

PART I

ANCIENT GREEK

FROM MYCENAE TO
THE ROMAN EMPIRE

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1

THE ANCIENT GREEK DIALECTS

1.1 The Coming of the ‘Greeks’ to Greece

It is now generally believed that speakers of an Indo-European dialect or dialects arrived in the Balkan peninsula in the early second millennium BC (see Drews (1988), Klingenschmitt (1994), Garrett (1999) for a range of views), and that the language we call Greek developed its distinctive form there through the subsequent evolution and diversification of the speech of those of these newcomers who finally settled in the region. The process of development must have been influenced by language contact with populations already in place, some of whom may have been indigenous, others earlier migrants, though we are not now in a position to identify the peoples and languages concerned despite widespread speculation about the possible impact of ‘Pelagian’, about which nothing is known, and even Luwian, a language of the Indo-European family related to Hittite and attested historically in Asia Minor.

A considerable number of words, often exhibiting characteristically non-Greek suffixes, were borrowed into the emerging Greek language at this time. Unsurprisingly, these are typically the names of places and geographical landmarks (e.g. Μυκῆναι [mykê:nai] ‘Mycenae’, Ἀθῆναι [atʰê:nai] ‘Athens’, Κόρινθος [kórintʰos] ‘Corinth’, Παρνασσός [parnassós] ‘(Mount) Parnassus’, Λυκαβηττός [lykabê:ttós] ‘(Mount) Lykabettos’, Κηφισός [kê:pʰisós] ‘(the river) Cephisus’), as well as of plants and artefacts (e.g. τερέβινθος [terébintʰos] ‘turpentine tree’, ὑάκινθος [hyákintʰos] ‘hyacinth’, δάφνη [dápʰnê:] ‘laurel’, σῦκον [sý:kon] ‘fig’, ἀσάμιθος [asámintʰos] ‘bath tub’, δέπας [dépas] ‘cup’, πλίνθος [plíntʰos] ‘brick’, ξίφος [ksípʰos] ‘sword’).¹

Characteristic innovations which define Ancient Greek as a distinct language within the Indo-European (IE) family include those listed in (1). Most of these are prehistoric and cannot be securely dated, though the final stages of some, such as the first case of (a), perhaps belong to the historical period of the Linear B tablets (see 1.2), while a very few, such as (i), were completed only after the Mycenaean collapse:

- (1) (a) Initial IE *y- [j] partly developed to [h], as in ὅς [hós] ‘who’ beside Sanskrit *yás*, while medial *y- was lost, as in τρεῖς [trê:s] ‘three’, < earlier τρέες

- [tré(j)es] by vowel contraction, beside Sanskrit *tráyas*. In other cases, and under unknown circumstances, *y > [dz], later metathesized to [zd] as in ζύγον [zdýgon] ‘yoke’, beside Latin *iugum*.
- (b) The voiced aspirates of IE (*bh, *dh, *gh, *gʷh) were de-voiced, as in φέρω [pʰero:] ‘carry/bear’, beside Sanskrit *bhārámi*.
- (c) Initial prevocalic *s- and intervocalic *-s- developed to [h], and medial [h] was then often lost, as in ἑπτά [heptá] ‘seven’ and γένους [génu:s] ‘race, stock (gen)’, < earlier γένεος [géne(h)os] through contraction of vowels: cf. Latin *septem*, Sanskrit *saptá*, and Sanskrit *jánasas*. Many cases of intervocalic [s] were, however, retained/restored on the analogy of formations in which [s] occurred postconsonantly (e.g. ἐποίησε [epoíε:se] ‘s/he made’ beside ἔβλαψε [éblapse] ‘s/he hurt’).
- (d) Final consonants other than [n, r, s] were lost, as in τι [ti] ‘something’, beside Latin *quid*, Sanskrit *cit*.
- (e) Word-initially there are vocalic reflexes of original ‘laryngeal’ consonants before resonants other than *y (i.e. [l, r, m, n, w]), which the remaining IE languages apart from Armenian have lost, as in ἐρυθρός [erytʰrós] ‘red’ beside Latin *ruber*, Sanskrit *rudhirá-*.
- (f) The originally ‘free’ (late) IE word accent, based primarily on pitch variation and best preserved in Vedic Sanskrit, was confined to one of the last three syllables.
- (g) The superlative suffix -τατος [-tatos] is an innovation exclusive to Greek.
- (h) Full grammaticalization of the locative case form originally belonging to certain n-stem deverbal nouns in order to form the regular active infinitive of verbs in -ω [-o:] (the thematic verbs, in which a theme- or stem-forming vowel [e] or [o] intervenes between the root and the ending) is distinctively Greek: thus -ειν [-e:n] or -ην [-ε:n] according to dialect, both arising by contraction < -ε-ειν [-e(h)en] < *-e-sen.
- (i) The final syncretism of cases, whereby ablative and genitive functions come to be expressed by the ‘genitive’ case forms and dative, locative and instrumental functions by the ‘dative’ case forms, is also a key marker of Greek.

1.2 The Earliest Records: Mycenaean Greek

As noted in the Introduction, the decipherment of Linear B in the 1950s firmly established Mycenaean as the earliest documented variety of Greek, making this the European language with the longest recorded history, from the 15th/14th (or, taking the later date for the final destruction of Knossos, the 13th/12th) centuries BC to the present day. This is not the place to attempt a full-scale description, but it will be useful to provide a brief account of Linear B and the problems that arise in describing the highly archaic form of Greek written in it, one which retains, for example, the inherited sound [w] in all positions and a distinct instrumental case form, at least in the plural. Interestingly, however, for all its antiquity this dialect already shows some characteristic innovations of ‘East Greek’ type (see 1.4 for details).

Although the Linear B script uses ideograms to denote classes of objects and has special signs for weights, measures and numerals, the heart of the writing system comprises some 89 syllabic signs, of which 73 have been assigned more or less agreed phonetic values. Each represents either a vowel sound (V), rarely a diphthong, or a combination of one, rarely two, consonants with a following vowel ((C)CV). But contrasts of vowel length, an important property of Ancient Greek, are not noted, and the set of symbols representing diphthongs is incomplete and only sporadically used, so diphthongs are written inconsistently, either by using the signs for two vowels in combination or by suppressing the notation of a diphthong's second element altogether.

Linear B also largely fails to represent the characteristic Ancient Greek oppositions in the plosive system based on aspiration and voice, having only one sign for each vowel when preceded by any of the three labial or three velar stops, and with only the voiced member distinguished in the dental series:

- | | | | | |
|-----|-----|---|-----------------|---------------------------|
| (2) | (a) | [p, (b) ² , p ^h] + V | represented by: | <i>pa, pe, pi, po, pu</i> |
| | (b) | [t, t ^h] + V | represented by: | <i>ta, te, ti, to, tu</i> |
| | | [d] + V | represented by: | <i>da, de, di, do, du</i> |
| | (c) | [k, g, k ^h] + V | represented by: | <i>ka, ke, ki, ko, ku</i> |

The IE labio-velars **k^w, *g^w, *g^{hw}* developed in classical Greek to labials or, via palatalization before front vowels, to dentals (cf. τίς [tís] ‘who?’, τε [te] ‘and’ beside Latin *quis, -que*). But in Mycenaean these are still retained across the board, always allowing for the characteristic Greek de-voicing of the voiced aspirate to [k^{hw}] (cf. (1b)). The labio-velars are also represented by a single series of syllabic signs, as in *a-pi-qa-ro* [amp^hík^woloi] ‘attendants’ beside classical ἀμφίπολοι [amp^hípoloi], *qa-u-ko-ro* [g^woukólói] ‘cowherds’ beside classical βουκόλοι [bu:kólói], and *qe-ra-si-ja* [k^{hw}ε:rasia:i] ‘mistress of the beasts (dat)’ beside classical θηρίον [t^hε:ríon] ‘wild beast’. Note that [r] and [l] are not graphically distinguished either.

Assuming that Linear B values can be ascribed to corresponding Linear A signs, the evidence suggests that the Minoan language for which this syllabary was originally invented must have had a very different type of phonological system from that of Greek. Note, for example, that incomplete sets of signs are occasionally used to write unusual syllables beginning with clusters containing [w], specifically [dwe], [dwo], [twe], [two] and [nwa]. Perhaps these once belonged, along with those representing the labio-velars, to complete sets representing syllables beginning with labialized consonants in a language in which this secondary articulation was contrastive and generalized.

There is a further incomplete set of signs *za, ze, zo*, for syllables (probably) beginning with dental affricates, either [tʃa]/[dʒa], [tʃe]/[dʒe], [tʃo]/[dʒo] or [tsa]/[dza], [tse]/[dze], [tso]/[dzo]. These regularly appear where we later find classical ζ [zd] plus vowel (note, however, that classical [zd] is usually the result of a post-Mycenaean metathesis of [dz], cf. Allen (1987a: 54)). In particular, these signs often represent the initial sound of certain words originally beginning with a **y-* that did not develop to [h] (see (1a)), as ζύγον [zdýgon] ‘yoke’: so Mycenaean *ze-u-ke-u-si* [dzeúgeusi] ‘yokers (dat pl)’. They may, however, also represent the product of the palatalization of voiced dentals and

velars before [j] + vowel, as in *e-ne-wo-pe-za* [ennewo-pédza:] ‘?with nine feet (fem)’ < *[pedja:], cf. later (non-Attic/Ionic) -πέζα [-pédza:]. By contrast, Mycenaean seems in general already to have passed the affricate stage in the treatment of voiceless [tj, kj] plus vowel, showing forms such as *to-so* [tós(s)os] ‘so much’ beside later τός(σ)ος [tós(s)os] < **tot-jos*, and *pa-sa-lo* [passálo:] ‘pegs (dual)’, analogous to later πάσσαλος [pássalos], < **pakjalos*. But in a few cases the z-series also represents an intermediate affricate stage [tʃ, ts], as in *ka-zo-e* [kátso(h)es] ‘worse’ (nom pl), < *κák-jos-εs [kák-jos-es] = {bad} + {cr} + {nom pl}. Once again these signs may represent the residue of a complete Linear A series representing syllables beginning with systematically assibilated dentals ([tʃa]/[dʒa] etc).

Other problems follow from the fact that Ancient Greek had many consonant clusters, and therefore many syllables both beginning and ending in a consonant. Linear B, whose signs normally represent either V or CV, is therefore poorly suited for writing Greek, and various spelling conventions were employed in consequence, involving either suppression (e.g. word-final consonants and syllable-final [r, l, m, n, s] are regularly omitted, as is word-initial pre-consonantal [s]) or the introduction of ‘dummy’ vowels borrowed from the following, more rarely the preceding, syllable. The professional scribes who wrote the Linear B tablets obviously knew the situations they were recording and were in any case accustomed to reading and writing such highly approximate spellings, but a great deal of reconstruction was required, based on interpretation of the real-world context and knowledge of later Greek and other IE languages, in order to flesh out these bare orthographic ‘skeletons’. Typical examples, again using the standard Romanized transcription of the Linear B syllabic signs, are *pe-ma* representing [spérma] ‘seed’, *ka-na-pe-u* representing [knaphéus] ‘fuller’, and *pa-te* representing [pántes] ‘all (nom pl)’.

A further major difficulty is that much of the morphology of Ancient Greek involves changes in final consonants or the alternation of final vowels with diphthongs, none of which is represented directly in the script. Thus the evidence of later Greek and related IE languages shows that the endings of the singular of a standard feminine first-declension noun of the Mycenaean period must have been nominative [-a:], accusative [-a:n], genitive [-a:s], dative [-a:i], all of which are spelled with *-a* in Linear B. The task of reconstructing the morphological paradigms of Mycenaean was therefore highly problematical, and a number of questions still remain open. To give just one example, a distinct instrumental case is noted in plural paradigms, ending in *-pi* [-p^{hi}] in all but second declension o-stems, and this is retained as a variant for a range of oblique cases in the later language of the Homeric epics (as *-phi* [-p^{hi}]). In the singular, however, the spelling system could not distinguish an instrumental from other cases (e.g. in the first declension it would end in [-a:], spelled yet again as *-a*). Should we then assume that there was also a separate instrumental case in the singular, or that this function had already been syncretized with those of the dative(-locative) forms as in later Greek? As things stand, there is no internal evidence that can be brought to bear directly on this question and answers depend very largely on what individual researchers find ‘plausible’ (see, for example, Hajnal (1995), Thompson (1998)).

The art of syllabic writing largely disappeared with the collapse of the Mycenaean civilization, and the Greek world then entered a ‘Dark Age’. We should note, however, that another syllabic script related to Linear A is attested on Cyprus in the period from

the 16th to the 12th centuries BC. Though this ‘Cypro-Minoan’ syllabary was probably not used for writing Greek at that time, a modified version was developed for this purpose from at least the 8th century BC and remained in use till the 3rd (see Chadwick (1987)). More recently, however, it has been argued that the earliest surviving Greek text is from the 11th/10th century, and that Greek literacy on Cyprus has a more or less continuous history from the period following the Mycenaean collapse (see Olivier (2007: no. 170)).

Elsewhere, however, writing was reintroduced during the late 9th century BC in the form of an adaptation of the Phoenician alphabet, in which redundant consonant signs were redeployed for the first time to represent vowel sounds. The earliest surviving alphabetic inscription can be dated to the first half of the 8th century, and the volume of epigraphic material increases steadily thereafter, with large collections of inscriptions on stone and bronze available from most parts of the Greek-speaking world after 400 BC. It was at this time that the Ionic version of the alphabet was standardized (see ‘The Greek Alphabet’, pp. xviii–xx), and the modern version used in this book derives ultimately from that source. The remainder of this chapter will be concerned with the array of Ancient Greek dialects attested epigraphically in the alphabetic period down to Hellenistic times, but will focus mainly on their likely prehistory and early development in the light of the much older data provided by Mycenaean.

1.3 Greek Dialect Relations and the Place of Mycenaean

If a group of travellers had set out from Athens in the early 5th century BC and made their way westwards in the direction of Megara they would, as they left the region of Attica (cf. Map 1 for this and subsequent ‘trips’), have encountered forms of speech strikingly different from the Attic dialect of Athens and its environs. Megarian was a member of the Peloponnesian Doric subgroup of dialects, spoken in fact not only in the Peloponnese (with the major exception of the remote central region of Arcadia), but also on the islands of the southern Aegean (e.g. Melos, Crete, Thera, Cos and Rhodes), and in many of the Greek cities of Magna Graecia (‘Great Greece’, the heavily colonized regions of southern Italy) and Sicily. These dialects, along with those of north-west Greece (including the dialect of Elis in the north-western Peloponnese), formed the ‘West Greek’ family, so called from the general geographical distribution of the majority of its members.

If on the other hand our travellers had made their way northwards from Athens into Boeotia, they would again have heard dialects very different from that of Attica, but this time also distinct from those of the West Greek family, including the specifically North-West Greek varieties spoken immediately to the west of Boeotia in Phocis, Locris and Aetolia. Continuing northwards, however, they would have perceived a clear relationship between Boeotian and the dialects of Thessaly. But if they had instead boarded a ship in the Piraeus and made their way eastwards, island-hopping across the central and northern Aegean to the central regions of the coast of Asia Minor, they would have encountered a continuum of very closely related forms of speech, the Ionic dialects, with at least the most western variants (on the island of Euboea) displaying a close affinity with the Attic of their point of departure.



Map 1 The Ancient Greek dialects

The ancient Greeks, just like speakers of any other language, were highly sensitive to such dialectal differences, and had long divided themselves into three principal ‘tribes’: Ionians (comprising speakers of Attic and the Ionic dialects), Dorians (speakers of the North-West Greek and Peloponnesian Doric dialects) and Aeolians (speakers of Boeotian and Thessalian, together with speakers of the dialects of Lesbos and adjacent territory on the northern Aegean coast of Asia Minor). Within these broad groupings, however, many local differences existed, and since the Greek world in this period was politically fragmented, with each major city forming, together with its surrounding territory, an autonomous state, it was usual for local dialects to enjoy official status as written languages and to be employed, in a slightly elevated or refined form, to record both public and private business. None the less, in areas where larger cultural or political units began to emerge, as first with the major Ionian cities of Asia Minor, a regional written standard, transcending the most obvious local peculiarities, quickly began to emerge. As we shall see (chapter 3), it was precisely the emergence of such a larger political unit in the 5th century BC which lay behind the initial development of Attic as an administrative and literary language outside Attica.

Since the total corpus of inscriptional material is very considerable, even if often geographically and chronologically patchy (especially in the period before the 6th century BC), Greek is one of the few ancient languages for which we have a reasonably detailed picture of the overall dialect situation. Modern dialectological research has, overall, confirmed the validity of the ancient dialect divisions, though it is usual now to recognize a fourth dialect group comprising Arcadian (spoken in the central Peloponnese) and Cypriot, and further to divide Ionic into Western, Central and Eastern varieties, treating Attic as a closely related but distinct member of a superordinate Attic-Ionic group. Attic-Ionic and Arcado-Cypriot are collectively known as

‘East Greek’, just as Peloponnesian Doric and North-West Greek together constitute ‘West Greek’, the labels reflecting their general distribution in the period when they are first documented. Aeolic is now widely seen as fundamentally of North-West Greek type (albeit with some probable prehistoric East Greek admixture from the Mycenaean south), but to have had an early period of strong independent development in the post-Mycenaean period before undergoing renewed North-West Greek influence on the mainland and East Greek influence in Lesbos and neighbouring territory (García-Ramón (1975), Brixhe (2006); see also below). Brief mention should also be made here of the isolated, poorly preserved and very poorly understood dialect of Pamphylia in southern Asia Minor. The region may well have had a Mycenaean presence in the Bronze Age, though many later settlements such as Aspendos, supposedly founded from Argos, are probably of Dorian origin (cf. also the Rhodian colonies in neighbouring Lycia). Given that contacts with Crete and Cyprus persisted into the classical period, and that the surrounding area was populated by speakers of Lycian, Sidetic and Cilician (descendants of ancient Luwian, see Wallace (1983)), we should not be surprised that what little we have of this dialect shows a ‘mixed’ set of characteristics making it all but impossible to classify according to traditional East/West criteria (cf. Brixhe (1976)).

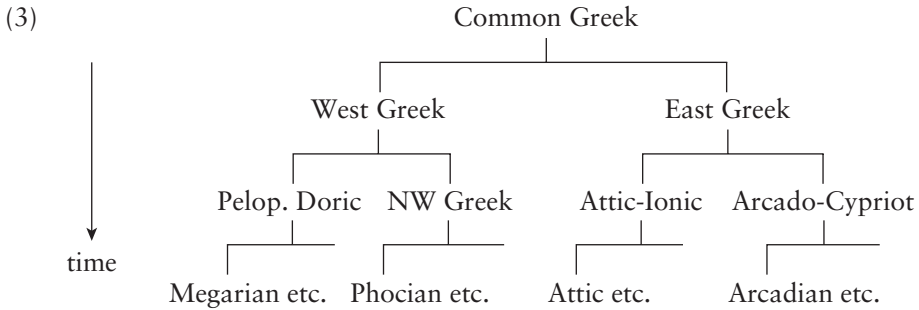
Modern work on Ancient Greek dialectology has tended to fall into two broad types. It should be emphasized, however, that these are in no way mutually exclusive, and many scholars have made significant contributions to both. The first stresses the importance of the compilation of comprehensive descriptions and analyses of the evidence provided by the surviving documents in all its chronological, spatial and social diversity as an essential prerequisite for a successful classification of the dialects and a proper understanding of their historical development. See, for example, the reviews of such work in Brixhe (1985, 1988a) alongside recent studies of particular dialect corpora, such as Arena (1994, 1996), Bile (2006), Blümel (1982), Brixhe (1987), Dobias-Lalou (2000), Dubois (1986, 1995, 2002), Garbrah (1978), Hodot (1990), Méndez Dosuna (1985), and Threatte (1980, 1996). Since most traditional handbooks (e.g. Buck (1955)) have based their descriptions on phenomena attested in relatively small corpora of inscriptions, a great deal has been achieved in recent years to improve our knowledge of the make-up and diversity of the different dialects.

The other approach has focused on the way in which sets of isoglosses (i.e. points of agreement between dialects at a given point in time) can be interpreted as having arisen at different times in the past, thereby creating a relative chronology of the changes involved. This can then serve as the basis for reconstructing aspects of the prehistory of Greek (see, for example, Risch (1955), Chadwick (1956), García-Ramón (1975), and for some specific case studies, Morpurgo Davies (1992, 1993), Vottéro (2006)). Such an approach requires a careful evaluation of the nature of each isogloss.

Certain isoglosses, for example, may be interpreted as evidence of ‘shared inheritance’ by a set of ‘daughters’ from a ‘common parent’ that had acquired its distinctive identity by introducing these very features, as innovations, to the exclusion of all other varieties. In this way we can interpret the relevant synchronic agreement as evidence for an immediately preceding unity, so that Attic-Ionic, for example, becomes the name not only of a group of historical dialects sharing certain innovative characteristics but also the name of the putative parent dialect that had earlier become differentiated from

the rest of Greek by introducing these same features. The logic, then, is that grouping of varieties is predicated on the assumption of a common inheritance of innovations that distinguished the immediate parent of the relevant group from the rest of the language.

By interpreting key isoglosses in this way and then dating the emergence of different bundles of isoglosses to different periods, a dialect ‘family tree’ can be constructed. Consider, for example, the diagram in (3) (which is presented here simply to illustrate the point and is not intended to be definitive):



Here the relevant isoglosses linking Megarian etc. (i.e. the Peloponnesian Doric dialects) are assumed to have been inherited from a prehistoric ‘Peloponnesian Doric’ dialect that had earlier innovated in just these respects to the exclusion of ‘North-West Greek’. Similarly, the key features linking ‘Peloponnesian Doric’ with the ‘North-West Greek’ group are assumed to have been jointly inherited in a still earlier period from a prehistoric ‘West Greek’ dialect that had become differentiated from ‘East Greek’ by introducing just these distinguishing properties. And the characteristics shared by both ‘West Greek’ and ‘East Greek’ are assumed to have derived earlier still from an undifferentiated ‘Common Greek’, distinguished in turn by exactly this set of innovations from the rest of Proto-Indo-European (on which see (1)). If there were, for example, no innovations characteristic of ‘West Greek’ as a whole, both ‘Peloponnesian Doric’ and ‘North-West Greek’ would become the labels of branches descending directly from ‘Common Greek’, always assuming that each of these was distinguished by its own set of characteristic innovations; if there were no characteristic innovations for ‘North-West Greek’, say, then ‘Phocian etc.’ would similarly become labels for a set of branches descending directly from ‘Common Greek’.

This kind of model, central to traditional studies of Greek dialectology and deriving from standard methodological assumptions of 19th-century work on Indo-European comparison (see Morpurgo Davies (1998)), is based on the view that languages develop through divergence initiated by innovation on the part of subgroups within a previously uniform parent. But this is clearly an unrealistically restricted view of language development, particularly when it is known that speakers of the different varieties involved remained in long-term social and geographical contact: Greek, for example, developed initially within the confines of the Balkan peninsula, and any assumption of clean and permanent breaks between endlessly diverging varieties is plainly implausible. In these circumstances isoglosses can readily arise through local convergence

between dialects that are, 'genetically' speaking, quite remote from one another. Shared innovations of this kind can have no bearing on the structure of a family tree designed to show only divergence caused by innovation within former unities, and if they are mistakenly used as evidence for family relationships, they will only distort and falsify the picture.

Other isoglosses may be due simply to independent parallel innovation (i.e. not reflect innovations first made in a common ancestor) and so must again be discounted in constructing a tree depicting dialectal subfamilies. Still other isoglosses may represent a shared inheritance of highly archaic features from the supposed source of all the dialects ('Common Greek'), or of somewhat less archaic features from the still temporally remote ancestor of a major subgroup of dialects (like 'East Greek'). Such retentions are likely to be scattered quite randomly among the historical descendants, with conservative varieties often retaining more than innovative ones, but they plainly offer no good evidence for grouping dialects into the subfamilies that the model presupposes.

Since isoglosses do not come ready categorized with dates attached, scholars may well disagree, not only about which are the innovations and which the archaisms, but crucially about which innovations are the ones most likely to reflect a shared inheritance from a common parent. It should also be said that not all scholars are equally scrupulous in selecting those isoglosses which, strictly and logically, provide the proper evidence for genetic classification. After all, the most characteristic thing about a given dialect group may well be its conservative rather than its innovative tendencies. In these circumstances establishing the 'correct' reconstruction of prehistory in terms of family relationships is no straightforward matter, and many different views have in fact appeared in the literature (see below).

But the most important point to bear in mind here is that the family-tree model cannot, even in principle, provide a complete account of language history or prehistory, because the process of language development is in practice so much more complex than it allows for. Isoglosses reflecting the retention of archaisms, independent innovations and, above all, contact-induced convergence cannot simply be ignored because they too provide evidence for development, albeit of other kinds. It is imperative, therefore, that any family-tree account be supplemented and indeed corrected in the light of a more complete and realistic approach. In particular, allowance must be made for 'mixed' dialects, partial divergences, and periods of parallel development promoted by contact (see especially Finkelberg (1994) for an attempt to construct such an evolving dialect continuum in Greece for the period 1900–900 BC).

The impact of more modern dialectological methodology has led, on the basis of the seminal works of Porzig (1954) and Risch (1955)), to a radical reappraisal of the prehistory of Greek. None the less, the detailed reconstruction of the developments behind the geographical arrangement of dialects seen in the 5th century BC remains an issue of controversy, depending as it does on particular selections and interpretations of isoglosses, and on the equally controversial question of the place and significance of the Mycenaean evidence. Since the issues involved are not strictly relevant to the core theme of this book, what follows is simply an attempt at a consensus view, based on key works of the last 50 or so years, amongst which we may note the following in particular:

- (4) (a) General surveys: Cassio (1984); Chadwick (1956, 1975, 1976a); Coleman (1963); Crespo et al. (1993); Finkelberg (1994); Porzig (1954); Risch (1955, 1979); Wyatt (1970).
- (b) The position and interpretation of Mycenaean: Bartoněk (2003); Cowgill (1966); Duhoux and Morpurgo Davies (2008); Morpurgo Davies (1992); Risch (1966); Ruijgh (1961, 1966, 1991); Thompson (1996/7).
- (c) The origins and development of the West Greek dialects: Chadwick (1976b); Bartoněk (1972); Méndez Dosuna (1985); Risch (1986).
- (d) The emergence and development of Aeolic: García-Ramón (1975); Ruijgh (1978a); Brixhe (2006: 49–55); Vottéro (2006: 137–42).

The spread of Peloponnesian Doric both westwards to Italy and Sicily and eastwards across the southern Aegean, the presence of Aeolic speakers in Lesbos and northern parts of the coast of Asia Minor, the close relationship between Arcadian and the geographically remote Cypriot, and the existence of an Ionic dialect continuum across the central Aegean extending into central and southern regions of the Asia Minor coast can all be readily explained by reference to the extensive colonization movements from the Greek mainland which began during the so-called Dark Age following the collapse of the Mycenaean civilization and continued down to the 6th century BC.

Some difficult issues, however, remain, especially the question of how far back in time the familiar dialect divisions go, and, if things were indeed different in the Dark Age and beyond, what pattern of dialect distribution preceded them. Major obstacles to the development of clear-cut answers to these questions include the often uncertain interpretation of Mycenaean (reflecting the limitations of Linear B), the complete absence of documentary evidence from the period between the earliest alphabetic inscriptions (early 8th century BC) and the time of the latest Linear B tablets, and the continuing dearth of alphabetic material from before the 6th century BC. The overall situation obviously leaves ample room for scholarly disagreement.

The traditional solution to the problem of the distribution of the Greek dialects was provided by means of a theory of three successive ‘waves’ of invaders (Kretschmer (1896, 1909)), according to which Greek was supposed to have developed as a separate branch of the Indo-European family somewhere outside the Balkan peninsula and to have split into dialects prior to the settlement of the Greek mainland. First the ancestors of the Ionians (c.2000 BC), then the ‘Achaean’ (c.1700 BC, this group comprising the ancestors of the Aeolians and Arcado-Cypriots, who were thought to represent the northern and southern branches respectively of an originally unitary dialect group), and finally the Dorians (c.1200 BC) allegedly swept into Greece in turn, with each successive invasion leading to displacements of the established population. In this way the overthrow of the Mycenaeans and the isolated position of Arcadian in historical times could be explained as the result of a massive influx of Dorians into the Peloponnese which left only a small pocket of the earlier population in the remote central mountains.

This approach, however, has now been shown to entail quite serious archaeological and linguistic difficulties. First, it soon became clear that there was little or no evidence in the archaeological record for the influx of Dorians that the theory required. Indeed the whole notion of hordes of invading Indo-Europeans occupying vast expanses of

territory across Europe and Asia has been seriously called into question (e.g. Renfrew (1987), Garrett (1999, 2006)), and many archaeologists now argue instead for more gradual movements of Indo-European peoples, in part at least associated with the adoption and spread of farming. Secondly, it was noted that many of the adopted place names and vocabulary items borrowed from the pre-Greek languages of the Aegean basin had undergone dialectally diagnostic sound changes. The almost certainly borrowed word for ‘sea’, for example, has the following forms:

- (5) (a) Attic/Boeotian: θάλαττα [tʰálatta]
 (b) Other dialects: θάλασσα [tʰálassa]

both of which reveal the dialectally standard products of the palatalization of an original voiceless dental or velar by a following semi-vowel.³ Consider the example in (6):

- (6) (a) Original form: *φυλάκιο [pʰulákʰi-o:] ‘I guard’
 (cf. Attic φύλαξ [pʰýlak-s], genitive φύλακος [pʰýlak-os] ‘a guard’,
 showing the original root-final velar)
 (b) Attic/Boeotian: φυλάττω [pʰylátto:/pʰuláttʰo:]
 [kʰ] > [tʃ], which was readily identified with pre-existing Boeotian
 [tʰ] (see immediately below); this > [tt] in Attic)
 (c) Other dialects: φυλάσσω [pʰuláссо:]
 [kʰ] > [tʃ] > [ts] > [ss]

Allen (1958) explains this divergent dialectal development on the assumption of a generalized heavy palatalization of /t/ in Boeotian: the Attic reflex is then probably due to close contact with Boeotian at the time of the change (on which see further below). But the fact that loanwords such as that in (5) undergo developments identical to those undergone by native vocabulary (even though we cannot, of course, discover the exact form in which such words were first borrowed) strongly suggests that the division of Greek into the historical dialects attested in literature and alphabetic inscriptions had only taken place after all its future speakers had become established in the Aegean area.

Crucially, just as the old questions of Greek dialectology began to be re-examined in this way, the language of the Linear B tablets was successfully deciphered by Michael Ventris (see Chadwick (1967) for an absorbing account), thus adding an important new dimension to the problem by revealing a form of Greek many centuries older than anything hitherto attested. It very quickly became apparent that, although the tablets from Knossos and Pylos came from sites quite remote from one another, the Mycenaean dialect employed was in general rather uniform, presumably therefore reflecting a semi-standardized written language that differed in key respects from ordinary spoken varieties of the period. It is, however, a dialect which is already clearly of East Greek type, displaying, for example, the characteristic innovatory ‘assibilation’ of original [t] before [i] (i.e. [ti] > [tʰi] > [si]) in the diagnostic environments comprising: the 3sg/3pl verb endings -σι/-νσι [-si/nsi] (vs. West Greek -τι/-ντι [-ti/nti]), the numeral εἴκοσι

[é:kosi] ‘twenty’ (vs. West Greek (F)ἱκατι [(w)íkati]), the morpheme -κόσιοι [-kósioi] ‘(X)-hundred’ (vs. West Greek -κάτιοι [-kátioi]), and the adjectival forms Ἀφροδίσιος [ap^hrodí:sios]/Ἀρτεμίσιος [artemísios] (vs. West Greek Ἀφροδίτιος [ap^hrodítios]/Ἀρταμίτιος [artamítios]) from the names of the goddesses Aphrodite and Artemis. Thus the original primary (non-past) 3pl suffix -ντι [-nti] is preserved intact in West Greek, but assibilated in East Greek, including Mycenaean:

- | | | | | | | |
|-----|-----|-------|---------------------------|----------------|------------------------|-------------|
| (7) | (a) | (i) | Mycenaean: | <i>e-ko-si</i> | [ék ^h onsi] | ‘they have’ |
| | | (ii) | Arcadian: | ἐχο-νσι | [ék ^h onsi] | |
| | | (iii) | Attic-Ionic: ⁴ | ἐχου-σι | [ék ^h u:si] | |
| | (b) | | West Greek: | ἐχο-ντι | [ék ^h onti] | |

Furthermore, Mycenaean was apparently in use in large parts of central and southern Greece, as established by the Linear B archives from Thebes and Pylos, in which either West Greek (the Peloponnese and Crete) or Aeolic (Boeotia and Thessaly) were spoken in later times. Clearly, then, dialects ancestral to West Greek and Aeolic must have co-existed with Mycenaean and other East Greek varieties in the Mycenaean period, and the collapse of the Mycenaean civilization must have entailed considerable population movement if we are to explain successfully the changes of dialect involved in several areas of the mainland. One obvious possibility is that Mycenaean central and southern Greece were ‘East Greek’-speaking (note that, on this view, the traditional terminology is no longer appropriate for this earlier period, and some scholars have therefore substituted ‘South’ or ‘South-East’ Greek), while non-Mycenaean northern, and more specifically north-western, Greece was ‘West Greek’ in speech (again, some scholars have substituted ‘North’ or ‘North-West’ Greek). West Greek speakers from the north might then have moved gradually into the power vacuum as the Mycenaean civilization failed, leaving pockets of East Greek speakers in the Attic peninsula and the mountains of Arcadia (with many others emigrating to the Aegean islands and Asia Minor).

This remains the standard view, but in the continued absence of convincing archaeological evidence for large-scale Dorian incursions into southern Greece in the late Bronze Age, Chadwick (1976b) suggested that many West Greek speakers were already living in the south as a working class to serve the Mycenaean aristocracy. If correct, this would mean that the former underclass simply took control in most of the areas where it had always lived. In support, Chadwick noted that some variation of usage in the tablets had already been interpreted as evidence for the existence of two Mycenaean dialects, the one dubbed ‘normal’, the other ‘special’ (Risch (1966), Nagy (1968); see also the later contribution of Woodard (1986)). The key features in question are as follows (‘normal’ Mycenaean is given first and ‘special’ Mycenaean second in each case): assibilation versus non-assibilation of *-ti-* > *-si-* in certain words (mainly place names, personal names and ethnic adjectives); alternation between *-e* [-ei] and *-i* [-i] in the ‘dative’ singulars of consonant-stem nouns (the former representing the inherited dative ending, subsequently lost, the latter the original locative ending and also the classical form, cf. φύλακι [p^hýlaki] ‘guard (dat)’); and alternation between [o] and [a], the latter again representing the classical norm, as reflexes of original syllabic nasals (i.e. nasals functioning vocally to form a syllable) in the context of labial

consonants, as in *pe-mo* [spérmo] versus *pe-ma* [spérma] ‘seed’ < *[spérmi], cf. classical σπέρμα [spérma]. But where Risch argued that ‘special’ Mycenaean reflected the spoken East Greek of the lower classes and constituted the source of historical Arcadian and Cypriot (‘normal’ Mycenaean having died out with the overthrow of the Mycenaean aristocracy), Chadwick, arguing that non-assibilated *-ti-* points rather to West Greek, proposed that the Mycenaean lower classes were in fact speakers of a West Greek dialect. This interpretation was, however, rejected by Risch (1979), and it is certainly true that the absence of clearly Dorian names is striking, given that non-Greek names of indigenous peoples appear in some numbers.

But it should be noted at this point that we would not necessarily expect any non-prestigious spoken variety to infiltrate official documents composed by a highly trained scribal elite. More recently, therefore, the whole theory of class-based dialect variation in the Linear B tablets has been seriously challenged, most notably by Thompson (1996/7, 2002/3), who argues that most of the observed variation is simply evidence of language change in progress. By taking into account the (probable) relative chronology of tablets from Crete and the mainland together with the relative seniority/ages of different scribes (as reflected in the importance of the business for which they are responsible), Thompson has sought to show that official Mycenaean evolved over time, with differences in scribal practice observable between different periods and even different generations. First, the relevance of the unassibilated forms is dismissed: virtually none belong to the small class of elements that systematically distinguish East from West Greek, and many remain unassibilated even in East Greek dialects of the classical period. With regard to the remaining phenomena, however, there is plausible evidence for the progressive replacement of ‘normal’ forms with ‘special’ ones as Mycenaean developed into a more regular-looking East Greek dialect, i.e. one with datives in [i] and reflexes of syllabic liquids in [a], as in the classical period. If correct, this new approach undermines both Risch and Chadwick in that lower-class language (of whatever type) would no longer be attested even sporadically in the documentary record.

Whatever the truth of the matter, much of the dialect diversity of the classical age is now widely taken to be of post-Mycenaean origin. As noted, the old assumption of successive waves of invaders has been abandoned in favour of the view that the ‘Greeks’ came to Greece in a single, albeit possibly gradual, population movement around the beginning of the 2nd millennium BC, and that Greek *in toto* is the product of the consequential contact between the Indo-European dialect(s) of the incoming population and the language(s) of the indigenous populations. The division into East (South) and West (North) Greek varieties had clearly taken place by the late Bronze Age, as the dialect of the Linear B tablets shows, perhaps as a simple function of geographical and political separation, perhaps under different substrate influences.

Much necessarily remains uncertain about this remote period, but when we turn to the later historical dialects it is clear that Arcadian (see Dubois (1986)) remains the closest to a direct descendant of the weakly differentiated ‘East Greek’ varieties assumed to have been spoken in southern Greece, of which Mycenaean may be taken to have been the official written form. The closely related Cypriot (see Masson (1961)), then, must represent the later development of the East Greek dialect of early Bronze Age colonists. The North-West Greek dialects (Méndez Dosuna (1985), Bile (2006)) are

correspondingly taken to represent the more or less direct descendants of the weakly differentiated ‘West Greek’ dialects of the Bronze Age.

Other cases, however, are more complex. The Ionic dialects, for example, including here Attic, share typical East Greek innovations with Arcado-Cypriot (e.g. assibilation of original [ti] in the diagnostic contexts, cf. (8) below), and so must in origin represent co-descendants of the East Greek group in the Bronze Age. They have, however, undergone a number of characteristic innovations to the exclusion of Arcado-Cypriot, many of which are demonstrably post-Mycenaean, including the shift of original [a:], preserved in Mycenaean, to [ɛ:], a shift that is complete in Ionic but more restricted in Attic, where [a:] is retained, or perhaps restored, after [i, e, r]. Thus Attic-Ionic μήτηρ [mḗ:tɛ:r] ‘mother’, for example, corresponds to μάτηρ [má:tɛ:r] elsewhere, including Mycenaean (cf. the place name *ma-to-(ro)-pu-ro* [ma:trópulos] ‘mother city of Pylos’). Many therefore now regard Attic-Ionic as a dialect group that acquired a strongly independent identity only after c.1000 BC, probably in an area comprising eastern Attica and, following colonization, the western and central Aegean basin.

But while Attic shares most of its characteristic innovations with Ionic, it also has important innovations in common with Boeotian, as noted above (see the discussion of (5) and (6)). Thus the early phases of palatalization in Attic follow those of Ionic (both dialects having, e.g., τόςος [tósos] ‘so much’, against Boeotian τόττος [tótʰos], all from *[tót-jos]), but the dialect subsequently fell into line with Boeotian (Ionic having, e.g., φυλάσσω [pʰyláссо:] ‘I guard’, against Attic/Boeotian φυλάττω [pʰylátto:]/[pʰuláttʰo:], all from *[pʰulákʰi-jo:], as noted). The most likely explanation is that western Attica, separated by high mountains from the eastern areas, came under Boeotian influence in the post-Mycenaean period some time after Ionic, including at least eastern Attica in its developmental domain, had begun to evolve as a distinct variety. The subsequent political unification of Attica would then have produced the ‘mixed’ dialect of the classical period, a dialect of broadly Ionic type, but with a number of strikingly discordant features vis-à-vis the Ionic norm. The use of -ττ- [tt] forms then extended in part to the Ionic dialects of the neighbouring island of Euboea.

Interestingly, Attic-Ionic also shares a number of innovations with Peloponnesian Doric to the exclusion of both Arcado-Cypriot and North-West Greek. The preposition ἐν [en], for example, was used originally both locatively with the dative (= ‘in’) and allatively with the accusative (= ‘into’), an archaism preserved in both Arcadian and North-West Greek. In Attic-Ionic and Peloponnesian Doric, however, a final [s] was added when the preposition was used allatively, giving originally ἐνς [ens], but subsequently forms such as ἔς [es] and εἰς [e:s] through simplification of the cluster and compensatory lengthening (cf. note 3 above: ἔς [es] and εἰς [e:s] were originally pre-consonantal and prevocalic contextual variants, with different dialects then making different choices). Thus both East Greek and West Greek seem to have been divided in the early post-Mycenaean period into more conservative and more innovative members, i.e. Arcado-Cypriot (conservative) vs. Attic-Ionic (innovative) on the one hand, and North-West Greek (conservative) vs. Peloponnesian Doric (innovative) on the other. Beginning with Risch (1955), this has been widely interpreted as evidence for a brief but intense period of parallel development on the part of the innovative dialects, perhaps originating in southern Boeotia and northern parts of Attica as Dorians, making their way to the Peloponnese, passed through and/or settled in for-

merly East Greek-speaking lands. These innovations clearly cut across the earlier and more general East–West division, thus making Attic-Ionic and Peloponnesian Doric somewhat ‘mixed’ varieties. Subsequently, however, particularly with the advent of colonization, the two groups seem to have resumed their largely separate courses of development.

The Aeolic dialects are also now commonly regarded as being largely post-Mycenaean developments (García-Ramón (1975), critically reviewed by Ruijgh (1978a); see also now Brixhe (2006) and Vottéro (2006)), being originally only weakly differentiated from (North-)West Greek in the Bronze Age. One possibility, taking a strongly areal rather than a genetic approach to dialect development, is that Aeolic formed a kind of bridge between southern ‘East’ Greek and northern ‘West’ Greek at that time, since there is evidence that proto-Aeolic had already incorporated a number of East Greek features into its otherwise broadly West Greek make-up: e.g. 1pl verb inflection $\mu\epsilon\nu$ [-men] in place of West Greek $\mu\epsilon\varsigma$ [-mes], and East Greek vocalism in forms such as $\iota\epsilon\rho\acute{\sigma}$ [hierós] ‘holy’, Ἄρτεμις [ártemis] ‘Artemis’ vs. West Greek $\iota\alpha\rho\acute{\sigma}$ [hiarós], Ἄρταμις [ártamis]. Many distinctively Aeolic features, however, can be shown to be innovations dating from the early post-Mycenaean era. A crucial example is the common, though by no means universal, development before front vowels of labial reflexes of the labio-velar series $*k^w$, $*g^w$, $*g^{hw}$ (still preserved in Mycenaean, albeit with de-voicing of the voiced aspirate, as noted). All later non-Aeolic dialects, by contrast, consistently show dental reflexes. Thus while Mycenaean has both $-qe$ [k^we] ‘and’ and $qe\text{-}to\text{-}ro\text{-}$ [k^wetro-] ‘four-’ (in compounds), and all later dialects have $\tau\epsilon$ [te] ‘and’, Boeotian has πέτταρες [péttares] and Thessalian πετρο- [petro-] ‘four-’, beside Attic τέτταρες [téttares].

The Aeolic-speaking areas of the mainland must once have been contiguous, and probably extended further west and south than in the classical period, by which time Thessalian was geographically separated from Boeotian by North-West Greek, and the dialects of both western Thessaly and Boeotia show clear signs of relatively recent North-West Greek influence. In western Thessaly, for example, the genitive singular of the second declension ends in \bar{o} [-o:] (later -ou [-u:]), the regular formation in North-West Greek, and distinct from the eastern suffix -οι [-oi]: both these forms < earlier -οιο [-ojo], by loss of [j] + contraction, and apocopation, respectively. Similarly in Boeotia, we begin to find the substitution of the typically West Greek velar suffix -ξα- [-ksa-] for ‘true’ Boeotian -ττα- [-tt^ha] in the aorist (past perfective) stem of verbs with an original stem-final dental, e.g. ἐκομιξά-μεθα [ekomiksá-met^ha] for ἐκομιττάμεθα [ekomittá-met^ha] (< $*[\text{ekomit}^i\text{-sá-met}^h\text{a}]$), ‘we carried away’, the extension of the velar being based on the existence of presents in -ζω [-zdo:] from both dental ($*[\text{-d+jo:}]$) and velar ($*[\text{-g+jo:}]$) stems, with subsequent paradigmatic confusion. Unsurprisingly, it is the dialect of eastern Thessaly, relatively insulated from the surrounding North-West Greek, that best preserves its distinctively Aeolic look.

Within this overall approach, Lesbian represents the dialect of colonists from Thessaly who made their way across the Aegean around 1000 BC and whose speech subsequently underwent a period of development under the influence of the neighbouring Ionic dialects (albeit with influence also in the other direction), producing yet another mixed variety, but this time with a heavily East Greek component. Particularly significant in this connection is the Lesbian infinitive of athematic verbs (i.e. those in

which inflectional endings are added directly to the root without the thematic or stem-forming vowel [e/o], contrast ἔσμεν [éz-men] ‘we are’ with πείθουμεν [peít^h-o-men] ‘we persuade’). This has the suffix -μεναι [-menai], which seems to reflect the influence of East Greek -ναι [-nai] on the original West Greek/Aeolic -μεν [-men].⁵

This brief and necessarily selective overview is intended to do no more than supply the background against which to present the later history of the Greek language. The prehistory and early history of Greek remain highly contested fields of inquiry, and many scholars would certainly wish to challenge aspects of the account which has been presented here, for example by insisting on a greater degree of dialect differentiation in the Bronze Age than has been allowed for and by further downplaying attempts at a genetic classification in favour of a model based primarily on areal development. No view is wholly unproblematical, however, since all are necessarily based on what remains a very limited foundation of factual knowledge and on particular selections and interpretations of isoglosses.

1.4 Some Examples

1.4.1 Some basic dialect characteristics

It remains to illustrate something of the diversity of Greek in the classical period by summarizing some of the most important dialect characteristics and considering a few short extracts from dialect inscriptions (for which see now Colvin (2007) alongside Buck (1955)). We may begin with the fundamental contrast between East Greek and West Greek. In each item of (8) below the typically East Greek characteristic is given first, followed by its West Greek equivalent, though we should note that specific evidence is sometimes lacking for particular dialects and that there are localized exceptions. Furthermore, while the Aeolic dialects tend generally to follow West Greek in their retention of inherited/archaic characteristics, they do not show many of the more typical West Greek, particularly Peloponnesian Doric, innovations, or even consistently make the same choices as West Greek from among sets of inherited options. This is only to be expected in view of what has been said above about the relative conservatism of North-West Greek (the subgroup geographically closest to the Aeolic homeland) beside Peloponnesian Doric, the probably mixed character of Aeolic even in the Bronze Age (involving some infiltration of East Greek features from the south), its strongly independent development during the Dark Age, and the susceptibility of the historical dialects to the influence of neighbouring varieties thereafter (North-West Greek for Thessalian and Boeotian, Ionic for Lesbian). Some specifically Aeolic characteristics are therefore appended, as (8j):

- (8) (a) Assibilation vs. non-assibilation of original [ti] in the key diagnostic environments listed in the discussion preceding (7) above.

Thessalian and Boeotian retain the inherited forms as in West Greek, while Lesbian has been influenced by East Greek.

- (b) The expected aorists (perfectives) in -σα- [-sa-] for verbs in -ζω [-zdo:] with non-velar stems, vs. aorists in -ξα- [-ksa-] quite generally for this class, extended from the velar stems where they originate.

There is some later spread of the West Greek forms into Boeotian, Thessalian and even East Greek Arcadian, but this is not attested in Lesbian, whose speakers must have migrated before this development took place on the mainland.

- (c) The masculine and feminine plural of the definite article in οἱ, αἱ [hoi, hai] or οἰ, αἰ [oi, ai] (by analogy with the singular forms ὁ, ἡ [ho, ha:/hɛ:] or ὀ, ἄ [o, a:/ɛ:]), vs. τοί, ταί [toí, taí]. Cretan is a major exception, perhaps because of Mycenaean/East Greek substrate influence (Brixhe (1991)).

Thessalian and Boeotian retain the inherited forms as in West Greek, while Lesbian has again been influenced by East Greek.

- (d) 1pl ending in -μεν [-men], originally the secondary/past ending, vs. -μες [-mes], originally the primary/non-past ending.

Aeolic here follows East Greek, this being a feature that was probably adopted from the south during the Mycenaean period.

- (e) Future forms in unaccented -σω [-so:] vs. -σέω [-séo:] or, by contraction, -σῶ [-sô:]. The latter are characteristic of Peloponnesian Doric but poorly attested for North-West Greek (Delphian only). They are clearly innovative, perhaps representing a blend of the standard type with forms derived, through the usual loss of [s], from stems in liquids and nasals originally followed by an IE ‘laryngeal’ consonant that surfaced in Greek as [e], as in βαλέω/βαλῶ [baléo:/balô:] ‘I will throw’, < *βαλέ-σω [balésó:]).

Aeolic retains the inherited formation.

- (f) Athematic infinitives in -ναι [-nai] (e.g. εἶναι [ê:nai] ‘to be’ < *[és-nai], vs. -μεν [-men] (e.g. ἔμμεν [émmen] < *[és-men]).

Thessalian and Boeotian follow West Greek, though Lesbian -μεναι [-menai] has apparently been modified by contact with East Greek.

- (g) Dialectically diagnostic conditional/modal elements:

- (i) conditional conjunction εἰ [e:] ‘if’, vs. αἰ [ai].

The latter is also general Aeolic.

- (ii) modal (conditional/generic) particle ἄν [an] (in Attic-Ionic and Arcadian, though not Cypriot, which has κε [ke]) vs. κα [ka:].

The latter is also Boeotian; Thessalian and Lesbian also have κε [ke], presumably the original Aeolic form.

- (iii) the word order ἐάν/ἤν τις [eá:n/é:n tis] < *εἰ ἄν τις [e: án tis] ‘if ever anyone’ vs. αἰ τις κα [ái tis ka:] ‘if anyone ever’.

This order is not normal Aeolic, cf. Boeotian ἦ (δέ) κά τις [ɛ: (dé) ká: tis]/Lesbian αἰ κέ τις [ái ké tis] ‘if (and) ever anyone’, but it does appear occasionally in Boeotian documents, under North-West Greek influence.

- (h) Adverbs τότε [tóte] ‘then’, πότε [póte] ‘when?’, ὅτε [hóte] ‘when’, vs. τόκα [tóka], πόκα [póka], ὄκα [hóka].

The latter are also Boeotian, but Lesbian has τότα [tóta] etc., with the same ending as in Attic εἶτα [ê:ta]/ἔπειτα [épe:ta] ‘then’, in contrast with Ionic εἶτε(ν) [ê:te(n)]/ἔπειτε(ν) [épeite(n)]. Boeotian shows North-West Greek influence, with Lesbian perhaps retaining the original Aeolic forms.

- (i) Some dialectally diagnostic words or forms of words:
- (i) (ἐ)θέλω [(e)t^hélo:] ‘want, wish’ vs. λείω/λέω [lé:o:/léo:].
The latter is not Aeolic.
- (ii) βούλομαι/βόλομαι [bú:lomai/bólomai] ‘will, wish’, with the o-grade of the root *gwe/ol(s)-, vs. δήλομαι/δείλομαι [dé:lomai/dé:lomai] with the e-grade.
Here Thessalian βέλλομαι [béllomai] and Boeotian βείλομαι [bé:lomai] follow West Greek, while Lesbian βόλλομαι [bóllo-mai] has again been influenced by East Greek.
- (j) Aeolic also has a number of characteristic innovations of its own, including: labial reflexes of labio-velars before front vowels (e.g. Lesbian/Thessalian πέμπε [pémpe] ‘five’ for the usual πέντε [pénte]); active perfect participles in -ων/-οντος [-o:n]/[-ontos] rather than -ως/-οτος [-o:s]/[-otos], e.g. Lesbian κατεληλύθων [katele:lút^ho:n] ‘having returned’; dative plurals of consonant-stems in -εσσι [-essi] (e.g. πόδεσσι [pódessi] ‘feet’, rather than -σι [-si], cf. πο(σ)σί [po(s)sí]).

Lesbian and Thessalian also share the athematic (-μι [-mi]) inflection of contract verbs, i.e. those with stem-final [-a/a:(ε):, -e/ε:, -o/o:] (e.g. Thessalian εὐεργετέ-ς [euergeté-s] ‘benefiting (nom sg)’, with participial -(ν)ς [-(n)s] added directly to the stem-vowel just as in Attic athematic verbs, cf. τιθείς [tit^hé:s] < *τιθε-νς [tit^he-ns]), and assimilation in clusters of [l, r, m, n] + [j] or original (and non-final) [s], leading to double liquids/nasals, as opposed to cluster simplification followed by compensatory lengthening (e.g. Lesbian κρίνω [krínno:] ‘I judge’, rather than Attic κρίνω [kρί:no:], < *κρίν-ιω [krín-jo:]).⁶ Boeotian and Thessalian share the extension of athematic -μεν [-men] to thematic infinitives (e.g. Boeotian φερέμεν [p^heré-men] ‘to carry’, rather than φέρειν [p^herên] etc).

Some brief examples of West Greek (both Peloponnesian Doric and North-West Greek), Aeolic, and East Greek (Arcadian, Ionic and Attic) are presented below, with a short commentary on each. We should first note, however, that punctuation in the transcriptions of epigraphic texts is mostly editorial and written accentuation a matter of convention. In reality we know almost nothing about the accentuation of dialects other than Attic-Ionic (see Probert (2006) for a thorough discussion), and it might therefore be better to omit written accents altogether. We are, none the less, informed by later grammarians that the accentuation of Lesbian was ‘recessive’, i.e. that the accent fell as far from the end of a word as the rules permit. Texts in Lesbian dialect are therefore conventionally accented in this way. But in so far as Greek grammarians focused their attention exclusively on literary texts, we might reasonably wonder whether recessive accentuation was a more general property of Aeolic (there being no surviving literature in Thessalian, and only the most minimal attestation of literary Boeotian).

Both here and in subsequent chapters, [] enclose restorations of illegible or damaged letters, { } superfluous letters inscribed in error, () editorially corrected letters or expansions of abbreviations, and < > letters mistakenly omitted. Other points to note include the following: where the sound [w] was retained, it is written with the letter digamma

̄; iotas later written subscript, as in dative singulars etc., here appear adscript; most local alphabets prior to the standardization of the Ionic version did not distinguish long e- or o-vowels from the corresponding short ones, the letters E/ε and O/o denoting both, so long e- and o-vowels that do not carry a circumflex accent (itself a marker of length) are indicated here with a macron above: ē, ō.

The notion of ‘long’ e- and o-vowels, however, requires some further comment. In some dialects short e- and o-vowels were closer in articulation than their long counterparts (whether generally, as in Attic and Ionic, or in certain environments only, for which see below), while in other dialects they had the same quality. Furthermore, though many long e- and o-vowels were inherited, others arose secondarily from contraction and compensatory lengthening. According to dialect, therefore, these processes could lead to long vowels that were closer in articulation than the inherited ones (in that they retained the quality of the affected short vowels), or to long vowels that corresponded with these. Once the Ionic alphabet was standardized, in the early 4th century BC, those dialects in which the new and inherited long vowels fully corresponded used H for all long e-vowels and Ω for all long o-vowels, while those in which they differed in quality, whether generally or in part, used these two symbols for more open long vowels and EI and OY for closer ones, a usage made possible by the fact that the diphthongs which these digraphs once represented had earlier been monophthongized to a close [e:] and a close [o:] respectively (the latter then raising further to [u:]). Prior to this, however, E and O were used in most areas for all long e- and o-vowels, whatever their quality (as noted).

The dialects that regularly use only H and Ω from the 4th century onwards are Arcadian, Lesbian, and a subset of West Greek including Laconian, Heracleian and Cretan, though earlier Cretan evidence suggests that there was once a qualitative difference, subsequently lost, between the long vowels resulting from contraction (closer) and those arising from compensatory lengthening (more open). In some other West Greek dialects (e.g. Thera, Cyrenaean, Rhodian and Coan) this difference appears to have persisted longer, with contraction again leading quite generally to a closer articulation than lengthening (though once again there is a tendency for this distinction to be lost over time in some areas). Boeotian and Thessalian are potentially misleading here, in that all long e-vowels in both dialects, along with all long o-vowels in Thessalian, had been raised in articulation before the introduction of the Ionic alphabet and these are therefore standardly noted from the 4th century onwards with EI and OY. Accordingly, these dialects belong properly with Arcadian, Lesbian etc.

Note finally that the letter H/η was originally used to mark word-initial aspiration, and in this function is transcribed below as *H/h*. Since such aspiration was lost very early in the eastern Ionic-speaking area, the letter was recycled, being used first to denote the new, very open, long e-vowel [æ:] deriving from original long [a:] (a highly characteristic Attic-Ionic sound change) and then to represent the inherited long e-vowel [ε:] too, once these two sounds had merged. The use of H to represent open long e-vowels spread quite early to the central Ionic-speaking area and also to the Doric-speaking islands of the southern Aegean, where it doubled up both as the marker of aspiration and as a symbol for open long e-vowels (though in Crete, where word-initial aspiration was also lost early, it was naturally used only for the latter). It was eventually generalized as a means of denoting open long e-vowels [ε:] with the stand-

ardization of the Ionic alphabet. We may also note in passing that the rough and smooth breathings of the version of the Ionic alphabet used here are in origin graphic reductions of the left- and right-hand ‘halves’ of H respectively.

In view of the considerable additional variation in archaic local alphabets beyond what has already been discussed (especially in the notation of the voiceless aspirates and of [ps, ks]), and given the many remaining uncertainties of interpretation in a range of specific cases, no attempt will be made here to offer a systematic phonetic transcription, though each text is accompanied by a word-for-word gloss and a free translation.

1.4.2 West Greek

(a) Laconian (Sparta, Peloponnesian Doric)

IG V.1.123, 5th century BC. Record of the victories of Damonon and his son.

Δαμῶνῳ	ἀνέθηκε	Ἀθαναίῳ(α)	Πολιάχῳ
Damonon	dedicated	to-Athana	Poliachos
νικήσας	ταυτᾶ	ἡὲτ’	οὐδέεις
having-won	thus	as	no-one
			ever-yet
			of-those
			now.
τάδε	ἐνίκησε	Δαμῶνῳ	τῷ
In-these	won	Damonon	with-the
			his
			4-horse-chariot
			himself
			driving; in
Γαιφύχῳ	τετράκι-ν	καὶ	Ἀθάναια
Earthshaker’s(-games)	4-times	and	(games-)of-Athana
			4-times
			and-Eleusinian(-games)
τετράκι-ν	καὶ	Ποηοίδα	Δαμῶνῳ
4-times	and	(games-)of-Pohoidan	Damonon
			won
			at-Helos,
			and the courser
ἡμίᾳ,	αὐτὸς	ἀνιοχίῳ	ἐπιβόῳ
at-the-same-time,	himself	driving	with-young
			mares
			7-times
			out-of
			the
			his
ἵππῳ	κῆκ	τὸ	αὐτῷ
mares	and-out-of	the	his
			stallion.
			...

‘Damonon made this dedication to Athana (*Athene*) Poliachos, having won victories in such a way as no man alive today has ever done before. Damonon was victorious in the following contests with his own four-horse chariot, himself holding the reins: in the games of the Earthshaker (*Poseidon*) four times and the games of Athana four times and the Eleusinian games four times. And Damonon won the games of Pohoidan (*Poseidon*) at Helos seven times, and his courser on the same occasions, himself holding the reins, with fillies from his own mares and by his own stallion. ...’

Characteristic of all non-Attic-Ionic dialects is the retention of original long [a:] (as in νικήσας [ni:ká:ha:s] ‘having won’ beside Attic νικήσας [ni:ké:sa:s] etc.) and, where contraction occurs, the development of [a:] + an o-vowel to [a:] rather than [o:] (as in τᾶν [tâ:n] ‘the (fem gen pl)’ beside Attic τῶν [tô:n], both < τᾶων [tá:o:n]. We may also note here the typically West Greek -ποκα [-poka] (cf. (8h)) alongside specifically Laconian features such as the use of -κιν [-kin] as the suffix for numeral adverbs (e.g. ἑπτάκιν [heptákin] ‘seven times’ beside Attic ἑπτάκις [heptákis]) and the general weakening of intervocalic [s] to [h] (as in ἐνίκησε [ení:ka:he] ‘he won’ beside Attic

ένίκησε [ení:ké:se] etc.). Such a change had occurred generally in Greek during the Bronze Age, but in many cases the sound was restored analogically on the basis of parallel forms in which the [s] occurred after a consonant (see (1c)): the weakening here is a later local development, beginning in the 5th century. On the basis of make-shift Athenian spellings with Σ of the sound in Laconian words that is elsewhere spelled with Θ, it also seems likely that Θ already represented the fricative [θ] in Laconian (so σιός [θιός] = θεός [tʰeós] ‘god/goddess’). As we shall see in subsequent chapters, fricativization of all three voiceless aspirated plosives eventually took place everywhere, and it is therefore conceivable that the process was already complete in Laconian. In any case, this example shows clearly that we should not imagine that local orthographies were routinely adapted to reflect sound change: thus spellings with Σ appear in Laconian inscriptions only after the universal adoption of the Ionic alphabet in which Θ still represented [tʰ]. It also follows that the changes in question may also have been taking place in other areas at this time. Similar problems of orthographic conservatism arise in connection with major changes in the vowel system, as discussed briefly below in connection with Boeotian and at length in later chapters.

(b) Cretan (Gortyn, Peloponnesian Doric)

GDI 4991, mid-5th century BC. The Gortyn law code; disputes over the ownership of slaves.

Θιοί. ὅς κ' ἐλευθέροι ἢ δόλοι μέλλει ἀντιμολέειν, πρὸ δίκας μὲ ἄγειν.
 Gods. Who ever for-free-man or for-slave he-about to-bring-suit, before trial not seize (inf).
 αἰ. [δέ] κ' ἄγει καταδικασάτο τῷ ἐλευθέρῳ δέκα στα-έραις.
 if but ever he-seize let-him-condemn (in-case-)of-the free-man 10 staters,
 τῷ δόλο πέντε, ὅτι ἄγει, καὶ δικασάτο λαγάσαι ἐν ταῖς τρισὶ
 of-the slave 5, because he-seizes, and let-him-decree release (inf) in the 3
 ἀμέραις. αἰ. δέ] κα μὲ λαγκίσει, καταδικασάτο τῷ μὲν ἐλευθέρῳ
 days. If but ever not he-release, let-him-condemn (in-case-)of-the EMP free-man
 στατέρῳ, τῷ δόλο δαρκινῶν τῆς ἀμέρας ἑκάστας, τρὶν κα λαγάσει.
 a-stater, of-the slave drachma (during-)the day each, until ever he-release;
 τῷ δὲ κρίνει τὸν δικαστῶν ὀμνύοντα κρίνειν. ...
 (in respect-)of-the and time the judge under-oath decide(inf). ...

‘Gods. Whoever is about to bring suit with regard to a free man or a slave shall not make seizure before the trial. If he makes seizure, he (*the judge*) shall condemn him to a fine of ten staters in the case of a free man, five in the case of a slave, because he seizes him, and shall decree that he release him within three days. But if he does not release him, in the case of a free man he (*the judge*) shall condemn him to a fine of a stater, in the case of a slave a drachma, for each day until he releases him; and as to the time the judge shall decide under oath. ...’

Typical West Greek features here include aorist stems in [-ks-] from non-velar roots (e.g. καταδικα-κασά-τῳ [katadikaksáto:] ‘let him condemn’ beside Attic καταδικα-σά-τω [katadikasáto:], cf. (8b)) and the forms αἰ and κα [ai, ka:] ‘if, ever’ (see (8g)). Note that the archaic alphabet used on Crete at this time did not distinguish voiceless [p, k] from aspirated [pʰ, kʰ], employing only Π and Κ (cf. ἀνπι- [ampʰi-], δαρκινῶν

[dark^hná:n] ‘drachma (acc)’). Some regular Cretan characteristics include psilosis (loss of initial aspiration, as in ὄς [os] ‘who’ beside Attic ὅς [hos]), assimilation of [zd] to [dd] (as in καταδικαδέτῳ [katadikaddéto:] ‘let him condemn’ beside Attic καταδικαζέτω [katdikazdéto:]), short-vowel aorist/perfective subjunctives (as originally in this athe-matic formation, and guaranteed for Cretan by later spellings: contrast λαγάσει [lagáse:] ‘s/he should release’ with corresponding Attic forms modelled on the long-vowel thematic subjunctives of the present/imperfective stem), and thematic infinitives in -εν [-en] (cf. κρίνεν [krí:nen] ‘to judge’ beside Attic κρίνειν [krí:ne:n]). None of these features, however, is exclusively Cretan or even exclusively West Greek.

(c) Elean (Olympia, North-West Greek)

GDI 1152, early 6th century BC. The immunity of Patrias.

Ἄ φράτρα ἰὼρ Φαλείους. Πατρίαν θαρρῆν καὶ γεινᾶν καὶ
 The decree for-the Eleans. Patrias have-legal-protection (inf) and family and
 ταυτῶ. Αἱ ζέ τις καταράσειε, φάρρην, ὅρ Φαλεῖσ.
 the-(property-)of-him. If but someone bring-charge, stand trial (inf), as (against-)Elean.
 αἱ ζέ μῆπιθεῖαν τὰ ζῖκαα ὅρ μέγιστον τέλος ἔχοι καὶ τοὶ
 If but not-should-apply the rights who highest office should-hold and the
 βασιλάες, ζέκα μινᾶς κα ἀποτίνοι φέκαστος τὸν μῆπιτοσόν-ῶν καθυ-αῖς
 basilaes, 10 minas should pay each of-the not-applying dedicated
 τοῖ Ζι Ὀλυμπίου ἐπινοί ζέ κ᾽ Ἑλλανοζίκας καὶ ἄλλα ζῖκαα
 to-the Zeus Olympian; take-care-of and should Hellanodikas and the-other rights
 ἐπειπέτῳ ἅ ζαμουργία ...
 let-take-care-of the board-of-damiourgoi; ...

‘The decree of the Eleans. Patrias shall have legal protection along with his family and his property. And if anyone brings a charge, that man is to stand trial as [he would if he brought a charge] against an Elean. And if whoever should hold the highest office and the basilaes (*magistrates*) should not apply his rights, each of those who fail to do so should pay ten minas dedicated to Olympian Zeus, and the Hellanodikas (*chief judge with jurisdiction at the Olympic games*) should take care of this, and let the board of damiourgoi (*magistrates*) take care of his other rights; ...’

The interpretation of this text remains uncertain in several respects. Some take πατρίαν [patriá:n] (differently accented) to be a common noun meaning ‘clan’ rather than a proper name and the subject of the first sentence to be unspecified accused people who are to enjoy security in respect of ‘clan, family and property’. The target of the charge in the second sentence must then be an accused’s ‘clan, family and property’, but this raises difficulties for the interpretation of the following elliptical clause, which apparently states that such an accuser shall stand trial ‘as in a case against an Elean’. Are the accused and his clan and family not likely to be Eleans themselves? The alternative, adopted here, is to take Patrias to be a foreigner who is given legal protection on the same basis as an Elean (cf. Koerner (1981: 190–4), Colvin (2007: 168)).

Once again West Greek features are in evidence, most obviously the conditional conjunction αἰ [ai] (cf. (8g)) and the plural article τοί [toi] (cf. (8c)), along with the a-vocalism in ἱαρός [iarós] ‘sacred’ beside Attic ἱερός [hierós], as in κατ-ιαρ-αύσειε [kat-iar-aúseie] ‘s/he should imprecate/accuse’ beside Attic καθ-ιερ-εύσειε [kat^h-ier-eúseie]. Specifically North-West Greek is the shift of [e] > [a] before [r] seen in *F*άρρην [wárre:n] ‘to stand trial’ beside (F)έρρω [(w)érro:] elsewhere (this latter normally with the non-technical meaning of ‘go away/go to ruin’). Characteristically Elean are the use of the optative with κα [ka:] to frame an injunction (e.g. κα ἀποτίνοι [ka: apotí:noi] ‘s/he should pay back’) and of the bare optative in generic relative clauses rather than the subjunctive with the generic/conditional particle (e.g. ὅρ ... τέλος ἔχοι [or ... télos échoi] ‘whoever holds office’.⁷ Note too the psilosis, some apocopation of prepositions, shortening of final long diphthongs as in dative τοῖ [toí] ‘to-the’ beside Attic τῶι [tô:i], the shift of [ε:] > [a:], as in Φαλείοις [wa:leíoi:s] ‘for-Eleans’, and of [e] > [a] after as well as before [r], as in κατ-ιαραύσειε [kat-iaraú-seie], and partial rhotacism of final [s] > [r], as in τοῖρ [toír] beside Attic τοῖς [toís]; in later inscriptions the r-spellings become uniform, though s-spellings remained in use earlier, as here, with the r-spellings originally typical of phonologically weak forms such as (clitic) articles and pronouns. We may note too the diphthongal product of compensatory lengthening in final syllables originally ending in [ns], as in accusative feminine plural κα-θύταις [kat-^hutaís] ‘dedicated’ beside Attic κατα-θυτάς [katathytás], both from an original *[kata-^hutáns]. The spelling with Z of what elsewhere would be represented by Δ, as in ζέ for δέ [de], ζίκαια for δίκαια [díkaia] etc., probably represents the early fricativization of [d] > [ð] (cf. Méndez Dosuna (1991): Z was free to be redeployed in Elean because it was no longer required to represent [dz, zd], which had earlier assimilated to [dd] and then simplified initially to [d]). As we shall see in later chapters, the three voiced plosives were eventually fricativized everywhere, and this may already have been the case in Elean despite the absence of parallel orthographic evidence for [b, g]. We should also remember that changes that are directly or indirectly attested graphically in certain localities in a given period may already have taken place more widely, but without any corresponding orthographic clues.

(d) Phocian (Delphi, North-West Greek)

CID I.3, first half of 5th century BC. Prohibition of the removal of sacred wine.

τὸν Φαῖνον μὲ φάσειν ἐς τοῦ δρόμου· αἱ δὲ κα φάρει, ἡλαξάστῳ τὸν
 The wine not take(inf) out of the racecourse; if but ever one take, let him propitiate the
 θεὸν ᾧ κα κεραῖε-ται, κα μεταθυσάτῳ κάποτεισάτῳ πέντε
 god for whom ever it be mixed, and let him sacrifice in lieu and pay back 5
 δραχμάς· τούτου δὲ τοῦ καταγορῶσαντι τὸ ἡμισσον.
 drachmas; of this and to the accuser the half.

‘People should not remove the wine from the racecourse; if someone does remove it, let him propitiate the god for whom it is mixed, and let him offer a sacrifice in place of it and pay back five drachmas; and half of this is to go to the accuser.’

Though found in a wall dated to the late 4th century the language here generally has an older appearance, though some ‘modern’ spellings (e.g. -ου for -ῶ as the genitive singular in τοῦ δρόμου [to: drómo:] ‘the racecourse’) suggest we may actually be

dealing with a later copy of an older inscription. Note once again the characteristic West Greek conditional conjunction αἰ [ai] and particle κα [ka:] (8g), and the aorist stem in [-ks-] from a non-velar root in *ἡλαξ-άστῳ* [hilaks-ástʰo:] (8b). This last form also shows one of the typical North-West Greek ΣΤ spellings discussed in note 7 for Elean, and may once again provide indirect evidence for a fricative pronunciation of the voiceless aspirates in other contexts. There is also the North-West Greek shift of [e] > [a] before [r] in *φάρειν* [fáren] ‘to carry’ beside Attic *φέρειν* [pʰére:n]. The short vowel form of the infinitive ending is not, however, the norm in North-West Greek, though it is characteristic of Phocian specifically, along with the o-stem form of the word for ‘half’, *ἡμισσον* [hé:misson], beside Attic *ἡμισυ* [hémisy] (though neither of these features is exclusively Phocian). The preposition ἐξ [eks] ‘out of’ usually appears as ἐκ [ek] before consonants, but in some dialects, as here, the cluster simplified to ἐσ/ἐς [ess/es] in this environment.

1.4.3 Aeolic

(a) Boeotian (Thebes)

IG VII.2418, mid-4th century BC. List of contributions for the Sacred War beginning 355 BC.

[τοῦ χρέϊ]ματα συνεβ[άλου]θο ἐν τῶν πόλεμον τῶν ἐπολέμιου] Βοιωτοῖ
 These money contributed to the war which fought Boeotians
 περὶ τῷ ἱερῷ τῷ ἐμ Βελοφῶϊς πῶτ τῶς ἀσεβῶντας τὸ ἱερὸν τῷ
 about the temple the in Delphi against those defiling the temple of-the
 Ἀπόλλωνος τῷ Πυθίῳ. Ἀριστίωνος ἀρχοντος. Ἀλυζῆται ...
 Apollo the Pythian. Aristion being-archon; Alyzaioi ...
 πρισγῆες Χάρωψ Δάδωνος, Ἀριστο ... Ἀνακτοριεῖς τριάκοντα μινᾶς·
 elders Charops (son-)of-Dadon, Aristo- ... Anaktorieis 30 minas;
 πρισγῆες] ... Φόρμω, Ἄρκος Τερέος. ...
 elders ... (son-)of Phormos, Arkos (son-)of-Tereus.

‘The following contributed money to the war fought by the Boeotians for the temple at Delphi against those committing sacrilege against the temple of Pythian Apollo. In the archonship (*magistracy*) of Aristion: the people of Alyzia ...; the elders Charops son of Dadon, Aristo- ...; the people of Anaktorion 30 minas; the elders ... son of Phormos, Arkos son of Tereus ...’

The most distinctively Aeolic feature here is the labial reflex of an original labio-velar before the front vowel in *Βελοφῶϊς* [belpʰoïs] ‘Delphi (dat)’ beside Attic *Δελοφῶϊς* [delpʰoïs], both < *gʷelbb- ‘womb’ (cf. (8j)). But mainland Aeolic, as noted, often agrees with North-West Greek, whether as a reflex of its early history or as the result of later convergence. The use of the preposition ἐν [en] with the accusative to mean ‘to/into’ (ἐν τῶν πόλεμον [en ton pólemon] ‘to/for the war’) is clearly an archaism shared by these two groups (as well as by Arcadian and Cypriot), while the form *ἱερὸν* [hiarón] ‘temple’, with a-vocalism, is common to mainland Aeolic and West Greek in general.

Some typical Boeotian features are reflected in the orthographic system, which displays an unusual degree of adaptation to sound change over time. In particular, Boeotian provides early graphic evidence of major changes in the vowel system that eventually became universal. By the mid-4th century, for example, standard Boeotian spellings, in which I [i:], EI [e:] and H [ɛ:] are used where EI [e:], H [ɛ:] and AI [ai] would normally be expected, show that [e:] (<[ei]) and [ɛ:] (all original and secondary long e-vowels) had been raised to [i:] and [e:] respectively, while the diphthong [ai] had been monophthongized to [ɛ:]. Examples from this text include *πρισγᾶες* [pri:zgê:es] ‘elders/ambassadors’ beside Thessalian *πρεισβεία* [pre:zbé:a] ‘rank of elder/embassy’,⁸ *χρείματα* [k^hré:mata] ‘property/money’ beside Attic *χρήματα* [k^hré:mata], ‘*Ἀλυζῆοι* [aluzdê:oi] ‘Alyzaians’ beside Attic ‘*Ἀλυζαῖοι* [alyzdaîoi]. As always (see also the discussion of fricativization in connection with Laconian and North-West Greek above), it is unclear just how much of a pioneer Boeotian truly was in this respect, given that other alphabets, most importantly the standardized Ionic alphabet, were much more conservative. This complex issue will be addressed in more detail in later chapters. Note too the regular raising of [e] > [i] before another vowel, as in *ἐπολέμιον* [epolémi-on] ‘they fought’ < *ἐπολέμεον* [epoléme-on], and the characteristic mainland Aeolic 3pl ending in *συνεβάλονθο* [sunebálonth^ho] ‘they-contributed’, for standard -ντο [-nto], perhaps with extension of the aspirate from 1pl -μεθα [-met^ha] and 2 pl -σθε [-st^he].

(b) Thessalian (Matropolis in western Thessaly)

SEG 36.548, second half of 3rd century BC. The privileges of the Basaidai clan.

Θεός· τύχην ἀγαθάν· συνθείκα Βασαίδου τῆς εἴντεσσι τοῦν πετάρου
 God; good fortune; agreement of-Basaidai for-those being of-the 4
 γειῶν καὶ τᾶς ταγῆς κοιναρέιντου τὲν πάντα χρόνῳ, καὶ αὐτεῖς
 tribes and in-the taga participating (for-)the all time, both for-themselves
 καὶ τῶν γευῶν τῶν ἐξ τούτων γινωμέναι. μὰ ἔστου ποδέξαστα πῶτ
 and the offspring the out-of these happening. Not let-it-be to-accept to
 τῶν ἰσοτιμῶν μαδέμνα μαδὲ ταγᾶν δοῦν ἔξου τᾶς
 the equality-of-privilege anyone nor taga they-should-give outside the
 συγγενείας. ...
 clan. ...

‘God; good fortune; agreement for those of the Basaidai belonging to the four tribes and participating in perpetuity in the taga (*chief magistracy*), both for themselves and for the offspring issuing from them. It shall not be permitted to accept anyone into equality of privilege nor should they assign the taga outside the clan. ...’

Note once again the Aeolic reflex of an original labio-velar before a front vowel in *πετάρου* [pettáru:n] ‘four’, beside Attic *τετάρων* [tettárou:n] (with palatalization, cf. Latin *quattuor* for the original sound), and also the typically Aeolic consonant-stem dative plural ending in -εσσι [-essi] as in *εἴντεσσι* [é:nt-essi] ‘being (dat pl)’, beside the Ionic *ἐοῦσι* [eûsi] < *[eónt-si] (cf. (8j)).⁹ The motive for this development appears to have been avoidance of the stem allomorphy resulting from the simplification of [-nts-],

with the ending itself based on the analogy of the o-stem nominative -οι [-oi] beside dative -οισι [-oisi], so that the usual dative -σι [-si] was added to the nominative plural -ες [-es].

Of particular importance here are the Thessalian treatment of both original and secondary long e- and o-vowels, which had evidently raised to [e:] and [u:] (spelled EI and OY) respectively, e.g. *συνθείκα* [sunt^hé:ka:] ‘agreement’ (cf. Attic *συνθήκη* [synt^hé:kɛ:]) and *Βασαίδουν* [basaídu:n] ‘Basaidai (gen pl)’ (cf. Attic *Βασαίδων* [basaído:n]). The form of o-stem dative plurals in -εις [-e:s] rather than -οις [-ois], as in *τέις* [tê:s], *αὐτέις* [autê:s] and, later in the text, *τύτεις* [tú:te:s], points to the monophthongization and subsequent partial loss of lip-rounding attested graphically in this period also for Boeotian (i.e. [oi] > [ø:] > [e:]); but the final stage appears still to be confined to phonologically weak articles and pronouns if we compare *δοῖν* [dø:n] ‘they should give’ and, later in the inscription, *ξευδόκοι* [ksendókø:] ‘witnesses (nom)’. Similar changes eventually took place everywhere, and in all environments, though with all the usual problems of establishing the proper chronology.

In this particular inscription, however, there are some further unexpected spellings in final syllables which have been taken by Chadwick (1993) as evidence of the shift from the inherited pitch accent to a stress accent, with an associated loss of vowel quality (vowel weakening) in post-tonic unaccented syllables containing short [o], and in clitic elements such as articles. Thus *τὲν ... χρόνευ* (normally spelled *τὸν ... χρόνον* [ton ... k^hrónon] ‘(for-)the time’) may well represent [tɔn ... 'k^hronɔn], while the 3pl optative form *δοῖν* [dø:n] suggests the complete syncopation of such a vowel (< *δοῖεν* ['dø:en]). Once again, this shift in the character of the accent eventually occurred everywhere in Greek, but as always with many uncertainties about the timing. As we shall see in later chapters, the advent of a stress accent was intimately bound up with the loss of contrastive distinctions in vowel quantity, though this complication has been ignored in the tentative transcriptions offered here. Evidence for such vowel weakening, however, remains a peculiarity of Thessalian, at least in native varieties of Greek, and indeed of this document.

Apocopated prepositions and preverbs are the norm in this dialect, e.g. *ποτ* [pot] for *ποτί* [potí], and *ποδέξαστα* [po(d)-'deksastæ:] for *ποτιδέξασθαι* [poti-déksast^hai], where the ΣΤ spelling, which is rare and relatively late in Thessalian compared with North-West Greek, may once again provide evidence for the fricativization of voiceless aspirates in other environments (though this possibility has not been adopted in the transcriptions).¹⁰ Other oddities remain unexplained, however. The negative *μά*, apparently [ma:], for example, is unique to this inscription (elsewhere *μέι* [me:] is used in Thessalian, as expected), and it is quite uncertain why the root element of the demonstrative meaning ‘this’ is written *τυτ*- rather than *τουτ*- [tu:t-] in the usual way (though it implies that the pronunciation of the original diphthong [ou] may have developed differently from that of the long o-vowels). See García-Ramón (1987) for a thorough discussion of this text.

(c) Lesbian (Mytilene)

IG XII.2.6, soon after 324 BC. Settlement of disputes between exiles returning under an edict of Alexander the Great and the remaining citizens of Mytilene.

... [καί] οἱ βασιλῆες προστίθησθαι τῷ κατεληλύθει ὡς τέχνας
 ... and the basilees let-them-bestow to-the-one having-returned because plot
 τεχνᾶ|μένῳ τῷ ἐν τᾷ πόλι πρόσθε ἔοντος. αἱ δέ κέ τις τῶν
 plotting the-one in the city previously being. If but ever anyone of-the
 κατεληλύθει|των μὴ ἐμμένῃ ἐν ταῖς διαλυσί|εσσ. ταύτ|αισι, μὴ ...
 having-returned not abide in the resolutions these, not ...
 ἐξέσθαι παρ τᾶς πόλιος κτήματος μήδεις μηδὲ στείχεται
 let-him from the city possession any nor let-him-walk
 ἐπὶ μῆδεν τῷ παρεχώρησαν αὐτῷ οἱ ἐν τᾷ πόλι πρόσθε ἔοντες.
 upon any of-what they-surrendered-to-him those in the city previously being,
 ἀλλὰ στείχου|των ἐπὶ ταῦτα τὰ κτήματα οἱ παραχώρησαν|τες αὐτῷ
 but let-them-walk upon these the possessions those having-surrendered-to-him
 ἐκ τῶν ἐν τᾷ πόλι πρόσθε ἔοντων, καὶ οἱ στροτάγοι εἰσαυθίς
 out-of those in the city previously being, and the strotagoi thereafter
 ἀποφέρου|των ἐπὶ τὸν ἐν τᾷ πόλι πρόσθε ἔοντα τὰ κτήματα ...
 let-them-return to the-one in the city previously being the possessions ...

‘And the basilees (*magistrates*) shall bestow favour on those who have returned from exile on the grounds that those who were previously in the city are contriving deceit. But if any of those who have returned from exile does not abide by these resolutions, he shall not ... any property from the city nor shall he lay claim to anything that those who were previously in the city surrendered to him, but of those who were previously in the city those who surrendered property to him shall lay claim to this, and the strotagoi (*magistrates*) shall return the property thereafter to those who were previously in the city. ...’

Another important Aeolic feature in evidence here is the perfect participle with stem in -οντ- [-ont-], as in the imperfective participle, rather than the usual -οτ- [-ot-], so κατεληλύθ-οντι [katele:lúth^h-onti] ‘having returned (dat)’ rather than Attic κατεληλύθ-οτι [katele:lýt^h-oti] (see (8j)). The conditional particle κε [ke] is regular in both Lesbian and Thessalian (Boeotian κα [ka:] is probably a North-West Greek feature), while 3pl imperatives in -ντων [-nton] (active, cf. στείχου-ντων [sté:k^ho-nton] ‘let them walk (upon)/lay claim to’) and -σθων [-st^hon] (medio-passive, cf. προστίθη-σθων [prostít^he:st^h-on] ‘let them add/bestow’) are characteristically Lesbian; Attic has -ντων [-nto:n] and -σθων [-st^ho:n] respectively. The final -ι [i] of long diphthongs started to be lost quite early in Lesbian, and from the late 4th century forms with plain long vowels prevail, so here ἐμμέν-η [emmén-ε:] ‘s/he abide by (subjunctive)’ beside Attic ἐμμέν-ηι [emmén-ε:i].

An important feature of Lesbian not illustrated here is ‘diphthongal’ compensatory lengthening following the simplification of [n] + word-final [s] or, medially, [n] + secondary [s] (i.e. resulting from the assibilation of [ti] or the simplification of *[ts] (< *[t-j])), as in πάισα [paísa] ‘all (fem sg)’ beside Attic πᾶσα [pâ:sa], both from πάνσα [pánsa] (< *πάντ-ια [pánt-ja]). Since accusative plurals of the first and second declension therefore end in -αις [-ais] and -οις [-ois] (< -ανς [-ans] and -ονς [-ons]),¹¹ it follows that the dative plurals of these declensions will normally have ‘long’ forms in -αισι [-aisi] (cf. ταύταισι [taútai] ‘these (dat pl)’) and -οισι [-oisi]); only the article has the short forms, though conventionally with a different written accent from the accusative, so dative ταῖς [taís] vs. accusative ταῖς [taís] etc.

1.4.4 East Greek

(a) Arcadian (Mantineia)

IG V.2.262, 5th century BC. Judgement against those guilty of sacrilege against Athena Alea, whose temple had been the scene of a fight.

[τ-]φλέσσι οἷδε ἰν Ἀλέαν ... οἷέο. ἂν χρῆστῆριον κακρίνεῖ ἔ
 Have-been-condemned these to Alea; ... Whom(ever) ever oracle condemn or
 γυῖσσι κακριθέε τῶν χρῆμάτων. πέ τοῖς φακ.άταις)
 by-judicial-inquiry be-condemned (in-respect-)of-the property, with the house-slaves
 τᾶς θεῶ ἔναι, κα Φακίας δάσασσθα. τᾶς ἄνωδ' ἑάσας. εἰ
 of-the goddess be(inf), and houses distribute(inf) those above being. Inasmuch-as
 τοῖς φῶφλεκῶσι ἐπὶ τοῖδ' ἐδικάσαμεν], ἃ τε θεὸς κᾶς οἱ
 upon-those condemned on this-basis we-passed-judgement, the both goddess and the
 δικασταί, ἀπεδομίνας] τῶν χρῆμάτων τὸ λάχος, ἀπεχομῖνος κα
 judges, having-given-away of-the property the share, kept-away in
 τῷρρέντερον γένος ἔναι ἅματα πάντα ἀπὸ τοῖ ἱεροῖ. ἴλαον ἔναι.
 the-male race be (inf) days all from the temple, propitious be (inf).
 εἰ δ' ἄλλα κᾶς ἕατοῖ κα τῶντι, ἰμμεμφῆς ἔναι. ...
 If and other-things someone allows against these-things, blameworthy be(inf). ...

'The following have been condemned to pay retribution to Athena Alea: ... Whoever the oracle condemns or is condemned by judicial process to forfeit his property, this together with his household slaves shall belong to the goddess, and he shall distribute the houses he may own in addition. Inasmuch as we, both the goddess and the judges, have passed judgement on the condemned on the following terms, that they should hand over their allotted portion of property and be banished in the male line for all time from the temple, this shall be propitious. And if anyone allows anything else, contrary to these provisions, that shall be impious. ...'

Some standard East Greek features in evidence here include aorists in -σα- [-sa-] rather than -ξα- [-ksa-] from verbs in -ζω [-zdo:] with non-velar stems (cf. (8b)), as ἐδικάσα-μεν [edikása-men] 'we-judged'), the East Greek 1pl ending -μεν [-men] (cf. (8d)), the plural article οἱ [oi] (cf. (8c)), and the conditional conjunction εἰ [e:] (cf. (8g)). Arcadian, however, is a conservative East Greek dialect, as noted, and several archaisms are also apparent, including the use of ἰν [in] with the accusative = 'into', as also in North-West Greek and mainland Aeolic (ἰν < ἐν [en] through the characteristic Arcado-Cypriot raising before [n], as also in the participial ending -μινος [-minos]), and the 3sg middle/passive ending in -τοι [-toi] (as in ἕα-τοι [éa:-toi] 's/he allows'), inherited directly from Mycenaean (e.g. *e-u-ke-to(-qe)* [eúk^he-toi(-k^we)] PY 140 '(and) s/he-declares'), beside the innovative -ται [-tai] used elsewhere. Characteristically Arcadian are the absence of compensatory lengthening when final [-ns] is simplified (ἀπεχομῖνος [apek^homínos] beside Attic ἀπεχομένους [apek^homénu:s] 'being kept away (acc pl)', both < -μένους [-menous]), the apocopated prepositions and preverbs with subsequent assimilation and simplification of double consonants (κακρίνε [ka-kríne:] < [kak-kríne:] < [kat-kríne:] < [kata-kríne:] 's/he condemn (subjunctive)', πε τοῖς ... [pe tois ...] < [pet tois ...] < [ped tois ...] < [peda tois ...] 'with the ...'), short diphthongs in the dative

singulars of a- and o-stem nouns (probably representing original locatives, as in τοῦ ἱεροῦ [toi ieroî] ‘the temple (dat)’), and the use of the dative rather than the usual genitive with ablative prepositions (ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ [apu toi ieroî] ‘from the temple (dat)’, as also in Cypriot). Uniquely in this inscription κάς [kas] is used for the later and more usual καί [kai] ‘and’ (with assimilation to [w] and simplification in καὶ Φοικίας [ka woikías] < [kaw woikías] < [kas woikías])), but this form is also shared by Cypriot and must be original in the dialect, as is ὅ-νυ [ónu] ‘this’ (also shared with Cypriot) for the usual ὅδε [hóde]. The prepositions πεδ(ά) [ped(á)] ‘with’ and ἀπύ [apú] ‘from’ are attested in Mycenaean, and presumably represent a direct inheritance from the Bronze Age.

The letter *Y* is used here to indicate the current stage in the development of the palatalization of labio-velars before front vowels in this dialect, as in *νις* ‘someone’ (beside *τις* [tis] elsewhere) and ὀ-νέοι ‘to-whomever’ (= Attic ὀ-τεω [hó-teo:i]), but mysteriously not in *τε* [te].¹² It probably represents [tʃ/ts] in that an earlier Arcadian inscription (IG V.2.554, late 6th/early 5th century) has a spelling with *Z* implying an affricate pronunciation (ὄ-ζις ‘whoever’, perhaps = [ó-tsis]), while later Arcadian employs the usual *t*-spellings, showing that a *t*-element was involved throughout.

(b) Ionic

(i) Eastern (Berezan near Olbia, a colony of Miletus on the Black Sea)

SEG 26.845, late 6th century BC. Letter on lead from Achillodoros to his son Protagores.

ὦ Πρωταγόρη, ὁ πατήρ το. ἐπιστέλλει. ἀδικέται ἐπὸ Ματασυος.
 O Protagores, the father to-you writes. He-is-wronged by Matasys,
 δόλωται γάρ μιν καὶ τὸ φορηγεσίῳ ἀπεστέρησεν. ἐλθὼν παρ'
 he-en-slaves for him and of-the shipping-business deprived. Going to
 Ἀναξαγόρη ἀπήγησαι· φησὶ γάρ αὐτὸν Ἀναξαγόρῳ δόλον
 Anaxagores inform; he-says for him of-Anaxagores slave
 εἶναι μισθόμενος· ἴδμ' Ἀναξαγόρης ἔχει, καὶ δόλος καὶ
 to-be claiming; 'The-my(-things) Anaxagores holds, both slave-men and
 δόλος κοίνας. ὁ δὲ ἀσβεῖ τε καὶ οὐ φησὶν εἶναι οὐδὲν ἑαυτοῦ
 slave-women and-houses.' He but shouts-out both and not says to-be nothing for-himself
 τε καὶ Ματασιν καὶ φησὶν εἶναι ἐλεύθερος καὶ οὐδὲν εἶναι ἑαυτοῦ
 both and Matasys and says to-be free and nothing to-be for-himself
 καὶ Ματ(ατ)ασυ. ἐ δέ τι αὐτοῖσι κἀναξαγόρη, αὐτοῖσι οἶδασιν
 and Matasys. If but anything for-him and-Anaxagores, themselves they-know
 κατὰ σφῶν αὐτός. ...
 between them selves. ...

‘Protagores, your father (*Achillodoros*) writes to you. He is being abused by Matasys, for he holds him as a slave and has robbed him of his shipping business. Go to Anaxagores and inform him; for he (*Matasys*) says that he (*Achillodoros*) is Anaxagores’ slave, claiming: “Anaxagores has all my stuff, slave men and slave women and houses.” But he (*Achillodoros*) shouts out in protest and denies that there is anything between himself and Matasys and declares that he is a free man and that there is nothing between himself and Matasys. If, however, there is anything between him (*Matasys*) and Anaxagores they themselves know between themselves. ...’

The Ionic dialects, with Attic, form the more innovative branch of East Greek. The most characteristic Ionic innovation here is the shift of original [a:] > [e:] (standardly written Η) in all environments. As noted earlier, this innovation is shared with Attic but there [a:] is retained/restored after [i, e, r]. So here we have Ἄναξαγόρης [anaksagóre:s] etc. where other dialects, including Attic, would have Ἄναξαγόρας [anaksagóra:s]. Equally characteristic of Attic-Ionic are the optional presence of a final [-n] ('movable *nu*') in dative plurals in -σι(ν) [-si(n)] and verb forms in -σι(ν) [-si(n)]/-ε(ν) [-e(n)]], as φησίν [p^hɛ:sín] 's/he says', and the process of 'quantitative metathesis', which involves the shortening of an open long e-vowel before an o- or a-vowel, followed by synizesis (a running together of the two vowels, involving a semi-vocalic pronunciation of [e] noted here as [ɛ̃]) and, when the second element was originally short, a form of compensatory lengthening (Méndez Dosuna (1993a)); thus [ɛ:ɔ] > [ɛ̃ɔ:], as in Ἄναξαγόρ-εω [anaksagórɛ̃ɔ:] 'Anaxagores (gen)', with -εω [-ɛ̃ɔ:] < -ηο [-ɛ:ɔ] < -αο [-a:ɔ] (in Attic the genitive ending of masculine a-stems was replaced by -ου [-u:], borrowed from the o-stem paradigm).

Other Ionic features include the form of the reflexive pronoun ἐωυτόν [eo:utón] etc. beside Attic ἐαυτόν [hea:utón], the levelling of the plural paradigm of a number of irregular verbs (so here οἶδ-ασι [oíd-a:si] 'they-know' reformed to the singular οἶδ-α [oíd-a] 'I-know' etc., in place of the opaque ἴσ-ασι [ís-a:si] still retained in Attic), and the apparent falling together of an original sequence [eo] with the diphthong [eu], as reflected in the spelling of the latter in ἐλεύθερος 'free', normally ἐλεύθερος [eleút^heros]; μυθεόμενος 'claiming' was probably therefore pronounced [myt^heúmenos].¹³ Specifically Eastern Ionic is the loss of aspiration, as in ἐωυτώι [eo:utó:i] 'to himself' or ἀπ-ήγησαι [ap-é:ge:sai] 'tell (imperative)', beside Attic ἐαυτώι [hea:utó:i] and ἀφ-ήγησαι [ap^h-hé:ge:sai].

(ii) *Central/Cycladic (Delos)*

IG XII.5.2, late 7th/early 6th century BC. Verse dedication of Nikandre of Naxos to Artemis (on a statue of a female figure).

Νικάνδορ μὲ ἀνέθηκεν ἠέ(κ)ηβόλοϊ ἰοχεαίρῃ.
 Nikandre me dedicated to-Far-shooting Showerer-of-arrows,
 κόρη Δεινοδίκῃ τῷ Νασίῃ, ἔξουξος ἀλήθῃ.
 daughter of-Deinodikēs the Naxian, exalted of-other(women),
 Δεινομένως δὲ κασιγνήτῃ, Φηράξω δ' ἄλοχος (ν)ἔνυ.
 of-Deinomenēs and sister, of-Phraxos and wife now.

'Nikandre dedicated me to the Far-shooting Showerer of Arrows (*Artemis*),
 Daughter of Deinodikēs the Naxian, exalted above other women,
 Sister of Deinomenēs, and now wife of Phraxos.'

This inscription in hexameters, the metre of Ionic epic and most notably of the Homeric poems (see chapter 2 for details), shows that Central Ionic still retained word-initial aspiration, with Η used to represent not only [h] (in fact the whole initial syllable [he] in h(ε)κηβόλοϊ [hekæ:bólo:i] 'Far-shooting') but also the current stage in the develop-

ment of long [a:] towards [ɛ:], presumably [æ:]. Evidently this had not yet merged with original [ɛ:], since the latter is still spelled with E (as in ἀν-έθι:κεν [an-ét^hɛ:ken] ‘s/he dedicated’). The letters borrowed as K (*kappa*) and Ϟ (*koppa*) represented distinct phonemes in the Semitic languages, namely /k/ and /q/, but since there was no such contrast in Greek, the latter was quickly dropped, though it still appears in a few early inscriptions, as here, to mark the allophone of /k/ before o- and u-vowels.

Interestingly, the metre shows that the endings seen in Δεινομέν-εος (apparently [de:nomé:n-eos]), ἀλ-ήων (apparently [all-á:ɔ:n]) and Δεινοδίκ-ηο (apparently [de:nodík-á:ɔ]) all actually scan as single heavy syllables. With regard to the first of these, we may compare the later spellings with EΥ (note 13) and recall the probable diphthongal pronunciation of -εο- as [eu] in (i). But the later Ionic spellings of the second two cases, namely -εω [ɛ:ɔ:n] and -εω [ɛ:ɔ:], suggest that these had developed their monosyllabic status through synizesis (with compensatory lengthening of the second element when this was originally short), cf. again (i) above. The metrical values of these endings here therefore show that [æ:ɔ:(:)] had already undergone these changes, making the orthography conservative and the probable pronunciation [allé:ɔ:n] and [de:nodíkɛ:ɔ:].

(iii) *Western (Eretria in Euboea)*

IG XII.9.187, late 5th century BC. Stone honouring Hegelochos of Taras (Tarentum) for his part in the liberation of Eretria from Athens in 411 BC.

θεοί. ἔδοξεῖν τ-εῖ βουλῆι Ἡγέλοχου τ-ὸν Ταραντίτιον πρόξενοι
 Gods. It seemed good to the Council Hegelochos the Tarentine proxenos
 εἶναι καὶ εὐεργέτην καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ ταῖδας, καὶ σίτηριον εἶναι
 be (inf) and benefactor both himself and children, and public maintenance be (inf)
 καὶ αὐτῶι καὶ παιρσί, ὅταν ἐπιδημέωρι, καὶ ἀτελέην καὶ
 both for himself and children, whenever they be in town, and exemption from taxes and
 προεδρίην ἐς τῶς ἀγῶνας, ὡς συσελευθερώσαντι τῆμ πόλιιν
 privilege-of-front-seats for the games, because having-joined-in-freeing the city
 ἀπ’ Ἀθηναίων.
 from Athenians.

‘Gods. The Council decreed that Hegelochos of Taras should be a proxenos (*official friend of Eretria and political representative of Eretrians in Taras*) and benefactor, both himself and his sons, and that meals should be provided at public expense both for himself and his sons whenever they are in the city, and the privilege of occupying front seats at the games, because of his help in freeing the city from the Athenians.’

As might be expected from its geographical location, the Ionic of Euboea is in some ways closer to Attic than are more Eastern varieties. In particular, Euboean shows initial aspiration, Attic-style [tʰ] and [rʰ] where other Ionic dialects have [s] and [r] (e.g. in θάλαττα [t^hálatta] ‘sea’ and θάρρος [t^hárrros] ‘boldness’), and also lacks compensatory lengthening in words such as ξένος [ksénos] beside regular Ionic ξεῖνος [ksê:nos], both < ξένφος [ksénwos]. None the less, it shares with the rest of Ionic the shift of original [a:] > [ɛ:] in all environments (cf. προεδρίην [pro(h)edríɛ:n] ‘privilege-of-front-

seats'), a marked resistance to certain vowel contractions (as in ἐπιδημέωριν [epide:mé:rin] 'they-are-in-town (subjunctive)' beside Attic ἐπιδημῶσιν [epide:mô:sin]) and the formation of feminine abstract nouns from s-stem adjectives with the suffix -έη/-ε(ί)η [-é:/-e:é:] (< *(σ)ία [-es-ía:]) rather than -εια [-e:a] (so ἀτελέη [atelé:é:] 'exemption from taxes', rather than ἀτέλεια [atéle:a], both < ἀτελής [atelé:s] 'free-from-charges'). The shortening of long diphthongs, seen here in the article τεῖ [tei] but not yet in the noun βουλή [bu:lḗi] 'council', is typical of Euboean after around 400 BC. The rhotacism of intervocalic [s] > [r], as in παιρί [pairí] 'children (dat pl)' for παισί [paisí] etc., is a marked peculiarity of the dialect of Eretria and Oropos.

(c) Attic

IG I.3.40, 446/5 BC. Stone from the acropolis of Athens regulating relations between the city and Chalcis in Euboea following the revolt of the island from the Athenian league.

ἔδοχευεν τεῖ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ ἔθμῳ, Ἀντιοχίης ἐπρυτάνευε,
 It-seemed-good to-the council and the people, Antiochis(-tribe) was-presiding,
 Δρακίου τίδης ἔτεστάτῃ, Διόγνετος εἶπε· κατὰ τὰδε τὸν
 Drakontides was-chief-president, Diognetos proposed: on these(-terms) the
 ἠόρκου ἑμίσα. Ἀθηναίων τῶν βουλῶν καὶ τῶν δικαστῶν οὐκ
 oath swear of-Athenians the council and the jurors: not
 ἔχσελῶ Χαλκιδῶνας ἐκ Χαλκίδος οὐδὲ τὴν πόλιν ἀνάστατον
 I-shall-expel Chalcidians from Chalcis nor the city ruined
 ποιῆσθαι οὐδὲ ἰδιώτην οὐδένα ἀτιμᾶσθαι οὐδὲ φυγεῖν ζῆμιδῶσθαι
 I-shall-make nor private-citizen none I-shall-strip-of-rights, nor with-exile I-shall-punish
 οὐδὲ χυλλῆφσομαι οὐδὲ ἀποκτενῶ οὐδὲ χρεματα ἀφαιρέσομαι
 nor I-shall-arrest nor I-shall-kill nor property I-shall-take-away
 ἀκρίτῳ οὐδενὸς ἄνευ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων ...
 unjudged (from-)no-one without the people the of-Athenians ...

'The Council and the People resolved, the Antiochis tribe was presiding, Drakontides was in the chair, Diognetos put the motion: the Council and jurors of the Athenians shall swear the oath as follows: I shall not expel the Chalcidians from Chalcis nor lay waste their city nor deprive any individual of his rights nor punish him with exile nor arrest him nor put him to death nor deprive anyone of his property untried without the People of the Athenians ...'

The 'old' Athenian alphabet did not include the letters Η and Ω, or use the digraphs ΕΙ and ΟΥ other than to note what had been genuine diphthongs: Ε and Ο are therefore employed to represent all e- and o-vowels. Similarly, ΧΣ and ΦΣ were used where Ξ and Ψ would appear after the adoption of the Ionic alphabet, cf. χυλλῆφσομαι [ksyllḗpsomai] 'I shall arrest': these spellings imply that [s] was perceived as having an acoustic effect on the preceding plosive analogous to aspiration. Where a diphthong ending in [i] was followed by a vowel there was a tendency in several dialects, including Attic, for this to acquire a consonantal articulation [j] and then, at least optionally, to be dropped. In some common words this pronunciation became the norm and was

reflected in the standard orthography, cf. $\pi\acute{o}\eta\sigma\bar{o}$ [poé:só:] ‘I shall make/do’, < $\tau\omicron\iota\eta\sigma\omega$ [pojé:só:]/[poíé:só:] (though the etymological spelling was later restored, leading eventually to a spelling pronunciation). As we shall see in subsequent chapters, the use of periphrases comprising an abstract noun with a verb like ‘do’ (e.g. $\acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\alpha}\sigma\tau\alpha\tau\omicron\nu$ $\pi\acute{o}\eta\sigma\bar{o}$ [anástaton poé:só:] ‘ruined I-shall-make’) is a characteristic of the language of Athenian officialdom that was to have a long-term future in this register.

A developed variety of Attic was soon to play the dominant role in the subsequent development of Greek, a history from which all other ancient dialects eventually disappeared almost without trace. This story will be taken up in detail in chapter 3, but first we must consider the role of the ancient dialects in literature, and in particular the emergence of specifically literary dialects, since this issue lies at the heart of the problem of diglossia which has characterized Greek for most of its history.

Notes

- 1 The conventional written accents on Ancient Greek words are normally transferred directly into phonetic transcriptions (see Introduction, note 2), except in the case of articles, relative pronouns, prepositions and certain conjunctions which, in connected speech, were unaccented proclitics, just as forms of the 3rd-person anaphoric pronoun $\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{o}\nu$ [autón] ‘him’ etc. were enclitic (see Méndez Dosuna (2000: 279–8, for relevant evidence and examples). In later chapters, dealing with periods when the ancient pitch accent had changed to one characterized by stress, analogous conventions are applied.
- 2 /b/ is largely the product of later developments, deriving particularly < */g^w/, on which see immediately below, and may not even have been a sound of Mycenaean at all (cf. Thompson (2005)).
- 3 Normally [j], though palatalization of [t] also occurs before original [w], as in Ionic $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\sigma\epsilon\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ [tésseres]/Attic $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\tau\tau\alpha\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ [téttares] < IE *k^wetwor-, perhaps involving the fronting of [w] > [j^w] caused by an inherently palatalized articulation of /t/ as [tʲ] in at least this environment.
- 4 The group [ns] has here been simplified and the preceding vowel lengthened in ‘compensation’ to maintain the original ‘heavy’ syllable quantity. The ancient pitch accent was associated with a syllable-timed rhythm, reflected directly in poetry, which required fixed metrical sequences of light and heavy syllables, the latter being ‘closed’ (by a consonant or length), the former ‘open’ (i.e. not so closed). See Allen (1973), Devine and Stephens (1994) for a full discussion of the issues.
- 5 The element -αι [-ai] occurs in other infinitives (e.g. that of the sigmatic aorist active and in medio-passives) so the extension of this to -μεν [-men] may be partly a matter of paradigmatic levelling. But the addition is only to the athematic infinitive ending, which suggests that a specific model, i.e. one involving this ending in just the athematic infinitives, must have provided the impetus for the change.
- 6 It is a moot point whether the non-Aeolic simplification that precedes compensatory lengthening is of the original cluster or of a geminate liquid/nasal of the Aeolic type.
- 7 Note that Elean spellings with ΣΚ and ΣΤ, e.g. $\pi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\kappa\omega$ for $\pi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\chi\omega$ [pásk^ho] ‘I suffer’ or medio-passive infinitives in -σται for -σθαι [-st^hai], suggest that voiceless aspirates had in general become fricatives as in Laconian, but that a preceding [s] had blocked the process. So here $\acute{\epsilon}\chi\omicron\iota$ [éxoi] etc.
- 8 In Aeolic [g] is the normal reflex of the voiced labio-velar before [u], and [b] before e-vowels, but there was much analogical levelling within paradigms and among related word forms.

- 9 The Thessalian stem is athematic, with the unexpected long vowel perhaps deriving analogically from participles like φιλεῖντες [p^hilê:ntes] ‘loving (nom pl)’, remodelled from φιλέντες [p^hiléntes] on the basis of the stem in φιλεῖμι [p^híle:mi] ‘I love’, cf. κοιναίειντων [koina:né:ntu:n] ‘participating (gen pl)’ in this text, again showing the long stem-vowel and the athematic conjugation of vowel-stem verbs characteristic of Thessalian and Lesbian (as well as of Arcadian and Cypriot) but not of Boeotian (cf. (8j)); contrast ἐπολέμιον [epolémio-n] in 1.4.3(a). This may therefore have been a feature of Mycenaean that also characterized the North-West Greek of the ‘bridge’ areas where Aeolic was later to develop its own distinctive identity, with Boeotian subsequently reverting to North-West Greek norms, as often.
- 10 The final -a is perhaps just a mistake for -ai [-ai], though this does not rule out the possibility of a monophthongized pronunciation similar to that written with H in Boeotian (as suggested in the transcription).
- 11 Prevocalic final [-ns] simplified to [-s] prehistorically in all dialects, but remained unchanged pre-consonantly, being subject to simplification only later (and then not everywhere); in the latter case compensatory lengthening of some kind took place. Most dialects then generalized one or the other form, though the original distribution is preserved in the forms of the article in early Cretan, as in the Gortyn law code.
- 12 It is also used, in a unique aberration from normal spellings, to mark a similar, though presumably voiced, pronunciation of original [d] before a front vowel in ἀπυ-ιεδομίνος [apu-dzedo-mínos] ‘having given away’ (cf. Attic ἀπο-δεδομένους [apodedoménu:s]).
- 13 Spellings with -ευ- [eu] of original [eo]-sequences are sometimes later attested (and even appear in the text of Homer, presumably as an editorial correction for the sake of the metre, cf. 2.2 number (4)).