

Almost a century after C.D.Buck's *Greek Dialects: New Texts, New Forms*

José L. García Ramón (Köln /AIBL, Paris)

Buck 1955: “this is virtually a new book” (1.ed. 1928)

“A marvel of accuracy, arrangement, and relevant information, and a monument to the clarity and lucidity which have made Professor Buck a shining light to all classical students struggling with ancient linguistic phenomena” (*United States Quarterly*)”

Evidence from the Dodona oracular tablets ([5th-4th C])and from Macedonia not taken into account. For this cf. J. Méndez Dosuna. “The language of the Dodona Oracular Tablets: The non-Doric Inquiries”. *Studies in Ancient Greek Dialects From Central Greece to the Black Sea* (Eds. G. K. Giannakis/E. Crespo/F. Panagiotis). Berlin, 2018, 265-296

J. Méndez Dosuna. “Ancient Macedonian as a Greek dialect: A critical survey on recent work”. *Ancient Macedonia: Language, History, Culture* (ed. G. K. Giannakis). Thessaloniki 2012, 133-145

TEXT N°1 ARCADIAN: MANTINEA (ca. 350-340? BC): Agreement between the Mantineans and the Heliswasians first edition Te Riele, *BCH* 111.1987.167-190=; SEG 37.340 ; Dubois 1988; *IPArk* 9 (Thür-Taeuber 1994).

13 — {²(§5)}² οσα δε συνβολ[α]ια ετυ-
 γχανον εχοντες οι Ελισφασιοι αυτοι πο αυτος **παρος** Μαντινης
 15 εγενον**το**, κυρια **σφεσιν** ηναι κα τος νομος τος αυτοι ηχον οτε **ε-**
βλωσκον μι Μαντινεαν.

13 — §5)}² ὄσα δὲ συνβόλ[α]ια ἐτύ-
 γχανον ἔχοντες οἱ Ἐλισφάσιοι αὐτοὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς **πρὶν** Μαντινεῖς
 15 ἐγένον**το/γενέσθαι**, κύρια **σφισιν** εἶναι κατὰ τοὺς νόμοις οὓς αὐτοὶ εἶχον ὅτε ἔ-
ἔβαινον εἰς Μαντινέαν.

13 — §5. ‘Whatever had in contracts
 the Heliswasians with each other before they became Mantineans,
 15 that should be valid between them according to the laws that they had when
 they came to Mantinea’.

===

21 ... δε**φα**λωσαι προς το βωληιον· αν δε τις των απυγραφεντων μη **φατοι** / τινα ηναι Ελισφασιον,
 21 ... δηλωσαι προς το βουλευτήριον· αν δε τις των απογραφεντων μη **φη** / τινα εἶναι Ἐλισφάσιον
 ‘... he should post (to be visible) to the council building. §7. But if one of the registered
 claims that someone is not an Heliswasians’

TEXT N°2 COS *Decreta civitatum Lacedaemonis, Messenes, Thelphusae, Elidis, Aegirae*: a.242 (SEG 12: 371) (IG XII:4/1K.Hallof).

Λακεδαιμονίων δογμα, εφορω Ευξενω · δεξ**ω**μεσα ταν εκεχη-
 ριαν ταν τω Αιγλαπιω **αη**, ταν τοι Κωιοι **εφενεποντι** Αριστολοχος
 αρχιθεαρος και Ηρακλειτος και Μακαρευς · δωμεσ τοις Κωι-
 οις α **αιτιοντι**, ασυλον το ιερον το του Αιγλαπιω τω εν Κωι,

Λακεδαιμονίων δόγμα, εφόρου Ευξένου · δεξ**ω**μεθα την εκεχει-
 ριάν την του Ἀσκληπιου **αἰαί**, την οι Κωιοι **ἀπαγγέλλουσι** Ἀριστόλοχος
 ἀρχιθέωρος καὶ Ἡράκλειτος καὶ Μακαρεύς · δῶμεν τοῖς Κωί-
 οις ἃ **αἰτοῦσι**, ἄσυλον τὸ ἱερὸν τὸ τοῦ Ἀσκληπιου τοῦ ἐν Κῶι,

‘Resolution of the Lacedaemonians under the ephoros Euxenos. we are ready to accept forever the armistice of Asclepius, which the Coans announce, Aristolochos / as the leader of the embassy, and Heraleitos and Makareus. We are ready to grant the Coans what they δεμανδ, namely the inviolability of the temple of Asclepius in Cos’

Laconia	Messenia	Arcadia	Elis	Aigeira	Kamarina
1) αη			δην		
2) εφενεποντι	απαγγελλοντι	απαγγελλονσι	επαγγελλουσι	επαγγ[ειλ]αντο	επαγγελλοντι .13
3) αιτιοντι	παρεκαλων	παρεκαλεαν	αιτεοντι	αξι[ου]ντων	αξιωντι .16

TEXT N°3 THESSALIAN, ATRAX: Judgment (& list of phylae): end of 3rd C.? (Darnezin-Helly et al. 2017)

5 ... κα[ι] **τοι** παντες εκρινν**αεν** ομο- ... κα[ι] **δι** πάντες ἔκριναν ὁμό-
σ]σαντες Κ[ε]λαινδας εμμεν ἀφ' εαυτων **σ]**σαντες Κελαίνδας εἶναι ἀφ' εαυτῶν
7 τοι αυτοιο γενεος, καταγο(ρ)**εισα**ντων Κελ[α]- τοῦ αὐτοῦ γένους - κατηγορη**σαντων** Κελα-
[ι]νδα απολογειμενοιο Προμαθεος, ἰνδου ἀπολογου**μένου** Προμηθέως
9 νικαμε/ν Κελαινδας · **εισασθα** μα Προμαθεα · .. νικᾶν (τούς) Κελαίνδας, **ἠττάσθαι** δὲ Προμηθέα
'and all have given their decision under oath: the Kelaindai belong to the same genos in direct descendence;
Following the accusation against Prometheus claiming to be a Kelaindas, the Kelaindai are right and Prometheus
wrong'

TEXT N°4 THESSALY, MATROPOLIS: Compact of the Basaidai (2nd half, 3rd C.) Helly 1970 (:SEG 36: 548).

Θιος· τυχαν αγαθαν· Θεός· τύχην ἀγαθήν·
5 Συνθεικα Βασαιδ**ουν** **ειντ**εσσι τις τουν πε- Συνθήκη τῶν Βασαιδῶν τοῖς **οὔσι** των τε-
τταρουν γενιουν και τας ταγας κοιναινειτ- τῶν γενῶν καὶ τὰς ταγὰς κοινωνοῦντ-
ουν **τεν** παντα χρονεν και αυτεις και ται γε- ον τὸν πάντα χρόνεν καὶ αυτοῖς καὶ τῇ γε-
5 ναι ται ες **τυ** τουν γινυμεναι· **μα** μα εστου πο- νεῖ τᾶ ἐκ τούτων γι(γ)νομένη· **μη** δὲ ἐξέστω προσ-
δεξα**στα** ποτ ταν ισοτιμιαν **μαδεμινα** μα- δέξα**σθαι** πρὸς τὴν ἰσοτιμίαν **μηδένα** μη-
δε **ταγαν** δοιν εξου τας συγγενειας· αι μα δὲ ταγὰν δοῖεν ἔξω τῆς συγγενείας· ἐὰν δέ
κα τις εν τυτεις μα εμ[μ]εναι, **απολαος** εστου τις ἐν τούτοις μὴ ἐμμένη, **ἀπόλαος** ἔστω*ἀπεληλάσθω
[α]τ τας συγγενει[ας] και ταλαντεν αργυρ- ἀπὸ τῆς συγγενείας καὶ τάλαντον ἀργύρου
10 [ρου] οφλετου [τ]εις συγγεν**εσσι**· ονυματα τουν ὀφλέτω τοῖς συγγεν**έσι**· ὀνόματα τῶν
[συγγ]ενιουν · Κλιανδρ**ες** Επικρατιδ**αις** ... συγγενῶν · Κλέανδρος Ἐπικρατίδ**αις**
...
19 [c.5. Ας]τοκρατει**εις**· **ξενδοκοι** τυτο[υν παρ τεν] Ἀρισ]τοκράτει**εις**· **ξενοδόκοι** τούτω[υν παρὰ τὸν]
20 [Απλουνα] Εκατομβι**εν**· ο **λειτορας** ο εν [Ματρο]- Ἀπόλλωνα Ἐκατόμβιον· ὁ ἱερεὺς ὁ ἐν Ματρ-
[πολι· ο **λειτ]ορας** ο επι Ττυλιχνας, πόλει· ὁ ἱερεὺς ὁ ἐπὶ Πολίχνης.

'God, Good Fortune. Compact for those of the Basaidai who belong
to the four tribes and who participate in the taga
in perpetuity, both for themselves and for the /
5 progeny issuing from them. Let it not be possible for them
to receive anyone into equality of privilege,
nor to bestow the taga outside the clan. But
if anyone does not abide by these provisions, let him be outcast
from the clan and pay a talent of silver /
10 to the clansmen. Names of the
clansmen: Kleandros son of Epikratidas... [13 further names] ...

...
19 Witness of these provisions in the presence of /
20 Apollo Hekatombios: the priest at Metropolis, / 21the priest (scil. of Apollo) for Polichnai'.

TEXT N°5 OLYMPIA: Bronze text, judgement (ca. 476-472) (SEG 31:358; ed.pr. P. Siewert, Olympia X. Bericht 1981:228-49)

Αγαμα Διος · Πυρρῶ() γρ[.]φ**εας** [Ἄγαμα Διός· Πύρρων γρ[α]φ**εὺς** [
]και Χαριξενος και τοι μαστροι []καὶ Χαρίξενος καὶ οἱ μαστροὶ [
τ]αιρ δικ**αις** ταιρ κατῶν Βοιωτῶν Μενανδρος τ]ᾶς δικ**ας** αἶς κατὰ τῶν Βοιωτῶν Μένανδρος
κ]Αριστολοχος τοις Αθηναιο**ς** εδικα**σάτᾶν** κ]αὶ Ἀριστόλοχος τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐδικα**σάτην**
5 .]πεγνῶν και τοι() Θεσπιε**σιν** και τοιρ**ς** συν αυτ**ος** ἄ]πέγνωσαν καὶ τοῖ(ς) Θεσπιεῦσιν καὶ τοῖς σὺν αυτοῖς
.]ε δικαιο**ς** δικα**σάμεν** καπο τῶν Θεσαλῶν [μ]ῆ δικαίως δικα**σθῆναι** κ' ἀπὸ τῶν Θετταλῶν [
.]πεδικα**σαν** ἄ]πέδικασαν

'Possession/honor of Zeus. Pyrrhon the scribe and Charixenos and the officials resolved that the judgments
which Menandros and Aristolochos had passed against the Boeotians in favor of the Athenians, had not been
lawfully passed, and in favor both the Thespians and those standing on their side and loosed them from the
Thessalians (i.e. they lifted their sentence to compensate Thespias'.

Glosses 1 with indication of origin

Hsch. οὔνη· δεῦρο. δράμε. **Ἀρκάδες** (: Arc. οὔνημ*): *h₂ oμH-no- (Langella 2014)

οὔνον· [ύγιές.] Κύπριοι δρόμον

οὔνιος, οὔνης· δρομεύς, κλέπτης

ἐριούνιος “Hermes, quello che corre veloce”

HPan 28/9: οἶόν θ’ Ἑρμείην ἐριούνιον ... /... ὡς ὁ γ’ ἅπασι θεοῖς **θοῦς ἄγγελος** ἐστί.

HDem. 407: εὐτέ μοι Ἑρμῆς ἦ[λθ]’ ἐριούνιος ἄγγελος ὠκὺς

*h₂εμh₁- also ‘run’, hurry’:

Tocharian A o-n, B -au-n- : *auni* ‘I have attacked’, subj. VII *oñtär* ‘he will come’ (Hackstein 2020)

*h₂ομh₁-nó- ‘running’ → *h₂ομh₁-ne-jo/e-

*h₂ομh₁-tó- → *h₂ομh₁-te-jo/e- ‘hurt, hit, wound’ (οὔτασε χεῖρα Il.5.458; Ληόκριτον οὔτα . . . κενεῶνα Od.22.294)

2 Without indication of origin

πορνάμεν· πωλεῖν : περνᾶν ‘to sell’

πορνάμεναι· κεντούμεναι. πωλούμεναι: Ptc.fem. περνάμεναι

Hom. πέρνημι, ptc. περνάς, περνάμενος (*pṛṇā- : *pṛṇeh₂-, cf. air. *renaid* ‘sells’), /e/ grade analogical to aor. περα-(σ)σα- /or/ <*r> Thessalian! (ενεσπορμενας “ensemées” Larisa 2013 Helly)-Tziafalias).

Origin? Not Lesbian (inf. ⁺πορνᾶν, cf. Lesb. κερνᾶν *pace* Hodot), not Boeotian (inf. ⁺-εἶμεν : *-ā-*émen*): **συλεῖμεν.**

Alternative: inf. **πορνάμεν** denominative of πόρνη ‘prostitute’ (i.e. ‘sold’: *porh₂-néh₂-)

Gloss. πορνάμεναι· κεντούμεναι, cf. κεντεῖν ‘sting, prick, stab’ : βινεῖν *Mnesim.* 4,55 πίνει, σκιρτᾷ ... κεντεῖ, [βινεῖ]).

3 Macedonian?

δώραξ· σπλήν ὑπὸ Μακεδόνων (θώραξ ‘trunk, chest’)

ἀδή· οὐρανός· Μακεδόνες (αἰθήρ)

/p^h/ /t^h/ /k^h/ > /f θ x/ ~ /v ð γ/ <B Δ Γ> (Méndez Dosuna 2012)

WN Βερενίκα, MN Βάλαγρος (: φαλακρός) ‘bald’; Dod: Κεβάλιος (: Κεφάλιος), Ἀλβειός (: Ἀλφειός)

/p/ /t/ /k/ > /b d g/ <B Δ Γ>

δαπινα (: ταπεινή) Pella curse tablet (380-350)

Ἀρεβέλαος (: Τρεφέ-λαος Doliche 3thC)

Artemis Διγαία (: Δικαία Aeg.189AD)

4 Dialectal coloured Koiné? Pamphylian, Sillyon (iv, 1. half), Brixhe n°3.13..8

... καθεδυ και ηαι(α) ανεψε και υ **βολεμενυς** ... [

“... καθέντων και ἄγεα ἀνεῖεν και ὁ βουλόμενος ...”

“qu’ils ... et puissent-ils faire cesser les sacrilèges, et **que celui qui le veut** ...” (Brixhe 1979 :178-9).

καθεδυ, ηαι(α) : simply Greek (:Att. 3pl.impv. καθέντων, pl. ἄγεα *Adesp.*:psilotic)

υ βολεμενυς : Attic with dialectal colour : Att.-Ion. ὁ βουλόμενος ‘any one who likes’ (Hdt.+)

Pamphylian is a *no*-article dialect: supradialectal (Garcia Teijeiro 1978).

4b.

εβδῶσαετυ αδριῶνα καστατασ[αι]

“ἐβουλεύσατο ἀνδρεῶνα καταστησ[αι]”

Aor. εβδῶσαετυ ‘he decided’ (denom.of βδῶλα): Att. ἐβουλεύσατο

Th.5.75.1 ὁ βασιλεὺς τοιόνδε ἐβουλεύσατο δρᾶσαι, DH 3.52.2 τὴν στρατιὰν ἐπὶ Λατίνους ἄγειν ἐβουλεύσατο

Phonology

1 */o/ **noted E** in unaccented word-final closed syllable (also in diphthongs) after /i/, /t/, /n/, /r/ (Hestiaiotis, also Atrax, and in Dodona)

εκατομβιεν MATR.20, Πε]δδαιες .16; αυτεις .4, ταλαντεν .9, τυτεις .8; χρονεν. 4, Κλιανδρες.11; **τει**

HEST.2, **τεις** αυτεις .13; χρονει .20; δικαστειρρεις. 12 (: -τηρίος).

Dodona: *απεδειξατε* (3pl. *-s-*hto*), *υδατες* (: ὑδατος), *παιδιεν* (: παιδίον), *συμφορεν* (: σύμφορον),

A fronting process of /o/ into /e/ through [ɔ], weakly labialised, identified with /e/ by the listeners (Méndez Dosuna 2007: 370ff.): possibly a widespread extension, even if not noted graphically.

NB Not in initial **Τ**τυλιχνας MATR.21(: gen. Πολίχνης)

2

/o/ not noted: **Επικρατιδαις** MATR.11, Παρμονι]δαις.18 (: -αιος, beside Πε]δδαιες .16).

3

Syncopé (and intensive initial stress) [**88**.Cases of syllabic loss – do not come under the head of haplology]

ξενδοκος (MATR, ATR, also MOPS 5.14 beside pl. ιδιοξενοδοκοι 4.17),

(gen.) *αστερας* LAR 3.27 beside *αριστερας*.20

δοιν (: δοῖεν), διδοιν (: διδοῖεν)? (Hestiaiotis, Dodona): or 3pl. -οιν NW (Méndez Dosuna)

MN Αστο° (: Άριστο°, e.g. Αστοκρατεις, Αστομαχειος, but Αριστο[κ]λεας Αριστιουνειος),
 Απλουν (dat. ΑπλΟνι, Απλωνι, gen. Απλουνος, month name Απλουνιος)
 Λα(σ)α (: Λάρισα), e.g. Λασσαν LAR 6.12 (also AEG. 31,36/7), gen.pl. Λασσαιουν .24 (but
 (Λ)αρισσαιουν .17), and Λασσαιουν LAR 5.1,6.7

4 Thessalian: Initial intensive stress (Chadwick 1992) ~ syllabic reduction /i/ → [j] in the context /R,
 C__V (αργυρρον, ιδδιαν) followed by palatalisation → “long” resonants and stops or to “absorption” of /j/
 parallelism with the Sabellic languages and with West Germanic
 Osc. **kúmbennieís** */-nieis/, OSax. *cynn* ‘tribe’ [PGm. **kunja-*], cf. Thess. προξεννια-),
 Umb. **spina** for **spinia** ‘obelisk?’, Osc. Bantia *famelo* “familia”) /j/ absorbed

5 **O ~ Y** /o/ → [u] /__m

Myc. **tu-ma-ko, to-ma-ko** (KN): */*stom-argos*/ : στόμαργος (cf. *Il.* 23.30 πολλοὶ μὲν βόες ἄργοι)
 Arc. **στυμεον** (απυ τωινυ ιν το στυμεον οπυ τον ακρον “ἀπό τοῦδε εἰς τὸ στόμιον ἐπὶ τὸν ἄκρον”
 (Orchom. 369/1)

Lit.Lesb. **στύμα** (Theoc.29.25 πῆρρ ἀπάλω στόματός): (Att. στόμιον ‘entrance to a cave’ Plat.),
 Arc. ρισος και υμοιος (Mantineia, iv) cf. ἐπὶ τοῖς ἴσοις καὶ ὁμοίοις (Xen. *Hell.* 7.1.45), υμοιος
 Lesb. ὕμοιος (: Hom. ὁμοῖος), υμολογιας (but τα] ομολογημενα 4thC), Sa. ὕμοι (Balb.), ὕμωσ, Theoc. ὑμάρτη,
 ὕμοιον, ὑμαλίκων.

*/om/ > /um/ (στυμα-, ὕμο-) does not match */on/ > /un/ (y */en/ > /in), only “Achaean”
 Arc. ὕν° / ὄν°, Cyp. *u-ne-te-ke*, Pamph. Ηυαρυ (: ιερόν).

6 /ao/ > /au/

Cyp. **o-pe-le-ta-u /Op^heltau** ICS² 18g (pin, middle of the 11th C): gen.sg. /-au/ vs. Myc. /-ā^hol/ (Cypro-
 Mynian writing, Olivier 2008)

7 **AI ~ EI ~ A:** Thessalian (Matropolis, Hestiaiotes)

A for */ai/: πο/δεξαστα .5/6 (: προσδέξασθαι), **εισασθα** Atrax (: ἡτᾶσθαι GR 2007: 92f.)

AI for */-e:i/ (εμ[μ]εναι .8 : ἐμμένει)

A for */e:/ (μᾶ : μή), (Dodona: μᾶ παραζα [iv], αι κα μᾶ εχῶ [v-iv] Méndez Dosuna 2018: 207)

/æ:/? NB limited to word final position : context conditioned realization under conditions difficult to determine.

8 */r/ in the context /C__C

Larisa (Theater, 3th C.: Tziafalias-Bouchon-Helly 2016)

2/3 και ορμαμενονυ τελεσσειν **επβοκια** δυα του μεν Δι **ορσεν**, τα μα / Εννοδια θειλυ, ...

Attic: και ὀρωμενων τελέσαι **ἐπιπόκια** δύο τῶ μεν Δι **ἄρρεν**, τῆ δὲ / Ἐν(ν)οδία θῆλυ ...

“... to sacrifice two sheeps **with their wool**, to Zeus a **male**, to Ennodia a female” (GR 2001[2007]:105)

Arcadian: <ορσεν> /ορσεν/ (archaic, Mount Lykaion, 5th) J.-M. Carbon & J. P.T. Clackson, Arms and the Boy:
 On the New Festival Calendar from Arkadia *Kernos* 29,2016,119-158

ορην **ορσνα**. 4/5, αιξ **ορσν** . 15, ορτε δυφο **ορσνε** .20

<ρ> for /rs/: ται παναγορι ται τριανβρ[ι] , τᾶ τριπαναγορί “the three-day festival” (Arc. πανάγορσις)

ὄρσεν- **u^hsen-* (ἄρσεν, Att. ἄρρεν : Ved. *vṛśan-* / *vṛśṇ-*, cf. *vṛśabhá-* : YAv. *varəšauiua-* ‘masculine’,
 ‘bull’). Offering calendar of Cos, cf. ἀρνειός ‘ram, wether’ (Hom.+ : **uarnēu-*, Peters 1993: 386f. with n.60).
 better than **h₁sen-* (Ion. Lesb. Cret. ἔρσην, cf. Ved. *ṛśa-bhá-* m. ‘bull’, YAv. *ar(ə)śan-* ‘man, male’, IE
 **h₁ers-* ‘flow’ (Ved. *ars*, Hitt. *ār(a)š-* ‘id.’).

9 Dissimilation /u^h - u/ > /i^h - u/

‘son’ **i-ju** (*i*-*65) /^hiūs/ ‘son’ (PY), them. **i-jo** /^hiō-/ (KN, MY) goes back to **h₁iu-* (**su(H)ju-* : Toch. A gen. *soy*),
 cf. WN Ἰο-κάστη ‘famous by her son’: /^hiūs/ by.

u-jo /^huios/ (TH) : **su(H)-iō-* beside PGk. **h₁iu-* (Hom. υἱός : **su^hiú-* : **su(H)ju-* toch. B *soy* A *se*).

IE **seuH-* ‘beget, procreate’ (Ved. *sav/sū* ‘id.’), by-form **suH-nú-* ‘id.’.

Ἰο-κάστη ‘distinguished by her son’ (Aesch.+) (: Myc. *i-jo* Ruipérez 1992), **Ἰό-καστος** (Callim.) cf. **υἱάσι ... κεκάσθαι**
 (*Il.* 24.546) τῶν σε γέρον πλούτῳ τε καὶ υἱάσι φασὶ κεκάσθαι ‘over them, they say, you old man, were
 preeminent because of your wealth and your sons’

Ἐπι-κάστη ‘especially distinguished’ (*Od.* 11.273), cf. *Il.* 24.535 πάντας γὰρ ἐπ’ ἀνθρώπους ἐκέκαστο / ὄλβῳ τε
 πούτῳ τε (also ἐπὶ ... κέκασται *Il.* 20.35), **Μηδεσι-κάστη** ‘distinguished by her plans’ (*Il.*13.173), cf. *Il.*
 20.35/6 Ἐρμείας, ὃς ἐπὶ φρεσὶ πευκαλίμησι κέκασται ‘who is beyond all in the cunning of his mind’.

- 10 **Secondary [j]**
 1 /CRjV/ **-trija* (: Att. **-τρια**)
 Myc. **-ti-ri-ja** / **-ti-ra₂** : *a-ke-ti-ra₂* gen. *a-ke-ti-ra₂-o* (Pylos, 1x Thebes)
 vs. *a-ke-ti-ri-ja* (PY, KN, 1x MY): κομμώτρια ‘hairstresser’ (Arr.), χρυσώτρια (*tab.defix.*)
 *[-trja-]Litt.Lesb. **-τερρα** (δότε[ρ]ραν Alc. 298.23), Epic **-τειρα** (δότειρα (Hes. *Erg.* 356),
 Thess **-ταρρα** :fem. **-trja*
 Λαγ[ει]ταρρα (of Athena) "conductrice d’armées" (Helly 1970 :262)
 Εννοδια Κορου**ταρρα** ‘who provides with growth’ (García Ramón – Helly 2007): **korō-trja-* ‘who makes grow’, ‘who provides with κόρος’ (‘growth’: **kórh₁-o-*): **-ουταρρα** (: fem. **-ō-trja-*): instrumental-causative type ‘provide X (acc.) - with Y (instr. *oh₁-*)’
- 2 Myc. WN **pi-ri-ja-me-ja** PY An 39 /Priameiās/ ο /Pr’ameiās/?
]**pi-ra₂-mo**[(KN X 7860.1) : Πριάμος ?
 Lit.Lesb. Περραμω<> Alc. 42.4 beside Πριάμω 298.8, μέτερ[ρ]α (: μέτρια) *inc.auct.* 2,
- 3 μεῖνα Αγερῶνιου (Aspendos DGP n° 276.36): Lesb. **Άγερρώνιος***, der sonst als Αγριώνιος (Boeotia), Αγριάνιος (other regions). Cf. Litt.Lesb. **Πέρραμος**.
 Representation of /er/ von /ri/ in the context /C__V is specific Lesbian.
 Pace Hodot 1990: 87 („extension limitée du traitement *rj → (...) → [err] ... le nom n’est plus qu’un fait isolé dans le lexique), 1974: 127f. („...on a affaire ici moins à une règle phonétique vivante qu’à un archaïsme, dont la survivance n’est assurée en lesbien-même que là où les contraintes morphologiques ne sont pas venues la contrarier“).
- 11 **Ηιατρῶ**, MN Ηιασις, ΗΑκεσσαμενος
 ιατήρ [i] !, ιατρός (Hom.Ion. ὀητήρ), Myc. *i-ja-te* /iatēr/, Cypr. *i-ya-te-ra-ne* /-teran/ ICS 217 A.3:
 ίαομαι (ā): **HiHish₂-*
 Gen. **Ηιατρῶ** (Megara Hyblaea, VI: Dubois nr. 22),
 MN Ηιασις (SEG 1:84, Amyclae, vi), Ἴασις (Cyrene, Rhodian Perea) like Ἴακεσις, Ἴαλεξις
ηιατρῶ, MN Ηιασις: etymological aspiration rather than secondary or hypercorrect
- ΗΑκεσάνδρῶ** ἐμ[ὶ ποτεῖριον[?] (Methone, Pieria 730/720) ed. G.K.Pannakis *Ο ΓΛΩΣΣΙΚΟΣ ΧΑΡΤΗΣ ...*,
 2015 120, 220 (Plates 23-25) (G.Giannakis, p.c.)
 MN Ἴαμενός [iā]! : Ακεσσαμενός, MN Ἴα/ησί-δαμος :: Ακεσί-λαος, Ακεσί-στρατος)
- 12 Lesb. εν **δημοκρασαι** τον παντα χρονον Mytilene (334/2) SEG 36:750 Heisserer-Hodot 1986
- 13 Ερπετιδᾶμῶ Παιδοπιλᾶς οδε SEG 26:1050 (Phaistos, 7th C (metronymic in the archaic period)
 ἔρπε-τι^ο beside * ἔρπε- (: ἔρπο/ε- ‘creep’, ‘go ahead’, Cretan psilosis). NB. No names with Ἐρπε^ο ο Ἐρπεσι^ο
 attested.
 “**sich zum / auf / in den Damos bewegend**” (Peters 1987: 292 *Die Sprache* 33, 1987, 292 (IC 33: G 281).
 -τι^ο (cf. véd. *dāti-vara-*, βωτι-άνειρα). The first sure instance of the type ἔλκεσι-πεπλος without
 assibilation type Hom. ἔλκεσι-πεπλος beside ἔλκε-χίτων), ταλασί-φρων, ταμεσί-χροος
 Ἐρπετι^ο: Semantics ἔρπο/ε- ‘walk’, ‘go’ a synonym of ἔρχομαι, εἶμι, like in West Greek dialects, e.g.
 Eur. *Andr.*722 ἔρπε δεῦρο ‘come hither’, Hdt.5.97 **Ἐπελθῶν δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν δῆμον** ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης ταῦτα ἔλεγε.
 Ἐρπετιδᾶμος: [ADVANCE – to/on/against DĀMOS] (with or without aggressivity), cf. ἐπὶ πλῆθος ἔρπον
 (Soph. *Ant.* 584/5 ... ἄτας / οὐδὲν ἐλλείπει γενεᾶς **ἐπὶ πλῆθος ἔρπον** ‘...nothing of ruin is left out as it creeps
 over most of their lineage’)
 Cf. also ἔρετο · ὄρμηθη, ἔρση · ὄρμηθη Hsch.) or ὄρμάο/ε- (med., cf. ὄρμη ‘impulso, ataque’: **or-smā-*,
 **h₁or-sméh₂-*).
 Il. 3.22 **ἐρχόμενον** προπάροιθεν ὀμίλου μακρὰ βιβάντα
 Il. 15.161 **ἔρχεσθαι μετὰ φῦλα θεῶν** ἢ εἰς ἄλα δῖαν.
 Il. 5.219-20 πρὶν γ’ **ἐπὶ** νῶ τῶδ’ ἀνδρὶ ... / ἀντιβίην **ἐλθόντε** σὺν ἔντεσι πειρηθῆναι.
- 14 **Labiovelars** (Buck “Interchange of Labial, Dentals, and Gutturals”)
 1 **si-o-i** Kouklia-Paphos 237.4 (325?-309) "τίοι" (Meier-Brügger *apud* Masson 1980:70).
]-u-no-wo , **si-o-i** , me-te , ra-ka-wo-se , me-te , a-ke-lo-se
]υνο [ω σίοι (?) μήτε ra-ka-wo-se μήτε □γ(γ)ελος
 "(si quelqu'un) n'honore avec bienveillance ni les ra-ka-wo-se ni les messagers".
 Aspendos (4th, Brixhe and Tekoğlu 2000: 34f.): ΕΣΠΕ .23 ε□□ **σιε**□ ‘or he could honour’? (τις. 20.22).

- 2 /k^wi/ : <si>, not <ti>:
si-se /t^s/ (better than /t^h/) "τις" (Idalion *passim*), *si-na-se* "τινας" Kouklia-Paphos 237.4, *si* "τι" +.
 Same phonetic value in **σί** βολέ<αι>· τί θέλεις. Πάφιοι.
 Absence of sign <zi> in the Cypriot syllabary: <si> ~ Arc. <οζις>, <λις> "ός τις, τις")
- 3 Arcadian IG 6. λις .25, dat. οζεοι .14 (Mantineia, 5th c.), οζις (ca. 500) : ότις (Att. τις, ζ̃ τινι)
 Lykaion.11 ταν ἡεσῶρῶγ (i.e. τῶν τεττάρων), 13. οζελῶ
 with <τ>: οτινι IG 6.278, οτις 343.34, οτι 6.5 et al.
- 4 Pamph. πετρακίς ,four times a year' (Aspendos, Brixhe-Tokoglu 2000): (*k^het(μ)r-)
 Not more "Aeolic" (*pace* Brixhe 2006:34) than Cypr. *pe-i-se(-i)* /peisei/, /peisē/.
 Apical: **πεδε** [peⁿde] ,5' (*pénk^he) like in Lesbian (**πέντε**)

4a. Excursus: Pamphylian and Asia Minor Aeolic: Cumulative evidence.

- (1) Labial reflex of *k^h and *g^h vor /ē/: MN (gen.) Πελώρων (*k^helōr-), Φηριάς (: Θηριάς), gen. Φηριατῶς and Φιραρῶν (:*g^hμēr-)
 (2) μεῖνα **Αγερω**νιου (Aspendos, Z.36)
 (3) Dat.pl. in -οισι and -αισι (cf. ανταισι, ατροποισι : Att. αὐταῖς, ἀνθρώποις) and in -εσσι (1x δικαστῆρεςσι : Att. δικαστῆρσι).
 (4) Impv. 3.pl. act. -δῦ ([-ⁿdu]: Lesb. -ντον), med. -σδῦ ([-zdu]: Lesb. -σθον) from *-nton, *-(n)st^hon, cf. εφελοδῦ, [ζ]αμμεσδῦ (: Att. ἐφελούντων, ζημιούσθων).
 (5) περτ(ι) (cf. περτ'ιρενι, περτεδῶκε : πρὸς εἰρήνην, προσέδωκε): Lesb. (Gramm.) πρές (*préti, cf. πρότι, πρός).

15 **Thessalian: ΠΒ, ΤΑ, ΤΘ** ... for /pp/, /tt/ ..., also /bb/, /dd/ (of different origins: strong articulation of consonantal clusters)

επβοκία 'unshorn animals' LAR (: ἐπι-πόκία 'lambs) having his hair on', cf. πόκος 'wool', Myc. *po-ka*
επιποκον Cos, iii IG XII.4:280.5/6 [Εκ]αται .../επιποκον τελε[αν (cf. οιν. 4) 'an unshorn, full-grown sheep'
 Patron. Κοπιβιδαιος (of MN *Κοπιιδᾶς, cf. κοπιιδᾶς 'merchant of curver saber (κοπιιδᾶς)';
 from assimilation: **καπβολαία** (: κατ(α)βολαία) LAR 3 *passim*; **ιτιδιαν** CRA 1.17 (for **ιδδιαν** 461.b13),
 Εμ/πετδιουνος 23:437.9/10 (: **ιδδιαν**, Ἐμπεδίων), **λιτθιαν** (: λιθιαν) 32:572.6 (CRA).

- 16 Thess. Lesb. **εννεκα** - Non etymological geminates (<μμ> for /m/, <vv> for /n/ ...)
 Lesb. **χρημματα** (Cyme, iii) , **ισσοθεοισι** (August), **μεγαλλα**[ι]ς (ii AD),
 Thess. : **μναμμειον**, [χρ]εμματα, inf. **κατθεμμεν** (beside **κατθεμεν** same text), **Δαμματαρι** , -τερος
Εννοδια LAR 3.28 (: Att. **Εἰνοδία** : Hom. εἰνοδίοις) beside gen. **εννοδου** .13!
 Dodona: **κιννι** κε θεων (late 4th) beside regular **κινι** κε θεων (450-)

Lesb **εννεκα** (lit.): νῦν δ' **εννεκα**[(Sa.67a.5), **ενν**εκα κήνας (Alc.283.14)
 Thess. **εννεκα τοι** σχολαξιν LAR 6.13 (: **εννεκα** τοῦ σχολάσαι, cf. **εννεκα τοῦ σῶσαι** D. 60.27),
 Hom.Ion. **εινεκα** (hyperdialectal: *enekē (Myc. *e-ne-ka!*): <vv> no outcome of *-nm- (προξένος, κόρα).
 : **μναμμειον**, [χρ]εμματα, inf. **κατθεμμεν** (beside **κατθεμεν** same

Artificial -vv-: on the model of "lautgesetzlich" **εμμεν**, **μειννος**, **περραται** (: Att. εἶναι, μηνός, πειρᾶται) for
 */esmV-/ , */me:nsos/ or */perja(:): **aim at local colouring**.

Nominal Inflection

- 1 No genitive in -o in Mycenaean in -o-stems instead of -(C)o-jo.
 KN Da 1156 .a we-we-si-jo OVIS^m 100 (J1; 117)
 .b a-re-ke-se-u , / pa-i-to
 KN Db 1159 .a we-we-si-jo-jo OVIS^m 144 OVIS^f 55[(J1; 117)
 .b du-ta-so , / pa-i-to
- a Two Cnossian month-names, namely *ka-ra-e-ri-jo** /krā^herio-/ ' (month) at the Head'¹ and *wo-de-wi-jo*
 /Wordēwio-/ ' (month) of the Roses':
 Fp(1) 7.1 **ka-ra-e-ri-jo** , 'me-no'(also 18 A.1)
 Fp(1) 6.1 **ka-ra-e-ri-jo** / pa-si-te-o-i ... (all H. 138)
 M(1) 1645.1 **ka-]ra-e-ri-jo-jo** , me-no- (H. 103).

¹ /krā^herio-/ is an *-ijo-derivative from *krā^hero- (*k^hr^h2s-ero- 'at the head', cf. ὄρθιος :: ὀρθός) beside locatival
 *krā^her- (*k^hr^h2s-(o/e)r- 'horn', cf. Myc. instr. °ka-ra-o-re /°krā^horē/, pl. °ka-ra-a-pi /°krā^hap^hi/) as per
 Nussbaum 1987, 220-247.

b Fp(1) 16.1 **wo-de-wi-jo**, ‘me-no’ (A; 138)
 V(2) 280.1 **wo-de-wi-jo ...** (C; 124)
 beside Ga(4) 953.1 **wo-de-wi-jo-jo**, / me-ŋo [(I 3; 219).

c **e-te-wa-jo**, *wo-ka* beside regular **e-te-wa-jo-jo**, *wo-ka* of **/Etewaio-/*(cf. Έτεο°, *Ετέᾱς) in (PY Sa(1) 753-774: all H. 26)

d Regular formula [NAME – PATRONYMIC (X-*i-jo*)]. Some exceptional instances with explicit mention of ‘son’ (*i-jo* / *i-**65 / *u-jo* /: υιός – also even abbreviation: *65 ‘son’, like *tu* (: θυγάτηρ)

(a) [FATHER’S NAME_{GEN} – ‘SON’]

qo-te-wo, *i-**65 ZE 1 (PY Aq 218.16): *qo-te-wo* /-ēwos/ (MN /-ēus/)

(b) [FATHER’S NAME_{GEN} – ‘SON’]: no recognizable ending (nominative? simply non-inflected form?)

PY Ae 344 *pi-ŋo-wo-na*, *wi-do-wo-i-jo*, *i-**65 VIR 1 /*P^hilo-woinās* *Widwohio-^hius*/,

TH Gp 227.2 *ra-]ke-da-mo-ni-jo-u-jo* V 1[/*Lakedaimonio-^huios*/ (without word-divider)

Not †*wi-do-wo-i-jo-jo*, †*ra-]ke-da-mo-ni-jo-jo*.

(c) [FATHER’S NAME_{GEN} – *65 /ju/] (abbreviation ^hu/ (*/ju/) in the Theban series Fq (full dossier collected by Duhoux 2008:357ff.),

e **si-to-po-ti-ni-ja** ‘Lady of Corn’ (MY Oi 701.3; cf. Στώ : Demeter in Sicily)

as against **da-pu-ri-to-jo**, *po-ti-ni-ja* ‘Lady of the Labyrinth (*/Dap^hurint^hoio/*)’ (KN Gg(1) 702.2):x

1a Non-notation of the genitive may be triggered by special factors, e.g. the names in *-i-jo*, which would let expect a genitive ⁺*i-jo-jo*, whence *i-jo-* by haplogy.

Wrong explanations: *-o* old ablative **/-ōd/?* (Duhoux 2008 after others).

1b surely wrong: *-(C)ο* like Hitt. *-aš*, or Celtib. *-o?* different genitive endings with different functions in Indo-European ???!

Hitt. *-aš*: also outcome of gen.sg. **-ēh₂-es* (or earlier **-ēh₂-s*) after the merging of the inherited **-o-* and **-eh₂-*: *hāšša-* ‘hearth, fire-place’ (: lat. *āra* ‘id.’), ^{GIS}*hišša-* ‘carriage pole’

Hispan.-Celt. *-o* /-ō/ is an innovation that cannot even be traced back to Continental Celtic.

(Prosdocimi 1991, 158-159; Eska 1995, Watkins in 1999, Eska-Wallace 2001)

1c Proposal: an abbreviated notation of the name in a very specific context where the ending was not necessary. Documents in which abbreviations and other conventions are normal: no doubt about the genitival function of the father’s name --

2 Athen. Dat.Pl. in Elean. Three allomorphs:

(a) **-εσσι**: φυγαδεσσι DGE 424.10, 4th C. (Stem in *-d-*: no ⁺φυγαδεύς!)

(b) **-οις**: χρεματοις IvO 4.1.8 (6th C.) *et al.*

(c) **-σσι**: Θεσπιεσσι (: Θεσπιεύς), Μαντινεσσι (: Μαντινεύς) IvO 16.17 (5th C.), with <-εσσι> [-essi], cf. σσσι .21, γεγραμμενοι .14.21.23.

2a The origin of the **-σσι**-datives: an analogical proportion with the *-es*-stems after the dropping of /w/:

-es-: -έ-a -έ-os -έ-i -έ-es -έ-as -έ-ōn -ές-si (-έ-ssi)

-ew-: -έ-a -έ-os -έ-i -έ-es -έ-as -έ-ōn **-έw-si** → **-έ-ssi**

also

-i-: -i-a -έ-os **-i-i* -i-es -i-as -ί-ōn **-i-si** → **-i-ssi**

Lesb. τ]ρισσι (Mytilene, 2ndC) beside τρισιν (Eresos, 5th C. *non vidi*)

Cyren. πολισσιν SEG 20: 716.8 (4thC.) beside τρισι 9:13 (350/40), also Χα/ρισσι 9:2.34.

3 Thessalian: */-es-/*stems **-σι** (συγγενεσσι MATR.10 but ειντεσσι.2) **and -εσσι** (ταιχεεσσι SCOT A8) 513.6) χρεμασιν (Thetonion, 5th): hardly dialectal.

4 *Acc.pl. -ες*: also in Mycenaean. Actually so-called nominatives “of rubric” (or distraction)

a-ko-so-ne /akson-es/ ‘axles’ (: ἄξων) object of *o-di-do-si* /*o-didonsi*/ ‘they contribute’ in PY Vn 10

PY Vn 10 (8; H 3)

.1 o-di-do-si, du-ru-to-mo,

.2 a-mo-te-jo-na-de, e-pi-^{*}19-ta 50

.3 a-ko-so-ne-qe 50

.4 to-sa-de, ro-u-si-jo, a-ko-ro, a-ko-so-ne

pe-ri-ke /pelikes/ (cf. πέλιξ, a type of κύλιξ) and **pa-ke-te-re /pāktēres/** ‘pegs’ (cf. πηκτός) beside acc.sg. *ka-ra-te-ra /krātēra/* ‘bowl’ (: κρατήρ) and ambiguous forms in MY Ue611

Pronouns

- 1 Arc. (Mantineia): **σφεισιν** .15 (: σφιν, σφισι(ν), beside **σφεις** (Tegea: εικαν δεατοι **σφεις** ... ειναι).
 Myc. **pe-i /spe^hi/** : in *me-ta-qe*, **pe-i /meta-k^we sp^he^hi/** ‘and with them’ (PY An 519.15): **μετὰ σφῶν**. B4
 Myc. *pe-i /spe^hi/* → Arc. **σφεις** (</spe^hi +s)
 → Arc. **σφεισιν** (</spe^hi/, with reintroduction of /s/ and addition of -ν).

Stem *sp^he-/*sphi-, Hom. σφι(ν), σφισι(ν).

μετὰ with dat.-loc. pl. (like in Homer *Il.4.2 ... μετὰ δέ σφίσι πότνια Ἥβη, 4.388 μούνος ἐὼν πολέσιν μετὰ Καδμείοισιν, 16.15 ζῶει ... μετὰ Μυρμιδόνεσσιν*), not with genitive (Att. μετὰ σφῶν).

- 2 Thessalian **τοι** Αγριαται 241.1 (Pharsalos 4th C.) # οι (Pelagiotis)
τοι παντες (Atrax 3th C.).

- 3 Matropolis **τυτο-** vs **τοινεος** Larisa (: **τούτου**, not **τουδε** Lejeune 1943)

Prepositional Constructions (Mycenaean ~ Arcado-Cyprian)

- 1 **ἐπί + Locative**
 PY Un(1) 2 (Melena 2001: 71-2) (8; H 1)
 .1 pa-ki-ja-si , **mu-jo-me-no** , **e-pi** , **wa-na-ka-te**
 .2 a-pi-e-ke , o-pi-te-ke-e-u
 /Sp^hagiānsi muiomenōi epi wanaktei amp^hi-^hēke opiteuk^he^hūs (o-pi-te-<u>-ke-e-u)
 ‘in Sphagianses, on the occasion of the appointment/initiation’ of the *wanaks* sent the equipment overseer’

- 2 **ἀπό/ἐξ + Locative**: Myc. **pa-ro + locative**]: provenance
 PY Eo 160.2 a₃-wa-ja , te-o-jo , do-e-ra , e-ke-qe , o-na-to , **pa-ro** , **pi-ke-re-we** GRA T 1
Aiwaia t^heoio do^helā^hek^hei-k^we onāton paro Pikrēwei GRA ..
 ‘(Of Pikreus land non communal) / Aiwaia servant of the deity has the lease (sc. of the private plot) from Pikreus’.

- 3 with **dat.-loc. and with instrumental!**
 TH Uq 434 (a list of contributions of oxhides to the palace)
 .1 **pa-ro** , te-qa-jo-i **qa-si-re-u-pi**
/paro T^hēg^waiōi^hi (ō /T^hēg^waiōis/?) g^wasilēup^hi/ ‘from the Theban g^wasilēwes’
 /-p^hi/ in the constructions *pa-ro ... qa-si-re-u-pi* (also *o-pi ... qe-to-ro-po-pi o-ro-me-no* ‘surveying the animals’ beyond the syntactic framework of the instrumental: productivity of the desinence, sporadically extended beyond the athematic inflection (cf. sg. *e-re-pa-te-jo-pi*).

Adverbs, Conjunctions

- 1 Lac. **ση** (: αἰεί) ‘always’ SEG 12 : 371.2. (Cos, a.242): :Tarent. αἰή labelled as “Dorian”
 ... · δεξωμεσα ταν εκεχη/ριαν ταν τω Αιγλαπιω **ση**,
 Instrumental *h₂eim-eh₁ (*-eh₁), of time extension, as in Lac. *πῆ-ποκα* ‘ever yet’ (: Att. *πῶ-ποτε*), or Ved. *purā* ‘ever yet, during the time before’ (*p^hh₂-eh₁), cf. locative Hom. αἰεί, αἰεί, Cyp. *a-i-we-i /aiwei/* (IE *h₂eimēs-i).
Schol. rec. in Iliadem in 1, v. 52: ... τοῦ **αἰεί** καὶ **αἰεί** φωναὶ δώδεκα· αἰεί καὶ **αἰέν** καὶ <**αἰείν**> ποιητικῶς, <καὶ> **αἰεί** ..., καὶ **αἰῖ** Αἰολικῶς ..., καὶ **αἰῖν**, καὶ **αἰῖ**, καὶ **ἡῖ** παρὰ τοῖς Βοιωτοῖς, καὶ **αἰή** παρὰ τοῖς Ταραντινοῖς, καὶ Δωρικῶς **αἰέξ**.

- 2 Arc. **πατριαφι** ‘with indication of father’s name’ (fossilized instr. -φι)
 SEG 37.340: Mantineia, ca. 350-340?, Agreement between the Mantineans and the Heliswasians)(4thC)
 16/7 *απυγραπασ/θαι ιν τος επιμελητας πατριαφι κατ [α]λικιαν*
 “ἀπογράφασθαι ἐν τὸς ἐπιμελητὰς πατριᾶφι κατ ἡ]λικιαν”
 ‘go to be registered to the *epimeletai* with indication of father’s name according to age’

- 2a Cf. Boeot. **επιπατροφιον** ‘patronymic’ (*ἐπὶ πατρόφι) in the formula *το ονουμα κη επιπατροφιον*. (cf. Cret. *επι πατρος*, Boeot. *πατροφιστι*)
 cf. **πατρόθεν** ‘from/after a father’ *Il.10.68 πατρόθεν ἐκ γενεῆς ὀνομάζων ἄνδρα ἕκαστον*.
 Thuc. 7.69.2 τῶν τριηράρχων ἕνα ἕκαστον ἀνεκάλει, **πατρόθεν** τε ἐπονομάζων καὶ αὐτοὺς ὀνομαστὶ καὶ φυλήν.

- 3 Thess. **ποτα** (: Att. ποτε) matches Lesb. **ῶτα, ποτα, τότα** ...
 ονα/λουσαντας **τι κε ποτα** γινυείται δαπαναμα (= Att. ἀνα/λώσαντας ὅ τι ἂν ποτε γίγνηται δαπάνημα)
 ‘once they have spend the expense **which could result**’ SEG 31:572.8 (ca. 200).
- 4 Thess. **οκκε** and Lesb. **οτα κε** (: ὅταν) : Dor. ὄκκα from *ὄκα κα (e.g. in Argolis or Creta)
 και **οκκε** πενψεσθην μελλει επβοκια δυα δομεν “και **ῶταν** πέμψεσθαι μέλλη επιπόκια δύα δοῦναι”
 (Bouchon-Helly 2007.2) – but κα (Matropolis)
 ***ῶτα κε** + subj. : Lesb. και **οτα κε** α πολις ιροποιηται, ... δ[ιδω]σθω (Nasos, 4thC.).⁼
- 5 Arc. **παρος** ... **εγεγοντυ** : πριν ... ἐγένοντο (**indicative**)
 13 — {²(§5)}² οσα δε συνβολ[α]ια ετυ-
 γχανον εχοντες οι Ελισφασιοι αυτοι πο αυτος **παρος** Μαντινης
 15 **εγεγοντυ**, κυρια σφεσιν ηναι ...
 13 — §5)}² ὄσα δὲ συνβόλ[α]ια ἐτύ-
 γχανον ἔχοντες οἱ Ἐλισφάσιοι αὐτοὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς **πριν** Μαντινεῖς
 15 **ἐγένοντο/γενέσθαι**, κύρια σφισιν εἶναι ...
 ‘Whatever had in contracts /the Heliswasians with each other before they became Mantineans ...’

:: **πριν** + aor.indicative (e.g.

Pind. *Nem.* 4.28 οὐ τετραορίας γε **πριν** δωδέκα ... ἥροάς τ' ἵπποδάμους ἔλεν
 ‘... but not before he dashed twelve chariots ... and killed the horse-taming heroes’,
 Thuc. 1.51.2 ἐθαύμαζον ... **πριν** τινες ἰδόντες εἶπον ὅτι ...

IPArk 5 **παρος** το δικαστηριον παυεσθαι δικα[ζ]ον (Stymphalos (iii: IG 357, West Greek *Koina*, 303-300)
 33-4 ... τοὶ δὲ ἐπιγραφέντες δι[α]λυσάν]τω, **πάρως** τὸ δικαστήριον **παύεσθαι** δικά[ζ]ον (:(πριν + Inf.)

Verb

- 1a Augment
 Arg. ho **αφρε**τευδῶν BCH 107, 1983, 243-9 (Argos, 5th c., ed. M.Th. Mitsos), Dubois RPh 60, 1986: 100f.)
 ho τε λεγῶν και ho **αφρε**τευδῶν πασ/χε]τῶ hoσσα κα πολεμιονς επαγῶν
 ***an-urē-** univerbation: impf. ***an-urē-**
- 1b 3sg.impf. **αφρε**τευε (***an-urē-**), also **αρη**τευε (data in Nieto Izquierdo 2008: 385f.), not an augment ἄ-.
 Att. ἀνάρημα ‘proclamation’ (Phryn.), ἀνάρησις (Aeschin., D.), ῥητρεύω ‘pronounce’ (δικας
 Lyc.1400).
 Univerbation (like Att. ἠνσχόμεν, ἠνώγει (ἄνωγα), ἠναίνετο, ἠνοιγον).
- 2 **Absence of augment?** (Bottin 1969,80ff)
 Myc. **a-pu-do-ke, do-ke, te-ke** ... (ECIEC 2018)
 DGE 647a (Naucratis, vas. 6th)— —αντιας **καθ(θ)ε**κε τοῖ [Απολλῶνι(?)]
 SEG 10:452a (Attica, 540) τοῦτ' ἐποιεῖσεν καλόν : | στέλεν : δ' ἐπ' αὐτῶι : **θε**κε Φαίδιμο(ς) σοφός.
 IG V,1 1232 (Laconia, archaic) **θε**κε τοῖ Ποιοιδῶνι Νίκῶν Νικαφορίδα και Λύλιππον και
- 3 **ἀ-** augment?
 a Qδῖος μ' **απο**εσεν (Minon n° 60: 550-525) f. ευσαβειοι (: εὔσεβέοι) vs. ασαβητω, γνῶμαν (: γνῶναι)...
- b <a>**βρά**χεν· ἤχησεν ‘clashed, rang loudly’: ***ἄν-βρα**χεν <**αββρα**χεν>
 Od.21.48...τὰ δ' **ἀνέβρα**χεν ἠῦτε ταῦρος /...· τόσ' **ἔβρα**χε καλὰ θύρετρα / πληγέντα κληῖδι (sc. θύρα),
ἀνάβραχε· ἤχησε, ποιὸν ἤχον ἀπετέλεσεν (Il. 19.13) Hsch.
 Il.19.12...(τεύχεα) ... /...· τὰ δ' **ἀνέβρα**χε δαίδαλα πάντα. (Il.7.267 περιήγησεν δ' ἄρα χαλκός)
- c <a>**δε**ῖρεν· **ἔδειρεν** ‘stripped off’: ***ἄν-δειρεν**, ***ἄπ-δειρεν** <**αδδειρεν**>
 Hdt.5.25 σφάξας **ἀπέδειρε**, αποκτείνας ... **ἀπέδειρε** (Lucian 1x)
 Pi.fr.203: **ἀνδέρωντι** πόδας ‘strip skin off the feet’
 Ar.Ra.1106 **ἀνά**<τε>**δέρετον** τὰ τε παλαιὰ και τὰ καινὰ (al. -δέρεσθον)
- d **απνυ**ζε? Dubois n°28 (SEG 27:817, Poseidonia, 480-70 : ἄν-πυγ- (Pontrandolfo 1987)?
 ... εραται : ρΟλχας· απνυζε Απολλοδοδρον / εραται ... ηραται
 Dubois 2002: 72f. Doit être corrigé, soit en ἐπύγιζε ... soit en {α} πυγίζει ... «paedicat»
- e **κάμβα**λεν· κατέβαλεν Hsch., Arg. αρήτευε, αστάς (Nieto 384 n.483)

4 Boeot. **ανεθε**: Att. ἀνέθη (cratera, Delphi, 5th c.) ed. A. Jacquemin, *BCH* Suppl. 9, 1984, 149 Σδοσιας μ' **ανεθε** (Corcyrian antron, Delphi, 5th c.), probably a Theban (Dubois 1986:100) before *vacat* no error (Forssman, MSS 23, 1968, 7ff.); ἀνέθη more "regular" than ἀνέθηκε, cf. pl. ἀνέθεμεν. – *^oέ^hέτ (Skr. *ádhit*, → Hitt. *tē^{mi}* 'say, assert,' Luv. *ta^{mi}* 'put')

4 Elean 3pl. **-αν: εθεαν**!! Minon n° 16 (Olympia, ca. 475/450) **εθεαν** ...φαλειῶ (du.!) 'made both Eleans' vs. ἔδωκαν ... πολιτηιαν Minon n° 29 (399/369) Unique as against the WGk ἔθεν, cf. El. απεγγον 15.5 (later ανεθεῖκαν (45), εδωκαν (29.1) ELocr. ανεθεαν (Halae 500-475:Boeotian!) vs. EWLocr -ηκαν (MéndezDosuna 1985: 207).

4a 3pl. *^o-d^h(e)h₁-nt / *^od^hh₁-ent > PGk. *^hat / *^hent : WGk. ἔ-θεν, ἔ-δον → remodelling *^he-a-nt, *do-a-nt (on the analogy of 3pl. -αν (from *-at < *-nt). Arc. ptc. **αυυδοας** (: ἀποδούς) IG 6.13 (2nd H., 4th C.) **υυθεαντω** (: ἀναθέντων) IG 4.15, καθεντω. 15 (: Alipheira E. 3rd C.) → 3pl. **παρακαλεαν** Thelphousa 3.3 (vs. παρακαλεντων) *IvM* 38.6, The development of a full flexion with -α- has been stronger in Arcadian than in other dialects.

5 Thess. 3pl. **-(ι)εν**: (517.13: a. 217/6) ενεφανισσοεν αυτου ποκκι και α αμμεουν πολις ...**ποτεδεετο ονεθεκεν** 27: 183.2 (ATR, s. 6/5th?) Θεμιστι Αγοραιαι / οι ταγοι ονεθεκεν **εδουκαεν/εδδκαεν** (: ἔδοσαν) *passim*
(1) επαγ/γελλοεν (3thC) αζουε[v (3thC)
(2a) **εστασαιεν** 'they erected' 35: 494.3 (ATR 3thC): αρχοντες ΟΡΑΟΙ ... / **εστασαιεν [ε]σσαιεν** (ο bien **εφστασαιεν**) (: ἔξέστησαν) Helly 1970.32 (LAR, 3th/2nd)
(2b) **διακουσαιεν** (: διήκουσαν, ο bien opt. διακούσαιεν?) 27: 226.5/9 (CRANN, a. 150-130)
(2c) **εκρινναεν** GHW 5740.5/6 (ATR, end 3thC)
(3) **επερραθειε[v** (: ἐπειρήθησα[v] 27: 226.6 (CRANN, a. 150-130)
(4) **ειχοιεν** (: εἶχον) Malay - Riel 2009 (AEG, a. 281). – **ελλαβοιεν** ?? – ειχοιεν
The formal confluence of optative and secondary endings (Morpurgo Davies 1965) is favoured by the so-called *imperfectus obliquus* as a dialectal variant of the *optativus obliquus*

6 Thess. impv. 3pl. **-vθου(v)** /-nto:(n)/ (cf. -vθει(v), -vθο, -vθι) : **different from Lesb. -nton/** (also Pamphylian) – Boeot. **-vτω (-vθω)** **καθθενθουν .7, πουλενθουν .13** (: καταθέντων, πολούντων) **ενθου**: ATR.2 **ενθου** κο[ινον .6, κο[ινοιο **ενθου** n°18.8, LAR (Helly-Tzafalias 2013)
Ptc.gen.pl. <vτ>, **-vτουν: ταγευσα/vτουν** ATR. 96.15/6, ... **whence: -vθου(v) ~ -μεθα,-σθε!**

Verbal stems

1 aor. **επετον*** = **ἔπεσον** : Thess.**ποππετοντος** Tz-GR-BH. 43 (: Att. προσπεσόντος), Literay Lesbian (Alc fr. 380.1 Voigt), Doric Thourioi (IG 14: 642.4), Metapont (...]υλαισι πετοντες[... (Dubois 2002 71.4), Pindar (*Ol.* 7.69 and 8.38; *Pyth.* 5.50) Isyllus of Epidaurus (IG IV² : 128.8). IE *pet- or *peth₁- 'to fall', as against Att.-Ion. ἔπεσον (-s- secondary and modelled on the future tense).

2 **Aorist -V̄sa- : -Vssa-** [Hermann 1922] (type καλεσσα-, ὁμοσσα- (-V-ssa-): Lesbian, Boeotian, Homer: now also Thessalian ATR.1.8/9. Προμαθεος **νικαμε/y** Κελαινδας · **εισασθα** μα Προμαθεα εισασθα /e:sast^hai/: ἦττᾶσθαι (GR Berlin, 92), cf. ποδεξαστα /^odeksast^hai/ (MATR) <a> für *-aj. Att. **ἦττᾶσθαι** 'to be cast in a suit' vs. **νικᾶν** 'win (one's cause)' (frequent in Crete) X.Mem.4.4.17 πῶς δ' ἂν ἦττον ἐν τοῖς δικαστηρίοις **ἦττῶτο** ἢ πῶς ἂν μάλλον **νικῶη**;

3 Type ***-ē-s-o/e-**, Aor. ***-ē-sa-** (cf. χαρήσω Hom.+, ἀδήσω Hdt.+)
Cypr. **a-wi-je-so-ma-i** /awjēsomai/ 'I shall eat' *ICS*² 10a (Old Paphos, 6th c.) **a-se-so-si** /asēsōnsi/ 'will fatten' (cf. Hom. ἄσσα, **ἄσασθαι**, fut. **ἄσεσθε**, inf. ἄμεναι). **e-we-pe-se-so-me-na** /eu^hepsēsomena/ 'to be well boiled' (: ἔψω 'boil', aor. **ἐψησα-**, ἠψήθη- Hdt.+)
ἐψήσομαι Pl.+)
MN ka-e-sa-me-no /Ka^hēsameno-/ (PGk. *khs-ē-, *kēns- 'speak solemnly', 'praise')

4 **εις**, and **ειε** 'he was' (Thessalian)
a **εις** (*ē-s-t: *é-h₁es-t) in pluperf. εξαγγρεμενος εις (: ἐξήρημένος ἦν) Larisa, 3thC (GR-Helly-Tziafalias 2006)

- 42/3 ενεφα[νισ]/σε ποκ[κ]ι ... (: ενεφά[νι]ζε ὅτι ...),
[43 ... Πατροκλεα ... εμφανισσοντος διε/κι ... / ... εδουλενε (: ... Πατροκλή ... ἐμφανίζοντος διότι ... ἐδούλενε)],
- 45/6 επιγνος διε/κι εις ελευθερος και Λαρισαιος , # εξαγγρεμενος εις...
(ἐπιγνούς διότι ἦν ἐλευθεύρος καὶ Λαρισαίος, ἐξηρημένος ἦν
'... that Patrokles was a free man and a Larisaean, had liberated him')

b thematic **ειε** (SCOT.59f): επιδει πλειον τοπος **ειε** / δαμοσσοσ ("ἦν δημόσιος")
c 3pl. ειεν (**e^hent*: εψαφισμενοι ... **ειεν** LAR 5.10.14, also with neuter plural as the subject cf. οσσα αναγκαια ειεν, ... και οσσα παρλελμ/[με]να ειεν.

5 Lac. εφ-ενεπ-οντι, aor. Elean επενπ-ετῶ , Myc. *a-pi-e-qe* */*amp^hi-en-sk^we(t)*/ (ECIEC 2010)
Myc. 3sg. *te-re-ja* /*teleiāi*/ 'fulfills a/his task', infinitive *te-re-ja-e* /*teleiā^hen*/: denominative
po-ηε-to /*ponētoi* , /*ponētoi*/ 'works' (Att. **πονέο/ε-**) : denominative
to-ro-qe-jo-me-no /*trok^we^(h)omeno-* or /*(s)trok^we^(h)omeno-* 'turning around': iterative (ECIEC 2023).

A Case Study Arc. φατοι (Mantineia, 350/340) : φῆται
Thess. ο φαμενος, η φαμενα (4th.-1st C.=Epic,Hdt.) vs. εφᾶ (1st C.: *hapax*)
Ion. εφατο, εφαμην beside φασιν (Olbia, ca. 500).

1 **Mantineia** 21/2 αν δε τις των απυγραφεντων μη **φατοι** / τινα ηναι Ελισφασιον
'ἦν δέ τις ... μὴ φῆ τινα εἶναι Ἐλισφάσιον' (≠: **no coreferentiality**)
'if one of registered persons **declares that someone is not** an Helissaeon'
Homer! **Od.20.90** χαῖρ', ἐπει οὐκ ἐφάμην ὄναρ ἔμμεναι, ἀλλ' ὕπαρ ἦδη.

Other forms are **active** (*IPArk* 17: Stymphalos 305: *koiná*)
10/2. εἰ δέ τις φαίη τινα ἔχειν αὐτοὶ μάρτυριαν, ὁ δὲ μὴ φαγῆ ... μὴ ἴσμεν
'and if one indicates someone to declare as a witness for him ...' (≠: **no coreferentiality**)
144. ... καὶ τοῦ δεσπότα, οὗ κα φαίη ε/[ί]μεν
'and of the master of whom he claims to be (slave)' (= **coreferentiality**)
169. [εἰ] δὲ φαίη τις ἄλ(λ)ου τετιμᾶσθαι
'if one say that he has a different appreciation...' (= **coreferentiality**)

2 **Thessaly** Manumission formula **ο φαμενος** απειλευθερου**σθειν** (3nd/1st ct. BC) (GR 2008:204f.;
Minamimoto 2016; Helly 2017): (= **coreferentiality**)

- (a) **ο φαμενος** – απειλευθερου**σθειν** – ἀπό + Gen.]
Μενουν **ο φαμενος** απειλευθερουσθειν απο Μενεστρατοι Πορτ[ι]νειοι
'who declares (**of himself**) to have been set free by/from Menestratos' SEG 31: 577.12f. *et al.* (LAR),
- (b) **ὁ φάμενος** – ἀπηλευθερῶ/σται – ὑπό + Gen.].
Ἀριστοκράτης **ὁ φάμενος** ἀπηλευθερῶ/σται (ὑπό + gen.) SEG 33:464.20 (= .25/6) (LAR, 27).
Κοινέ: **ἡ φαμένη** ἀπηλευθερῶσθαι (ATR. 48.3) «affranchis»,
Variants Φιλομμεια **απελευθερεσθεν[σα]** / απο Σ]ατυρας Ευμειλεια[ς IG 414.A (PHER, 3rd/2nd) *passim*.
masc. **ἀπελευθερωθέντες**.²

(c) Also **Active!** (≠: **no coreferentiality**)
Νικα/τουρ Μνασεαιος υπερ Ἀφροδισιας Δαίμαχαιας {τ} ος **εφα** <α>πει/λευθερου**σθειν** απο Δαιμχοι
Θ<ε>ιριμαχιοι IG 9:2. 553 (LAR, early 1st C)
'Nikator son of Mnaseas, on behalf of Aphrodisia of Daimakhos, **who declared (her) to have been emancipated** from Daimakhos son of Theirimakhos' (Minamimoto 2015)

[Other regions **ἀφέθη ἐλεύθερος** 'was released/set free'
Calymna, Cos: οἱ **ἀφωθέντες ἐλεύθεροι** / καὶ ἀνατεθέντες ἱεροὶ τῶι Ἀσκλαπιῶι
'those who have been set free and set up an offering in the temple of Asclapios'
b Bouthrotos (Illyria): ... οἱ **ἀφωμένοι** / ἐλεύθεροι καὶ ἀνατεθέντες ἱεροὶ τῶι / Ἀσκλαπιῶι,
active **ἀφίεντι** ἐλεύθερον 'they release (him) free',
Passive οἱ **ἀφέντες ἐλευθέρους** '[lit.] those who have released (them) free'
c ἀφαιρεσθαι (ἀφαίρεσις εἰς ἐλευθερίαν, Bielman 1994).
d Thessaly καὶ **κατεσταουκουν** ελευθερον (= **καὶ καθεστηκῶς ἐλεύθερον**).46-47 LARn^o5]]

² Neutralization of both stems in the participle cf. εχορισθαι :: κεχορισται (Scotoussa): The achievement of the telic process expressed either by aorist 'he became free : manumitted' or by the perfect 'is free'.

4 A probably byzantine question: **φαμενος** present or **aorist**?
 Debrunner 1936:78f. "der die Erklärung abgegeben hat, er sei freigelassen")
 Aor.? **φαμενου Πυρρια 69.10:: Πυρρια ειπαντος**.4 (*Koina* LAM, ii), cf. παρακληθείς τε... επεδέξατο.8.
 "εφην no tiene aspecto" "ambigüedad de sentidos de *parole* solo se explica si el valor de *langue* es neutro"
 (Ruipérez 1954:111-3; Kölligan 2007:227-29)

Post Homeric φάμενος, like act. φάς (and φάσκων) all ... (=coreferentiality)

Hdt. 2.28 Οὗτος δ' ἔμοιγε παίζειν ἐδόκεε, **φάμενος εἰδέναι** ἀτρεκέως

Hdt.1.122 Ὁ δέ σφι ἔλεγε, **φάς** πρὸ τοῦ μὲν οὐκ εἰδέναι ἀλλὰ **ἡμαρτηκέναι** πλεῖστον

D. 32.14 καὶ ἡμφεσβήτει τοῦ σίτου, **φάσκων** Ἥγεστράτω δεδανεικέναι

[A. Covini, *Il cosiddetto medio dinamico: studio sincronico e diacronico da Omero a Erodoto*, Tesi Laurea Milano, UCSC, 2013: 210-7].

3. Olbia (private letter, ca.500 BC (ed. P. Ceccarelli 2013; SEG 48:1012 (54:694); Santiago-Gardeñes 2006) (Albio CASSIO p.c.)

3 ... τὰ γὰρ **χρ[ήμ]ατα** σὰ **ἐφάμην** Εἶναι : καὶ Μένω/ν

4 **ἔφατό σε** ἐπ[ι]θῆναι ἐωρτῶι : καὶ τ[ᾶ]<λ>λα ὅσα σὺ αὐτῶι ἐπέ-

5 θηκας καὶ π[ρὸ]ς **ἔφατό** {σ'} ἐμοὶ σὰ τὰ χρήματα ἐνήν ...

7 ... κἔνοι γάρ **φασιν** : ὅ τι σὸν ἔχῶσιν **ἀποδώ-**
[σῆν] τὸ : συλη[θὲν ὄλον ἐπτά καὶ εἴκοσιν στατηῆρες *vacat*

3 "... Pues yo **he dicho que la mercancía era tuya**. También Menón

ha dicho que tú se la habías confiado precisamente a él, así como todo lo demás que tú

5 le habías confiado, y **ha añadido que era** precisamente **yo quien tenía** tu mercancía (: ἐμοὶ ... ἐνεῖναι)

7 ... pues ellos **dicen que**, lo que tengan tuyo, **lo devolverán,**

lo apresado. El montante total (es) de 27 estateres *vacat*" (Santiago-Gardeñes 2006:62-63)

An apparently precise distribution: **ἐφάμην, ἔφατο** + **AcI** ≠: **no coreferentiality**

φασιν + **Inf.** = **coreferentiality**

... in contradiction with Thessalian **φαμενος** + **Inf.** = **coreferentiality** vs. **εφα** + **AcI** ≠: **no coreferentiality**

H4 Homer is no major help

(ἐ)φάμην, (ἐ)φάτο, (ἐ)φαντο ~ φῆ, ἔφη (metrically conditioned!!!)

Otherwise contrastive approach possible only °φάσθε / φάτ(ε), φάμενος / φάς

1 **ἐφάμην, ἔφατο** + **AcI** ≠: **no coreferentiality** : **Homer**

Od. 1.194 δὴ γὰρ μιν ἔφαντ' ἐπιδήμιον εἶναι 'for they said that he (σὸν πατέρ'α) was among his people'

Od. 20.90 ..., ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἐφάμην ὄναρ ἔμμεναι, ἀλλ' ὕπαρ ἦδη.

Il. 12.165/6 οὐ γὰρ ἔγωγ' ἐφάμην ἥρωας Ἀχαιοὺς / στήσειν ἡμέτερόν γε μένος

'I did not say/think that the heroes would hold back our force'

Il. 6.501/2 οὐ γὰρ μιν ἔτ' **ἔφαντο** ὑπότροπον ἐκ πολέμοιο / ἴξεσθαι προφυγόντα μένος καὶ χεῖρας Ἀχαιῶν.

