Aster quoted earlier.<sup>13</sup> It was, then, fitting to set the deceased in the

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**13** Modern Greek provides a strong parallel to this idea, especially in Yannis Ritsos’ famous *Funeral Lament*, e.g. II, 2, where the dead young man is compared to the sun, ἤλιε τῆς βαρυχειμωνιάς, ‘sun in the harsh winter’; in XVII, 1–2 this image becomes even stronger, as the death-stricken mother in her despair sees with her son’s death the death of the entire world, even of the sun:

Βασίλειψες ἀστέρι μου, βασίλειψε ὅλη ἡ πλάση,  
κι ὁ ἥλιος, κουβάρι ὀλόμαυρο, τό φέγγος του ἔχει χάσει

You sank, my star, the whole world has sunk,  
and the sun, like a black ball, has lost its brightness.

Cf. also VI, 16, for the parallelism between life, light and warmth: καὶ τώρα ἐσβήστης κ’ ἔσβησε τό φέγγος κ’ ἡ φωτιά μας ‘But now you’ve been extinguished, and our star (= life) and warmth are gone’.

Along similar lines we can also see the statement by Romeo in Shakespear’s *Romeo and Juliet* (I. ii. 2–4):

context of the distant and dark west, at the farthest distance of the ocean and of the earth, where the sun sets followed by the darkness of night (= the symbolic death) that covers everything. This image naturally leads to beliefs negatively charged about the west and everything that it stands for, turning the entire concept into a powerful taboo. The juxtaposition to the east and all it symbolizes is used simply to accentuate the antithesis of light vs. darkness, i.e. life vs. death.<sup>14</sup>

The polar opposition east/west that corresponds to congeneric contrasts light/dark, and the metaphorical semantic extension into the opposition life/death seen in the preceding discussion, create antithetical representations and images for the corresponding worlds, that of life and that of death, along with the respective symbolism for each pole: the world of life and the living is illuminated, bright, happy and joyous, the world of death is dark, misty, mournful, hateful and repulsive; the former is replete of the light of the clear sky, the latter is hidden in the depths of the darkness of the interior of the earth and the distant and dangerous west; the world of life is familiar and real, with visible confines, that of death is an unfamiliar and imaginary world, and its borders are uncertain and confusing. These images about the two worlds also create respective synesthetic associations whereby the symbolism extends to chromatic homologies as well: death and its world are described with dark and undefined colors, in contrast to life and the world of the living which is portrayed with vivid and bright colors of the visible world filled with the light of the east and the rising sun.

Light equals safety and security, and this creates a personified image of light as something one should respect and fear. This leads to beliefs that persist even today in many cultures that one does not do certain things facing the sun and the east, things which have become in a way taboo. Such seems to be the case with the interdiction mentioned in Hesiod's *Op.* (727) where one does not expose oneself facing the sun, and especially is not allowed to urinate: *μηδ' άντ' ήελίου τετραμμένος όρθός όμειχειν* 'one should not urinate facing the sun'. But strangely

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But, soft! what light through yonder window breaks?

It is the east, and Juliet is the sun!

Arise, fair sun, and kill the envious moon.

**14** The identification of light with life is carried out also on other levels and with other qualifications. Thus, light is seen as the savior of the essence of life, as in *Il.* 17.615 *καί τῷ μὲν φάος ἦλθεν, ἄμυνε δὲ νηλεὲς ἦμαρ* 'and for him he came as a light of deliverance, and warded off the pitiless day of doom'; similarly *Il.* 6.6, 8.282, 11.797, 16.39 and 95, 18.102, 21.537ff.; Pindar *Ol.* 2.58ff. and 10.22ff.; it is also found in some abundance in tragic poetry, e.g. Eur. *Hec.* 841, *Ion* 1466ff., *IT* 186ff., *IA* 439 and 1063; Soph. *Aj.* 709ff, *El.* 1354ff., and elsewhere.

enough there is no cult of Sun (or Moon) or any stars at all in the Greek tradition; this is common in eastern religions and in Egypt. This interdiction is also attested in the cognate Indic tradition, where in the Atharvaveda (13.1.56) we read: ‘he who kicks with his foot the cow or urinates facing the sun, his root I uproot’, and the verb used is the cognate to the Greek verb *mehâti* (cf. also *mekṣyâmy ūrdhvâs tiṣṭhân* ‘I will urinate standing upright’ [AV 7.102.1]), from IE root *\*h<sub>3</sub>meiǵʰ-*. The phrase seems to be a traditional formula (see West 2007, 217).

## 2.2 The right/left dualism

As said already, the east/west opposition is everywhere correlated with that of right/left with similar connotations and semantic references. Hertz describes this opposition as follows: “The former is used to express ideas of physical strength and ‘dexterity’, of intellectual ‘rectitude’ and good judgement, of ‘uprightness’ and moral integrity, of good fortune and beauty, of juridical norm; while the word ‘left’ evokes most of the ideas contrary to these” (Hertz 1960, 99). With the right hand one acts in a propitious and positive way in performing ritual acts, as this side is considered the right one. As said by Hertz, “Only the right hand is fit for these beneficial relations, since it participates in the nature of the things and beings on which the rites are to act. The gods are on our right, so we turn towards the right to pray. A holy place must be entered right foot first. Sacred offerings are presented to the gods with the right hand. It is the right hand that receives favours from heaven and which transmits them in the benediction” (Hertz 1960, 104).

The right hand is used in salutations, or serves as substitute for verbal salutation, while the left hand is rather not used for this; it is the right hand which is the appropriate hand to seal a truce, agreement or covenant among different parties. The (right) hand is associated with terms or functions relating to orientation and space determination on the abstract level, but mainly on that of concrete, visible and tangible, e.g. the cardinal points, bipolar grouping of the type near/far, up/down, here/there, in/out, etc., with many of these categories encoded in the grammatical systems of languages (e.g. tense and aspect systems of the verb, the system of pronouns, the use of various deictic particles and their frequent grammaticalization, e.g. the *-i* of the present tense endings or the augment of the past tenses, etc.). Furthermore, the right hand regulates and defines the semiotics of space arrangement in various activities of solemn or not solemn and informal nature, e.g. the seating of males and females in sacred places (men on the right, women on the left, since the latter represent uncleanness and pollution as the result of an established by custom and/or law division between the

sexes), ritual acts (men first, women second), or a number of other usages and applications of the two hands. While the right hand is the appropriate hand for acts of cleansing and purification, the left hand is charged with uncleanness, pollution and unholy acts; the priest transfers god's blessing to the devotees by placing upon their heads his right hand; the right hand is used by the groom to lead his newly-wed bride to his home during the wedding procession, a fact expressed by the phrase, also documented by representations on ancient Greek pottery, χεῖρα ἐπὶ καρπῷ 'hand on wrist', and supported by evidence from Sanskrit in expressions like *pāṇigrahaṇa-* and *hastagṛhya-*, both 'grasping of the hand', or in the verb + noun combination *gṛbhṇāmi ... hāstam* 'I grasp the hand' used in the same context, or Lat. *uxōrem dūcere* 'leading the wife' and *dextrarum iunctio* 'joining the right hands' (see Giannakis 2017, 225–226 with more material and bibliography).<sup>15</sup> By contrast, in funerals where the leading is performed by Death, Charon, the *psychopompos* Hermes or some other such figure the inauspicious left hand is used instead as a symbol of the unpleasant and mournful fact of death (see Rehm 1994, 30ff.; for a general study of the usages and the symbolism of the right hand especially with respect to death, see Hertz 1960).

The right/left dualism along with all accompanying symbolic and emotional load is perfectly maintained throughout, and this cannot be coincidental but must be due to taboos and such beliefs that the ancient Greeks (and some other Indo-Europeans) observed in a rather strict manner. These deictic functions and applications of the two hands constitute some kind of "original" or primeval language – or in any case symbolic code – attributing distinctive meanings and making special references with peculiar correlations to concepts that may relate to taboos.

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<sup>15</sup> In addition, other terms are also used, for marriage and especially for the wife, that derive from roots with meaning 'lead' or the like, as is the case with Skt. *vadhū-* 'bride' (< IE *\*yegh-* 'lead') and other words from other languages with the general meaning 'lead (away)' and then the specialized meaning 'marry; get married', as in Av. *vaδū-* 'married woman' and the causative formation of Av. *vādayeiti* 'make go, lead away', Hitt. *hūittiya-* 'pull, drag', Old Irish *fedid* 'leads', Lith. *vedù* 'lead, get married (of a man)', OCS *vedo* 'get married', etc. (see Benveniste 1969, I, 239ff., Gamkrelidze/Ivanov 1995, 658). Lat. *uxor* 'wife' may be a semantic equivalent to Skt. *vadhū-*, but its etymology is still debatable (a possible connection with the IE root *\*yegh-* 'lead, bring' is questionable, but, in any case, the collocation with *dūcere* seen above remains an interesting liaison point; cf. Szemerényi 1977, 32ff. for a different interpretation and further literature). The persistence of verbs of 'leading away' for referring to the wife or to marriage may be a distant echo of the old type of Indo-European marriage by abduction as reflected in myths like the rape of the Sabines in Italy and similar myths throughout the Indo-European world.

This polar opposition between right and left is also reflected in a linguistic difference with regard to the nature of the relevant terminology used. While for the right hand and the right side in general we have a stable pool of cognate terms used throughout Indo-European, this is not the case with the left, a fact usually attributed to taboo restrictions. Thus for the former we have a number of terms deriving from the root *\*deks-* like the following: Gk. δεξιός, δεξιτερός, Lat. *dexter*, Skt. *dakṣina-*, Av. *dašina-*, Latv. *desine*, OCS *desn*, Old Irish *dess*, Alb. *djathhtë*, Go. *taihswa*, etc. In Hittite the word *kunna-* ‘right hand/side’ (of not so clear etymology) (e.g. *kunnaš keššaraš* ‘right hand’) also refers to what is right and correct, as in the noun *\*kunnatar* ‘rightness, righteouness, success’ which also has the meaning ‘correctness, right, just’, whereas the derivative inchoative verb *kunneš-* has the meaning ‘turn out right’ and the factitive verb *kunnaḫh-* ‘set aright, make right, correct, succeed’ (see Tischler HEG s.v. *kunna-*, Puhvel HED 4, s.v. *kunna-*, Kloekhorst HIL s.v. *kunna-*).<sup>16</sup>

On the other hand, in the case of ‘left’ there is a sort of fluidity and polymorphism in the linguistic material carrying this sense, often with secondary and metaphorical extensions of the meaning of the basic word. There is also a “fragile stability” in the life of these terms as there take place frequent replacements by the use of new formations.<sup>17</sup> The common explanation for this situation is the negative connotations attributed to the concept ‘left’, which is for this reason prone to taboo replacement or phonetic deformation (also cf. Hertz 1960, 99ff.). Thus, we have terms like the following: Gk. ἀριστερός (from adj. ἄριστος ‘the best’, itself a superlative from either ἀρι- ‘good, very’ or ἀρείων ‘better, stronger, nobler’; cf. Chantraine DELG s.v. ἀρείων, Beekes EDG s.vv. ἀριστερός and ἀρείων), with the addition of the comparative suffix -τερο- that compares two things, in this case in contradistinction to δεξιός), used euphemistically, ‘the best one’ → ‘the left’; with the same rationale cf. also Gk. εὐώνυμον ‘left’, lit. ‘the one of the good name’, just like Av. *vairiia.stāra-*, Skt. *vārīyas-* ‘better’, OGH *winister* ‘left’, from older meaning ‘more favorable’ (cf. Bartholomae AiW s.v.). Similarly, Gk. λα(φ)ός, Lat. *laevus*, OCS *lěvŭ* (IE *\*leh<sub>2</sub>-mo-*). The same is observed with other terms for left, again with negative connotations, like Lat. *sinister* (perhaps from IE *\*senh<sub>2</sub>-is-*), or Gk. σκαίός, Lat. *scaevus* ‘left, western, ill-

<sup>16</sup> In most cases – if not everywhere – the concept ‘right’ also develops secondary connotations and applications encompassing concepts like the right, the just, the correct, the legal, the accepted, etc., in both legal and ethical terms, cf. Fr. *droit* ‘right; law’, Eng. *right* in both meanings, ‘right (side)’ and ‘right’ (in the legal sense), etc.

<sup>17</sup> As noted by Meillet (1958, 290), as a rule one avoids the usage of the word for ‘left’ and some other term is used instead which, in turn, may be replaced again soon.

fated' (from IE *\*skehziyo-*; cf. Gk. σκιά, Skt. *chāyā-*, Toch. B *skiyo*); Lith. *kairė*, *kairys* 'left; wrong' (perhaps from IE *\*(s)ker-* 'cut, curve'). Cf. further Mallory (1989, 140), Mallory/Adams (1997, 349 and 485; 2006, 294), de Vaan EDL s.v. *scaevus*.

In Hittite the antonym to the word family of *kunna-* seen above is provided by the combination GÜB-*la-* (Summerogram GÜB plus the Hittite suffixal part -*la-*) in the general meaning 'left; western, unfavorable, unpropitious'; cf. also GÜB-*latar* 'leftness, adversity' (cf. the interesting collocation of near synonyms found in *KBo* II 6 II 2 GÜB-*latar* HUL-*lu-ya* 'adversity and evil'). The "right/left" → "right/wrong" juxtaposition recalls the Latin antonymous pair *dexteritas* vs. *sinisteritas*, i.e. 'readiness to help or oblige' vs. 'lack of manners, ill-breeding' or, as put by Puhvel, *dextratio* vs. *sinistratio* (see Puhvel HED 4, 247) which portray similar applications. As noted by Puhvel (*op. cit.*, with reference to Melchert CLL 90ff.), we have another such antonymic pair from Anatolian with similar connotations, namely the Luvian pair *išarwila/i-* 'right, right side/hand' vs. *ipali-* 'left', along with several derivatives like *išarwili(ya)-* 'of the right hand' → 'favorable', *išarway(a)-* 'favorable' (or sim.), etc. from the former, and *ipalāt(i)-* 'sinisterness' and *iparwašša/i-* 'western', *ipama/i-* 'perverted' or 'sinister' and others from the latter. All these fit perfectly in the general scheme that we see throughout Indo-European: the right side/hand and the east are positively charged and auspicious, the left side/hand and the west are negatively charged and inauspicious.

Generally, the right/left opposition (just like that of east/west) demarcates and marks (in the linguistic sense of the term) space along the axis good/bad and propitious/unpropitious, with the first member of each pair being the unmarked part and the second (i.e. west and left) the marked one. This semiotic demarcation of spatial designations expectedly has repercussions in the demarcation of the world of corresponding ideas on the ethical and moral planes as well, and, as a consequence, creates a very fertile ground for taboo language, as documented by the few examples provided in this study.

### 3 Conclusion

We may summarize our discussion in the following points:

- (i) Taboos in general and the specific taboos that we discussed in this study constitute marked language in the sense that normal language is natural and unmarked language, whereas with taboos specific linguistic items or usages are marked off as carrying a special semantic load that emphasizes-

- es certain aspects of the linguistic sign or makes semantic correlations and references of peculiar type in some contexts. In this sense, taboos are exceptional and “irregular” linguistic usage.
- (ii) Since taboos are closely tied to popular beliefs and preconceptions, they often reveal various aspects of popular culture. In this sense, then, taboos are an important guide for the study of pragmatics and the sociology of language.
  - (iii) The fluid and ever shifting nature of taboos makes them important tools for the study of language change, especially in the areas of pragmatics and diachronic semantics.
  - (iv) As taboos are all the above (and a number of other things), they are unmistakable witnesses of the relation between language, culture, society and the history of ideas, not to mention social psychology and other similar aspects of the existence and workings of human societies of the past or of the present.

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Patrick James

# The Productivity of the suffix -σύνη from Homer to the present day, with special reference to the ‘Septuagint’ and New Testament

The inquiry behind this paper began with the observation, during my work for the Cambridge Greek Lexicon Project, that both the *Greek-English Lexicon* of H.G. Liddell and R. Scott (henceforth, LSJ)<sup>1</sup> and the *Reverse Index of Greek Nouns and Adjectives* of C.D. Buck and W. Petersen (henceforth, Buck/Petersen)<sup>2</sup> cited several nouns in -σύνη primary or exclusively from the “Septuagint”<sup>3</sup> or LXX, and from other Greek translations of the Hebrew Bible. I suspected that further investigation into the attestation of such nouns might prove instructive for the nature of the Greek of the different translations of the Hebrew Bible. A few other formations in -σύνη were cited first from the New Testament<sup>4</sup> and then from Christian writers of the second century.<sup>5</sup> The documentary papyri provide the first evidence for a few other such lexemes.<sup>6</sup> Philo, Josephus, and the *Sibylline Oracles* are also cited for the first appearance of several such formations.<sup>7</sup>

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I wish to express my gratitude to the Editors of this volume for the invitation to contribute and to the Warden (now Principal), Fellows, Research Associates, Readers, and Staff of Tyndale House, Cambridge, among whom this paper was written as well as to my colleagues at the Cambridge Greek Lexicon Project and to Jim Aitken, Trevor Evans, and John Lee.

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1 Liddell/Scott (1940).

2 Buck/Petersen (1945, 294–296).

3 I use the traditional term ‘Septuagint’ with caution. It is certainly more convenient than the more accurate terminology employed by Pietersma/Wright (2004, 1–25), for an accessible introduction to the ancient and modern issues involved. I have used the term ‘Old Greek’, whether another translation is extant as a counterpart, as in the case of Theodotion for *Daniel*, or not. For Theodotion and other later translators of the Hebrew Bible, see Dines (2004, 81–93).

4 The New Testament uses twelve nouns in -σύνη, of which only ταπεινοφροσύνη is cited as ‘NT+’ by Buck/Petersen, 296; ἀγαθωσύνη was cited as ‘LXX, NT’.

5 ἀκραισύνη appears twice in the *Epistle of Barnabas* (3.6 and 10.4), but is otherwise only known from the Suda. βεβαιοσύνη appears in the inscription attached to the *Epistle to the Philadelphians* of Ignatius, but was found by “Thesaurus Linguae Graecae” (accessed November 4, 2016, <http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/>) only in *Ζήνων* (act 4, scene 6, line 236), one of the *anonyma Cretica*.

6 The documentary papyri have been cited in accordance with Oates/Bagnall/Clackson/O’Brien/Sosin/Wilfong/Worp (2016).

7 Philo is credited with ἰσχυρογνωμοσύνη (also found in Josephus), Josephus with ἐτερογνωμοσύνη, ὁμογνωμοσύνη, and φιλοθεᾶμοσύνη, and the *Sibylline Oracles* with ματαιοσύνη and σεβασμοσύνη.

Leonard Palmer wrote in summary that the suffix “-σύνη was mainly productive in forming nouns denoting personal qualities. There was a rich development in the moral and philosophical vocabulary of Ionic prose: σωφροσύνη, ἀγνωμοσύνη, ἀπραγμοσύνη, δικαιοσύνη, etc.”<sup>8</sup> This suffix was less productive than -ότης,<sup>9</sup> which is now very productive in Modern Greek, in the form -ότητα.<sup>10</sup>

Palmer continued that, until Byzantine times, -σύνη showed few new formations from the Ptolemaic papyri onwards.<sup>11</sup> Stamatios Psaltes<sup>12</sup> reported only two such formations in the Byzantine Chroniclers that were not also in the New Testament (ἐπιφροσύνη in Nicephorus and πτωχογνωμοσύνη in Malalas).<sup>13</sup> However, in Modern Greek, -σύνη is productive:<sup>14</sup> the reverse index of Anastasiadi-Symeonidi<sup>15</sup> reports 303 such formations for Modern Greek, while Olga Eleftheriades<sup>16</sup> described this suffix as “quite productive” and listed thirteen examples that include καλογηροσύνη, μαραγκοσύνη, and χριστιανοσύνη (to cite only formations not known from ancient texts). Nowadays, most of these formations are not used and, in particular, μαραγκοσύνη and χριστιανοσύνη are certainly out of date.<sup>17</sup>

Although the history of the suffix -σύνη is known in outline, its origins remain contested<sup>18</sup> and the details of its productivity at particular points in its history

**8** Palmer (1980, 251).

**9** Palmer (1980, 251).

**10** I am grateful to Christoforos Charalambakis for supplying this information.

**11** Palmer (1980, 251).

**12** Psaltes (1913, 267).

**13** The second elements of these two lexemes feature in many of the -σύνη nouns that are attested. Cf. ὄμο-, ἔτερο-, ἰσχυρο-γνωμοσύνη, all reported first from Philo or Josephus, for the latter. For the former, see the list of forty-four formations given by Buck/Petersen, 296. Although ἐπιφροσύνη was not used by the writers of the New Testament, its history of attestation reaches back as far as Homer and Hesiod. Its appearance in Philo (twenty-two instances) and once in Josephus reflects its place in the lexicon of post-Classical Greek.

**14** Dieterich (1928, 122–123).

**15** Anastasiadi-Symeonidi (2002) (accessed September 22, 2016, [http://www.greek-language.gr/greekLang/modern\\_greek/tools/lexica/reverse/index.html](http://www.greek-language.gr/greekLang/modern_greek/tools/lexica/reverse/index.html)).

**16** Eleftheriades (1993, 86–87).

**17** Again, I am grateful to Christoforos Charalambakis for supplying this information.

**18** Buck/Petersen, 289, followed Theodor Aufrecht and maintained that there is a relationship between the feminine abstracts in -σύνη and the neuter abstracts in Sanskrit *-tvanam* (Avestan *-θwanəm*), despite the counter-arguments that had been made by Edwin W. Fay and Oswald Richter. The existence of such a relationship was subsequently challenged by Wyss (1954, 72–74), who sought an origin for the suffix within Greek, and, again, by Vine (1999, 576–578), who dismissed Wyss’s theory as “highly unlikely”. The key problem, as Vine presents it, is that the Greek suffix and its alleged Sanskrit relative both behave as secondary suffixes. I am grateful to

remain in need of attention. In their discussion of this suffix, Buck/Petersen rightly noted that these formations “are mainly poetic, prose generally avoiding such as were not derived from -ov stems.”<sup>19</sup> The metrical shape of nouns such as δικαιουσύνη gave them a place in the language of dactylic poetry (e.g. Theognis 147) that was not available to nouns of the metrical shape of δικαιοτήης. It is not surprising that so many nouns in -σύνη are cited as first attested in Tyrtaeus, Theognis, Apollonius of Rhodes, Theocritus, Oppian, Quintus of Smyrna, the *Sibylline Oracles*, and the *Palatine Anthology*, if not in Homer, Hesiod, or the Homeric Hymns. In summary, to use Buck/Petersen’s examples, σωφροσύνη [σώφρων]<sup>20</sup> could occur in prose, but formations such as μαχλοσύνη [μάχλος], ἵπποσύνη [ἵππος], κλεπτοσύνη [κλέπτης], βριθοσύνη [βριθός], μαντοσύνη [μάντις], and ταρβοσύνη [τάρβος] would be unusual in prose and, hence, marked.

Buck/Petersen’s assessment holds true in relation to the formations that they cite as first attested in inscriptions.<sup>21</sup> The analysis by Buck/Petersen did not distinguish between prose inscriptions and verse texts and did not give dates for their epigraphic citations. Given Palmer’s comment about the place of -σύνη formations in Ionic prose and in poetry, this further level of analysis is clearly necessary. Prose inscriptions are cited for the first occurrences of δρᾶμοσύνη (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1358 II 34 and 40, 4th c. BCE), ἱεριοσύνᾱ (*IG* V, 1 1114, 1st c. BCE) and ἱερωσύνη (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1235.8, c. 274/273 BCE), ἱερομνᾶμοσύνᾱ (*DGE* 372g, 2nd c. BCE) and οἰκοδεσποσύνη (*IEph* 622, c. 160 CE; *Notion* 63 and *TAM* V, 1 688, both undated). Metrical inscriptions, especially epitaphs, are cited for ἄγνωσύνη (*Eranos* 13.87, Roman Imperial),<sup>22</sup> αἰδημοσύνη (*GVI* 285, 2nd/3rd c. CE) and αἰδοσύνη (*GVI* 687, 1st/2nd c. CE), ἀρηγοσύνη (*IEph* 2043, undated), ἀρχιτεκτοσύνη (*IMylasa* 468, Roman Imperial; cf. Homer’s τεκτοσύνη), ἄωροσύνη (*GVI* 1090, 2nd c. CE), ἰδροσύνη and μαθημοσύνη (*GVI* 1487, 3rd c. CE), κεδνοσύνη (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 13009a and *MAMA* I 299; former 2nd/3rd c. CE, later undated), φρασμοσύνᾱ (*IG* I<sup>3</sup> 773/*CEG* I

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Alex Mullen and Nick Zair for providing me with access to the studies by Wyss (1954) and Vine (1999).

**19** Buck/Petersen, 289.

**20** I follow the practice of the Cambridge Greek Lexicon Project, which, in citing between square brackets the nearest lexical relative of a word, follows Glare (1968–1982, xxiii).

**21** Inscriptions have been cited using the abbreviations proposed by Lee/Horsley (1994, 129–169).

**22** This inscription was first published by Thunell (1918). Although this inscription has been republished (as *SEG* XLVII 2215), since it is not available via the “Packard Humanities Searchable Greek Inscriptions” (accessed November 30, 2016, <http://epigraphy.packhum.org/>), I quote the relevant sentence (lines 9–10 of the inscription) in full: ὦ μοῖρα, κάλλος, εὐγέ|νεια, νοῦς, τρό|πι|ος, ἀγνωσύνη, νεότης· ἅπαξ ἀρέτη. The inscription includes Ionic forms, such as εὔσεβίης (line 7), as well as Attic νοῦς (but, cf. *Odyssey* X 240).

243, 5th c. BCE), and χρηστοσύνη (*GVI* 1572, 4th c. BCE).<sup>23</sup> (References to verse inscriptions have been updated, as far as possible, or made to Peek (1955) both for convenience of reference and to underline just how many instances occur in funerary verse inscriptions.) In addition to the data in Buck/Petersen, εἰδοσύνη (*IEph* 452, undated; honorific),<sup>24</sup> θρεπτοσύνη (*IG* XII 4, 3 3013, 1st c. BCE/1st c. CE; funerary)<sup>25</sup> and ὑπολησμοσύνη (*IMésie* II 210: late Roman Imperial; funerary)<sup>26</sup> also are now known from metrical inscriptions.<sup>27</sup>

Although U. Wyss devoted a short monograph to formations in -σύνη, the Septuagint and New Testament were treated only briefly and together with prose authors of the “Hellenistische und spätgriechische Zeit”.<sup>28</sup> Moreover, the formations that first appear in the documentary papyri are listed in the “Wortliste und Index”,<sup>29</sup> but are not discussed in the main body of that study. The recent collection of studies on the vocabulary of the Septuagint edited by Eberhard Bons, Ralph Brucker, and Jan Joosten appears to contain discussion of none of these formations.<sup>30</sup> It seems that the use of nouns in -σύνη in the Greek versions of the Hebrew Bible, in the New Testament, and in the documentary papyri has been somewhat neglected.

In an earlier work on derivational word-formation in the post-Ptolemaic papyri,<sup>31</sup> Palmer had noted only two new formations of the moral or philosophical abstract type: κυριοσύνη (spelled -ωσύν- in *BGU* II 668.3, 323–642 CE) and μετριοσύνη (*P.Cair.Masp.* I 67020.4, 566–573 CE; *P.Cair.Masp.* II 67151.11 and 210, 570 CE; *P.Muench.* I 8.15 and 24, 540 CE), both counterparts to adjectives in -ιος. He also noted the “remarkable” κοπροσύνη, “manuring” (*PSI* IV 296.18, vi CE). These three, all attested no earlier than the fourth century CE and all mainly attested in the sixth century CE, joined fifteen other lexemes in the documentary

**23** Also, *IG* IX, 1<sup>2</sup> 3: 662, which consists of two hexameters (if we read ἐν ὄρεσ(σ)ι and the dialect form ἄπήτριᾶν) and a pentameter that contains μνημοσύνη in addition to χρηστοσύνης ἔνεκεν.

**24** This word was reported by Jones/Alford/Maas (1940, 2065).

**25** This inscription was first published as *Inscr.Cos.* EF 756 (cf. *SEG* LVII 801) in Segre/Lazzarini/Vallarino (2007) and it received very full commentary from Matthaiou (2014, 145–151).

**26** This word was reported by *LSJ* s.v., but was not included in Buck/Petersen.

**27** Buck/Petersen also listed καταφημοσύνα (*IC* I xvi 7, which has Τίμων ἔστασεν σὺν κατὰ φημοσύναν as the second line of its elegiac couplets, not Τιμῶ[ν] ἔστασεν σὺν καταφημοσύναν, as in the original edition).

**28** Wyss (1954, 65–68).

**29** Wyss (1954, 75–79).

**30** Bons/Brucker/Joosten (2013, 211–212).

**31** Palmer (1945, 107–108).

papyri that were known already from Classical Attic, 'Poetic-Ionic', and Hellenistic Greek literature. Of Palmer's lexemes, only seven were attested in the documentary papyri in or before the third century CE. Only one was cited from the first century: φιλοφροσύνη. That is, on the basis of Palmer's data, the use and range of abstracts in -σύνη is greater from the fourth century onwards.

This period of greater use of abstracts in -σύνη coincides with the increased use, in the documentary papyri and elsewhere, of abstract nouns as terms of address or otherwise in reference to a person. Henrik Zilliacus drew attention only to two nouns in -σύνη in this function in Byzantine texts: ἀγίωσύνη and δικαιοσύνη.<sup>32</sup> By contrast, he discussed many feminine abstracts in -ότης used for this purpose. Papyri published subsequently have produced more examples of the two terms of address cited by Zilliacus, but also one such instance of ἀδελφσύνη.<sup>33</sup> It seems, then, that the phenomenon of increased use of abstract nouns in -σύνη is not closely related to that of their restricted use among abstract nouns as terms of address.

Nouns in -σύνη appear as personal names in this period in the documentary papyri, a function similar to terms of address: Δικαιοσύνη (*P.Prag.* II 127.12), Εὐφροσύνη (e.g. *P.Mich.* IV.1 224.1310, 1672, 5326; and Εὐφρόσυνος: e.g. *P.Lond.* V 1684.3 and *P.Laur.* I.20.1), Ῥοσύνη (*P.Ross.Georg.* III 38.4), Σωφροσύνη (*P.Oxy.* XIX 2243A 32 and LIX 3994.1). This Ῥοσύνη must be a transcription into Greek script of Latin *Rosina* (cf. the *cognomen Rosinus*, in *AE* 1983.977), with adaptation in its inflectional morphology.<sup>34</sup> Apart from Ῥοσύνη, these names all occur in texts from the regions treated by the *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*.<sup>35</sup> Εὐφροσύνη (128x, all periods) is the most numerously attested, and four others are found: Ἄβροσύνη (4x, Classical and Hellenistic), Εὐσχημοσύνη (2x, Roman Imperial), Μνημοσύνη (2x: long established as the name of the mother of the Muses), and Χαρμοσύνη (10x, almost all Roman Imperial).

Palmer's data from the papyri may be presented again in Table 1 below with additions from papyri published since his study (and with some corrections). The Arabic numerals in parentheses indicate the centuries in which a given lexeme is

<sup>32</sup> Zilliacus (1949, 64, 66–67, and 105).

<sup>33</sup> *P.Pintaudi* 57.5 (500–699 CE): πρὸ[ς] τὴν σὴν ἀδελφωσύνην (= ἀδελφωσύνην).

<sup>34</sup> Ilan/Ziem (2008, 611). For adaptation to Greek nominal morphology and for Greek <υ> representing Latin <i>, see Ilan/Ziem (2008, 18). In particular, cf. Latin Aurelia Eup(h)ro|sin[e] in *CIL* II<sup>2</sup> 5889 (Baetica, 51–150 CE) and Eufrosine con(i)ugi in VI 32654 (Rome), which involve Latin transcriptions of the Greek name Εὐφροσύνη and show the same kind of interchange between Latin <i> and Greek <υ>. I wish to thank Peter Myers for introducing me to the work Ilan/Ziem (2008).

<sup>35</sup> Fraser/Matthews *et al.* (1987–).

attested in documentary papyri. Those lexemes that are underlined are additions to Palmer’s data. Groups (i) to (iv) are Palmer’s; group (v) is my addition.

**Tab. 1:** Data from the papyri

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(i) Attic: ἀγνωμοσύνη (1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7), ἀπραγμοσύνη (2 (including ἀπραγμο[sύνης]), 3, 4 (including ἀπ[ρ]αγμοσύνη, ἀ[π]ραγ[μ]οσύνη, and ἀπραγμοσύ[νη]), 5 ἀπ[ρ]αγμοσύνη), εὐγνωμοσύνη<sup>36</sup> (3, 5, 6), εὐσχημοσύνη (100 BCE/100 CE, 1), ιερωσύνη (2, 3), κακοπραγμοσύνη (2), μεγαλοφροσύνη (3<sup>37</sup>), σωφροσύνη (3, 4<sup>38</sup>), φιλοπραγμοσύνη (4, 6).

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(ii) P(oetic)-I(onic): δικαιοσύνη (1 BCE, 1–6), εὐφροσύνη (3, 4), καλλοσύνη,<sup>39</sup> φιλοφροσύνη<sup>40</sup> (1).

(iii) H(ellenistic): ἀγίωσύνη (6–7: also spelled ἀγιοσύνη, 5, 5/6, 6, 6/7), ἀρχιερωσύνη (2, 3), ἀσχημοσύνη (4), βασκοσύνη<sup>41</sup> (4/5), ἐλεημοσύνη<sup>42</sup> (2,<sup>43</sup> 4–6), φημοσύνη<sup>44</sup> (4).

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(iv) New: ἀδελφωσύνη (5/6, 6/7; also spelled ἀδελφωσύνη 6/7),<sup>45</sup> καθαρεοσύνη<sup>46</sup> (2), κοπροσύνη (6), κυριοσύνη (301–700 BCE, spelled κυριωσύνη), μετριοσύνη (6), πεισοσύνη (4<sup>47</sup>, spelled πισμοσύνη).

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(v) Biblical: ἀγαθωσύνη (6<sup>48</sup>); perhaps ἀπλοσύνη (3/4<sup>49</sup>); perhaps παναγαθοσύνη<sup>50</sup> (6).

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Palmer drew attention to the noun κοπροσύνη because it is “hardly a moral or philosophical abstract.”<sup>51</sup> This noun, which refers to the agricultural activity of ‘manuring’, has become slightly less ‘remarkable’,<sup>52</sup> since Herwig Maehler published a papyrus letter in Bremen<sup>53</sup> (republished as *SB X 10278*). This letter, which has been dated to the early second century CE, ends with the following instructions:

μη οὖν, κύριε, ἄλλως ποιή-  
σης· ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ οἱ τόποι ἕναν (= ἕνα) δαπανῶσιν

προσευκαροῦντα αὐτοῖς ὄλην ὥραν· χρεῖαν  
γὰρ ἔχουσι καθαρεοσύνης.

*SB X 10278.18–21* (early 2nd c. CE)

The final word in this section of the letter, καθαρεοσύνη ‘clearing (of land)’ as an agricultural activity,<sup>55</sup> has been taken to be functionally equivalent to κάθαρσις<sup>56</sup> and its first editor cited κοπροσύνη as a comparandum.

<sup>51</sup> Palmer (1945, 108).

<sup>52</sup> Palmer (1945, 108).

<sup>53</sup> Maehler (1966, 353).

<sup>55</sup> Cf. *LSJ* s.v. κάθαρσις V.

<sup>56</sup> The nature of the equivalence was obscured in “papyri.info” (accessed November 4, 2016, <http://papyri.info/ddbdp/sb;10;10278>), where the note on line 21 read ‘I(ege) καθάρσεως’.



Tab. 2: -ωσύνη

	Pentateuch	Historical Narrative	Psalms	Wisdom	Major Prophets	Daniel (and the Minor Prophets)
ἀγαθωσύνη		Jgs (A) 8:35, Jgs (B) 9:16, 2 Chr 24:16, 2 Esd. 19:25, 2 Esd. 19:35, 2 Esd. 23:31	Ps 51:5, Odae 12:14	Eccl 4:8, Eccl 5:10, Eccl 5:17, Eccl 6:3, Eccl 6:6, Eccl 9:18		
ἀγιωσύνη		2 Mc 3:12	Ps 29:5, Ps 95:6, Ps 96:12, Ps 144:5			
ἀρχιερωσύνη		1 Mc 7:21, 1 Mc 11:27, 1 Mc 11:57, 1 Mc 14:38, 1 Mc 16:24, 2 Mc 7:4, 2 Mc 4:24, 2 Mc 4:25, 2 Mc 4:29, 2 Mc 11:3, 2 Mc 14:7, 4 Mc 4:1, 4 Mc 4:16				
ιερωσύνη		1 Chr 29:22, 1 Esd. 5:38, 1 Mc 2:54, 1 Mc 3:49, 1 Mc 7:9, 4 Mc 5:35, 4 Mc 7:6		Sir 45:24		

μεγαλωσύνη	Dt 32:3	2 Sm 7:21, 2 Sm 7:23, 1 Chr 17:19, 1 Chr 22:5, 1 Chr 29:11, 1 Esd. 4:46, Tb 12:6 (VA), Tb 13:4 (VA and S), <sup>57</sup> Tb 13:9 (VA), Tb 14:2 (S), 1 Mc 9:22	Ps 78:11, Ps 144:3, Ps 144:6, Ps 150:2 Odae 2:3 (= Dt 32:3)	Prv 18:10, Ws 18:24, Sir 2:8, Sir 18:5, Sir 39:15, Sir 44:2	Zec 11:3, Dn 2:20 (OG), Dn 4:22 (Thd), Dn 4:36 (Thd), Dn 4:37b (OG), Dn 5:18 (Thd), Dn 5:19 (Thd), Dn 7:27 (Thd)
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Tables 2 and 3 present the attestations of nouns whose first known instance is in the Septuagint, firstly of nouns in -ωσύνη (Table 2) and then of nouns in -οσύνη (Table 3), with an analysis by the body(s) of literature<sup>58</sup> in which those nouns are found.

**Tab. 3:** -οσύνη

	Penta- teuch	Historical Narrative	Psalms	Wisdom	Major Prophets	Daniel and the Minor Prophets)
ἀλαζοσύνη					Jer 49:19 (Aquila)	
ἀπλοσύνη				Job 21:23		
ἐλεημοσύνη	Gn 47:29, Dt 6:25, Dt 24:13	Tb 1:3 (SVA), Tb 1:16 (SVA), Tb 2:14 (SVA), Tb 3:2 (S; pl. VA), Tb 4:7 (VA) bis, Tb 4:8 (VA) bis, Tb 4:10 (VA), Tb 4:11 (VA),	Ps 23:5, Ps 32:5, Ps 102:6, Odae 11:18, Psalms of Solomon 9:11, Psalms of	Prv 3:3, Prv 14:22, Prv 15:27a, Prv 19:22, Prv 20:28, Prv 21:21, Prv 31:28, Sir 3:14,	Is 1:27, Is 28:17, Is 38:18, Is 59:16, Bar 4:22, Bar 5:9	Dn 4:27 (OG and Thd), Dn 9:16 (Thd)

<sup>57</sup> There are minor differences in the construction between the version of V(aticanus)-A(lexandrinus) and that of S(inaiticus).

<sup>58</sup> These categories are subdivisions of those used by Dines (2004, 13–24): Pentateuch, Historical Books, Sapiential Books, Prophetic Books.

Penta-teuch	Historical Narrative	Psalms	Wisdom	Major Prophets	Daniel and the Minor Prophets)
	Tb 4:16 (VA), Tb 7:6 (S), Tb 12:8 (SVA) bis, Tb 12:9 (S; pl. VA) bis, Tb 13:8 (VA), Tb 14:2 (SVA), Tb 14:8–9 (S), Tb 14:10 (SVA), Tb 14:11 (SVA)	Solomon 15:13	Sir 3:30, Sir 7:10, Sir 12:3, Sir 16:14, Sir 17:22, Sir 17:29, Sir 29:8, 31:11, Sir 35:2, Sir 40:17, Sir 40:24		
ἐπιγνωμοσύνη			Prv 16:23		
κακοφροσύνη			Prv 16:18		
μεγαλορρημο- σύνη	1 Sm 2:3	Odae 3:3 (=1 Sm 2:3)			
μεγαλοσύνη		Ps 70:21			
χαρμοσύνη	Lv 22:29 1 Sm 18:6, Jdt 8:8			Jer 31:33, Jer 40:11, Bar 2:23, Bar 4:23	

From Tables 2 and 3, we should note that formations in -σύνη are rare in the Major Prophets and extremely rare in the Minor Prophets. Indeed, the only such formations that appear in *Isaiah* and *Jeremiah* are those that had already been used in the Pentateuch: ἐλεημοσύνη, μεγαλωσύνη, and χαρμοσύνη. There are none in *Ezekiel* or *Lamentations*. By contrast, the *Psalms* and *Wisdom Literature* have many instances of a greater number of such formations and there are several formations that are found in those books exclusively: ἀπλοσύνη, ἐπιγνωμοσύνη, κακοφροσύνη, and μεγαλορρημοσύνη.<sup>59</sup>

<sup>59</sup> I take μεγαλοσύνη in Ps 70:21 to be a spelling variant of μεγαλωσύνη.

There is a contrast between the Narrative books and the Pentateuch. The latter contains only three such formations, some of which may be neologisms.<sup>60</sup> Two of the three only occur once. One, *χαρμοσύνη*, will be considered further at the end of this paper, while the other, *μεγαλωσύνη*, occurs in the ‘Song of Moses’ (*Deuteronomy* 32), in a context and register less like the surrounding narrative and legal code<sup>61</sup> and more like those of the *Psalms*, in which this noun also occurs. On the other hand, the Narrative books make more use of such formations and include some that were not in the Pentateuch.

The use of such formations in the different translations of *Daniel* is an interesting case. Apart from *Daniel* 2:20, 4:27, and 4:37b Old Greek (or OG, as in the tables), nouns in *-σύνη* are confined to the version of Theodotion (or Thd, as in the tables). Theodotion’s version does not have *μεγαλωσύνη* at *Daniel* 2:20, but *σύνεσις*. *Daniel* 4:37b is absent from Theodotion’s version, while 5:18 and 5:19 are absent from the Old Greek. At 4:22, in addition to other differences of word-choice and syntax, Nebuchadnezzar’s vice was *ὑπερηφάνια* in the Old Greek, but *μεγαλωσύνη* in Theodotion. At 4:36, *δόξα* was restored to Nebuchadnezzar, but Theodotion referred instead to the king’s *μεγαλωσύνη*. At 7:27, God gave the *μεγαλότης* of the kingdoms of the world to his holy people, but in Theodotion’s version, the *μεγαλωσύνη* of those kingdoms was given to God’s saints. Not only did Theodotion make more use of *μεγαλωσύνη*, but he was also content to use it as a negative term in relation to Nebuchadnezzar (4:22) or a neutral one (4:36, 5:18, 5:19, 7:27), while for the Old Greek *μεγαλωσύνη* is a positive attribute of God alone (2:20). At 9:16, the Old Greek has *κατὰ τὴν δικαιοσύνην*, but Theodotion has *ἐν πάσῃ ἐλεημοσύνη*. By contrast, although there are significant differences of content at 4:27, there is overlap in the use of the plural of *ἐλεημοσύνη*:

αὐτοῦ δεήθητι περὶ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν σου καὶ πᾶσας τὰς ἀδικίας σου ἐν ἐλεημοσύναις  
λύτρωσαι, ἵνα ἐπιείκεια δοθῇ σοὶ καὶ πολυήμερος γένη ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου τῆς βασιλείας σου,  
καὶ μὴ καταφθείρη σε.

*Daniel* 4:27 OG

διὰ τοῦτο, βασιλεῦ, ἡ βουλή μου ἀρεσάτω σοὶ, καὶ τὰς ἁμαρτίας σου ἐν ἐλεημοσύναις λύ-  
τρωσαι καὶ τὰς ἀδικίας σου ἐν οἰκτιρμοῖς πενήτων.

*Daniel* 4:27 Thd

<sup>60</sup> Consider the discussion of *ἐλεημοσύνη* in note 42 above. Although *χαρμόσυνος*, its corresponding adjective, is attested as early as Herodotus, the noun *χαρμοσύνη* is found first in *Leviticus* 22:29, a citation not mentioned by *LSJ* s.v.

<sup>61</sup> That said, the narrative of *Genesis* (47:29) and the legal code of *Deuteronomy* (6:25 and 24:13) contain *ἐλεημοσύνη*, while the legal code in *Leviticus* (22:29) contains *χαρμοσύνη*.

It seems, then, that a difference in translation technique is revealed by consideration of nouns in -σύνη. In the version of Theodotion, one Aramaic lexeme was always rendered by μεγαλωσύνη.<sup>62</sup> However, the Old Greek rendered that Aramaic lexeme with different Greek words on a case-by-case basis.

The situation is more complicated at *Daniel* 2:20, where the Old Greek has μεγαλωσύνη, but Theodotion used σύνεσις.

ὅτι ἡ σοφία καὶ ἡ μεγαλωσύνη αὐτοῦ ἐστι·

*Daniel* 2:20 OG

ὅτι ἡ σοφία καὶ ἡ σύνεσις αὐτοῦ ἐστι·

*Daniel* 2:20 Thd<sup>63</sup>

In this instance, it is the Old Greek, not Theodotion, that remains closer to the ‘greatness’ of the Aramaic *Vorlage* in its choice of translation equivalents. Two explanations may be offered for this difference, both of which concern developments within the Greek tradition.<sup>64</sup>

The first explanation is text-critical. The minuscule manuscripts of Theodotion that are grouped as Q in the edition of Munnich and Ziegler<sup>65</sup> have δύναμις at *Daniel* 2:20, instead of σύνεσις, the reading both of Codex Vaticanus and of the witnesses to Origen’s recension. Munnich and Ziegler printed the former, Rahlfs printed the latter.<sup>66</sup> Codex Constantiensis (La<sup>C</sup>) and minuscule 410 have ἡ ἰσχὺς καὶ ἡ σοφία. Both alternatives to Codex Vaticanus’ σύνεσις involve the notion of ‘might’ (δύναμις, ἰσχὺς) that could have been expressed by μεγαλωσύνη. Codex Alexandrinus, as an early representative of the remainder of the tradition of Theodotion, reads ὅτι ἡ σοφία καὶ ἡ σύνεσις καὶ ἡ ἰσχὺς αὐτοῦ ἐστι at *Daniel* 2:20. It looks as if ἡ σοφία καὶ ἡ σύνεσις is a double translation of the Aramaic term that the Old Greek rendered by ἡ σοφία alone then followed by ἡ ἰσχὺς to

<sup>62</sup> I wish to express my gratitude to Kim Phillips for confirming my suspicion about Theodotion’s use of μεγαλωσύνη.

<sup>63</sup> Rahlfs (1935, II, 876).

<sup>64</sup> That is, the possibility that Theodotion worked from an Aramaic text in which ‘understanding’ appeared instead of ‘greatness’ is not considered here. It is thought that the Theodotion text involves a translation of the Hebrew-Aramaic text rather than a revision of the Old Greek because Theodotion includes passages which are present in the Hebrew-Aramaic text, but which are absent from the Old Greek. In the case of *Daniel* and in reference to μεγαλωσύνη, Theodotion has 5:18 and 5:19, but the Old Greek does not. Also, Theodotion did not include everything in the Old Greek. Again, our present study gives *Daniel* 4:37b Old Greek as an example. See Dines (2004, 85).

<sup>65</sup> Ziegler/Munnich (1999, 103).

<sup>66</sup> Rahlfs (1935, II, 876).

render the Aramaic term that the Old Greek rendered by μεγαλωσύνη. The weight of the textual tradition is against the reading of Codex Alexandrinus and, as we have seen, we might expect Theodotion to use μεγαλωσύνη, not ἰσχύς or δύναμις (but, for the latter, cf. *Daniel* 2:23 Thd). Still, we have either δύναμις or ἰσχύς in some manuscripts instead of σύνεσις and, in Codex Alexandrinus, we have a text of Theodotion that mentioned not only the idea of wisdom-understanding, but also the idea of strength or greatness, and not simply the idea of wisdom and the idea of understanding (σύνεσις). The solution may be to acknowledge a weakness in Rahlfs' edition of Theodotion's version of *Daniel* 2:20 in following Codex Vaticanus and in printing σύνεσις.

The second explanation concerns the immediate context of *Daniel* 2:20. At *Daniel* 2:21 the Old Greek has διδούς σοφοῖς σοφίαν καὶ σύνεσιν τοῖς ἐν ἐπιστήμῃ οὗσιν, but Theodotion has διδούς σοφοῖς σοφίαν καὶ φρόνησιν τοῖς εἰδόσιν σύνεσιν. That is, the immediate context gives a reason for 2:20 Thd to mention only the σοφία of God or his σύνεσις (or φρόνησις), since he gives these to the wise and to those who have understanding. Also, although *Daniel* 2:20 OG refers to τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ μεγάλου, which, with μέγαλον, introduces its subsequent reference to God's μεγαλωσύνη, by contrast, in the earlier part of 2:20 Thd reads simply τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ θεοῦ. For whatever reason, at this point in the text of Rahlfs' edition, Theodotion does not mention 'greatness' until *Daniel* 2:23 Thd: ὅτι σοφίαν καὶ δύναμιν ἔδωκάς μοι. By contrast, the Old Greek has ὅτι σοφίαν καὶ φρόνησιν ἔδωκάς μοι.<sup>67</sup> The longer reading in Codex Alexandrinus at *Daniel* 2:20 might reflect the presence of σοφίαν and σύνεσιν in *Daniel* 2:21 OG and Thd.

The instances in *Judges* 8:35 A and 9:16 B involve different renderings of the same content. In the former, the A-text (Codex Alexandrinus is a chief witness), has κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν ἀγαθωσύνην, while the B-text (chiefly Codex Vaticanus) has κατὰ πάντα τὰ ἀγαθά. In the latter, the A-text has καὶ εἰ καλῶς ἐποιήσατε, while the B-text has καὶ εἰ ἐποιήσατε ἀγαθωσύνην. The relationship between the A-text and the B-text of *Judges* is a matter of considerable debate.<sup>68</sup> These two places show that neither version consistently avoided ἀγαθωσύνη.

The differences between the versions of *Tobit* that Tables 2 and 3 present are less instructive. In the instances of μεγαλωσύνη, the differences in attestation correspond to the length of the different texts of *Tobit*. The noun is not found in

<sup>67</sup> It is possible to consider δύναμιν in *Daniel* 2:23 Thd to be indirect evidence for δύναμις in *Daniel* 2:20 Thd, as printed there by and Ziegler/Munnich (1999). Note that, at this point, the Old Greek does not mention 'might', only wisdom and insight.

<sup>68</sup> See Dines (2004, 2–3, 6–7, 16, and 81–87), for an introduction to the issues and the surrounding scholarly debate.

the S(inaiticus)-text at *Tobit* 12:6 and 13:9 or in the V(aticanus)A(lexandrinus)-text at 14:2 because the S-text does not have 13:8–10, while the S-text at *Tobit* 12:6 and the VA-text at *Tobit* 14:2 are slightly shorter and omit the relevant clause found in the other text.

In the instances of ἐλεημοσύνη, the situation is similar. The text of *Tobit* in the S-text runs from 4:1–6 and then continues directly with 4:19–21, and runs from 13:1 to 13:7 and then continues directly with 13:11–18. As such, there are different renderings of the same content that the VA-text has at *Tobit* 4:7, 4:8, 4:10, 4:11, and 4:16 and at 13:8, but simple absences in the S-text. The shorter VA-text at *Tobit* 7:6 omits ἐλεημοσύνη.

However, there are some differences of wording in passages that are present both in the S-text and in the VA-text. At *Tobit* 14:8–9, the S-text has ποιεῖν δικαιοσύνην καὶ ἐλεημοσύνην in an indirect command to Tobit’s grandchildren, but the VA-text gives γίνου φιλελήμων καὶ δίκαιος. At *Tobit* 3:2, the plural in the VA-text corresponds with a singular in the S-text. Both have καὶ πᾶσαι αἱ ὀδοὶ σου and καὶ ἀλήθεια either side of the noun in -σύνη.

The use of ἀλαζοσύνη by Aquila at *Jeremiah* 30:10 ([29:17] = 49:16 Massoretic Text) remains a curiosity. Aquila’s translation technique involved staying as close to his Hebrew *Vorlage* as possible by using one Greek lexeme as the sole equivalent for one Hebrew lexeme in all of its contexts. Translations inappropriate to their context are the result of this practice.<sup>69</sup> Aquila also sought to render all Hebrew derivatives from a single root by means of derivatives from a single Greek root. The Septuagint scholar Peter Walters (né Katz) noted<sup>70</sup> Aquila’s “pedanticism in reproducing the Hebrew original and consistency in clinging to fixed Greek equivalents for Hebrew stems and derivations.” Walters summarized, “the language [Aquila] writes is not Greek nor any other living thing at all.”

Aquila’s translation technique sometimes resulted in using, or perhaps creating, derivatives that are found nowhere else in Greek as we have it.<sup>71</sup> The formation ἀλαζοσύνη seems to be just such a derivative: Symmachus used ἀλαζονεία and Theodotion used ὑπερηφανία, each in place of παιγνία in the Old Greek.<sup>72</sup> However, it is remarkable that, since Aquila did use -σύνη on this occa-

<sup>69</sup> Dines (2004, 88).

<sup>70</sup> Walters (1942), preserved in the archive of the Library of the Faculty of Asian and Middle Eastern Studies, Cambridge, as PW/4/1.

<sup>71</sup> For example, ἀκροβυστία features in the Septuagint (e.g. *Genesis* 17:11) and in the New Testament (e.g. *Romans* 2:25), but an adjectival counterpart, ἀκρόβυστος is confined to Aquila (e.g. *Exodus* 6:12) and its de-adjectival verb, ἀκροβυστέω, is found in Aquila, but also in Symmachus and Theodotion (*Leviticus* 19:23 is cited by *LSJ* s.v.).

<sup>72</sup> Field (1885, 720).

sion, he did not make more use of this suffix for creating the derivatives that he required. The number of such formations that are found first or exclusively in Greek versions of the Hebrew Bible suggests that -σύνη was an established means of creating abstract nouns among translators of the Hebrew Bible and that, as such, nouns in -σύνη could have been productive for Aquila.

Wyss<sup>73</sup> asserted that early Christians made use of the -σύνη suffix because it provided a means to create new terms for new concepts. As a hypothesis, his claim seems plausible, not only for the authors of the New Testament and for the Apostolic Fathers, but also for the translators of the Hebrew Bible earlier. It is certainly clear that the new formations in Christian texts involve attributes of God (e.g. μεγαλωσύνη) and human virtues (e.g. ταπεινοφροσύνη) and vices (e.g. μεγαλορρημοσύνη),<sup>74</sup> new theological and ethical concepts for which new terminology was needed.

Some of the new formations in -σύνη seem to substantiate such an explanation. ‘Goodness’ as a virtue appears as ἀγαθωσύνη in Greek translations of the Hebrew Bible (see Table 2), in the *Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs*, in the *Prayer of Manasses*, in the Pauline epistles, in the apocryphal *Acts*, and in later Christian writers. Its only instance in any documentary papyrus (*P.Bingen* 133), not only occurs before a cross, but may even be an allusion to *Ephesians* 5:9. It seems, then, that ἀγαθωσύνη was a ‘Christian’ word.

χαρᾶς ταῦτα γράψασ . . . ης [ -ca.?- ]  
 κύριν Πέτρον ἐν ὁ κύρις ὄν μικ[ -ca.?- ]  
 ἐν πάση ἀγαθοσύνη †

*P.Bingen* 133.1–3 (501–600 CE)

ὁ γὰρ καρπὸς τοῦ φωτὸς ἐν πάση ἀγαθωσύνῃ καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ καὶ ἀληθείᾳ.

*Ephesians* 5:9

On the other hand, ἀγαθότης ‘goodness’ was not used by the writers of the New Testament and is confined, in the Greek translations of the Hebrew Bible, to the *Wisdom of Solomon* and *Sirach*. It was also used by Philo and by some Christian writers.

<sup>73</sup> Wyss (1954, 66).

<sup>74</sup> With this formation compare the following from Patristic writers: ὀλιγο-, ψευδο-, θεο-, and ταπεινο-ρρημοσύνη. From ἀγαθωσύνη, ἀγαθοσύνη was formed (thence, φιλ-ἀγαθοσύνη) and its antonym κακοσύνη. The Christian use of ἐλεημοσύνη was the basis for its negative, ἀν-ἐλεημοσύνη, just as δικαιοσύνη was the basis for ἔθελο- and ἀκρο-δικαιοσύνη.



The use of ταπεινοφροσύνη illustrates well the use, and perhaps creation, of such formations by the writers of the New Testament in accordance with their need for new terminology for a new understanding of virtue. In its entry for ταπεινοφροσύνη, LSJ obscures the situation in part, but begins to clarify the history of this term as well. A contrast is made between the positive Christian use as a virtue, ‘humility’, for which only *Ephesians* 4:2 is cited, and a non-Christian pejorative meaning, ‘mean-spiritedness’, which is cited from Josephus (*Jewish War* IV 494) and Epictetus (III 24.56), two writers who were active shortly after the Apostle Paul. LSJ’s reference to ‘*Ep.Eph.4.2, al.*’ does not adequately indicate that this term is found elsewhere in the Pauline corpus (*Philippians* 2:3 and *Colossians* 2:18, 2:23, and 3:12), in *Acts* 20:19 (on Paul’s lips), and in *1 Peter* 5:5 (not to mention in *1 Clement* 21.8, 30.8, 31.4, 44.3, 56.1, and 58.2 and in the *Shepherd* of Hermas 18.6, 56.7, and 73.6). In other words, not only was the word ταπεινοφροσύνη first used, as far as we can tell from the texts that have survived, by a New Testament writer, it was also used by other New Testament writers and it remained in use by Christian writers at the end of the first century and into the second century.

The non-Christian uses of ταπεινοφροσύνη and its related words serve to underline the distinctiveness of its use among the earliest Christian writers and their successors. For the writers of the New Testament, ταπεινοφροσύνη was a virtue that had been shown by Jesus and was to be imitated and cultivated, while ταπεινωσις and being ταπεινός were to be a cause for joy.<sup>75</sup> This was not so for their contemporaries. The Apostle Paul’s opponents described him as κατὰ πρόσωπον ταπεινός (2 *Corinthians* 10:1). By contrast, the earliest known non-Christian uses of ταπεινοφροσύνη treat it as ‘dejection’, a fault (Josephus, *Jewish War* IV 494 and Epictetus III 24.56). A passage of Epictetus is particularly instructive:<sup>76</sup>

τίς οὖν θέλει ζῆν ἁμαρτάνων; – Οὐδείς.  
 – Τίς θέλει ζῆν ἐξαπατῶμενος, προπίπτων, ἄδικος ὢν,  
 ἀκόλαστος, μεμψίμοιρος, ταπεινός; – Οὐδείς.  
 – Οὐδείς ἄρα τῶν φαύλων ζῆ ὡς βούλεται· οὐ τοίνυν οὐδ’ ἐλεύθερός ἐστιν.

Epictetus 4.1.2–3

Apart from the early Christians, no one would choose to be ταπεινός. The early Christians would have needed a noun for the corresponding virtue that did not have the pejorative meaning attached to ταπεινότης, a word not used in the

<sup>75</sup> Cf. Mt 11:29, 18:4, and 23:12, Lk 14:11 and 18:14, Acts 20:19, 2 Cor 11:7, Eph 4:2, Phil 2:3 and 2:8, Col 3:12, and 1 Pt 3:8 and 5:5–6, and Jas 1:9–10, 4:6, and 4:10.

<sup>76</sup> I owe this reference to Walton (2000, 76).

New Testament.<sup>77</sup> Translators of the Hebrew Bible had provided formal models in ταπεινόφρων (*Proverbs* 29:23) and in its derivative verb ταπεινοφρονέω (*Psalms* 130 [131].2). The use of ταπεινορρημοσύνη by John Chrysostom (Third Homily on *1 Timothy: Patrologia Graeca* LXII 515.13) was a further development on this foundation.

However, Wyss's assertion is readily met with objections, the first of which concerns ἀπλοσύνη. This virtue, 'sincerity', occurs in *Job* 21:23 and in *P.Worp.* 24.7 (3rd/4th century CE). However, there is no reason to suspect that the writer of that papyrus took the word either from Old Greek *Job* or from another Jewish or Christian text or from the spoken Greek of Christians in particular. In contrast to *P.Bingen* 133 and *SB* XIV 11586 (discussed above and in note 50), this "lettera d'affari" contains no obvious indicators of a Christian or Jewish milieu. Its first editor cited *Job* 21:23 in her commentary,<sup>78</sup> but based no interpretation on that fact. Subsequent discussion of this letter by Peter van Minnen<sup>79</sup> and by A. Papathomas<sup>80</sup> has labelled this noun "literary" and has referenced further bibliography on ἀπλότης. Those who translated the Hebrew Bible into Greek, the Apostle Paul, and Jewish and Christian writers all used ἀπλότης, like their secular Koiné contemporaries.<sup>81</sup> We are left with the impression that the two instances of ἀπλοσύνη are independent uses (if not parallel creations) and are not part of traditional Christian or Jewish vocabulary, as far as we know them. We cannot conclude that ἀπλοσύνη was a Jewish or Christian alternative to ἀπλότης.

The single instance of χαρμοσύνη 'joy' in the Old Greek translation of *Leviticus* (22:29) provides another test case. This formation is not attested before the Greek translation of *Leviticus* and is a curiosity of translation and interpretation: εὐχὴ χαρμοσύνης renders a Hebrew term that is rendered by ἀνεσις in its four other occurrences.<sup>82</sup> J.W. Wevers suggested that the translator(s) understood the "thank offering as the result of a vow (which it may be) not so much of praise, but as praised stimulated by χαρμοσύνης."<sup>83</sup> Be that as it may, here we see the

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77 The only instance in the Septuagint is pejorative from a certain point of view: βδέλυγμα ὑπερφάνω ταπεινότης οὕτως βδέλυγμα πλουσίω πτωχός (*Sirach* 13:20).

78 Funghi (2008, 178).

79 Minnen (2009, 203).

80 Papathomas (2009, 261).

81 Cf. 2 Sm 15:11, 1 Chr 29:17, 1 Macc 2:37 and 2:60, 3 Macc 3:21, Ws 1:1, Sus 63 OG (the content of Theodotion is different at this point), Rom 12:8, 2 Cor 1:12, 8:2, 9:11, 9:13, and 11:3, Eph 6:5, Col 3:22, Philo *passim*, Josephus *passim*, the *Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs passim*, and the *Epistle of Barnabas* 8.2a and 17.1.

82 Wevers (1997, 487).

83 Wevers (1997, 362).

translator(s) not only departing from their practice elsewhere of using αἴνεσις, but also using a formation in -σύνη in order to do so. That implies both some degree of productivity for this suffix in the varieties of Greek of the translator(s) and of their listeners and readers and some degree of suitability for their purpose in translating the Hebrew text. Other composers of Greek texts<sup>84</sup> in the Septuagint, such as those of *1 Samuel*, *Baruch*, and *Judith*, made independent<sup>85</sup> use of χαρμοσύνη, while others still, such as the composers of *Job* and *3 Maccabees*, used χαρμονή. Both χαρμοσύνη and χαρμονή were used in Old Greek *Jeremias* in collocation, respectively, with εὐφροσύνη (31:33 and 40:11), as always in Old Greek *Job*, and with εὐφραιόμενος (38:13).

This paper has attempted a fine-grained analysis of the lexemes formed with the derivational suffix -σύνη that first appear in the Septuagint and other Greek translations of the Hebrew Bible in the context of first occurrences of such formations in the documentary papyri and in the New Testament. The goal has been to make up for the deficiencies of Buck/Petersen and those of the study of Wyss by building on their strengths. In order to do so, this study has touched on translation technique, textual criticism, onomastics, terms of address, and the relationship between documentary papyri and Biblical texts. We have seen that nouns with suffix -σύνη were mostly associated with verse inscriptions and with epitaphs in particular until the beginning of the Byzantine period (the fourth century CE and beyond). The productivity of formations in -σύνη in the Septuagint has been contrasted with the lack of productivity in the documentary papyri until the Byzantine period, and the deficiencies of Palmer's study have been identified and addressed. The productivity of formations in -σύνη in the prose of the Septuagint stands in contrast to the poetic tradition of the verse inscriptions on the one hand and in contrast to the lack of productivity in the documentary papyri on the other. The latter constitutes the usual point of comparison with the language of the Septuagint and, for that matter, with that of the New Testament. Some formations in -σύνη show continuity in their appearance in the Pentateuch, Narrative books, Prophets, *Psalms* and Wisdom Literature, while

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<sup>84</sup> I use the term 'composers' here to focus on the resultant Greek text, regardless of whether it is a Greek original or a Greek version of a Hebrew or Aramaic original, not only so as not to comment on whether texts, such as *Judith*, are original compositions in Greek or translations into Greek of Hebrew or Aramaic originals, but also so as not to comment on whether portions of texts, such as Old Greek *Job*, that do not have counterparts in the Massoretic Hebrew text reflect a Hebrew *Vorlage* otherwise unknown to us or are additions first written in Greek. See Dines (2004, 101, 109, and 138).

<sup>85</sup> The phrase εὐχὴ χαρμοσύνης does not reappear and the other occurrences of χαρμοσύνη are closely related to the adjective χαρμόσυτος.

others cluster in the Narrative books and in the *Psalms* and Wisdom Literature. This study, it seems, has merely scratched the surface and I leave it to others to draw out further implications from these details of the curious appearance of nouns in -σύνη in the Septuagint.

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Brian D. Joseph

## On some related προ-forms for generational distance in Modern Greek

Greek shows several different patterns for deriving lexical items that mark generational distance, giving meanings that indicate displacement from a given generation as a reference point. There are forms with a prepositional/preverbal prefix and there are numerically based forms; these are illustrated with examples from Ancient Greek in (1) and (2), respectively, (1a) and (2a) being based on πάππος ‘grandfather’, (1c) on τήθη ‘grandmother’, and (2b) on πατήρ ‘father’:

- (1) a. ἔκπαππος ‘great-great-grandfather’  
b. ἐπίπαππος ‘grandfather, great-grandfather, great-great-grandfather’  
c. ἐπιτήθη ‘great-grandmother, great-great-grandmother’
- (2) a. τρίπαππος ‘ancestor in the sixth generation’  
b. τριτοπάτωρ ‘great-grandfather’

These appear to be inherited patterns, as there are parallels in other Indo-European languages, for instance those in (3) from Latin:

- (3) a. *ab-avus* ‘great-great-grandfather’  
b. *ad-nepos* ‘great-great-great-grandson’  
c. *triauus/tritauus* ‘great-great-great-great-grandfather’

There is also a type in Greek with the specific prepositional/preverbal prefix προ-, as seen in Ancient Greek πρόπαππος ‘great-grandfather’, built on πάππος. This type too has an Indo-European pedigree, being a well-attested formation involving prefixal forms of variants of a basic root \**per-*, e.g. \**pr-o*, \**pr-ō*, or \**pr-* among others, in diverse branches of the family that are geographically widely separated, taking in both eastern and western branches; relevant forms are given in 4:

- (4) a. Latin (Italic): *pro-auus* ‘great-grandfather’ (cf. *auus* ‘grandfather’)  
b. Sanskrit (Indo-Iranian): *pra-pitāmaha-* ‘great-grandfather’ (cf. *pitā-maha-* ‘grandfather’)  
c. Russian (Slavic): *pra-ded* ‘great-grandfather’ (\**prō-* added to *ded* ‘grandfather’)

d. German (Germanic): *Vorvater* ‘forefather’ (cf. *Vater* ‘father’)<sup>1</sup>

This Ancient Greek word πρόπαππος has given rise to a number of forms in Modern Greek, specifically:

- (5) a. προπάππος  
 b. προπάππους  
 c. προπαππούς

They all have the same meaning of ‘great-grandfather’ and all show the derivational pattern of (4) involving προ-, though with some wrinkles as far as accent and vocalism are concerned. In particular, (5a) shows an accent shift onto the penultimate syllable rightward from the Ancient Greek antepenultimate accent placement, (5b) shows the same accent shift and -ου- vocalism in the final syllable, and (5c) shows the same -ου- vocalism and a further rightward accent shift to the final syllable.

It is interesting to survey the four largest dictionaries of Modern Greek, the multi-volume Dimitrakos (1949) and the three more recent ones, the Triandafyllidis Foundation dictionary (1998), the large dictionary of Babiniotis (1998), and the Academy of Athens dictionary, Charalambakis (2014), to see what they have to say about these forms. All of these forms are to be found in the Triandafyllidis dictionary and the Academy dictionary, but in the other two, only (5a) is given. Moreover, the Triandafyllidis dictionary offers an account of the parameters of variation for these forms, claiming for (5a) that προπάππος shows its accent shift based on the inherited genitive, i.e. the continuation of the Ancient Greek form, προπάππου, for (5c) that προπαππούς has the form it does by virtue of a derivation from the prefix προ- added onto the most usual word in Modern Greek for ‘grandfather’, παππούς, and for (5b) that προπάππους has the accentuation it does due to it being based on προπαππούς but with influence from προπάππος. These are reasonable accounts of the variants in question, but at least with regard to the first, there is an equally reasonable alternative that should be considered. In particular, προπάππος could very well at some point have taken on the accentuation of its base form πάππος (before πάππος gave

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<sup>1</sup> English *forefather* may not be a relevant comparandum here since it may represent a development within English from Old English *forðfæder* (or a related formation, such as (the now obsolete) *formefader* or *fornfather*, possibly due to Norse influence (so “Online Etymology Dictionary”, <http://etymonline.com/index.php?term=forefather>, accessed 14 December 2016).



way to παππούς), much as προπαππούς has the accent placement of its base form.

Thus, the Triandafyllides dictionary accounts fairly well for these variants. There is, however, a further variant of these προ-forms for generational distance that occurs in Modern Greek, namely πρόσπαπος. It is given in Dimitrakos (1949, 6242) and in the Triandafyllides dictionary (1998, 1147), but does not occur in Babiniotis (1998) nor in the Academy dictionary; it is rare in general today and not really a part of contemporary κοινή νεοελληνική. Nonetheless, it is attested in various dialects; I have heard it, for instance, from several speakers of Greek in southern Albania.

This variant form raises some interesting questions (see also Joseph 2016 for discussion). As far as Greek is concerned, this form with προσ- is not an otherwise attested pattern; composite nouns with προσ- are mostly deverbal formations (e.g. προσανατολισμός ‘orientation’ from προσανατολίζω ‘turn towards the east’, or πρόσταγμα ‘ordinance’ from προστάζω (earlier προστάσσω ‘command’), or typically have meanings involving proximity (e.g. προσοφθάλμιος (φακός) ‘lens near the eye, contact lens’) or direction (e.g. προσκάλεσμα ‘a calling-to, an invitation’)) reflecting senses found with the preposition/prefix προς/προσ-. Still, it does have one parallel within Indo-European in Sanskrit *prati-naptṛ-* ‘great-grandson’,<sup>2</sup> given in Monier-Williams (1851), an English-to-Sanskrit dictionary. However, there is reason to discount this parallel: the word does not occur in any of the large Sanskrit-to-English dictionaries (e.g. Apte 1912, Monier-Williams 1899, or Macdonnell 1924) and thus may be a “neo-Sanskrit” term that Monier-Williams knew of and chose to include in his lexicon; as such, it would not be a significant comparandum for the Greek form, so it is hard to support the Greek term by reference to the Sanskrit alone.<sup>3</sup> Moreo-

2 Sanskrit *prati-* is the direct cognate of Greek πρόσ, from \**proti* (cf. Argive προτί, Cretan πορτί).

3 Nonetheless, my colleague Dr. George Giannakis has brought to my attention the very interesting fact that the Sanskrit dictionary of Δημήτριος Γαλανός (*Λεξικό Σανσκριτικής-Αγγλικής-Ελληνικής*), published in Greece in 2001 in a photomechanical reproduction of his original worksheets as deposited in the Academy of Athens and University of Athens Library), contains this very word, *pratinaptā*, glossed as ‘of son’s grandson; υιώνός υιοῦ’. Dr. Giannakis further points out that Catholic University professor Siegfried A. Schutz notes in his preface to this dictionary that various “unusual” words are listed in Galanos’ manuscripts but unfortunately did not reach Otto Böhtlingk and Rudolph Roth, the compilers of the great Sanskrit dictionary of St. Petersburg, in time to be incorporated in their *magnum opus*. The authors regretted the fact that Galanos’ death prevented him from completing this work, but we can see that his information is invaluable in preserving lemmata that are otherwise unknown, based on other dictionaries.

ver, one has to ask what the *προσ-* is doing in this form at all, as it does not seem to be logical to have this preverb/preposition occurring in a composite form for generational distance. That is, the form *προπάππος* (like its Ancient Greek counterpart, *πρόπαππος*) “parses” well and has compositional semantics, based on *προ-* ‘before’ and *παππο-*, as a stem for ‘grandfather’, thus meaning ‘one (generation) before the grandfather’, i.e., ‘great-grandfather’. By contrast, however, the variant form *πρόσπαππος* does not parse well with comparable compositional semantics, given the usual sense of *προσ-* as indicating direction towards or proximity (as above).

Thus, it is fair to ask where this form with *προσ-* comes from, or, to ask the question in a more pointed way, where does the extra *-σ-* that is added to *προ-* + *παππο-* to give *πρόσπαππος* come from? Viewed this way, the issue is not so much why *προσ-* is involved in a term marking generational distance, but rather why in this variant form there is an *-σ-* that is otherwise unmotivated and unaccounted for.

It is well known that synchronic anomalies in a language are sometimes the result of language contact. For instance, in English, the anomalous syntax of the expression *It goes without saying* – anomalous in that either it is an apparent intransitive use of an active form of *say* that is interpreted passively (i.e., ‘some statement (“it”) holds without being said’) or else it is missing a subject with *saying* (i.e., ‘it holds without someone saying it’) – can be accounted for if it is understood to be a direct calquing on the French phrase *ça va sans dire*. Similarly, the unusual intransitive use of *give* in the expression *What gives?* (meaning ‘what’s going on?’) is understandable if the expression is calqued on the German use of *geben* ‘give’ in the existential construction *es gibt* ‘there is’.<sup>4</sup> And, somewhat closer to home as far as Greek is concerned, one can cite *ki-* complements in Turkish, which are anomalous in that they are positioned post-verbally and contain a finite verb, whereas other complements in the language are preverbal and contain nonfinite verbs, but have properties explained historically by the *ki-* type being a borrowing from Persian.

It is reasonable to wonder therefore if there is a possible contact language source here that could explain the anomaly of *πρόσπαππος*. The answer is yes, and the language in question is Albanian.

In particular, in Albanian there are two terms for generational displacement that have variants that are highly relevant to the issue at hand with Greek *πρόσπαππος*. Meyer (1891), in his lemma for *gjysh* (for him: *gÿš*) ‘grandfather’, gives

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<sup>4</sup> See Joseph (2000) for discussion of these expressions; the English could in principle be a cognate construction to the German, and not a calque.

some terms of further generational distance and some variants of them with an extra *s* or a sound that derives from an *s*. That is, there is *treġüš* alongside of *šterġüš* for ‘great-grandfather’ as well as, for ‘Ururgr.’, i.e. ‘great-great-grandfather’, what he cites as *katreġüš* (equivalent to what would now be spelled *katrëgjysh*), and a form with an extra initial *s*-, *skatraġüš*. The forms in the first pair, *treġüš* and *šterġüš*, appear to parallel Latin *tritavus* (see (3c) above) and a variant *strittavus* that is attested in Paulus ex Festo (see Joseph 2010); the initial *š*- of Meyer’s *šterġüš* represents the expected outcome in Albanian of a borrowed Latin *s*- (cf. *shumë* ‘very; much’ from Latin *summus*) or alternatively, if the *s*- reflects an Indo-European inheritance here, also the expected outcome of PIE *\*s* before a *-t*-, as in *shteg* ‘path, road’ from *\*stoigh-* (cf. Greek στοιχος ‘row, line’, Gothic *staig* ‘way’).<sup>5</sup> And the second pair, *katreġüš* and *skatraġüš*, would offer a direct parallel to the possibility of there being an extra *s* in such a word. Thus these pairs provide the basis for an account of the variant form πρόσπαππος.

An explanation has been offered for this variant in Triandafyllidis’ dictionary (1998, 1147), namely that it is due to folk etymology (“παρετυμολογία”) based on phrase πάππου προς πάππου ‘(handed down) by tradition’, literally “of-grandfather from grandfather”, an alternative form of which is από πάππου προς πάππου ‘from grandfather to grandfather’. The phrase in both instances refers to transfer across generations. It may well be that this phrase somehow plays a role here, but it is not obvious how to get from such a phrase to the noun in question, πρόσπαππος. In particular, the phrase is about traditional transmission, whereas the noun refers to a further degree of generational displacement; thus, although admittedly in the same *general* semantic sphere of talk about generations, the phrase and the noun are not really all that similar in meaning. Folk etymology would have to work very hard, so to speak, to generate a noun with the appropriate meaning from either form of the phrase.

There is, however, a much more straightforward way of invoking folk etymology, once the possibility of influence from Albanian kin terms of generational distance with an extra *-s-* is entertained. That is, since, according to Meyer, both *katr...* and *skatr...* occur in these generational kin terms in Albanian, and since there are also *treġüš* and *šterġüš*, we can surmise that these Albanian terms could have led to the affixation of an extra *s* initially in a parallel word in the same semantic sphere in Greek, thus giving a *\*σπρόπαππος* built to πρόπαππος just like the Albanian pairs. At that point, then, folk etymology can

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<sup>5</sup> Modern Albanian has an initial *s*- in this word, *stërgjysh*, but that is likely to be the result of influence of the semantically similar Italian prefix *stra-*, from Latin *extra* (see Joseph 2012 for some discussion).

be invoked,<sup>6</sup> though not in so drastic a way as the derivation from *πάππου προς πάππου* would entail. That is, since *\*spro-* (*σπρο-*) has no basis in any prefix in Greek, we can hypothesize that it was remade, in what amounts to a folk-etymological way, so as to preserve the *προ-*, as a prefix that was meaningful in the marking of generational distance, and at the same time to preserve the added *-σ-*, which we have to assume was added for *some* reason by speakers of Albanian in using Greek or speakers of Greek familiar with the Albanian forms; the only difference is that the elements ended up in a different order relative to one another. The form that resulted from this reordering was a prefix *προσ-* that made somewhat more sense within the context of Greek and Greek prefixes in that it matched an already-existing prefix and thus gave the form *πρόσπαππος* with the same meaning as *πρόπαππος*.

This account of *πρόσπαππος* that draws on Albanian influence gains some support from an accentual variant of the Greek form, cited by Dimitrakos (1949, 6242), namely *προσπάπποι* (given as such, in the nominative plural, presumably to a nominative singular *προσπάππος*). While this accent placement on the pre-desinential root syllable, *-πάππ-*, i.e. on the second member of composite form, may simply reflect the accentuation of the more widespread form *προπάππος*, or the earlier base form *πάππος*, it is tempting to attribute it too to Albanian influence. That is, this accent placement accords exactly with the occurrence of the Albanian stress on the pre-desinential root syllable of the second member of the composite form (indicated in bold): (*s*)*katrë-‘g****gysh***. Thus it is possible not only that Albanian contributed the additional *-s-* to the innovative Greek form, but also that the accent placement was adjusted in the direction of the Albanian form; this is to be expected if the new form arose in the mouths of speakers of Greek who were very familiar with Albanian or speakers of Albanian whose Greek was colored by their native Albanian. While the Greek speakers of southern Albania would be a natural locus for such an innovation, given the broad swath of Albanian (*Αρβανίτικα*) speakers in central Greece, Attica, and even parts of the Peloponnesos, influence within Greece itself cannot be ruled out. This is admittedly speculative, and the simpler solution noted above may well be preferable simply because it invokes inner-Greek influence that seems to have been operative anyway.

Admittedly, it is not entirely clear what this extra *s* is doing in these forms, and it too has parallels in other languages and other forms; that is, not only is there the Latin *strittavus*, the apparent variant of *tritavus*, mentioned earlier, but

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<sup>6</sup> I would like to thank Bethany Christiansen of The Ohio State University for her insights on this very point.

also in Greek itself there is a dialectal form στήριποδο attested as a variant of τρίποδο ‘tripod’ (cited in Floros 1980, 620), thus with an extra σ- in a numerically based form. Nonetheless, positing involvement of Albanian in the emergence of the otherwise unusual form of the Greek lexical item πρόσπαππος provides a ready account of its compositional properties and possibly its accentual properties, and thus cannot be dismissed out of hand.

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Lara Pagani

## Explanation of Homeric glosses in P. Cair. Mich. II 4 (Socrates archive)?

... ἔλεγεν ἕτερα μυρία  
τοιαῦθ' ἄ, μὰ τὴν Γῆν, οὐδὲ εἷς συνῆκεν ἄν,  
μίστυλλα, μοίρας, δίπτυχ', ὀβελούς, ὥστ' ἔδει  
τὰ τοῦ Φιλίτα λαμβάνοντα βιβλία  
σκοπεῖν ἕκαστον τί δύναται τῶν ῥημάτων.

(Straton fr. 1.40-44 K.-A.)

The comic poet Straton, at the turning point between the Classical and Hellenistic eras, based the funniness of a scene of his *Phoenicides* on the description of a cook using elevated expressions for everyday talk, mainly (though not exclusively) Homeric ones,<sup>1</sup> which prove to be entirely unintelligible to the character who had hired him and who is reporting the puzzling conversation. The only help the latter can find, in order to understand what the cook is telling and asking him, is to consult some books of Philitas.<sup>2</sup> And even earlier than this, Aristophanes had staged an interrogation (presumably by a father addressing one of his sons) about the meaning of some Homeric glosses.<sup>3</sup>

The Homeric poems, in fact, represented a touchstone, from a cultural as well as a didactic point of view, in the whole ancient Greek world: they were

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This article was written during a stay at the 'Fondation Hardt pour l'Étude de l'Antiquité Classique' (Vandoeuvres, Genève) in February 2017. I am very grateful to Serena Perrone for helpful remarks and fruitful discussions about my text. I wish to thank Chiara Meccariello too for providing information about the new edition of the *Lexicon Homericum* by Apollonius Sophista (see below, notes 32 and 40). The English language revision is by Orla Mulholland.

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**1** The glosses in question are: μέροψ ('dividing the voice,' of men = 'mortals'), δαιτυμῶν ('guest'), ῥηξιχθων/ἔρυσιχθων ('bursting forth from the earth'/'tearing up the earth'), εὐρυμέτωπος ('broad-fronted,' of oxen), μῆλα ('sheeps' or 'goats'), οὐλοχῦται ('barley-groats'), πηγός ('solid'; in Straton's caricatural use 'salt'), ἀτάσθαλος ('presumptuous'), μίστυλλον ('piece of meat': cf. Hom. μιστύλλω, 'cut up,' of meat).

**2** Fr. 1 K.-A.; Philitas, test. 4 Spanoudakis = 7 Dettori.

**3** *Banqueters*, fr. 233 K.-A.: πρὸς ταύτας δ' αὖ λέξον Ὀμήρου γλώττας· τί καλοῦσι κόρμυβα;/ --- --- --- τί καλοῦσ' ἀμεμηνά κάρηνα;/ (B.) ὁ μὲν οὖν σός, ἐμός δ' οὗτος ἀδελφὸς φρασάτω· τί καλοῦσιν ἰδύους; --- --- --- τί ποτ' ἐστὶν ὀπύειν. We know that this was the first comedy of Aristophanes, in 427 BCE (test. IV and V K.-A.). Cf. Cassio (1977, 32–36) for a general picture, and 75–77 for the text and a commentary of the fragment (fr. 28 in his collection).

used for centuries to teach children to read and write throughout the Hellenized regions, and then became the very symbol of Hellenism in the ‘multiethnic’ society of Ptolemaic and Imperial Egypt. Nevertheless, their language was found increasingly obscure by their readers, who soon needed to resort to tools such as glossaries and lexica that explained the meaning of Homeric words by translating them into everyday contemporary vocabulary and, in some cases, by analyzing their constituent parts and etymologies.

That the production of such reference works had its roots well before the Alexandrian Age, the period of scholarship and philology *par excellence*,<sup>4</sup> as suggested by the fragment of Aristophanes mentioned above, is generally acknowledged by scholars.<sup>5</sup> In fact, this approach has been recognized, along with allegorical exegesis, as the most ancient form of Homeric interpretation.<sup>6</sup> Straton’s joke seems to imply that the work of Philitas was a good specimen of this attitude, but the content of the circa twenty surviving fragments does not actually confirm that Homeric vocabulary was the main concern of Philitas’ collection, as is usually claimed in modern studies. It is plausible that in the passage of Straton the best example of glossography (Philitas) is merely being associated with the best example of poetry (Homer).<sup>7</sup>

Be that as it may, we know that, among the explanations of words produced in relation to the Homeric poems, some took the form of glossaries, which usually followed the syntagmatic order of the text,<sup>8</sup> whereas a different approach led to the arrangement of alphabetically ordered lexica of words<sup>9</sup> (the best ex-

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**4** The importance of the earlier germinal phases for the tremendous development of philology in the broadest sense during the Hellenistic age was rightly highlighted already by Pfeiffer (1968), *Part One. Prehistory of Greek Scholarship*, 1–84 (more recently, see Novokhatko 2015).

**5** Cf. Montanari (1979, 13); Montanari (1995a, esp. 9–11), with bibliography; Tosi (1995, 143–178); Dickey (2015, esp. 464–466); Tosi (2015, esp. 628). It is likely that also the group of scholars whom the Homeric scholia name collectively as οἱ γλωσσογράφοι should be dated to the pre-Hellenistic period (on these figures, see Latte (1925); Dyck (1987); cf. below, 295).

**6** Wilamowitz (1888); Henrichs (1971); Erbse (1969, xi); Montanari (1995a, 10).

**7** This reassessment of the glossographical work of Philitas is owed to Dettori (2000, 10–11 and 27ff.). A different view is to be found in Spanoudakis (2002, 384–400, esp. 387). Cf. Tosi (1995, 146–149). The meaning of the attested title, Ἀτακτοὶ γλῶσσαι, remains obscure and, as a consequence, the work’s principle of arrangement is uncertain.

**8** This kind of collection has traditionally been defined as *scholia minora*. I prefer the label “glossaries,” in the footsteps of Montanari (2012, 11–12 and n. 34), who proposes to keep the term “scholia” only for the material of the Medieval *corpora* (cf. Montana 2011, esp. 105–110 for the substantial difference between the products of ancient exegesis and Medieval scholia).

**9** On lexicography see Tosi (1995, 143–178); Tosi (2015), both with bibliography. For a survey of the fragments of ancient lexica in the papyri, see Esposito (2009).



ample of this type of work is the *Homeric Lexicon* of Apollonius Sophista, which will be considered below). Both have a counterpart in Medieval products, into which their material, excerpted and reworked, has been incorporated: the glossaries in the corpus of the so-called D-scholia, the lexica in the Λέξεις Ὀμηρικοί.<sup>10</sup> These formal distinctions are far from implying a distinction in content as well; to the contrary, a consistent osmosis of material among the various genres can be observed.<sup>11</sup> Moreover, the glossographic-paraphrastic element is also present in another type of secondary literature on Homer, namely the *hypomnemata* (proper commentaries arranged by lemmata basically following the order of the text of the poems), in which it is intermingled with exegetical and philological components.<sup>12</sup>

Given this situation, when we consider a fragment of ancient *Homerica*, it may be difficult to determine the genre to which it belongs, especially when the piece is very scanty.<sup>13</sup> In these circumstances, sometimes neither formal nor substantive characteristics of one or another type of work can be detected with any certainty.

This is the case with the heavily damaged text written on the back of the recently edited P. Cair. Mich. II 4.<sup>14</sup> The papyri labeled P. Cair. Mich. are finds discovered during excavations by the University of Michigan at the beginning of the 20th century, transferred from Egypt to the Michigan collection, as was usual in those times, and then commendably returned to the Egyptian Museum in Cairo in the 1950s. The trend inaugurated by this farsighted initiative has been pursued in the subsequent years within the framework of a fruitful cooperation between occidental scholars and Egyptian papyrologists, and the publication of

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**10** For the formal characteristics that distinguish glossaries and lexica and for reflections on the relation of these two kinds of ancient *Homerica* respectively to the Medieval D-Scholia and the Λέξεις Ὀμηρικοί, see Montanari (1995b, 71–73 and 79–81), Montanari (2012, 2–4), as well as the bibliography cited above, n. 6.

**11** Montanari (1995b, 81–82); Haslam (1994a, 40) speaks of “a floating corpus of interpretative tradition, fundamentally unstable, dynamically transmitted, contents and contours in perpetual flux, with no sort of fixity beyond what its many instantiations were momentarily and continually investing it with.”

**12** Montanari (1995b, 84); a general picture of the relations between *hypomnemata* and lexicography in Antiquity can be found in Ucciardello (2012, 37–68).

**13** On this problem see Pagani (forthcoming).

**14** Römer (2015) (LDAB 382544; not yet in MP<sup>3</sup> [February 2017]).

the book in which the fragment in question is edited can rightly be welcomed as a good omen for “the future of Papyrology in Egypt.”<sup>15</sup>

The piece recorded as P. Cair. Mich. II 4 was found in House B17 at Karanis and is part of the “archive” of Socrates, a tax collector of the 2nd century CE. That archive, as it has so far been delineated by subsequent publications of the papyri belonging to it, is composed of documentary fragments (personal and professional) as well as portions of the library of Socrates.<sup>16</sup> The latter represent an interesting indication of Socrates’ social and cultural characteristics; he clearly wanted to display an education in the Greek tradition, as did many representatives of the Hellenized class of officials in Roman Egypt.<sup>17</sup> In his case there was perhaps a specific and personal concern with this, and it may be that Socrates’ interest in Greek literature was not merely “window-dressing”.<sup>18</sup> The remains of his library have so far yielded fragments of: Menander, *Acta Alexandrinorum* (or some kind of novel), a grammar treatise, the *Iliad*,<sup>19</sup> unidentified prose (history or, again, novel), and a handbook with titles and short *hypotheses* of comedies and satyrplays.<sup>20</sup> Moreover it has been supposed that Socrates owned a copy of Callimachus,<sup>21</sup> on the basis of his identification with the person who wrote into a tax register, as a nickname translating an Egyptian one, the word ἀνδίκτης, which is a Callimachean *hapax*: the hypothesis fits well with the find of a fragment of the *Aitia* in House B2,<sup>22</sup> just in front of B17 and likely connected with Socrates too.<sup>23</sup>

If he had the *Iliad*, as seems to be the case, he very probably needed some kind of linguistic or exegetical help to understand it: if such a support was necessary for Athenians of the Classical Period (see above), it would have been all

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**15** The editors Mohamed Gaber El-Maghrabi (University of Alexandria) and Cornelia Römer (DAAD Professor at Ain Shams University) jointly dedicate the volume to this auspicious concept (El-Maghrabi and Römer 2015, viii).

**16** El-Maghrabi and Römer (2015, ix–xviii), with bibliography.

**17** El-Maghrabi and Römer (2015, x and xii–xiii); Römer (2015, 14).

**18** He has been defined as an “*érudit manqué*” (Youtie 1970, 551), and an “*érudit* of some sort” (van Minnen 1994, 245).

**19** Fifteen further Homeric fr. (only two from the *Odyssey*) come from Karanis, one dated to the 2nd–1st century BCE, the others from the 1st to 3rd century CE: van Minnen (1998, 124–125).

**20** El-Maghrabi and Römer (2015, xii–xiii).

**21** A more unusual element, compared to the others, in the library of a figure of high social level living in an Egyptian village and educated in Greek culture.

**22** Van Minnen (1998).

**23** It is not certain if Socrates lived in B2 and used B17 as a repository, but it is generally agreed that all the pieces found therein belonged to the same person. *Status quaestionis* and bibliography in El-Maghrabi and Römer (2015, ix–x).

the more so – one would guess – for an official in 2nd-century CE Egypt. Some kind of interpretive interest in the Homeric poem on the part of Socrates is suggested by the Iliadic fragment from his archive P. Cair. Mich. II 2, which bears some marginal critical signs accompanying the literary text.<sup>24</sup> Further, a text devoted to the explanation of the *Iliad* has been recognized in the remains written on the back of P. Cair. Mich. II 4.<sup>25</sup> Below I quote the very scanty text of the latter, as edited by Cornelia Römer:<sup>26</sup>

(1) -----  
 1 [ ] . α . [ . . . ] . . . [ ]  
 [ ] χ ω ν . [ ]  
 ὄ χ η ῖ ν · τ ρ ο φ ῆ ῖ ν  
 4 α ἰ γ ι ὄ χ ο ἰ ο Δ ι ὀ [ c  
 [ . ] π ο ν . τ . [ ]  
 [ . . . ] δ . . . c [ ]  
 [ . . . ] α . c [ ]  
 8 [ ] . . . [ ]  
 [ ] χ ο [ ]  
 [ ] . [ ] . [ ] . [ ]  
 [ ] ζ . . . [ ]  
 12 [ ] δ ε . . . υ [ ]  
 [ ] . . ω . . . [ ]  
 [ ] . . . ι ο c [ ]  
 [ ] ο . . . . [ ]  
 16 [ ] . . . . π . [ ]  
 [ ] . . . . δ ε χ [ ]  
 margin

In spite of the minimal amount of surviving text, as a first observation we may note that the formulaic expression αἰγινόχοιο Διὸς (l. 4) may suggest some kind of connection with epic poetry. Though less pervasive than its reverse Διὸς αἰγινόχοιο, this formula recurs not only in the *Iliad* but also in the *Odyssey*, as

**24** Römer (2015, 5–8): the signs in question are: “a dotted obelus [...], a ‘reverse’ dotted obelus [...], and three (maybe four) further signs;” one of the lines seems to be bracketed (p. 5). Since none of them, with the exception of the dotted obelus, have parallels in the surviving evidence, Römer wonders if they may be “the work of an amateur scholar, maybe even Socrates himself” (p. 5). Cf. Perrone (2017, 218–219), who identifies a plausible comparison for the sign at v. 781 in the relevant Venetus A scholion (*Sch. ex. [?]* *Il.* 2.781–784), thus inferring “possibili tracce di un livello di istruzione più elevato e di interessi filologici.”

**25** Römer (2015, 14, 17–18).

**26** Römer (2015, 17) (photograph on p. 18).

well as in Hesiod and the *Homeric Hymns*,<sup>27</sup> not to mention all the places in Greek literature where one finds a quotation of these poetic passages (especially Homer's). Nevertheless, a clue in favor of reading it as a fragment of secondary literature on the *Iliad* has been plausibly suspected by Römer on the basis of the combination of αἰγίοχοιο Διὸς with the sequence ὄχην · τροφή[ν (l. 3), since this pair of terms appears in one of the ancient etymological explanations offered for the epithet αἰγίοχος in the erudite tradition on the *Iliad*, as we will see. Moreover, Römer cautiously hypothesizes that the fragment was part of a work that belonged to the genre of the commentary, based on the high dot set between ὄχην and τροφή[ν, which is to be seen as a mark of graphic distinction between a lemma and its corresponding *interpretamentum*.<sup>28</sup> It does not seem possible to derive any further hint from any sort of connection with the text written on the recto. The latter contains a considerably greater amount of readable text, which has been identified as narrative (whether historical, pseudo-historical, or purely fictional is uncertain).<sup>29</sup> Although it perhaps mentions the name Διός (Δι)ὸς καὶ Διοσκοῦρ[ων?, l. 13), I find it very likely that Römer is right in claiming that “possibly front and back have nothing more in common than that they were written on the same sheet of papyrus, and perhaps by the same person.”<sup>30</sup>

I shall begin my discussion from the helpful *loci paralleli* recorded by Römer. The three passages invoked as some of the possible parallels for l. 3 (ὄχην · τροφή[ν)<sup>31</sup> mention the word ὄχη, elucidated by the more common synonym τροφή. The first is an entry in the *Homeric Lexicon* of Apollonius Sophista, concerning precisely the epithet of Zeus attested in l. 4, αἰγίοχος; the second and third ones, on the other hand, treat the Homeric epithet ἀγέρωχος: they are respectively an Iliadic scholion traced back to Aristonicus and an entry in the general lexicon of Hesychius (5th century CE).

(2) Ap.S. p. 18.6–7 (Bekker):<sup>32</sup> αἰγίοχος αἰγιοῦχος· [...] οἱ δὲ νεώτεροι κακῶς, ὡς αἰγὸς ὄχην·  
τουτέστι τροφήν, εἰληφότος,

<sup>27</sup> E.g. *Od.* 4.762, 6.324; *Hes. Th.* 13, 920; *h.Merc.* 183; *h.Ven.* 8. As recorded by Römer (2015, 17), in the *Iliad* it appears at 1.202, 5.115, 5.693, 5.714, 8.352, 8.427 (*Il.* 1.222, 2.157, 10.278, 10.553, 21.420 should be added to the list).

<sup>28</sup> Römer (2015, 14).

<sup>29</sup> Römer (2015, 14).

<sup>30</sup> Römer (2015, 14).

<sup>31</sup> Römer (2015, 17) who explicitly presents her list as not exhaustive.

<sup>32</sup> Quotations of the *Lexicon* of Apollonius Sophista are drawn from the old and problematic edition by Bekker (1833), while awaiting the new one announced by James Brusuelas and Chiara Meccariello at the conference “Il commento ai testi greci. Problemi, metodi e tendenze dell'erudizione antica e bizantina”, held in Venice, on January 29–30, 2015. The Göttingen

(3) *Sch. Ariston. Il.* 3.36b: <Τρώων> ἀγερώχων· ὅτι ἀγερώχους τοὺς Τρώας, οὐ μόνον τοὺς Ῥοδίους (cf. B 654), ὡς τινες ᾤθησαν, διὰ τὸ ἀγεῖρην τὴν ὄχην, τουτέστι τὴν τροφήν· ὁ γὰρ Ὅμηρος ἀγερώχους τοὺς ἄγαν γεράχους καὶ σεμνοὺς λέγει. **A**

(4) Hsch. α 462 (Latte): *Ap.S.*? ἀγέρωχοι· \*οἱ ἄγαν **n** ἔνδοξοι καὶ ἔντιμοι **q**. **n** ἢ ὑπερήφανοι **q**. **A** ἢ ἀπαίδευτοι. τινὲς δὲ φασὶ τοὺς Ῥοδίους εἰρήσθαι ἀγερώχους, ὅτι νησιῶται ὄντες ἔξωθεν ἐκ τῆς ἠπείρου ἀγείροντες ὄχην διεγίνοντο, τουτέστι τροφήν ἐπέισακτον (B 654).

The parallel mentioned by Römer for l. 4 αἰγίοχοιο Διό[ς] is an Iliadic scholion of the exegetical class, which records the same pseudo-etymology for αἰγίοχος found in Apollonius Sophista.

(5) *Sch. ex. Il.* 1.202: αἰγίοχοιο: τοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς αἰγὸς ὄχην λαβόντος· ὅθεν καὶ Ζεὺς τῇ Ἄμαλθειᾷ τὸ κέρας δίδωσι πάσης τροφῆς ποριστικὸν τυγχάνων. **A b**(BCE<sup>3</sup>E<sup>4</sup>) **T**

Thus some kind of connection among the three most clearly legible elements in the papyrus (ὄχην, τροφήν, and the formula αἰγίοχοιο Διό[ς]) is attested elsewhere. However, it still remains unclear, in my view, what their relation was in the papyrus text and consequently what kind of work the text represents. A more in-depth study of the picture just outlined will be useful, before trying to suggest possible answers.

Due to the fluid circulation and transmission of this kind of material (see above), the subjects that interest us appear, in reworked and modified versions, in several passages of different sources, a fact which further complicates matters. For αἰγίοχοιο Διός, both the exegetical scholion (text no. 5) and the entry of Apollonius Sophista (text no. 2) record one of the ancient interpretations that trace the meaning of the epithet αἰγίοχος back to the expression “he who takes his nourishment (ὄχη) from the goat (ἄξ, αἰγός),” with a paronymy clearly based on a mythological autoschediasm.<sup>33</sup> On both occasions, the word ὄχη is

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dissertation of K. Steinicke (1957) quoted by Haslam (1994a, 2 notes 1 and 3) contained a new edition of the lemmata α- to δ- (taking into consideration also the indirect tradition), but its serious incompleteness and limited accessibility have prevented it from becoming the standard edition.

**33** At least two further etymologies for αἰγίοχος are also attested in Antiquity, one connecting the epithet with the aegis (see e.g. *Sch. D Il.* 2.157.1 [van Thiel] [αἰγίδα ἔχοντος· αἰγὶς δὲ ἐστὶν ὄπλον Διὸς ἠφαιστότευκτον]; *Ap.S.* p. 18.5–6 [αἰγίοχος αἰγιοῦχος· αἰγὶς γὰρ ὄπλον τοῦ Διὸς, οὐπὲρ ἐστὶν ἐπίθετον]; *EGud.* p. 36.16 [αἰγίοχοιο· αἰγίδα ἔχοντος]; cf. *Ep.Hom.* α 34.3–4 [Dyck] [*sim. EM.* 27.34–35, s.v. αἰγίοχος· οἱ δέ, ὅτι σκεπαστήριον αὐτῷ αἰγὶς ἦν ἀπὸ Κρήτης αἰγὸς ληφθεῖσα]), the other tracing it to the fury of the winds (καταγιγίζω, καταγιγίς; *Sch. Od.* 10.154.1; *Ep.Hom.* α 34.4–5 [Dyck] [*unde EGud.* pp. 36.20–37.21; *sim. EM.* p. 27.36.37]). For modern stud-

not simply cited, but linked, in one way or another, to the sense of τροφή. Something similar can be found also in a Homeric epimerism, from which the relevant entries of the *Etymologica* drew their material:<sup>34</sup>

(6) *Ep.Hom.* α 34.1–3 (Dyck) (*unde EGud.* p. 36.17–18 [*sim. EM.* 27.32–34, s.v. αἰγίοχος]): αἰγίοχοιο (B 157): [...] γίνεται παρὰ τὸ ὄχη, ὃ σημαίνει τὴν τροφήν, καὶ τὸ αἰξ αἰγός· λέγουσι γὰρ αὐτὸν τεθηλακέναι Ἀμάλθειαν τὴν αἶγα.

The other passages that have been considered, i.e. Aristonicus' scholion (text no. 3) and Hesychius' lexicon entry (text no. 4), use the pair ὄχη/τροφή within an explanation of the epithet ἀγέρωχος, applied by Homer to various peoples. From Aristonicus we learn that Aristarchus had set a critical sign near *Il.* 3.36<sup>35</sup> because the interpretation of the epithet ἀγέρωχοι ('noble'), as if it derived from 'to collect food, i.e. nourishment' (ἀγείρειν τὴν ὄχην, τουτέστι τροφήν), defended by some scholars, could fit the Rhodians (e.g. *Il.* 2.654). They, as inhabitants of an island, need to import food from outside, but not the Trojans (here 3.36, and elsewhere),<sup>36</sup> whereas Homer actually calls ἀγέρωχοι, 'noble', people who are ἄγαν γεράοχος, 'very privileged', 'proud'.<sup>37</sup> While Hesychius' lexicon entry

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ies of the epithet, see Matthes (1955); Chantraine (2009, 29 [1968–1980, 1, 30]), s.v. αἰγίς; Beekes (2010, 1, 33), s.v. αἰγίς.

**34** Despite the common content, the wording of *Sch. D Il.* 2.157.2–3 (van Thiel) (ἐν Κρήτῃ δὲ ἐπικληθεὶς αἰγίοχος διὰ τὸ αὐτόθι τραφῆναι <ὑπὸ αἰγός>) and *Sch. Od.* 10.154.1–2 (Dindorf) (ὄχηθεις ὑπὸ τῆς αἰγός) diverge more from our fragment. Cf. P.Berol. 1970 (2nd–3rd century CE), containing a "Schrift über homerische Götter-Epitheta" (Luppe-Poethke 1998, 209–213), where, within the explanation of Αἰγίοχος] (col. 1, l. 6), it is said: ὥστε συνκεῖσθαι τὴν | δύναμιν τὴν τῆς αἰγός καὶ τῆς ὄχης, τοῦτ' ἔστι | αἰγί τρεφθεῖς] (col. 1, ll. 15–17).

**35** Most likely the simple *diple*, indicating that the passage had been made the object of some commentary in Aristarchus' *hypomnema*: The line in question has such a sign in ms. Venetus A (f. 42v).

**36** *Il.* 5.623, 7.343, 16.708, 21.584.

**37** A subsequent passage in book 10, where the epithet is applied to the Mysians, helped Aristarchus to produce a further proof in support of his theory (*Sch. Ariston. Il.* 10.430b: Μυσοὶ τ' ἀγέρωχοι: ὅτι οὐ μόνον ἐπὶ Ῥοδίων [B 654] χρῆται τῷ ἀγέρωχοι, ἔνεκα τοῦ ἀγείρειν τὴν ὄχην, τουτέστι τὴν τροφήν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ Μυσῶν καὶ Τρώων [Γ 36], οἷον γεράοχων, σεμνῶν καὶ ἐντίμων. **A.** A simple *diple* has been transcribed beside the line in ms. A [f. 134v]). The ὄχη pseudo-etymology of ἀγέρωχοι is recorded by the scholia for the first time at *Il.* 3.36 (and not in its previous occurrence at 2.654, where only the explanation ἄγαν γέρας ἐχόντων, ἐντίμων appears), clearly because the source for this is Aristonicus' work on the signs of Aristarchus, and 3.36 was the first passage on which Aristarchean disapproval of the contrasting explanation could be founded. We shall keep the focus on the *Iliad*, since in relation to the sole occurrence of this epithet (in the form ἀγέρωχον, applied to Periclymenos) in the *Odyssey* (11.286), the scholia speak of it in very different terms (ἀγέρωχον οὖν ἀκουστέον νῦν τὸν ἄγαν ῥαδίως μεταφερόμενον καὶ μεταχέομενον εἰς ὃ ἂν βούλοιτο).

quoted above (text no. 4) does not add any useful information, interesting details can be gained from the following epimerism:

(7) *Ep.Hom.* α 163 (Dyck) (*sim. EM.* 7.50–8.2): *Ap.S.* ἀγερῶχων: ἡ μὲν συνήθεια τὴν λέξιν ἐπὶ τοῦ ψόγου τάσσει· τοὺς γὰρ αὐθάδεις καὶ ἀπαιδεύτους ἀγερῶχους λέγουσι. ὁ δὲ Ὅμηρος τοὺς ἄγαν ἐντίμους, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄγαν ἐπὶ τοῦ γέρωσ ὀχεῖσθαι ὡς αὐτίς καθ' ὄμιλον ἔδου Τρώων ἀγερῶχων (Γ 36).  
**P O Et. Gud.** ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ὅταν λέγη ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίᾳ ἐννέα νῆας ἄγεν Ῥοδίων ἀγερῶχων (B 654).  
 ἔνιοι δὲ τῶν γλωσσογράφων (fr. 1 Dyck) ἰδίως τούτους ἔδοξαν ἀγερῶχους λέγεσθαι, ἐπεὶ νησιῶται ἐπεισακτῶ τροφῆι χρώνται· φασὶ γὰρ εἰρήσθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀγειρεῖν ὀχῆν, τουτέστι τροφῆν, Ὅμηρου μὲν οὐδέποτε τὴν τροφῆν ὀχῆν εἰρηκότος, ἔπειτα καὶ τοὺς Τρώας ὄντας νησιῶτας οὐδαμῶς ἀγερῶχους λέγοντος (sc. Γ 36 alibi). **P O**

This passage allows us to identify the advocates of the ὀχῆ etymology criticized by Aristarchus as some of the scholars collectively called by the sources “the glossographers.” This situation reproduces a recurring pattern: as pointed out by Dyck,<sup>38</sup> they tended to propose interpretations for a word that could fit at most one or a few Homeric passages where it occurs, but were often too specific to account for the evidence as a whole. Aristarchus highlighted the cases in which this kind of approach resulted in oddities. Another objection he usually raised against these predecessors in glossographical research was based on “their readiness to assume derivation of Homeric words from other words unattested in Homer,”<sup>39</sup> which is exactly our case (Ὅμηρου μὲν οὐδέποτε τὴν τροφῆν ὀχῆν εἰρηκότος). We will return to this point.

It should be noted that both Hesychius’ lexicon entry and the epimerism on the epithet ἀγέρωχοι (texts nos. 4 and 7 respectively) are thought to derive from a lost part of Apollonius’ *Lexicon*, which possibly used Aristonicus’ annotation as its source. The version of the relevant entry of the *Lexicon* as transmitted by the manuscript tradition reads as follows:

(8) *Ap.S.* pp. 7.33–8.3 (Bekker): Ἀγέρωχοι: ἡ μὲν καθ’ ἡμᾶς συνήθεια τὴν λέξιν ἐπὶ τοῦ ψόγου ταύτην τάσσει· τοὺς γὰρ αὐθάδεις καὶ ἀπαιδεύτους ἀγερῶχους λέγει. ὁ δὲ Ὅμηρος τοὺς ἄγαν ἐντίμους, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄγαν ἐπὶ τοῦ γέρωσ ὀχεῖσθαι. “ὡς αὐτίς καθ’ ὄμιλον ἔδου Τρώων ἀγερῶχων”. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ὅταν “ἐκ Ῥόδου ἐννέα νῆας ἄγεν Ῥοδίων ἀγερῶχων”.

The entry thus refers to common contemporary usage that connects the word to blame, since it applies to people who are arrogant and coarse; it then sets this usage in contrast to the Homeric one, where the word means ‘highly honored’,

<sup>38</sup> Dyck (1987). On these figures, see also Tosi (1995, 152–154).

<sup>39</sup> Dyck (1987, 128).

which derives from ‘to rest heavily on honor’, and there the explanation stops. Since this same passage (with the modifications in wording that are usual in this kind of work) appears in the two later texts followed by the etymology from ὄχη, the whole, including this latter element, has been supposed to have been originally part of Apollonius’ work.<sup>40</sup>

Now we can come back to P. Cair. Mich. II 4 and to Römer’s proposal that ὄχην in l. 3 may be a lemma of a Homeric commentary, separated from its *interpretamentum* by a high dot. The high dot is indeed one of the several formal devices attested in the surviving papyri evidence that were used to distinguish between lemmata and *interpretamenta*: from many possible examples, we may cite *P.Oxy.* 856 (commentary on Aristophanes’ *Acharnians*)<sup>41</sup> and PSI 1287 (commentary on a tragic text).<sup>42</sup> Other means of isolating lemmata can include: blank spaces within the line and/or lemmata written in *ekthesis*; the sign of the *paragraphos* placed on the left beneath the line on which the lemma begins or marking the end of a quotation or of a comment; the sign of the *diple* or the *diple obelismene* (also called “forked *paragraphos*”) indicating a new lemma; a *dicolon* or a middle dot placed after the lemma and/or at the end of a note.<sup>43</sup>

Nevertheless, if ὄχην in l. 3 is a lemma, the work to which it belonged cannot have been a product of secondary literature on Homer, since ὄχην is not a Homeric lemma. If it is a lemma, the only literary text, to our knowledge, that could come into play is Lycophron’s *Alexandra*. Within Cassandra’s prophecy, reported in the servant’s monologue of which the poem consists, at l. 482 a reference is made to the people of Arcadia, who are said to have acorn bread as nourishment (ὄχην). This gloss could have been explained with the standard synonym τροφήν, and then a parallel with the epithet αἰγίοχος putatively derived from this same word could have been recorded, quoting the Homeric formula αἰγίοχοιο Διός (l. 4). It is very likely that Lycophron’s *Alexandra* soon prompted the composition of commentaries or other kinds of aid to readers, on

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**40** Note that Latte (1953, 19), albeit doubtfully, labels the entry in Hesychius as going back to Apollonius; Dyck (1995, 112) does the same for the epimerism, but more confidently. Cf. Erbse (1969, 364), *app. ad Sch. Ariston. Il.* 3.36b: “Fort. Ep. Hom. et He. e parte deperdita glossae Ap. S. pendent, qui scholio (Aristonici?) usus est.” In the new edition of Apollonius mentioned above (n. 32), the entry ἀγέρωχοι will include both parts (I thank Chiara Meccariello for this information).

**41** LDAB 354; MP<sup>3</sup> 00138, 4th century CE. *Editio princeps*: Grenfell and Hunt (1908). See also Montana (2012, 13–36, esp. 14).

**42** LDAB 3927; MP<sup>3</sup> 01736, 2nd or 1st–2nd century CE. *Editio princeps*: Bartoletti (1951, 197–198). For a recent study on it within the framework of papyrus commentaries on lost dramas, see Perrone (2009, 225–230).

**43** See Pagani (forthcoming), with bibliography and examples drawn from Iliadic commentaries.



account of its dense web of allusions to myths, the presence of uncommon names, and its use of a barely accessible language.<sup>44</sup> We do know at least two ancient authors of *hypomnemata* on this poem, viz. Theon the son of Artemidorus (Augustan Age) and Sextion (4th century CE),<sup>45</sup> and we have a papyrus fragment of a commentary (PSI 724, 3rd century CE), as well as another that bears the literary text equipped with marginal notes (*P.Oxy.* 4428, 3rd century CE);<sup>46</sup> finally, the existence of ancient exegetical activity on this text is also attested by the considerable corpus of old scholia preserved in some of the more than a hundred Medieval manuscripts.<sup>47</sup> However, the circulation of Lycophron's poem in antiquity cannot have been very wide (only a tiny handful of papyrus fragments are documented) and, even if Socrates possibly owned a Callimachus, I find it very hard to believe that he had a commentary (or a glossary) on Lycophron.

What if ὀχρήν in l. 3 was not a lemma? Although inspection of the photograph alone<sup>48</sup> is insufficient to venture different readings – all the more so considering the very poor condition of the support – I would nevertheless not rule out the possibility that a middle dot and not a high one divides ὀχρήν from τροφήν in l. 3. Even with the acknowledged fluctuations within scribal practice, a high dot generally means a strong pause (and can therefore be used to isolate a lemma), whereas the middle dot normally points out a subdivision within a sentence, as a comma does in modern texts.<sup>49</sup> If this were the case, the hypothesis might be made that the sequence ὀχρήν· τροφήν in l. 3 is to be interpreted as an abbreviated form of expressions such as ὀχρήν, τουτέστι τροφήν which we have seen in the passages quoted above, i.e. the two words could be a pair of synonyms, rather than a lemma and corresponding *interpretamentum*. In this case, how would we interpret αἰγιόχοιο Διό[ς in the following line? Of course, the pair ὀχρήν, τροφήν cannot serve as an explanation of it, as happens

<sup>44</sup> Cf. Hurst (1991, esp. 40–41).

<sup>45</sup> On Theon see Meliadò (2008) (cf. Montanari 2002, 64–77 on the idea that Theon does not represent the starting point of philology on Hellenistic poets, but an already mature and advanced expression of it); on Sextion see Leone (2002, XIX–XX) (the relevant entry in the *Lexicon of Greek Grammarians of Antiquity*, edited by myself, is forthcoming): their activity as commentators on Lycophron is attested respectively by Stephanus of Byzantium (α 132 Billerbeck, s.v. Αἴνεια and κ 300 Billerbeck, s.v. Κύτινα) and the *Etymologicum Genuinum* (α 598, s.v. Ἄμαντες).

<sup>46</sup> PSI 724: LDAB 2588; MP<sup>3</sup> 01287. *P.Oxy.* 4428: LDAB 2589; MP<sup>3</sup> 01284.410.

<sup>47</sup> Edited by Leone (2002). A corpus of *scholia recentiora* exists too, traced back to Isaac or Johannes Tzetzes (12th century): the old edition by Scheer (1908) contains both types of scholia.

<sup>48</sup> The reproduction is to be found in Römer (2015, 18).

<sup>49</sup> Turner (1987, 9–12). Cf. Kenyon (1899, 28).

in some of the texts considered above, because in that case it would logically follow and not precede it. Yet we know from some of the other quoted passages (texts nos. 3, 4, and 7, as well as *Sch. Ariston. Il.* 10.430b cited in note 37) that another Homeric epithet, i.e. ἀγερῶχων, was glossed with expressions that could accommodate a sequence such as ὄχην, τροφήν: we might thus suppose that ὄχην· τροφή[ν in l. 3 could have been part of a shortened version of the explanation for the Iliadic<sup>50</sup> lemma ἀγερῶχων. This hypothesis would be consistent with the traces ]χων . [ in l. 2, although that is a very shaky argument, given the poor condition of the surviving writing. In that case, we might indeed have here a commentary, or a glossary, treating the lemma ἀγερῶχων, explained with a connection to ὄχη (i.e. τροφή) and then compared to the epithet αἰγίοχος (thought to have the same origin), which would have been cited by quoting the formula αἰγίοχοιο Διός.

On the other hand, if we conjecture that the following αἰγίοχοιο Διός (l. 4) was another Iliadic lemma, the type of secondary work on Homer that could be plausibly inferred would be neither a commentary nor a glossary, for in both cases the sequence of the two lemmata should match the syntagmatic order of the literary text: although slight perturbations of the sequence of lemmata are conceivable, it is difficult to find a combination that would plausibly fit this reconstruction among the lines where the two expressions appear in the *Iliad*, even if we admit that they could have been commented upon in passages other than the ones attested by the scholia. The type of subsidiary work that could come to mind would be the lexicon, where the alphabetical arrangement would explain the sequence: ἀγε- αἰγι-.<sup>51</sup> However, the lemmatization in the form αἰγίοχοιο Διός, which would repeat the whole inflected expression attested in the Homeric text, rather than singling out a unique lexis, would not fit the practice of a lexicon very well.<sup>52</sup>

<sup>50</sup> We keep the focus on the *Iliad* for the reasons explained above, n. 37.

<sup>51</sup> Often observed just to the second letter, the alphabetical order in ancient lexica was sometimes applied with stricter accuracy, perhaps depending also on the quantity of the material (apparently the smaller the dictionary, the looser the alphabetical order, in some cases even not beyond the first letter). For this aspect of ancient lexica and a comparison with the practice of later and Byzantine lexica, see Naoumides (1969, 187–189); Esposito (2009, 259–263); Valente (2014), with further bibliography.

<sup>52</sup> Lexica often prefer even to bring words back to their paradigmatic forms (this device is also to be seen in glossaries, although it may not be systematically applied). See Bossi and Tosi (1979–1980, 8–13); Tosi (1988, 94–100); Esposito (2009, 265). Cf. below for further details on the attitude of Apollonius' *Lexicon*.

It is worth taking into consideration a comparison with the most representative work in this field – indeed, the sole example we possess of a comprehensive lexicon of both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* – i.e. the *Homeric Lexicon* by Apollonius Sophista, which was composed during the 1st century CE and soon became a landmark in the field of Homeric vocabulary.<sup>53</sup> Its entry on this epithet of Zeus is lemmatized in the form αἰγίοχος (nominative singular) (p. 18.5–7 [Bekker]: text no. 2), the other term as ἀγέρωχοι (plural, but nominative again) (Ap.S. pp. 7.33–8.3 [Bekker]: text no. 8). Hence, if our fragment was a lexicon, it probably did not feature a sequence of entries in the form [ἀγέρω]χων (ll. 1–2, very uncertain) and αἰγίοχοιο Διός (l. 4): while the inflected form could still find parallels, a snippet of the literary text such as αἰγίοχοιο Διός would be quite exceptional.<sup>54</sup> So αἰγίοχοιο Διός (l. 4) could be, as in the hypothesis of a commentary or a glossary (see above), a parallel expression recalled within the explanation that connected ἀγέρωχοι<sup>55</sup> to the word ὀχρή.

The remains of P. Mich. Cair. II 4 are so scanty that the list of conjectures about the genre of the work it contained can be extended even further. We should also consider the option of a continuous treatise, here dealing with the meaning of a Homeric gloss (or several of them). In the extreme case, this putative treatise could even have concerned a subject other than Homer, and merely discussed some Homeric expressions that were relevant to the topic.

Nevertheless, the hypothesis that it was some sort of subsidiary tool to read Homer<sup>56</sup> is fascinating and turns out to be not too unrealistic, given the overall picture we have drawn so far: explanatory texts were soon, and increasingly, necessary to help readers with Homeric vocabulary; moreover, the profile of Socrates, as it can be traced from the other finds connected to him (see above), would perfectly match such a picture. The same would be true for the cultural framework around him: the most ancient of the handful of papyri preserving

<sup>53</sup> For a global picture of Apollonius' *Lexicon*, see Haslam (1994, esp. 1, 109 on its early authoritativeness).

<sup>54</sup> In Apollonius' *Lexicon* we actually find a few cases of this kind (only for the *Odyssey*), but for precisely this reason these parts are thought to have been drawn by Apollonius from a commentary on the *Odyssey* (perhaps by Heliodorus): Haslam (1994a, 14–15) and, more generally for the provenance of the *Odyssey* accessions in Apollonius' *Lexicon*, 3–26.

<sup>55</sup> Under the hypothesis of a lexicon, the paradigmatic form in the nominative would be more plausible (see above, in the text and n. 52): if so, the tentative proposal to read [ἀγέρω]χων in the poor remains of ll. 1–2 ]χων (see above, in the text) would no longer be sound (but this argument is anyway very weak, as noted).

<sup>56</sup> Probably one “of a level not intended for scholars, but for ordinary readers, and as such fitting Socrates' abilities” (Römer 2015, XIII).

fragments of Apollonius' *Lexicon*<sup>57</sup> (P. Mich. inv. 5451; LDAB 295; MP<sup>3</sup> 01218.300, dated to the 2nd century CE by the *editor princeps* and to the 1st by M. Haslam<sup>58</sup>) comes from exactly the village where Socrates lived (Karani, House C65), as well as another piece from the 2nd century CE, though it is unpublished and known only from the report by P. van Minnen.<sup>59</sup> This evidence thus speaks of the presence of this reference work in the context from which P. Cair. Mich. II 4 derives. Therefore, in the light of the fluid transition of material across genres that we mentioned at the outset, it may not be inappropriate to suggest that the content of the small scrap from House B17, whichever form the work took, may represent an excerpt of material drawn from a lexicon comparable to Apollonius', if not from Apollonius' lexicon itself – the fluctuation in wording characteristic of these texts advises caution.<sup>60</sup>

Yet, even in the less attractive hypothesis of a prose text which, for unknown reasons, came across Homeric glosses and discussed their meaning, this fragment would reveal the pervasive spread of the practice of explaining the origin and meaning of the words used by Homer. This element was probably one of the most powerful and crucial impulses that contributed to the birth of an exegetical and interpretive literature on the poets (and then prose writers too), which achieved its most complete realization from the Hellenistic Age onwards, but which had its roots long before and survived long afterwards, undergoing processes of selection and reworking, until finally reaching the Byzantine and Medieval traditions.

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57 They range from the 1st/2nd to the 5th–6th centuries (neither of the two entries in which we are interested is documented by any of the papyrus fragments). See Haslam (1994b, 107–119), whose picture is confirmed by research in the Leuven Database of Ancient Books ([www.trismegistos.org/ldab/](http://www.trismegistos.org/ldab/)) and in Mertens-Pack<sup>3</sup> ([web.philo.ulg.ac.be/cedopal/en/](http://web.philo.ulg.ac.be/cedopal/en/)) carried out in February 2017; van Minnen (1998, 123) lists among the literary fragments from the village of Karani (123–136) a further piece of the *Lexicon*, identified as such by G. Schwendner and not published (no further information is known) (123), on which see below. These fragments tangibly show the effects of the inherently unstable nature of lexica, “liable to mutate from copy to copy” (Haslam 1994b, 108–109, where the problem is tackled of whether the papyrus fragments in question can all be considered texts of the same lexicon. A comparison with the much later [10th century] *codex unicus* ms. Paris, BNF, Coisl. 345 allows us to confirm the textual instability of this kind of material [since the portions preserved by each papyrus do not overlap, a comparison among them is not possible]).

58 Renner (1979, 321–331); Haslam (1994b, 107).

59 Van Minnen (1998, 123).

60 See above, n. 57.

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Paloma Guijarro Ruano and Maria Luisa del Barrio Vega

# Greek lexicography and the designation of helotic-like populations in Ancient Greece: The history of three compounds

And Plato, in the sixth book of the *Laws* [*Leg.* 776b, 778a], says, – “The whole question about servants is full of difficulty; for of all the Greeks, the system of the Helots among the Lacedaemonians causes the greatest perplexity and dispute, some people affirming that it is a wise institution, and some considering it as of a very opposite character [...]”

Ath. 6.264de (Transl. Yonge)

## 1 Introduction

Slavery constitutes an old phenomenon inherent to Greek society from its origins onwards. Some terms attested for designating slaves in the first millennium are already employed in Linear B tablets, such as *do-e-ro* and *do-e-ra* for δούλος and δούλα (Attic δούλη), respectively. Contrary to the limited vocabulary for characterising free people, there exists a vast amount of specific terminology referred to slavery or to intermediate dependent statuses. Although many different allusions to slavery are to be found in the works of ancient authors, oddly enough we cannot find proper classifications of slaves regarding the available repertory of forms these authors had at their disposal.<sup>1</sup> The first formal attempts of lexical arrangement aroused the interest of grammarians and lexicographers. Nonetheless, due to the historical gap between them and their sources, linguistic variants can be detected in their preserved works.

This study focuses on the analysis of some of these lexical variants. Our objective is to trace back their lifeline in order to determine first the origins of the linguistic alterations and secondly to compare the different mechanisms that influenced later reinterpretations of them and confusion concerning the inherited terms. The research has been limited to the terminology that concerns the so-called helotic slavery type so as to update the inquiry in a well-defined area by compiling and analysing all the extant information.

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This paper has been carried out with the support of the Institut de Sciences et Techniques de l'Antiquité (ISTA, EA 4011) and the Spanish research project DOCEMUS-CM S2015/HUM-3377.

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<sup>1</sup> See Cartledge (1988) and Descat (2015, 235) with an updated definition of what a Greek slave is.

## 2 Some preliminary remarks and some methodological concerns

The term “helotage” is generally used by scholars to refer to well-developed systems of communal bondage.<sup>2</sup> Distinct from other categories such as chattel slavery, this term also applies to other similar and more modern contexts of dependence, but this paper departs from the specific group of local dependent collectives found within Greek communities. Hence, we do not deal with purchased slaves nor with debt-bondage categories, but rather with groups of subject people who live together as a community and who cannot be driven out of their territories, nor sold as slaves beyond their borders. Better known as helotic-type dependents, they work the land for their masters.<sup>3</sup>

Lacking a unique Greek term, many of the words adopted by Greeks to identify these dependent groups used ethnic or demotic names (Θετταλικέται, Κωλονέται), metaphoric designations (the Γυμνήτες or ‘the naked ones’ from Argos; the Κονίποδες or ‘dusty-feet’ from Epidaurus), metonymic compounds (the Κατωνακοφόροι or ‘the *katōnakê*-wearers’ from Sicyon), or mere examples of folk-etymologies (the Πενέσται/Μενέσται, ‘those who remained’, from Thesaly). These terms are mainly attested in the works of Julius Pollux, Harpocration, Athenaeus and Hesychius, in lexica such as in the *Etymologicum Magnum* or in the *Etymologicum Gudianum* or in byzantine writers such as Eustathius, Photius or in the Suda. According to Ducat’s study (1990, 32–44), what we find in these late sources are lists of people characterised by a common helotic status. These lists compile and enumerate the extant vocabulary referred to this intermediate condition similar to Spartan Helots.<sup>4</sup> Basically, they consist of enlarged testimonies of helotic populations with regard to other helot-like groups previously quoted by preceding authors such as Plato, Aristotle or Strabo.<sup>5</sup> Historians and other scholars have been interested in all this terminology:

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<sup>2</sup> Patterson (1977, 424). The interaction and the relationship between the condition of slaves and helotry have recently been studied from a comparative perspective in Patterson (2003). The best and more complete study about Greek helots continues to be that of Ducat (1990).

<sup>3</sup> Cartledge (2011, 78–82). We use this conventional terminology although some other labels have been proposed such as “servitude communautaire” in opposition to chattel slavery (Garlan 1995) or more simply “dependent”. A methodological survey on the opposition slavery/dependence is developed in Annequin (2005).

<sup>4</sup> Concerning the ending of this type of enslavement, see Ducat (1990, 193–199).

<sup>5</sup> For the philosophers, see Plat. *Leg.* 6.776d, who mentions Helots, Mariandynians and Penestae, or Aristotle (for references, see Ducat 1990, 33), who compares Spartan helotry to Thes-

in Pollux (*Onomasticon* 3.83) it appears under the heading ‘between slavery and freedom’ (μεταξὺ τῶν ἐλευθέρων καὶ δούλων):

μεταξὺ δ’ ἐλευθέρων καὶ δούλων οἱ Λακεδαιμονίων εἴλωτες, καὶ Θετταλῶν πενέσται, καὶ Κρητῶν κλαρώται καὶ μυώται καὶ Μαριανδυνῶν δωροφόροι, καὶ Ἀργείων γυμνήτες, καὶ Σικυωνίων κορυνηφόροι.

Between free men and slaves stand the Helots of the Lacedaemonians, the Penestai of the Thessalians, the *Klarôtai* of the Cretans, the *Dôrophoroi* of the Mariandynians, the *Gymnêtai* of Argives and the *Korynêphoroi* of the Sicyonians.

This expression poses, first, the problem of the real and legal status of the people gathered under this specification and, secondly, the difficulty of concretising their own characteristics and differences with respect to other groups of dependents or slaves.<sup>6</sup> On the basis of Pollux’ *testimonia*, Aristotle’s theoretical influence can be observed, at least as their ideological source. Nevertheless, the information seems to have been collected so far by means of Aristophanes of Byzantium or by his pupil Callistratus, because Pollux mentions the Mariandynians who are also quoted in Callistratus’ list of helotic-type dependents (*FGrH* 348 F4) transmitted by Athenaeus (6.263de) and by Eustathius (*ad Il.* π 865 = 3.943.16ff.).<sup>7</sup> For the sake of completeness it should be mentioned that Aristotle was one of the first Greek authors who tried to establish two categories of slaves according to natural or positive right: they could be born slaves (the barbarians) or become slaves by law (those captured in war).<sup>8</sup>

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salian and Cretan dependent statuses; among historians, see Theopompus (*FGrH*115 F40), for whom Illyrian *prospelatae* resemble Helots’ status; Onesicritus (*apud Str.* 15.1.34), who compares Mousikanos-local population to Cretan Amphamiotae and Spartan Helots; Phylarchus (*FGrH*81 F8), the only one that equates Bithynians’ status to Helots; Philip of Theangela (*FGrH*741 F2), who includes Carian Leleges, Spartan helots and Thessalian Penestae in the paralleling; Callistratus (*FGrH*348 F4), who compares Mariandynians (designated as δωροφόροι or ‘gift-bearers’) to Spartan helots, Thessalian Penestae and Cretan Klarotai; and finally Strabo (12.3.4) who, along with his own quotation of historians’ previous references on this issue, puts Mariandynians on the same level as Helots.

**6** According to Oliva (1984) and Luraghi (2003) they are proper slaves, while the mainstream tendency supports the vision that they constitute a truly intermediate status between complete freedom and slavery, a sort of serfdom. The main works to be highlighted on this issue are those of Lotze (1959), Finley (1964) and Plácido Suárez (1989), whose titles rephrase Pollux’ μεταξύ-sentence.

**7** See Vidal-Naquet (1981) with previous bibliography.

**8** According to Modrzejewski (1976), Theopompus’ opposition (*apud Ath.* 10.443bc) between ancient slavery caused by war – such as helotry – or by purchase can be paralleled with this Aristotelic traditional distinction.

Thus, lexicographic works ooze a surfeit of lexical variants due to the reception of life-long inherited material, so one can expect that alterations, modifications or reinterpretation must have taken shape over the years. Embarking on this task has implied limiting the topic to three series of terms studied geographically: the *Θετταλικέται-Θετταλοικέται* in Thessaly, the *Καλλικύριοι-Κιλλικύριοι-Κυλλύριοι* in Syracuse and the *Κορυνηφόροι-Κατωνακοφόροι* in Sicily.

Although other forms attested in lexicographic sources or the like present formal doublets, we have disregarded those not directly referred to helotic-like collectives, such as the pair *μόθωνες-μόθακες* in Sparta, the children of Helots,<sup>9</sup> or the *Κολωνέται-Κολωναῖται*, the term used for the free labourers who congregated around the labour market established in Kolonos. On the other hand, and for the sake of clarity, we do not take into account either well-studied variants, such as Cretan *μνῶται-δμῶες*,<sup>10</sup> or the traditionally-accepted correspondence between Cretan *κλαρῶται* and *ἀ(μ)φαμιῶται*, as they are not the same word. Neither do we refer to the pair of *περίοικοι* and its epigraphical counterparts *περίφοικοι* and *ὑπόβοικοι* in Gortyn inscriptions, because the main reference comes from a non-lexicographic source: *περίοικοι* is the word used by Aristotle (*Pol.* 1272a1, 18–22) to refer to Cretan serfs.<sup>11</sup>

Hesychius' *hapax* have been discarded from the analysis except when glosses contain significant information, since they contribute to a better understanding of other forms.<sup>12</sup> We have also dismissed cases of lexical couplets such as the pair of the Cretan *(φ)οικεύς-(φ)οικέτας* because, even if *(φ)οικέτας*-forms derive from *(φ)οικεύς*, they do not point to a helotic-dependent state.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Lotze (2000, 185–194).

<sup>10</sup> Gschnitzer (1976, 68–72).

<sup>11</sup> On these alternate forms, see Larsen (1936).

<sup>12</sup> This applies to the Hesychius' gloss *μονομοιτῶν· τῶν εἰλώτων ἄρχοντες*, later corrected by Wilamowitz as *μνωιονόμοι* and accepted by Latte (*μ* 1626); see Gschnitzer (1976, 81).

<sup>13</sup> This domestic servant was assigned to the exploitation of the land and to the breeding of the livestock. In Crete these terms appear mainly in the Gortyn code (c. mid-5th c. BC), where fourteen instances of *φοικεύς* and its feminine *φοικέα* are attested. Traditionally, *φοικεύς* has been assimilated to *δοῦλος* (Cretan *δῶλος*) (Lotze 1962; Garlan 1995, 105; Lévy 1997, 32–40; Link 2001) and opposed to debt-bondage (*κατακείμενοι* or *νενικαμένοι*) or to other helotic dependants (*κλαρῶται*, *ἀφαμιῶται*, *μνῶται*). General studies on this topic can be seen in van Effenterre (1982), Bile (1981) and Genevrois (2017). Regarding the linguistic connection between *φοικεύς* and *(φ)οικέτης*, see Chaniotis (2005, 185) and Genevrois (2017, 163–176, 166–167).

### 3 Thessalian helotic dependents: convincing etymologies at any price?

Together with the form *Penestai*, later sources have conveyed another term for defining dependent Thessalian groups by means of a functional-descriptive name based on ethnicity. But once again two variants have been transmitted: the *Θετταλοικέται*, ‘the servants of the Thessalians’, modeled after a second term *οικέτης*, and the *Θετταλικέται*, ‘the suppliants of the Thessalians’ composed by a final *ικέτης*. In Athenaeus (6.264a) the *οικέτης*-compound is quoted from Philocrates. It seems to be the oldest evidence provided that he lived in the 4th c. BC and that his quotation was authentic.<sup>14</sup> However, despite the unanimous reading of the variant *Θετταλοικέται* by the extant handwritten Athenaeus’ tradition,<sup>15</sup> the form selected in Kaibel’s edition of Athenaeus (6.85 = 6.264a) as well as in Jacoby’s edition of Philocrates (*FGrH* 601 F2) is *Θετταλικέται*. This variant is also attested amongst the helotic-type dependents listed in lexicographic sources that Eustathius reports (*ad π* 865 = 3.943.21). Likewise, the quotation of Staphylus of Naucratis (II c. BCE) by Harpocration (s.v. *Πενέσται*) presents *Θετταλικέται* even though one manuscript preserves *Θετταλοικέται*. Lastly, a third variant *Θετταλικέται* must be disregarded. Indeed, it was a correction proposed by Bernhardt (1853, 175–176) to solve the problem of these two variants, *Θετταλικός* in the *Suda* (s.v. *Πενέσται* = vol. 2 p. 106) and *Θετταλοικέτας* in Athenaeus.<sup>16</sup> In spite of the Doric appearance of the word as due to similar word formations (viz. *δεικηλίκτας*), *Θετταλικέται* has no parallels, either epigraphic or literary.

The original term seems to be *Θετταλοικέται*: even in Harpocration’s extant handwritten transmission there is one manuscript where *-οικέται* prevails. Furthermore, *Θετταλικέται* can be explained in different ways. First, it would be a misspelling of *Θετταλοικέται* caused by iotacism, although, to our knowledge, this mere linguistic explanation has not been suggested. Differently, the main-

<sup>14</sup> Athenaeus himself expresses his concerns about the existence of that work (*εἰ γνήσια συγγράμματα*). For Jacoby (*FGrH* 601 F2), there is no doubt about the chronology of the author and of the existence of a book of his dedicated to the history of Thessaly.

<sup>15</sup> See older editions of Schweighauser (Strasbourg 1801–1807), Dindorf (Leipzig 1827) and Meineke (Leipzig 1858).

<sup>16</sup> Dindorf’s edition of Harpocration (1853, 244–245, s.v. *Πενέσται*) presents *Θετταλικέτας* following Bernhardt’s correction instead of *Θετταλοικέτας* from mss. B as it is preserved in Bekker’s edition (1833) or *Θετταλικός* from mss. D, the form preserved in the *Suda*. In his opinion, *Θετταλοικέται* was a secondary variant.

stream hypothesis sees *Θετταλικέται* as a reshaped form whose second form ‘suppliants’ would be connected to one of the etymological interpretations proposed for the term *Penestai*. According to Archemachus of Euboea (*FGrH* 424 F1), the oldest reference registered of this version, the name *Πενέσται* derives from *Μενέσται*, ‘those who remain’. In his account, they were the Boeotians who, after the conquest of Arne, decided to stay instead of fleeing away from Thessalians. They surrendered themselves, offering their services as bonded laborers in exchange for not being expelled beyond the borders nor being sold as slaves. With the intention of justifying the existence of helotic-dependents in Thessaly, this account was conveyed in the form of a “contract of servitude”.<sup>17</sup>

We are still left, however, to explain how the evolution from *Μενέσται* to *Πενέσται* took place. Alternative to the most widespread etymology that relates the term *Πενέσται* to *πένης* ‘poor’,<sup>18</sup> the testimonies of Archemachus and Pausanias the lexicographer (π 16; K9 Erbse) point to a simple linguistic change. While the former does not give more details, the latter specifies that it was due to the corruption of the initial letter (*παραφθαρέντος τοῦ χαρακτῆρος*).<sup>19</sup>

Another resonance of this tradition can be seen in Polyaeus (*Strat.* 1.12), according to whom the Boeotians *πρὸς ἰκεσίαν τῶν Θεσσαλῶν ἐτρέποντο* (‘they resorted to plead the Thessalians’). Here Ducat (1994, 42) observes a clear lexical reminiscence of Archemachus because it consists of an unconventional formula. Consequently, Staphylus’ notice of a Thessalian dependent group is subsequent to Philocrates’ previous references. Hence, Staphylus’ *Θετταλικέται* was a later reinterpretation of the second term of the compound according to this secondary tradition of the origin of the *Penestai*. The fact that the contracts of servitude in literary sources point to a more recent attempt of finding grounds for helotic-slavery also strengthens the later origin of *Θετταλικέται*.

To sum up, the choice of this secondary form, ‘the suppliants of the Thessalians’, by modern scholars such as Kaibel or Jacoby, makes much more sense if the idea of a contract is being sought to justify the existence of helotic statuses in Thessaly and to explain the inclusion of *Penestai-Thettaliketai* among other similar helotic dependents. However, we cannot be sure that Harpocration’s original text included the *ικέτης*-compound. Otherwise, as far as we know, there

<sup>17</sup> The oldest evidence of this type of capitulation among a subjected majority and its conquerors is previously attested in Ephorus; for a further analysis of this concept, see further Ducat (1990, 70–76 and 1994, 72).

<sup>18</sup> Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 2.9. A third hypothesis interprets *Πενέσται* as an Illyrian name due to the *-st-* suffix; see in this regard Lotze (1959, 48) and Ducat (1994, 67–70).

<sup>19</sup> The text is also reproduced by Photius (s.v. *Πενέσται*<sup>2</sup>) and Suda (s.v. *Πενέσται*).

are no compounds consisting of an ethnic + *ικέται*: instead, we found a first term related to a theonym (viz. Ἀπολλονικέτης, Ἑρμαϊκέτας). Therefore, it would be wiser to leave the discussion open accepting the possibility of a simple phonetic confusion.

## 4 Syracuse: Καλλικύριοι, Κιλλικύριοι, Κυλλύριοι and Κιλλύριοι

Cillyrians were the Geomoroi's enslaved agricultural workers in Syracuse.<sup>20</sup> Under the lemma Κλαρώται, they were compared to Helots and Penestai by Pausanias Atticist, whereas Photius (s.v.) attributes the reference to Aristotle's *Constitution of Syracusans*, whose text is also reproduced in the Suda.<sup>21</sup> Problems begin with the analysis of the different extant forms: the aforementioned lexicographers reproduce Καλλικύριοι in contrast to Hesychius' Κιλλικύριοι.<sup>22</sup> On the other side, in Herodotus 7.155 the greatest number of manuscripts (CPRSV) displays Κυλλύριοι, while others present the Κιλλύριοι (AD)<sup>23</sup> and only one Κυλλήριοι (B).

**20** Geomoroi's power was based on land ownership (γεω-μόροι, Doric γαμόροι). Their name, considered a synonym of 'farmer', designated local elites in Syracuse and in Samos. The relationship between Geomoroi and Cillyrians has been studied by Frolov (1995) and Zurbach (2017, 628–633).

**21** Paus. Att. (π 16; K9 Erbse): Κλαρώται· μέτοκοι, ὡς Μαριανδουνοὶ ἐν Ἡρακλείᾳ τῇ Ποντικῇ καὶ Εἴλωτες ἐν Λακεδαιμόνι καὶ ἐν Θετταλίᾳ Πενέσται καὶ Καλλικύριοι ἐν Συρακοῦσαις. Phot. s.v. Καλλικύριοι: “[...] ὡς Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν Συρακοσίων πολιτείᾳ, ὅμοιοι τοῖς παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίους Εἴλωσι, καὶ παρὰ Θεσσαλοῖς Πενέσταις, καὶ παρὰ Κρησὶ Κλαρώταις.” The fragment appears as an Aristotle's original in Rose's edition (Fr. 586); Ducat (1990, 33; 1994, 20 n<sup>o</sup> 6) is prone to accept Aristotle's assignment since Helots, *Klarotai* and Penestae are usually considered together by Aristotle, so mentioning them to explain the term Cillyrians could be a realistic hypothesis.

**22** Hsch. s.v. Κιλλικύριοι (κ 2687 Latte): οἱ ἐπεισελθόντες γεωμόροι. Δοῦλοι δὲ ἦσαν οὗτοι καὶ τοὺς κυρίους ἐξέβαλον.

**23** While Hude's edition prefers Κυλλυρ-, the latest ones present κιλλυρ- (Rosén 2008, Wilson 2015). In this passage (also described in Diod. Sic. 10.28.1f.; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 6.62.1f.), Herodotus refers to how the Geomoroi had their rulership brought back by Gelon in c. 480 BC after their expulsion from Syracuse by Cillyrians and other local groups. They were also known due to the proverb Καλλικυρίων πλείους ('become) more numerous than the Cillyrians' (Zenon *Prov.* 4.54; Sud. s.v. Καλλικύριοι) that denoted the power of the united crowd, as the Cillyrians were when they opposed the Geomoroi. Etymological dictionaries never include κυλλύριοι: *EDG* s.v. καλλικύριοι send to v. Κιλλικύριοι although it does not appear as a lemma; *LSJ* offers the lemma κυλλύριοι but with reservation (“nisi hoc legend.”).

The etymology is obscure:

a) According to Weber (1939, 230–232), the original form would be Hesychius' Κιλλικύριοι whose first term Κιλλι-, linked to a local Doric form κίλλος 'ass, donkey' in Syracusan, would have created an offensive compound "asini domini."<sup>24</sup> In the same line, Καλλικύριοι or "pulchri homini" would have been later created as a mocking allusion to the καλοὶ κάγαθοί.<sup>25</sup>

b) Conversely, Frolov (1995) believes that the original form was the Herodotean Κυλλύριοι, a local ethnic. His hypothesis is first based on Nonnus' notice that Cillyrians (viz. Κιλλυριοί) and Elymians were ancient Sicilian populations<sup>26</sup> and, secondly, in a linguistic link between Κυλλύριοι and Latin *culleus* 'leather, wineskin'. Following this assumption, he then establishes a comparison between these Κυλλύριοι (Κιλλύριοι in Nonnus) and the Κατωνακοφόροι and κορυνηφόροι from Sicyon (see *infra*). Thus, all these designations for helotic-dependents would have been shaped after the outfit composed of leather or a kind of fur coat that these groups wore.<sup>27</sup>

It is worth mentioning that we only find the variant Καλλικύριοι in lexicographers. There exist in Greek other compounds made up from Καλλι- or -κύριοι, although Καλλι- formations are more frequent.<sup>28</sup> Thus, it seems that Καλλικύριοι was later created by folk etymology in order to make clearer Κιλλι-/Κιλλυ- inherited terms as well as Κυλλύριοι. Hesychius' Κιλλι- form remains unexplained, though. It has been connected to κέλλειν in the sense of 'having driven out their masters', along with κίλλος 'ass'.<sup>29</sup> Had κίλλος been the basis of the form,

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Poll. 7.56 (κίλλον γὰρ τὸν ὄνον οἱ Δωριεῖς καὶ κιλλακτῆρα τὸν ὀνηλάτην λέγουσιν 'Dorians called *killos* the ass and *killater* the ass-driver') and Poll. 7.185 (ἀστραβηλάται, παρὰ τοῖς Δωριεῦσιν ὀνοκίνδιοι καὶ κιλλακτῆρες 'Muleteers among Dorians [are] donkey-drivers and ass-drivers').

<sup>25</sup> In Weber's opinion, Herodotus' Κυλλύριοι was the abbreviated outcome of Κιλλικύριοι, whereas Rosén (2008) suggested an offensive compound related to κιλλυρός, a bird's name (cf. Hsch. κιλλυρός· σεισοπυγίς 'wagtail').

<sup>26</sup> Nonnus *Dion.* 13.311.

<sup>27</sup> For the connection between lat. *culleus* and κυλλύριοι, see Ceci 1932, 51. Frolov (1995, 79) finds further evidence in Theognis' verse ἀλλ' ἄμφι πλευραῖσι δορὰς αἰγῶν κατέτριβον ('Those who wore a used goat-skin', fr. 53–58 Diehl), where the poet disapproves the social climbing of the newcomers at the expense of the ancient Megarian noble class.

<sup>28</sup> Καλλι- compounds are attested in St. Byz. (s.vv. Καλλίπολις, Καλλιόπη) as well as other derived toponyms and ethnics (viz. Καλλία, a polis near Taranto, and Καλλιεύς, Καλλίαρος, Καλλίαρα). Second-termed compounds in -κύριοι can be found, for instance, in the Paphlagonian ethnic Θεμισκύριοι derived from the toponym Θεμισκυρα (St. Byz. s.v.), together with another secondary toponym Θεμισκύρεια.

<sup>29</sup> Bibliography is resumed by Frolov (1995, 79 n. 15), although Weber's hypothesis is not considered.



κιλλύριοι would be the sobriquet.<sup>30</sup> It is also found in compounds such as κιλλίβας ('three-legged stand')<sup>31</sup> and, interestingly enough, later sources have preserved the similar word formation καλλιβάντες (Hsch. s.v. = κ 471 Latte), from which we see the proximity between these two prefixes in lexicographic sources.<sup>32</sup> Furthermore, analogical influences can vouch for our Κιλλι- compound since it is also attested in proper names such as Κιλλικῶν, which at the same time is created by analogy with Κίλικες, ἀπό Κιλίσσης τρόφου, or similar expressions.<sup>33</sup>

As a result of this, Herodotus' Κυλλύριοι may be the ancient form borrowed from local non-Greek populations. This hypothesis could be confirmed by the form τῶς φυλυρικῶς attested in the last line of a curse tablet recently found in Sicily (SEG 54.941, side B, 450 BC, Selinous?). Here τῶς φυλυρικῶς appears followed by two anthroponyms, τὸν Πόλλι[ο]ς καὶ Εὐκλ[ ]. The editors of the text, Kotansky and Curbera (2004, 689–690), as well as Dubois (IGDS 36), indicate a possible identification with the Κυλλύριοι mentioned in Herodotus. However, while Dubois notes a syntactic problem in Πόλλι[ο]ς, accepting that it was a “patronyme au génitif”, in our opinion and, given that they may be slaves, we would not expect here a patronymic but rather the owner's name in genitive. In fact, following Kotansky and Curbera, their dependent status is supported by the fact that they appear at the end of a long curse list, even behind women and, contrary to previously accursed people in the document, they are not named. Subsequently, τῶς φυλυρικῶς must be seen as κυλ(λ)υρικούς, a derived form from Κυλλύριοι by means of -ικός, a common Greek suffix expressing belonging and very productive for creating nouns after place names.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>30</sup> Dunbabin 1948, 111 n.1.

<sup>31</sup> See DELG s.v. κιλλίβας.

<sup>32</sup> It is defined either as a ‘scissor’ or a ‘blade’ typical of feminine care or as a kind of dance (DELG s.v.).

<sup>33</sup> Phot. (s.v. Κιλικῶν): Κιλικῶν· ἐπώνυμον Ἀχαιοῦ τοῦ Μέρωπος, ἀπὸ τροφῶς Κιλίσσης ὅς τὴν πατρίδα Μίλητον προὔδωκεν τοῖς Πριηνεῦσι· καὶ τὸν βασιλέα στρατηγῶν ἦ, παρόσον Κίλικες διεβέβληντο ἐπὶ πονηρίαι καὶ ὠμότητι, διὰ τοῦτο ἐκλήθη Κιλικῶν· Φερεκράτης· Ἄει πόθ' ἡμῖν ἐγκλικίζουσ' οἱ θεοί. The editions of the Suda or Photius differ in spelling Κιλικῶν or Κιλλικῶν as well as its accentuation; a whole comment can be seen in Lehrs (1903, 27 n<sup>o</sup> 10) and Papazeti's study on Herodian (2008, 102). It is also remarkable that the Suda registers a similar notice to the one of Photius under the lemma Καλλικῶν· ὄνομα κύριον. Μιλήσιος τὸ γένος, διεβεβόητο δὲ ἐπὶ πονηρίᾳ. Be it as may, there is some confusion in the transmission of a Καλλικῶν and a Κυλ(λ)ικῶν; besides, in the Suda the lemma Καλλικῶν precedes that of Καλλικύριοι, while Κιλλικῶν is next to Κιλλικῶν, both referred to a traitor called Cillicon, so we cannot discard a general mix-up among Καλλι- and Κιλλι- forms.

<sup>34</sup> Chantraine (1933, 385 § 317).

Thus, the adjectival κυλ(λ)υρικούς would prove that the form Κυλλυρ-, attested in the 5th c. BC in epigraphic as well as in literary documents (the majority of Herodotus' manuscripts), is the oldest one. Κυλλήριοι must be due to later iotacism, so the question of clarifying the relationship between Κιλλύριοι and Κυλλύριοι remains. Rather than a derived Greek word from κίλλος or κέλλειν, this alternation lends weight to the view that it is a Pre-Greek term. Following Furnée's study (1972), Beekes (2014) reports that alternation between λ-λλ and ι-υ with the suffix -ικ- can be attributed to a Pre-Greek origin, as it occurs in couplets such as κίλλιξ-κύλιξ.<sup>35</sup> If this holds true, then we must conclude that evidence of the local Κυλλύριοι is preserved on our curse tablet and in literary texts. More likely, its counterpart Κιλλύριοι resulted from the process of adaptation and reception of a non-Greek term. Later, this last variant was reanalysed as the compound Κιλλικύριοι by analogical forms and finally reinterpreted as Καλλικύριοι. We cannot know when exactly the changes took place but Eustathius (*ad. Il. β v. 584 = 1.456.24*) is a good example of how lexicographic sources can be misleading and not reliable: in his list of helotic-dependents, after the mention of Helots and Penestai, he states that Cillyrians (Κιλλικύριοι) came from Crete.

## 5 The Κατωνακοφόροι/Κορυνηφόροι of Sicyon and the 'naked people' of Argos: a matter of clothes?

A similar situation of alternative first-termed compounds can be observed in the pair Κατωνακοφόροι-Κορυνηφόροι. Both are attested in the lexicographic tradition and both depict a dependent community in Sicyon, arranged together with other groups of the same helotic status. They are shaped on the basis of a second-term -φόροι, such as in δορυφόροι 'spear-bearings', which is also present in the name of other helotic-like serfs, such as the δωροφόροι, which designated the subjected local population of Mariandynians in the colony of Heraclea Pontica.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>35</sup> More precisely, see Furnée (1972, 32) and Beekes (2014, 110). The alternation ε-ι also indicates a similar Pre-Greek origin: see Furnée's connection between κίλλιξ 2 and Hsch. κελλόν in Beekes (2014, 71), or the papyrus-form κελλίβας undoubtedly related to κιλλίβας, -αντος in Beekes (2014, 121). See also Furnée (1972, 355).

<sup>36</sup> See Asheri (1972) and Paradiso (2007) and note 6. For the status of these Sicyonian serfs, see Whitehead (1981).

The problem stems from the fact that these terms also designate other realities, so historic and later sources have blended the two categories in this concrete Peloponnesian region.

## 5.1 The Κατωνάκοφοροι or the wearers of the fleece

The first part of the compound, ἡ κατωνάκη, derived from νάκος ‘fleece’, consists of a ‘coarse frock with a border of sheepskin’ (*LSJ*). These κατωνάκη-wearers are mentioned first by Theopompus and Menaechmus in Athenaeus (6.271d) when they compare this type of Sicyonian slaves to Spartan ἐπέυνακτοι.<sup>37</sup> Nonetheless, we do not find further explicit references to this group previous to Athenaeus’ notice. So, how should we explain the identity and the origins of these ‘wearers of the fleece’ in Sicyon before lexicographic evidence? The historicist hypothesis of van Wees (2003) is underpinned by the identification of these κατωνάκη-wearers with the dependents from Pellene and Donoussa. The author has tried to demonstrate that the literary and lexicographic evidence concerning these dependent peoples coincides with the short enslavement suffered in these Sicyonian places during the expansion of the Orthagorid’s tyranny (c. 650–550 BC). After having accepted humiliating conditions, this subdued population would have been forced to wear a slave garment. More precisely, van Wees argues that the addition of a fourth tribe, called Aigialeis ‘shore-dwellers’, to the traditional three was created expressly to incorporate into the city-body the remnant of people who were enslaved two generations before, such as those from Pellene and Donoussa.<sup>38</sup> Even so, van Wees’s analysis relies upon his account of all these μεταξύ-categories as issues of conquest and not as a mere product of internal differentiation and, on the other hand, there is no real (textual) evidence of this identification between Κατωνάκοφοροι and the enslaved people from Pellene and Donoussa.<sup>39</sup>

Aside from this interpretation, the gap can be saved by going backwards to the testimonies of Theopompus and Aristophanes’ scholia, where we find the first direct evidence of the fleece they wore.<sup>40</sup> The κατωνάκη-garment appears in

<sup>37</sup> Theopompus (*FGrH*115 F176), Menaechmus (*FGrH*131 F1).

<sup>38</sup> Following Ducat (1976), it also emerges from van Wees’ analysis that the odd Herodotean account (5.68) on the change of tribe names by Cleisthenes, tyrant of Sicyon c. 600–550 BC, into more mocking ones (viz. *hyatai* ‘Swine people’, *oneatai* ‘Donkey people’, *choireatai* ‘Pig people’) could fit with this idea of a degrading differentiation of subdued people.

<sup>39</sup> Against the origin of helotry through conquest, see Luraghi (2003).

<sup>40</sup> Ducat (1976, 363–364); van Wees (2003); Zurbach (2017, 193ff.).

an Athenian context when Lysistrata (Ar. *Lys.* 1150–1156) uses the expression *κατωνάκας φοροῦντας* as a synonym of slavery, as opposed to the wearing of the *χλαῖνα* (*φοροῦντας*), understood as the cloak of freedom. In another Aristophanic episode (*Eccl.* 724) we learn that the *κατωνάκη* was also worn by enslaved women. Later scholia on these passages further explain that this outfit was the garment of slaves and non-free people and that tyrants forced them to wear it.<sup>41</sup> Thanks to a further explanation of Theopompus quoted in Moeris,<sup>42</sup> we know that this measure was taken to keep these people from coming into their respective cities. Hesychius echoes this notice as well without adding more information.<sup>43</sup> What follows is logical: the wearing of such sheepskin gave rise to a common designation for subjected people not only in Athens but also in Sicyon, as the testimony of Theopompus and Menaechmus in Athenaeus proves.

Moreover, the equation between *Κατωνακοφόροι* and the Spartan *ἐπέυνακτοι* instead of the Spartan Helots is unexpected in the light of the more usual alignment among lexicographers of the dependent helotic categories. By means of another of Theopompus' quotations in Athenaeus,<sup>44</sup> Ducat (1990, 34, 169ff.) convincingly argues that these *ἐπέυνακτοι* or 'by-sleepers' corresponded to the Helots themselves. In his opinion, they would have been permitted to supplant the dead Lacedemonians in their beds during the Messenian war so as to compensate the forthcoming lack of warriors. Thereupon, according to Ducat, the reference to the *ἐπέυνακτοι* points to a metaphorical reflection of the Helots' social ladder climbing in Spartan society.

## 5.2 The Κορυνηφόροι or the mace-bearers

The Κορυνηφόροι are the wearers of a *κορύνη*, a 'club' or a 'mace'. The term can designate three different realities: the Athenian Peisistratus' bodyguard, the garment of a sort of helotic-dependents in Sicyon and the police corps in Antioch.<sup>45</sup> The name of club/mace-bearer perfectly meshes with the idea of protection attached to bodyguards or police-like groups. Moreover, it is interesting to

<sup>41</sup> *Schol.* in Ar. *Lys.* 619, *Eccl.* 721.

<sup>42</sup> Theopomp. *FGrH* 115 F311 (= Moeris, *Lexicum Atticum*, p. 201).

<sup>43</sup> Hsch. s.v. *κατωνάκη* (κ 1887 Latte).

<sup>44</sup> Theopompus *FGrH* 115 F171 = Ath. 6.271c.

<sup>45</sup> This is the definition made by Patzek/Portmann (2006). In the absence of more precision, we have to suppose that they refer to Antioch on the Orontes owing to the quotation of Libanius (*Lib. Or.* 48.9), who was born and lived there.

note that this third sense is not mentioned in the different works that have dealt with this term.<sup>46</sup> The unique epigraphical evidence we have for this term comes from an inscription found in Rome and dedicated by Triphon from Lampsacus to Priapus, who is named κορυνηφόρος, as well as ‘guardian of the garden’ and ‘thieves-whip’.<sup>47</sup> But the inscription is probably false.

It is now time to turn the discussion to the two first meanings of the term. Within the three categories, only the first two share two specific traits: being a community of non-completely free people and being subjected to tyrants. The main difference between them is that there are no references to Κορυνηφόροι in Sicyon before lexicographic references. In previous literary sources we only find the Athenian club-bearers: the oldest evidence of these comes from Herodotus’ text (1.59), where the word designates the bodyguards at the service of Peisistratus, as in Plutarch (*Solon* 30.5.2) and in Diogenes Laërtius (1.66).<sup>48</sup> Lavelle (2005, 95–96) considers Κορυνηφόροι an invented form in view of Herodotus’ specification that Peisistratus called his escorts Κορυνηφόροι instead of the commoner δορυφόροι ‘spearmen’.<sup>49</sup> Thus the term Κορυνηφόροι does not only mean ‘spear-bearing’ but it can be also applied to the body-guards of tyrants or kings (*LSJ*). Since the Κορυνηφόροι were considered Athenians instead of foreigners, the historian would have made up this term owing to the rejection produced by a group related to the reviled tyranny in Athens. Yet, even if it were a question of aversion, the later application of the term to wider contexts (Sicyon, Antioch) remains unexplained, as does the linguistic relation between Κατωνακοφόροι and Κορυνηφόροι. On the basis of an intended political use of Heracles by the Athenian tyrant, some modern authors symbolically attribute the by-name of Κορυνηφόροι to Peisistratus’ attempt to identify himself with the god and his bodyguard with the god’s mace.<sup>50</sup> Without ceding to this argument, Valdés Guía (2004, 174f.) has recently argued that the mace would point to their social status. Under-resourced as *thêtes*, they could not afford the hoplitic armament since they were deprived of lands, according to Herodotus (1.62). Therefore, they would use more rudimentary weapons, such as maces, sticks and rocks in

<sup>46</sup> See, for instance, in *RE* s.v. Κορυνηφόροι (Oehler col. 1400).

<sup>47</sup> Τρύφων | Ἴθυφάλλωι κορυνηφόρωι | κηποφύλακι κλεπτομάστιγι, | εὐεργεσίας καὶ εὐδοκίας χάριν | Λαμψακίων κοινωνία (CIG III 5960 = IG XIV,102\*; cf. IK 6, S.149 Anm. 2).

<sup>48</sup> Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 14.1; Polyaeus *Strat.* 1.21.3; *Schol. Pl. Resp.* 566b.

<sup>49</sup> Thuc. (6.56.2; 57.1; 57.4) reports the term δορυφόροι as Peisistratids’ escort. The double meaning of δορυφόροι as spear-bearings, or more precisely as the personal bodyguard of kings and tyrants (*LSJ*), must be retained.

<sup>50</sup> Boardman (1972).

warfare, as would also be the case of the Argive *Gymnêtai*.<sup>51</sup> Hence, the author connects this precarious situation to serfdom or even to the helotic-nature of their counterparts in Sicyon. Nonetheless, neither does she delve into the problem of the double terminology employed for the Sicyonian population nor, furthermore, into the club functions of these κορυνη-bearers as a means of upholding public order rather than a war tool.<sup>52</sup>

Despite the absence of previous literary parallels concerning the presence of Κορυνηφόροι in Sicyon, Pollux (3.83) includes them under the label “between free and slave” along with other helotic-dependents. The same applies to Stephanus of Byzantium, who compares the Chian θεράποντες to Spartan Εἰλωτες, Argive Γυμνήσιοι, Sicyonian Κορυνηφόροι, Italiot Πελασγοί and Cretan Μνῶται. In the *Etymologicum Magnum* and in the *Etymologicum Gudianum* (s.vv. εἴλωσ) Κορυνηφόροι and Helots are considered waged free people together with the θῆτες in Athens, the Γυμνήτες in Argos, the Πενέσται in Sicily, the Πελάται in Crete and the Καλλικύριοι in Syracuse. What about the Κορυνηφόροι in later sources and their connection with the Κατωνακοφόροι?

### 5.3 The mix-up of φόροι-people in Sicyon

As we have seen, there is no doubt as to the existence of a helotic group in Sicyon. As a matter of fact, two different compounds are used by lexicographers and *Lexica* to designate the same helotic-type community.<sup>53</sup> The question is whether the Κορυνηφόροι and the Κατωνακοφόροι allude to the same reality. In accordance with the majority of scholars, the distribution of the literary *testimonia* clearly points to the existence of two differentiated groups: the Κορυνηφόροι in Athens and the Κατωνακοφόροι in Sicyon. According to them, both terms would have been later intermingled because of some similar characteristics, but in Sicyon both of them would denote the same group of dependent people.<sup>54</sup>

The leading hypothesis considers Κατωνακοφόροι the original form owing to the antiquity of Theopompus’ evidence, as well as the better lexical suitability of the κατωνάκη-compound ‘the wearers of a sheepskin-garment’ rather than

<sup>51</sup> See Singor (2000, 110) as well.

<sup>52</sup> Ducat (1976, 367 n. 42).

<sup>53</sup> In general, scholars do not question the reality of dependent groups reported in Pollux’ category μεταξύ δ’ ἐλευθέρων καὶ δούλων (3.83). See Zurbach’s statement (2017, 494) “Nier l’existence même de ces catégories est faire violence aux sources”.

<sup>54</sup> Will (1956, 48); Van Wees (2003); Zurbach (2017, 493–99); Ducat (1976, 363–64; 1990, 34), *dubitanter* Garlan (1995, 104).

‘mace-wearers’ to represent these rural dependents.<sup>55</sup> This confusion between Theopompus’ Κατωνακοφόροι, reported in Athenaeus, and Κορυννηφόροι, conveyed in other lexicographers, would be due to an over-literal reading of Aristophanes’ *Lysistrata*, where the comparison between the wearing of the κατωνάκη and the χλαίνα is used as a metaphor of the servile-and-free-status issue of the liberation from tyranny.<sup>56</sup>

Pollux is credited to be the source of the mix-up.<sup>57</sup> He includes the Κορυννηφόροι in his list of helotic-type dependents (Poll. 3.83), whereas a little further ahead he explains what a κατωνάκη is (Poll. 7.68), specifying that it is found in Sicyon under the tyrants as well as in Athens under the Peisistratids. Being aware of Theopompus’ notice about the use of mandatory clothing by the Κατωνακοφόροι under the command of the Peisistratids, the lexicographer would have then equated the Peisistratids and the Orthagorids, the respective tyrants of Athens and Sicyon, as well as their wearing of slave garments.<sup>58</sup> The mix of information was naturally favoured by *Lysistrata*’s passage.

It emerges from all this that there was a serf population in Sicyon and that there is no reason to doubt Theopompus’ evidence. Probably, these serfs wore distinguishing clothing made of fleece on account of which they were named κατωνάκη-wearers. However, as van Wees indicates, there is no definitive proof of the existence of a group so called in Athens, since Aristophanes’ notice about slave outfits must be taken symbolically. Secondly, the application of the term Κορυννηφόροι to the helot-like population in Sicyon must be attributed to a more recent reanalysis of the term, rather than to the presence of a real bodyguard corps for the tyrant Clisthenes, as Lotze (1959, 54f.) proposed. It would have been conditioned by the common traits shared by Athenian club-bearers and Sicyonian fleece-wearers, as it was found in later sources. Pollux evidences first the origin of this confusion, probably due to a long tradition of epitomising and to compiling texts. It is important not to lose sight of the fact that Pollux’ text is based on a previous one by Aristophanes of Byzantium, so this confusion could have originated before. Furthermore, their comparison to the Spartan ἐπέυνακτοι and Helots would point in the same direction so that they were included in these helotic-type lists of rural enslaved population. After all, both compounds, Κατωνακοφόροι and Κορυννηφόροι, were used in accordance with different aspects that were interesting to emphasize: the garment of the former

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55 Zurbach (2017, 493ff.).

56 Ducat (1976); van Wees (2003).

57 Ducat (1976) and Zurbach (2017, 494).

58 See Zurbach (2017, 494ff.) with previous bibliography.

that distinguished them from completely free citizens or the correspondence of the latter to the Athenian Κορνηφόροι, also a dependent group although they were never included in helotic-status lists.

#### 5.4 The nudity of the Γυμνήτες or Γυμνήσιοι of Argos

Contrary to the aforementioned dependent groups that were differentiated from non-dependents through their clothing, in the case of the ‘naked people’ of Argos there was no garment at all.<sup>59</sup>

Despite the scarcity of sources, different names are attested for designating a group (or groups) of rural dependents in this region. Aside from περίοικοι, φοικιάται and δοῦλοι,<sup>60</sup> Pollux (3.83) within their μεταξύ-gathering mentions the Γυμνήτες from Argos as well as the *Etymologicum Gudianum* (s.v. εἶλως). However, the variant Γυμνήσιοι is reported by Stephanus of Byzantium (s.v. Χίος), Eustathius (in *D. P.* 533) and the *Etymologicum Magnum* (s.v. εἶλως).<sup>61</sup>

Derived from a common γυμνός-root, these two words have been created by the addition of two different suffixes. The noun γυμνής, ἦτος has been formed with a  $\bar{e}$ -degree. It has the specific meaning of ‘lightly armed foot soldier’ and it must be analysed with its counterpart γυμνομάχοι, whose sense is even more transparent.<sup>62</sup> The second one, Γυμνήσιοι, is derived from a stem γυμνητ- to which the suffix \*-ῖος is added, yielding the adjective γυμνήσιος, employed in plural as a collective noun.<sup>63</sup>

These variants have not received much linguistic attention.<sup>64</sup> Cartledge (1986, 2006), following Lotze (1959, 53ff.), supports Stephanus’ variant Γυμνήσιος as the original one explaining Γυμνήτες as a secondary erroneous form in Pollux.

<sup>59</sup> Parallels between these ‘naked people’ and the katōnakê-wearers from Sicyon have been brought to light by Lotze (2000, 57–86). A possible hypothesis about the acquisition of this population by Argives can be seen in van Wees (2003).

<sup>60</sup> Δούλοι in Hdt. 6.83; περίοικοι in Arist. *Pol.* 1303a 8; φοικιάται appears in an inscription (*SEG* 26, 449, Epidaurus, c. 475–450 BC). For an attempt to reconcile the terminology, see Zurbach (2017, 517ff.); in his opinion, περίοικοι, as it is reported by Herodotus, has to be interpreted as helotic slaves and to be identified with Pollux and Stephanus’ evidence.

<sup>61</sup> Eust. *ad. Il.* 50–52 (= 4.455.18), also reports γυμνήτες but referred to the light-armed soldiers.

<sup>62</sup> First evidence of γυμνομάχοι and γυμνήτες appears in Tyrtaeus (Fr. 11.35–38 Edmonds; *P.Oxy.* 3316,14). On the likely identification of these people with helots in the extant fragments of the poets, see Ducat (2015, 178–180).

<sup>63</sup> Chantraine (1933, 41 § 34).

<sup>64</sup> See, for instance, van Wees (2003) whose main interest is to argue for the identification of this ‘naked people’ with the Argive *Hymathioi* tribe.



It would be the result of a mix-up with the normal γυμνήτες, since helots did take part in military conflicts as light-armed soldiers.

To sum up, Cartledge's hypothesis seems to offer a better explanation for these two forms since ethnic names also work in the same way: derived from adjectives, they are reemployed as nouns for designating a concrete population or collective. As it has also been suggested for the Κορνηφόροι, and owing to their lower economic status, they would not have been able to afford the hoplitic equipment giving rise to their name. Generally speaking, the metaphoric nudity which symbolically translates their lower-ranking position matches better the continuous correspondences between the physical characterization of this non-free population and their status found in lexicographic sources.

## 6 Recapitulation and conclusions

In the preceding pages we have examined the issue of the different terms transmitted by ancient Greek sources for designating the same helot-like populations. Based upon a thorough linguistic analysis, we have analysed three series of compound terms coming from Thessaly, Syracuse and Sicyon-Argos. The alternative forms can affect the second part of the compound such as Θετταλ-οικέται/ικέται for the purpose of reducing the Thessalians mentioned in the first part to serfdom, or to make them suppliants. Nonetheless, we have also outlined the possibility of analysing Θετταλικέται as a graphic misspelling (ι for οι), probably connected to a secondary etymological interpretation. Conversely, the first term can also display alternative forms, as it happens in Κατωνακοφόροι-Κορνηφόροι. The choice here depends on the identification of the group under consideration with their Athenian counterparts, the bearers of a mace, or with the wearing of an outfit that defines subjected people. Both terms evoke different situations. Thus, the former could conceal a lower-rank consideration as poorer citizens, or rather could be due to a mere confusion developed by later sources. The latter form is attested for the first time by Theopompus, although passed through the sieve of Athenaeus. Hence, we must accept the existence of a helot-like community in Sicyon externally differentiated, either they were originally called Κατωνακοφόροι, or this term was in fact later coined by Theopompus after the garment they wore. This idea could also be supported by historical events and by other parallels of dependent people named after their garment (viz. the κονίποδες in Epidaurus or the Γυμνήσιοι in Argos). Besides, it also fits in well with the continuously reported tendency of tyrants to exclude subjected people from the regular citizenship.

Finally, the sequence of Κιλλικύριοι-Καλλικύριοι-Κυλλύριοι displays a more complex process of transmission. The original form would not be a compound name but a non-Greek Κυλλύριοι, thus spelled in the majority of Herodotus' manuscripts, who furthermore represents our oldest testimony for these terms. From this base, lexicographic sources account for later reinterpreted forms resulting from a reanalysis as compounds. Its first term was matched to already Κιλ(λ)ι- existent words and, in a further step, blended and confused with Καλλι-, a blurring that presents other parallels. The evidence provided by inscriptions can also contribute to clarifying some terms. In this respect, the form τὸς ρυλ(λ)υρικὸς from Sicily would confirm that the oldest variant is Κυλλύριοι. Likewise, the testimony of Κορυνηφόροι in an inscription from Lampsacus proves the presence of this term beyond the Athenian, Sicyonian and Syrian borders.

What emerges from this study is that lexicographic *testimonia* constitute an essential source of information for understanding the helotic statuses in Ancient Greece. Without the reference to the intermediate μεταξύ-categories in Pollux or the like, we probably would disregard important information concerning a holistic overview of the phenomenon of slavery. The evidence they provide needs to be brought up to date and revised in the light of new epigraphical findings and of recent hypotheses or new methodological approaches. To this effect, it is also imperative to undertake this task also from a linguistic and philological perspective.

## Abbreviations

DELG = Chantraine, Pierre (2009)<sup>2</sup>, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque: histoire des mots*. Achevé par Jean Taillardat, Olivier Masson et Jean-Louis Perpillou, Paris [1st ed. 1968–1980].

EDG = Beekes, Robert S.P. (2010), *Etymological Dictionary of Greek*, Leiden/Boston.

FGrH = Jacoby, Felix (1923-), *Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, Leiden/New York.

IGDS = Dubois, Laurent (2008), *Inscriptions grecques dialectales de Sicile*, II, Librairie Droz, Paris.

LSJ = Liddell, Henry George/Scott, Robert/Jones, Henry Stuart/Barber, Eric Artur (1996)<sup>9</sup>, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, compiled by Henry George Liddell/Robert Scott; revised and augmented throughout by Henry Stuart Jones with the assistance of Roderick McKenzie, and with the co-operation of many scholars, Oxford. [1<sup>a</sup> ed. 1843].

RE = von Pauly, August Friedrich/Wissowa, Georf/Kroll, Wilhelm (1893-), *Real-Encyclopädie d. klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Stuttgart.

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Renzo Tosi

## Lexicographical Scholia in ms. GA 1424

Parchment ms. GA 1424 (Gruber 152; 9th–10th cent.)<sup>1</sup> is located at the Lutheran School of Theology in Chicago and contains the complete New Testament with commentary. The scholia are of a later date and are in general similar to explanations of the Fathers (in particular Origen, John Chrysostom, Cyril of Alexandria). Lexicographical scholia are few, but some of them are quite interesting.

### 1

The explanation of one passage in two Synoptic Gospels quotes expressly its source. It is a version of the Cyril-Lexicon. In *Mc.* 5.9 Jesus asks the devil: Τί ὄνομά σοι; and the devil answers: Λεγιῶν ὄνομά μοι, ὅτι πολλοί ἐσμεν. So, at *Lc.* 8.30 ἐπηρώτησεν δὲ αὐτόν ὁ Ἰησοῦς, Τί σοι ὄνομά ἐστιν; ὁ δὲ εἶπεν, Λεγιῶν, ὅτι εἰσῆλθεν δαιμόνια πολλά εἰς αὐτόν. There is the same scholion to both passages, at ff. 62a and 100a respectively. Its text is τοῦ ἁγίου Κυρίλλου λεξικοῦ λεγεῶν· ἀριθμὸς ἀνδρῶν, ϚχξϚ (that is 6666). The second part of Hesych. λ 490 λεγεῶν· πλῆθος στρατεύματος, ἧ τάγματος, ἕξ χιλιάδων ἑξακοσίων ἑξήκοντα ἕξ gives the same number of this scholion. This exact number is also present in a gloss of the version **g** of the Cyril-Lexicon. All scholars<sup>2</sup> agree that the family **g** was interpolated with a glossary of the Holy Scripture and with some Latin juridical glosses. M. Schmidt indicated *Lc.* 8.30 as source of Hesych. λ 490, and Latte quoted the same passage *dubitanter*.<sup>3</sup> In my opinion, there is no doubt that the Cyril gloss and the second part of the Hesychian gloss derive from a commentary to the episode related in *Mc.* 5.9 and *Lc.* 8.30. The phonetic variation λεγεῶν/λεγιῶν is not so important,<sup>4</sup> and is also present as *varia lectio* in both passages of the Gospel. The scholion of GA 1424 and the lexicographical gloss are characterized by the number 6666. It is a frequent symbol in Medieval and Modern Age: also in chapter 21 of Barnaba's Gospel (ca. 14th cent.) it is the

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Freiherr von Soden (1902–1913, 1652); Canart (2011, 36).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Drachmann (1936, 27); Benetiktsson (1938, 253); Latte (1953, XLVII).

<sup>3</sup> There are two stop marks. Latte explains it on p. XXXVIII: “*Interdum punctis additis (..) etiam ad alium eiusdem auctoris locum gl. referri posse indicavi*”.

<sup>4</sup> Scholars agree that it is caused by the Latin pronunciation. In fact, the term derives from Latin, cf. Ekingier (1892, 29ff.); Wesseley (1902).

number of the devils. This symbology is not surprising, because 6666 is written four times six, and six as a symbolic number is present among many different cultures and peoples.<sup>5</sup> In particular, in *Apoc.* 13.17–18 the number 666 was the symbol of the Antichrist. This fact facilitated the idea that devil who named himself Λεγιών<sup>6</sup> alluded to number 6666. In fact, sources<sup>7</sup> reveal that Roman legion consisted of six thousand soldiers. The name Λεγιών underlines the strength of the devil and, indirectly, stresses that of Christ. The scholion of GA 1424 not only makes this element clear, but adds a symbolic meaning to it.

## 2

*Mt.* 5.26 ἀμὴν λέγω σοι, οὐ μὴ ἐξέλθῃς ἐκεῖθεν ἕως ἂν ἀποδώσῃ τὸν ἕσχατον κοδράντην means that he who does not become reconciled with his adversary risks jail, whence he will not be freed until he has paid the fine to its last coin. At f. 12a the term κοδράντης (transliteration of the Latin *quadrans*) is explained by ἡ λέξις κοδράντης τὸ πᾶν, ἢ λεπτὰ δύο. In fact, κοδράντης is a coin of small worth. Three Hesychian glosses, κ 3201 κοδράντης· τὸ πᾶν, ἢ τὸ τέταρτον τῆς φόλλεως, ἢ λεπτόν· τὸ δὲ λεπτόν ἐξακισχιλιοστὸν ταλάντου, ὃ ἐστὶν ουμμίον ἕν, ἢ κοκκία τρία. τὸ δὲ τάλαντον λίτραι ἑκατὸν εἰκοσιπέντε. ὃ δὲ κοδράντης νουμμία τρία. ὃ δὲ ἕσχατος κοδράντης τὸ τέταρτον τῆς φόλλεως, κ 3207 κοδράντης· τὸ πᾶν, ἢ λεπτὰ δύο· ASvgn τὸ δὲ λεπτόν ἐξακισχιλιοστὸν ταλάντου and κ 1979 L. κεδράντης· τὸ πᾶν, ἢ λεπτὰ δύο. τὰ χερσαία, are parallel to this scholion.<sup>8</sup> It is evident that κ 3207 and κ 1979 are shortened versions of κ 3201, whose source is probably – as Latte indicates – Eriphanius’ *De mensuris et ponderibus*.<sup>9</sup> The entry of κ 1979 L. is evidently corrupted and τὰ χερσαία unintelligible (none of the scholars’ conjectures is convincing).<sup>10</sup> The *interpretamenta* τὸ πᾶν, ἢ λεπτὰ δύο are also present in some versions of the Cyril lexicon, namely in *Vallicell*. E

5 Cf. e.g. Chevalier/Cheerbrant (1986, 355–356).

6 As for the explanation of this name, cf. Prisker (1970, 195–200).

7 Plut. *Rom.* 20.1; Eutrop. 2.6; *Suda* λ 222 A; schol. Opp. *Hal.* 1.1.

8 Cf. also κ 3201 L. κοδράντης· τὸ πᾶν, ἢ τὸ τέταρτον τῆς φόλλεως, ἢ λεπτόν. τὸ δὲ λεπτόν ἐξακισχιλιοστὸν ταλάντου, ὃ ἐστὶν ουμμίον ἕν, ἢ κοκκία τρία. τὸ δὲ τάλαντον λίτραι ἑκατὸν εἰκοσιπέντε. ὃ δὲ κοδράντης νουμμία τρία, ὃ δὲ ἕσχατος κοδράντης τὸ τέταρτον τῆς φόλλεως. In this gloss the entry is κοδράντης, but the explanation is quite different.

9 This treatise survives only in Syriac, Armenian and Georgian translation. As for κοδράντης, cf. also J. Elmer Dean, *Eriphanius’ Treatise on Weights and Measures. The Syriac Version*, Chicago 1935, 140.

10 Valesius proposed a strange χηραία, Salmasius κερσαία (κερσαῖον was an Aegyptian coin).



11 (**A**), in *Laur.* 57.39 (**S**), closely linked to **A**, and in three later versions, **v**, **g** and **n** (*familia quarta*). One of the sources of **A**, in itself the most important manuscript of the Cyril lexicon, was an ancient and plentiful version of the *Glossae ad Octateucum*.<sup>11</sup> The explanation of Hesychius and Cyril was also taken by Σ-lexica, cf. *Syn.* κ 378 Cunn. (= Phot. κ 856 Th. = *Suda* κ 1904 A.) κοδράντης· τὸ πᾶν, ἢ λεπτὰ δύο. The scholion of GA 1424 took its material from a lexicographical source, probably the same as of § 1. It is important to note that the *interpretamentum* derives from *Mc.* 12.42.<sup>12</sup> In this passage a poor widow offers λεπτὰ δύο, ὃ ἔστιν κοδράντης to the temple. In fact, τὸ πᾶν is understable in light of *Mc.* 12.42, where Christ remarks ἡ χήρα αὕτη ἡ πτωχὴ πλεῖον πάντων ἔβαλεν τῶν βαλλόντων εἰς τὸ γαζοφυλάκιον· πάντες γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ περισσεύοντος αὐτοῖς ἔβαλον, αὕτη δὲ ἐκ τῆς ὑστερήσεως αὐτῆς πάντα ὅσα εἶχεν ἔβαλεν, ὅλον τὸν βίον αὐτῆς. The context demonstrates that *Mc.* 12.42 is the source of the lexicographical tradition. Perhaps also the absurd *interpretamentum* τὰ χερσαία of Hesych. κ 1279 becomes explainable in this perspective. It could derive from something linked to χήρα ‘widow’ (as, e.g., τὰ χήρας <ἀναθήματα> or <ἀναθήμα>-τα χήρας).

Curiously, the scholiast of GA 1424 took this material from his lexicographical source in order to explain *Mt.* 5.26 and not *Mc.* 12.42.<sup>13</sup> The Italian functionalist school of lexicographical studies showed that ancient commentators often drew their exegesis from the context of annotated texts.<sup>14</sup> So, in this case τὸ πᾶν derives from the context of *Mc.* 12.42. It is also interesting that continuous exchange of materials between lexicography and scholiography caused its presence in a scholion to *Mt.* 5.26. However, here this exegesis is not erroneous: ἀποδῶς τὸν ἕσχατον κοδράντην could be explained by ἀποδῶς τὸ πᾶν.

### 3

At f. 64a the words of Salome in *Mc.* 6.25 Θέλω ἵνα ἐξ αὐτῆς δῶς μοι ἐπὶ πίνακι τὴν κεφαλὴν Ἰωάννου τοῦ βαπτιστοῦ are explained by ἐξ αὐτῆς τουτέστι πα-

<sup>11</sup> As for this lexicon, cf. Benediktsson (1938).

<sup>12</sup> M. Schmidt indicated *Mt.* 5.26 as the source of the gloss, Latte wrote: “*Marc.* 12.42..” (as for the two points see above).

<sup>13</sup> In GA 1424 there is no similar annotation on *Mc.* 12.42. Cunningham quotes Orig. *Hom. in Lucam* 35.202–3 Κριτὴς δὲ ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστός· πράκτωρ δὲ ὁ ἀφορισθεὶς ἐκάστῳ ἀνθρώπῳ ἄγγελος· “λεπτὸν” δὲ ἔστι τὸ ἐλάχιστον ἀμάρτημα, “κοδράντης” δὲ, ὡς ὁ Ματθαῖός φησιν, τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων, that is, in my opinion, different.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Marzullo (1968); Degani (1977–1978); Bossi/Tosi (1979–1980); Tosi (1988, *passim*).

ραυτικά, αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ. Here, as for the previous cases, the source could be a codex of version **g** of the Cyril lexicon. In fact, in Hesych. ε 3619 and in the versions **Avgn** of the Cyril lexicon there is the gloss ἐξαιτῆς· παραυτικά. The gloss ἐξαιτῆς· παραυτικά, εὐθέως is present in the Σ-lexica, cf. *Syn.* ε492 Cunn., Phot. ε 1123 Th., *Suda* ε 1572 A.,<sup>15</sup> Zon. 759 Tittm. It is noteworthy that in our scholion there is not the *interpretamentum* εὐθέως,<sup>16</sup> just like in Hesychius, Cyril and in schol. Opp. *Hal.*1.782 ἐξαιτῆς· παραυτικά.

## 4

There are also various quite different cases. At f. 8b in *Mt.* 1.19 Ἰωσήφ δὲ ὁ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς, δίκαιος ὢν καὶ μὴ θέλων αὐτὴν δειγματίσαι, ἐβουλήθη λάθρα ἀπολύσαι αὐτήν, ms. GA 1424 has – like many other manuscripts – παραδειγματίσαι instead of δειγματίσαι, accepted by editors. The scholion to this passage is τὸ παραδειγματίσαι τὸ φανερώσαι καὶ διαβάλλειν τὸν κακῶς πράξαντα σημαίνει, τὸ δὲ δειγματίσαι τὸ φανερώσαι ἀπλῶς. The *interpretamentum* φανερώσαι is also present in Hesych. π 490 Hansen παραδειγματίσαι· φανερώσαι. θριαμβεῦσαι, which is identical to a gloss of the Cyril lexicon. However, this gloss of the Cyril lexicon is present only in the version of *Vallicellianus*. With regard to this, two observations are in order. First of all, the structure of the scholion is more complex than the Hesych.-Cyril gloss. It makes a distinction between the compound and the simple verb.<sup>17</sup> According to the scholion, both verbs mean ‘to show’: the compound, however, has a negative connotation and means ‘to expose somebody before all the people.’ A parallel is Euseb. *Quaest. Ev. ad Steph.* PG 22.884 γράψαι καὶ παραγράψαι, καὶ τὸ λογίσασθαι καὶ παραλογίσασθαι, καὶ ψηφίσαι καὶ παραψηφίσαι· οὕτως οὐδὲ τὸ δειγματίσαι καὶ παραδειγματίσαι· τὸ μὲν γὰρ παραδειγματίσαι, τὴν ἐπὶ κακῶς πράξαντι εἰς πάντας φανέρωσίν τε καὶ διαβολὴν ὑποβάλλει νοεῖν· τὸ δὲ δειγματίσαι, τὸ φανερόν ἀπλῶς ποιῆσαι. Furthermore, the negative connotation of παραδειγματίσαι is confirmed by literary evidence.<sup>18</sup> On the contrary, θριαμβεῦσαι has positive connotations and in several passages

<sup>15</sup> The quotations of two passages of Polybius (fr. 138, 139) are added in the gloss of *Suda*.

<sup>16</sup> As for this *interpretamentum*, the editors quote schol. Hom. *Il.* 1.223 Ἐξαυτῆς· Ἐκ δευτέρου, εὐθέως, πάραυτα.

<sup>17</sup> This structure was called “sinonimico-differenziatrice” in Bossi/Tosi (1979–1980, cf. n. 13) 15. Cf. also Tosi (2015).

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Schlier (1966, 819–821). According to Schlier παραδειγματίσαι is “stronger” than the less common δειγματίσαι.

means ‘to make to triumph’. Hansen quotes *Mt.* 1.19 as source of Hesych. π 490: in my opinion, the *interpretamentum* θριαμβεύσαι shows that its source is a quite different passage. In this regard, *Col.* 2.15 ἀπεκδυσάμενος τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς ἐξουσίας ἐδειγμάτισεν ἐν παρρησίᾳ, θριαμβεύσας αὐτοὺς ἐν αὐτῷ is very important. This passage lays the foundation of the tradition of *Christus triumphans*: Christ on the cross and through the cross exposes the true face of human power and triumphs over it. The instrument of degradation becomes the instrument of triumph. *Col.* 2.15 was taken and commented upon in several passages of Patristic literature through the couple δειγματίσαι/θριαμβεύσαι<sup>19</sup> and in Phot. *Bibl.* 222.183a.22, Severian. *Fragm. in ep. ad Col.* 324, col.2 there is παραδειγματίσαι instead of δειγματίσαι. It is therefore probable that the Hesych.-Cyril gloss belongs to this tradition.<sup>20</sup> In my opinion, the scholion of GA 1424 does not take the Hesych.-Cyril gloss. In fact, they have in common only the basic *interpretamentum* φανερωῖσαι. The synonymic-distinguishing structure of the scholion and the *interpretamentum* θριαμβεύσαι demonstrate that they belong to different exegetical traditions.

## 5

*Mt.* 2.18 Φωνὴ ἐν Ῥαμὰ ἠκούσθη takes *Jer.* 38.15 οὕτως εἶπεν κύριος Φωνὴ ἐν Ῥαμὰ ἠκούσθη θρήνου καὶ κλαυθμοῦ καὶ ὄδυρμου (this is of course the Septuagint version) again. The scholion to this passage is Ῥαμὰ δὲ σημαίνει τόπον ὑψηλόν. In fact, this Hebrew term means ‘hill’ and is the name of some places quoted in the *Ancient Testament*, namely of one place in the region of Benjamin,

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Athan. *Hom. de pass. et cruce Dom.* 28.221; Basil. *Enarr. in Is.* 11.250; *Hom. super Ps.* 29.421; Orig. *In Io.* 6.55.285; *In Ier.* 9.1; *In Mt.* 12.18, 12.25, 12.40; *In Io.* 20.36.330, 32.25.327; Io. Chrys. *De coem. et de cruce* 49.398; *Exp. in Ps.* 55.214; *In Io.* 59.84, 59.159; *In Cor. I* 61.203, 61.325; Didym. *De Trin.* 39.913; Ps. Macar. *Serm.* 64.55.4.4; Io. Dam. *De haer.* 82; Theodor. *De Prov.* 83.761.

<sup>20</sup> There exist passages where the pair παραδειγματίσαι/θριαμβεύσαι does not belong to *Col.* 2.15. In Athan. *Hist. Arianorum* 28.3 αἴψεις αὐτῶν παραδειγματισθεῖσα θριαμβευθῆ καὶ στηλιτευθῆ πανταχοῦ the verb θριαμβεύσαι means ‘to triumph’. On the other hand, in Eriphan. *Ep. ad Theod. Imp. rem* 23 <τίς> τῶν ἀρχαίων ἐπισκόπων Χριστὸν ἀτιμάσας ἐζωγράφησεν; τίς τὸν Ἀβραάμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακώβ, Μω<υ>σέα τε καὶ τοὺς προφήτας ἢ Πέτρον ἢ Ἀνδρέαν ἢ Ἰάκωβον ἢ Ἰωάννην ἢ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀποστόλους οὕτως παρεδειγμάτισεν καὶ ἐθριάμβευσεν; and in Greg. Naz. *In sanct. bapt.* 36.397 δείξης, ὅτι τὴν ἀμαρτίαν ὄντως μεμίσηκας, παραδειγματίσας αὐτὴν καὶ θριαμβεύσας, ὡς ἀξίαν ὕβρεως (recorded by Io. Dam. *Sacra Par.* 96.113) it has negative connotation.

one in that of Ephraim, and three others that are unidentified.<sup>21</sup> The scholion is similar to Hesych. ρ 44 ῥαμά· ὑψηλή, but this gloss is not present in the Cyril lexicon. Also Hesych. ρ 96 ῥαμάς· ὁ ὑψιστος θεός derives from the passages of *Jeremias* and *Matthew*. In those passages God speaks in ῥαμά, that is, from a 'highest place'. In my opinion, the strange entry ῥαμάς as a name for the highest god was invented in a commentary to these passages. That is confirmed by Ioh. Chrys. *In Rach. et inf.* 61.700 ἀκουσθῆναι ἐν ῥαμά, τουτέστιν, ἐν ὑψηλῷ· οὕτω γὰρ ἐρμηνεύεται ῥαμά, ὑψηλή, ἡ ἄνω Ἱερουσαλήμ παρὰ τῷ ὑψίστῳ Θεῷ. It is probable that both the scholion and lexicography adopt the same commentary on *Mt.* 2.18.

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<sup>21</sup> Cf. Balz/Schneider (2004, 1245).

## List of Contributors

**Alcorac Alonso Déniz** is a CNRS research fellow at the laboratory HiSoMA (Histoire et Sources des Mondes Antiques) in Lyon. He has written several articles on the historical grammar, dialectology and epigraphy of ancient Greek. He has recently co-edited the volume *La Suffixation des anthroponymes grecs antiques* (2017). His current research focuses on the epigraphy of Crete and the history of the Greek language in the island.

**Marina Benedetti** has carried out research at the Universities of Pisa, Oxford, Marburg and Erlangen. She is currently Professor of Comparative Philology and General Linguistics and Director of the High School for Doctorate and Specialization at the University for Foreigners in Siena. Her publications include books on Latin-Romance diachronic phonology and on Latin nominal compositions, and papers on Greek and Indo-European morphosyntax.

**Václav Blažek** studied mathematics and physics at Charles University, Prague (1978–1983). He wrote a doctoral dissertation under the title *Zoological Terminology of the Indo-European Languages* which he defended at Masaryk University, Brno, Czech Republic (1993), and his Habilitation on “Numerals” in the same University (1998). Since 2003 he has been Professor of comparative Indo-European linguistics at Masaryk University.

**Christoforos Charalambakis** is Professor emeritus of linguistics at the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens. In 1976 he received his Ph.D. from the Faculty of Letters of the University of Cologne on completion of the thesis entitled *Phthano. Ein Beitrag zur griechischen Wortforschung* (Heidelberg 1976). His research interests cover three main areas: Ancient and Modern Greek dialectology and electronic lexicography, the relation between language and literature and the language of education, with emphasis on computers and digital technology. He has published more than 420 papers, books and reviews. He was the scientific coordinator and editor of the *Practical Dictionary of Modern Greek of the Academy of Athens* (2003–2014).

**Emilio Crespo** is Professor of Greek Philology at the Universidad Autónoma of Madrid and President of the Direction Committee of the Pastor Foundation for Classical Studies (Madrid). Honorary doctor from Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, he is currently working on discourse markers in classical Greek (funded by the Spanish Government) and on dialect contacts in ancient northern Greece (a research project on *Multilingualism and Minority Languages in Ancient Europe* funded by the European Union). He is co-author of *Sintaxis del griego clásico*, associate editor of *Encyclopedia of Ancient Greek Language and Linguistics* and author of a widely known Spanish translation of Homer's *Iliad*.

**Maria Luisa del Barrio** is Professor of Greek Philology at the Universidad Complutense of Madrid. Her scholarly work focuses on Greek linguistics – especially ancient Greek dialects and Greek phonology – but it has also extended over morphology, onomastics, the history of the Greek language and Mycenaean Greek. She has written extensively on Greek epigraphy with particular focus on dialectal and verse inscriptions. She has also shown an interest in Greek epistolography and has published several works on this topic. At the moment, she is the main researcher of two publicly funded projects dealing with Greek dialectology and epigraphy: *Modos*

*de contacto interdialectal en los textos epigráficos del griego antiguo (II)* and *Contactos interdialectales en griego antiguo (III)*.

**Panagiotis Filos** is Assistant Professor of Historical Linguistics at the University of Ioannina, and has also taught historical linguistics and classics at various other universities, including the Universities of Oxford and Cyprus, the Open University of Cyprus and the (English-speaking) International Hellenic University. He received BA degrees in Archaeology and Classics from the University of Ioannina, and holds an MPhil in General Linguistics and Comparative Philology as well as a DPhil in Comparative Philology from the University of Oxford. He is co-editor, alongside G. K. Giannakis and E. Crespo, of the collective volume *Studies in Ancient Greek Dialects: From Central Greece to the Black Sea* (Berlin 2018), and has published several papers on Graeco-Latin bilingualism and ancient Greek dialectology. He is currently preparing a monograph on the morphology and word-formation of the Latinisms of the Greek papyri.

**Georgios K. Giannakis** is Professor of Historical and Indo-European Linguistics at Aristotle University of Thessaloniki. He studied Classics in Ioannina (BA 1977) and historical, comparative and Indo-European linguistics at the University of Chicago and UCLA (CPhil 1988, PhD 1992), and was a fellow of the Vaughan Centennial Institute (Stanford University 1991). In the past he taught at UCLA, Loyola Marymount University and The University of Ioannina. He published widely on historical and comparative linguistics. Among his books are *Studies in the Syntax and the Semantics of the Reduplicated Presents of Homeric Greek and Indo-European* (1997), *The Indo-Europeans. Part I: Language and Culture* (in Greek; 2005<sup>1</sup>, 2015<sup>2</sup>) and *Historical Linguistics and Philology* (in Greek; 2011); he has been General Editor of the *Encyclopedia of Ancient Greek Language and Linguistics* (2013/2014), co-editor of *Studies in Ancient Greek Dialects. From Central Greece to the Black Sea* (2018), and prepared the Greek edition of a number of books, among them A. L. Sihler's *New Comparative Grammar of Greek and Latin* (2009) and M. L. West's *Indo-European Poetry and Myth* (2013).

**Paloma Guijarro Ruano** is a postdoctoral researcher of the HERA Project *Multilingualism and Minority Languages in Ancient Europe* (MuMiL-EU) at the Universidad Autónoma of Madrid in Spain. She is also member of the Spanish national research project *Modos de contacto interdialectal en los textos epigráficos del griego antiguo II*. For her PhD Dissertation she has analyzed the language of Greek metrical inscriptions, and among her current projects is the study of the linguistic contacts in Northern Greece. Furthermore, she is preparing a monograph on the lexicon of ancient Greek slavery as part of a postdoctoral collaboration with the ISTA Laboratoire (Institut de Sciences et Techniques de l'Antiquité) at the Université de Franche-Comté in France.

**Patrick James** read Classics at Jesus College Cambridge (2000–2003) and wrote his doctoral dissertation on complementation in the Greek documentary papyri under the supervision of Professor Geoffrey Horrocks (2004–2007). He served as an Assistant Editor for the Cambridge Greek Lexicon Project (2007–2016) and on *The Greek New Testament Produced at Tyndale House, Cambridge* (Cambridge 2017). He has taught Greek and Latin, Philology, and Linguistics for the Faculty of Classics, University of Cambridge and was a Research Associate on the 'Greek in Italy' project (2017–2018).

**Brian D. Joseph** (A.B. Yale, 1973; Ph.D. Harvard, 1978) is Distinguished University Professor of Linguistics, and The Kenneth E. Naylor Professor of South Slavic Linguistics, at The Ohio State University (since 1979). He has two honorary doctorates (La Trobe University and University of Patras) and is a Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, the American Association for the Advancement of Science, and the Linguistic Society of America. His research area is historical linguistics, especially regarding the history of Greek, Ancient through Modern, in both its genealogical and its geographic context.

**Christina Katsikadeli** is a lexicographer, postdoctoral researcher and lecturer in general and historical-comparative linguistics at the Department of Linguistics and at the Center for the Research of Eastern Christianity (ZECO), University of Salzburg, Austria, as well as at the Austrian Academy of Sciences (ÖAW) in Vienna. She has been co-worker and project leader (2000–2009) at the *Rig Veda Dictionary* (RIVELEX, Vols. I–III) funded by the Austrian Research Fund (FWF). For the period 2014–2018, she was the principal investigator (“Elise-Richter-Fellow”) of the project *Hellenistic Koine in Egypt and the Near East*, and during 2018–2021 she will collaborate at the *Digital Dictionary of Loanwords in the Midrash Genesis Rabbah* (also funded by the FWF).

**Doris Kyriazis** studied philology, specializing in linguistics, at Aristotle University of Thessaloniki. He has worked as an academic associate of the Institute of Linguistics of the Albanian Academy of Sciences and as an assistant and compiler of the Dictionary of Medieval Greek Popular Literature by E. Kriaras. He has taught in the Department of Balkan Studies in the University of Western Macedonia, whereas in 2006 he joined the Department of Linguistics of Aristotle University. His research interests focus on the area of the relations between Greek and other Balkan languages, with emphasis on their historical evolution and broader cultural context. Other research interests include dialectology, language contact, bilingualism and issues of linguistic integration of immigrants. He is a member of the Balkan Committee of International Association for Slavic Studies and of the Editorial Committee of Atlas Linguarum Europae.

**Nikolaos Lavidas** is Assistant Professor of Linguistics at the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens. His research covers a range of topics associated with Indo-European historical linguistics and the directions of language change (in particular the development of transitivity and voice in Indo-European languages), syntax-semantics interface, (historical) language contact and historical corpora.

**Michael Meier-Brügger** was Professor of Comparative and Indo-European Linguistics at Freie Universität in Berlin 1996–2013. After receiving his doctorate from the University of Zurich in 1973, he became Ernst Risch’s Assistant before going on to postdoctoral research in Erlangen (with K. Hoffmann), Paris (with O. Masson, M. Lejeune, F. Bader), and Harvard (with C. Watkins and J. Schindler), and then served for three years as lecturer at Zurich, Fribourg, and Basel University. In 1984 he joined the editorial team of the “Lexikon des frühgriechischen Epos” as “verantwortlicher Redaktor” (responsible from fascicle 12 onwards, Göttingen 1987–). Among his publications are *Griechische Sprachwissenschaft* (2 vols., Sammlung Goeschel, Berlin & New York 1992) and *Indogermanische Sprachwissenschaft* (9th edn., Berlin & New York 2010, English transl., *Indo-European Linguistics*, Berlin & New York 2003), and was coeditor of *Glotta*.

**Lara Pagani** is Associate Professor of Greek Literature at the University of Genova. Her main interests concern ancient Greek scholarship and grammar, Homeric studies, Greek lexicography and the reflection on language in ancient Greece, literary papyrology. She is one of the editors of the encyclopedic *Lexicon of Greek Grammarians of Antiquity* (LGGA, Brill Online Reference Works), co-editor of a forthcoming new edition of the scholia to the *Iliad*, Rédacteur of *L'Année Philologique*, member of the lexicographical project *Words in progress*, and of the *équipe* which carried out the third edition of *GI - Vocabolario della lingua greca* (2013). Her publications include a critical edition of the fragments of Asclepiades of Myrlea (2007).

**Wojciech Sowa** is a classicist and historical linguist, specializing mainly in Ancient Greek dialectology, so-called “Balkan Indo-European”, especially Phrygian and ancient Macedonian, along with various problems of Indo-European studies and in particular languages like Greek (historical grammar – verbal morphology, dialectology, epigraphy, Mycenaean studies, etc.). He has been teaching at universities in Poland, Slovakia and Germany. He is now the coordinator for the humanities and social sciences at the National Science Centre Poland (Narodowe Centrum Nauki, NCN) in Cracow, a research funding agency for basic research, which was founded in 2011. He is also the Chair of the HERA (Humanities in European Research Area) Board since the beginning of 2016.

**Renzo Tosi** is Professor of Greek Literature at Bologna University. His main interests concern the ancient exegesis and the indirect tradition of the Classics, focusing on the internal dynamics of the scholiastic and lexicographical production, their relationship with Byzantine Literature, and their interpretative function, an area in which he produced the volume *Studi sulla tradizione indiretta dei classici greci* (1988). He also studied the paroemiographical tradition and published the *Dizionario delle sentenze latine e greche* (2017) and *La donna è mobile e altri studi di intertestualità proverbiale* (2011). His further interests include the classical theater, Thucydides (with a work on this author being published in 2016), the history of classical studies (in particular at the end of 18th century), and the Byzantine world.

**Stefano Valente** is research assistant at the Center for the Study of Manuscript Cultures at the University of Hamburg (Sonderforschungsbereich 950 – Manuskriptkulturen in Asien, Afrika und Europa). He published the critical edition of the Platonic lexica of Timaeus the Sophist and Pseudo-Didymus (2012) and the Atticist lexicon known under the name of Antiatticist (2015). His main research interest are Greek and Byzantine lexicography, scholarship and grammar, Greek-Byzantine palaeography, Aristotelianism in the Byzantine world, and the transmission of texts.

**George J. Xydopoulos** is Associate Professor of Linguistics at the University of Patras. He studied French and Greek (BA Hons) at the University of Athens and specialized in Linguistics at the School of Oriental and African Studies (MA; SOAS) and at University College London (PhD; UCL) of the University of London. For the last twenty-five years, he has taught various undergraduate and postgraduate courses in General Linguistics at SOAS and UCL in London, the University of Hertfordshire, the University of Patras, the University of Ioannina and the Hellenic Open University. His current research and teaching interests fall within the areas of lexicology (lexical morphosemantics, special and sub-cultural vocabularies), lexical semantics, lexicography and educational linguistics.



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