Atticists and lexicographers. An important contribution is made to our understanding of the place in the history of Greek generally of the Septuagint and the New Testament. (The original plan was to divide the work up into chapters on the lines indicated, but this has been abandoned in favour of an alphabetical arrangement, as more practical for the reader and avoiding some overlap.)

The only common form of modern Greek useful for our purpose is the vernacular, the διμότικη, as distinguished from the artificial καθαρευόμενα, or mixtures of the two. 'Διμότικη is the result of natural development of Greek over the centuries', (2) and as such gives one direct access to antiquity, whereas the καθαρευόμενα, a hybrid resulting from a misapplied admiration for antiquity and used more formally, is largely borrowed rather than inherited from antiquity. (3)

In recent times the katharevousa has to some extent influenced demotic, and in using demotic one must be careful to disregard such features. 'Blind' tends to be τυφλός rather than στραμός, and 'left' to be άριστερός rather than αριστερός, just as phonetically γρήγορα tends to replace γρήγορα 'quickly' and λεπτό to replace λεπτό 'money'.

As well as from the modern koine, the demotic, much information can be drawn from the dialects, either because they have kept words which have not passed into demotic or have been lost there, or else because they preserve features which directly reflect ancient dialects and sometimes help to illustrate or even elucidate them. (4) None of these dialects exists to-day in a pure form, all having been influenced to a greater or less extent by the demotic or by other dialects. There is the inevitable tendency for dialects to become weaker, and features mentioned in this book may be on the way out or actually lost. (5)

In the invaluable Lexikon der Archaismen in neugriechischen Dialekten recently published by Nikolaos Andriotis we have as good as complete information about the distribution in the modern dialects of features discussed in this book as of all other features of vocabulary as far as they have been recorded, and in view of the many lexika that are now available for separate dialects or groups of dialects it is hardly a rash presumption that not very much of importance is missing, though we should still like fuller knowledge from parts of the Peloponnese and Northern Greece.

The importance of the dialects for our purpose varies
My purpose has been to stress, following on the steps of others like Hatzidakis, the closeness in vocabulary as in grammatical features of the modern vernacular to that of the later period of the ancient language. It is admitted that this has been done without proper control by comparisons from the older periods, and also that we have more abundant and more varied evidence especially from the papyri. It is also stated here once and for all that the gaps in our knowledge of all periods of Greek are fully realized.

Finally, some remarks on points of biblical Greek not otherwise picked up are included, and the potentiality of Romance to illustrate Greek developments is shown by a few examples, usually combined with modern Greek evidence.

The documents of the Middle Ages do not fall within the scope of our subject, and in any case, as Kapsomenos 21 says, it is only Modern Greek as a spoken language that allows us to distinguish what in the written tradition belonged to the living language and what was merely paper Greek. Older documents have a value in helping us to trace the origin and development of features of the modern language that do not go back to antiquity, but this, again, is not our concern.

The Phonetics of Modern Greek

(These notes have the purely practical purpose of indicating the main phonetic features of modern Greek and their relationship to antiquity. For more details and for the chronology of the changes involved the reader is referred to Browning’s Medieval and Modern Greek and more fully to Thumb’s Handbuch.)

1. Features reflecting differences in the ancient dialects:

For the survival of ancient ᾴ and for the representation of η in Pontic, etc., as e see above in the discussions of Doric and Ionic. (14)

The ancient u is in demotic and usually represented by /i/, but in Tsakonian and the ‘Old Athenian’ group by /u/ or /iu/ (see below).

As already in the koine ω ω prevails over the mainly Attic ι, so γάλακτος, etc., also ὑμέρα ‘to-day’.

Similarly the ω of Ionic, etc., is usual, not the ω of Attic.
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The displacement of the aspirate found in Ionic and occasionally elsewhere is reflected in a few words in Asia Minor, also elsewhere. (15)

2. Changes that have taken place at least in the main since classical antiquity:

There is now no phonemic difference of quantity in the vowels. Accented vowels are now longer than the same vowels unaccented. This change no doubt goes hand in hand with the importance of stress as a feature of the modern accent. Modern spellings have a purely historical value, as based on antiquity, so also for the next paragraph.

Demotic and most dialects have a simple system of five vowels: α, ε, ο (open), ἴ, ο (open), υ (written ου). The ancient η, ι, ο and υ have normally run together with ι, and αι with ει. In some words ου is found in unaccented syllables where an ι sound would be expected, esp. in dialects: χρουός, οουόμι 'sesame', etc.; so also instead of ω, ο: σκουλήκι 'worm', ποικί 'bean' < κόκκος.

In demotic and most dialects ea, ia and eo, io become υαι, υαν even if the ε or ι was originally accented, the accent then moving backwards, as ἐπασα 'seized', except at the end of a word, where it moves to the final syllable: ἐλύ 'olive', νυδς 'young'. (16) The yod is commonly indicated by an inverted crescent or other sign under the ε or ι.

In the diphthongs αυ and ευ the second element has become β (v) before voiced sounds and φ (f) before unvoiced stops: so in πατέως, ἀδύρη 'flour', ψέφης; but before ν the v is lost, as in Ψέμα 'lie' (so also γ, as πρῶς), and before ν it becomes μ, as λάμαν 'row', ξύνοστος.

It commonly becomes ηρ, esp. in unaccented syllables: ητρ, μερηγι 'ant'; but τπρ 'cheese', etc.

Over a wide area of Northern Greece unaccented ι and ου tend to be lost, and in most of the same area unaccented e and ο become ι and υ, e.g. κειμί = κειμήλι 'head' (Pontus), διεύ = διεύς 'work' (Jannina). (17)

The reduction of -ον to -ν and of -ος to -ς, which began in the koine period, is normal in Mod., and very important in the extremely frequent diminutives in -τ (v).

The anc. stops β, δ, γ and φ, θ, χ have become spirants.

The combinations πτ and κτ have become κτ and κτ, e.g. ἐκτη, ὑκτω; the same result comes from ψθ and χθ,
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The unvoiced spirants tend to interchange, esp. in some dialects. The demotic tends to avoid δ + dental, so χιβερός, ἄρωφος.

The voiced spirants βού tend in many dialects to be lost or interchanged initially or between vowels, most noticeably in the S.E. dialects, e.g. Carpathos (Β)δάλλα, φο(Β)οδώμα, πῆ(γ)ά(δ)ι 'well', βάλα 'milk', γιό(δ) 'thirst'.

An opposite tendency appears in many dialects in the insertion of a γ to avoid hiatus between vowels: δγόρι 'boy' from δωρός (demotic), καλα(γ)ω esp. after υ, χρεύω, etc.

Unvoiced stops become voiced after nasals: [λάμбо] 'shine', [πένδε] 'five', [άγυρα] 'anchor'. It is usual, however, to write ύ, ντ, γκ, so even γαμμός, δέντρο for old μβ, νό. Some dialects have simple voiced stops, and the nasal is very weak initially even in demotic.

Before a consonant ι becomes ρ, as δηροφός.

The sequence ρ -- ρ is commonly dissimilated to ι -- ι, as πλόω 'prow'.

Nasals disappear before the unvoiced spirants, as
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κνύξα (Theoc.) = κώνυξα; hence Bov. κλύξα, etc., elsewhere only Corfu κρύξα 'publicaria' (Rohlfs);
demotic (ά)κάνυξα. The priority, κνύξα or κώνυξα, is doubtful (Frisk). The Bov. and Corfu forms have treat-
ments of κν- for which compare forms of κνίδν, and κώνυξα could be thought to have an epenthetic vowel, accented like άκνυξα from άκνυθη, q.v., differing from Otr. κινίδα from κνίδν. The loss of an accented vowel would also be somewhat surprising. Byzantios, for whom άκνυξαν is the form in Attica, demotic κουβόγχοτον and other words, compares κόρυξα, which is not without interest.

κνύξα 'wrinkled' see LA.

κόμπαλος: the late-attested but probably original (non-Attic) sense 'porter' (LSJ, Frisk) is the one found in mod. κουβάλα 'transport', -ης, etc. Add to LSJ SB 9699.336 δώρον ή κοφαλευόντων κόπρον εις ΗΣΟΥΛ(ου).

κόμπαρος: άνος (Hsch.), 'woodlouse', see Frisk, and Kukules Hsch. 31f.

κοιτάξεω (koine) 'encamp', 'bivouac', is illustrated by the mod. sense 'look at' 'observe', through 'keep

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watch'. False etymologies led to the mod. spelling κοιτάξεω (238).

The transition is illustrated by Plb. 10.15.9 συναδροίαντες εις την ἀγορὰν τὰ διεσπαρμένα κατὰ σημαίας ἐπὶ τούτων κοιτάζοντα, N.B. as opposed to οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς παρευβολῆς ἐμενον, not then 'encamp' with LSJ; also Poxy. l.c. of an ἀλλοφυλάξ.

κοιτάζω 'put to bed' is dialect, details in LA.

Cf. ἐκ-, παρα-, προ-κοιτάζω 'keep watch' in LSJ.

In Carpathos the verb is not used = βλέπω, but only of 'going to rest', esp. of birds, which confirms the accepted derivation. Κοιτη is frequent of fowls, 'roost'. So also in the 'Old Athenian' group and else-
where.

κόκκινος gives the demotic for 'red', replacing ἐρυθρός. With Pontic 'beautiful' as well as 'red' compare Russ. krasny 'red', 'Beautiful'. Because of the proximity of Pontic to the Slavonic languages their influence cannot be ruled out.

κόκκιναι· οἱ πυρῆνες τῶν ἑλαιῶν (Hsch.).

Latte compares mod. κουκουνάρι, which is the seed of a pine or fir (Lex.Pr.). Kukules reads κωκωνάι, cf.
precisely the same way. So also Vit. Ἀπολ. G 40 κέλευσατε ἄναστομεν.

In the LXX κέλευς is rather rare. Its place is taken by other verbs, and of these ἐπιτάσσω is used in Tobit in just the same way as κέλευσον above. Thus in 3.6 ἐπιτάσσον ἀναλαβέντω τὸ πνεῦμα μου ὅπως ἀπολυθήσεται καὶ ἐπιτάσσω ἄπολυθησάται με τῆς ἀνάγκης ἵνα εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τόπον (so versions B, essentially the same S), 3.15 ἐπιτάσσον ἐπιβλέψαι ἐπ’ ἐμὲ καὶ ἐλέησαι με, 8.7 ἐπιτάσσον ἐλέησαι με the contexts allow no other interpretation; so even 3.13 BA εἰςὸν ἄπολυθησης με ἄπο τῆς γῆς (S εἰςὸν ἄπολυθησης με ἄπο τῆς γῆς seems more ordinary). In NT κέλευς is never in Mar. or Jo. (ἐπιτάσσο, λέγω) often in Matt. and Act. Ap.

There is a close parallel to the old use of κέλευς in Pôiss. and to those of ἐπιτάσσων in Machairas 350f. ἐπιτάσσον ἀναλαβέντω τὸ πνεῦμα μου, νὰ ὁρίζεις νὰ μᾶς τὸ δώσῃς 'if it please your Lordship, order that you give them to us.'

We have here one of the many remarkable parallelisms in the history of late Greek and late Latin in that jube(te) is used in the same way. Examples are given by A.H. Salonius Vitae Patrum 403 f. from the third book, e.g. magis jube(n) facere nobiscum aliquidus dies; non enim dimitto vos hodie. He quotes also Anth. Lat. 491.5
(Riese) Asterique tui semper meminisse iubeto, which was emended to iubetor by Ziehen, as it was bound to be by someone. (Asterius consul 494 A.D.) Note in the VP quotation magie = Fr. mais and aliquantos for aliquid.

This use must in Mod. come from the katharevousa. A parallel may be pointed out in the καλῶς ἀληθὲς and καλῶς οὐ εὔφοιν and variations, 'expressions of salutation' quoted by Sophocles, the first from about 400 A.D. We have here the modern greetings καλῶς ὑφάσκει (ἢβάσκει) and καλῶς ὁδὸς βρῶκαμε of host and visitor, where καλῶς replaces the demotic καλά.

For a med. anticipation of mod. usage note Flor. 1469 'καλῶς σὲ ήπορα, κύριε μου'. 'καλῶς ἀληθὲς' τὸν λέγει.

In the Poèmes Prodr. κελεύω means 'desire', 'please', I 61 ἦ χαίρον, ἦ πάλιν,ον, ἦ δός ὅποι κελεύεις, II 19d ἂν δὲ κελεύῃς ἄκουσου, noticeably in 2nd person. So also Vita Aesop. W 66 εἰ κελεύεις, δοξηποτα, λύσκωθαι.

For κελεύω see also s.v.

'Όμος > Tsak. όμος 'narrow strip of raised land between two fields', presumably from anc. όμος 'cord', supporting anc. statements that the word was so accented in this sense, see Hsch. and final note in LSJ. (Under όμος 'Ankerplatz' in LA.)

'Όμος is differentiated by Ammonius 353 from δόμος or δῶμος. This is early evidence for the change of λ to ρ before consonants, which is normal in demotic. It is to be added to those cited from II P onwards by Schwyzer I 213, 'esp. before labials'.

Thumb Hell. 192 reported hearing ἀδελφός in Samsun and ἀδελφός from a Cappadocian, and suggested that in the koine there were separate λ and ρ areas, both in A.M., λ remaining in the present day NE. Later evidence makes it clear that λ persisted in varying degrees at different localities in A.M., with variations depending on the following consonants and perhaps other considerations. Costakis Silli 42 says λ changes to ρ before κ, τ, μ. On the other hand ἄμεξο 'milk' is usual, δόμος is given for several localities by Dawkins and ἄμη is given by Andriotic 25 from Pharsa. Forms of ἀδελφός have only λ. In Papadopulos' lexicon I note for Pontic ἄλμηδα and κόπως but ἐρκος, ἐφος or ἐρτα (= ἐλθο, perhaps influenced here and elsewhere, e.g. at Pharsa, by ἄρχων). The question for A.M. is clearly separate from that for Greek elsewhere. I have not pursued the matter further.

The definition of δόμος as μυριωχόν σκεδὸς is not supported by Cappad. 'mortar for pounding grain' (Dawkins). Cf. s.v. δόμος.
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Παιδίσθη μὲν ἐστὶ πάσα ἢ τὴν παιδικὴν ἔχουσα ἡλικίαν, ὡς καὶ παιδίσκος, θεράπαινα δὲ ἢ δούλη (Ammonius 378). Παιδίσθη μὲν ἐστὶ ἢ ἐλεύθερα παρ’ Ἀττικῶσι, παῖς δὲ ἢ δούλη (380).

NT illustrates Ammonius' warning, in that παιδίσκη is here only = δούλη. It is important that neither δούλη in the ordinary sense nor θεράπαινα occurs in Bauer's Lexikon, nor does παῖς ever mean 'female servant'. (328) An instructive passage is Luc. 12.45 ἐὰν ... ὁ δούλος ... ἄρεται τύπτειν τοὺς πάτας καὶ τὰς παιδίσκας, illustrating the use of the diminutive for 'girl' rather than 'boy' which is found e.g. in puella) (puer, Mädchen) (Knabe, (329) and also the change 'boy' > 'slave', at first of young slaves, here contrasting with the δούλος who is in charge during the master's absence. (Παιδίσκη LXX as NT.)

Ἡ παῖς occurs only in Luc. 8.51 τὸν πατέρα τῆς παιδός, 54 ἢ παῖς ἔγειρε! It is clear that this is a purism, no longer in living speech, to avoid the κορίδον of Matt. 9.24ff. and Marc. 5.41ff., obviously a popular diminutive, here applied to a girl twelve years old, as Mark v. 42 tells us. This word occurs only in one other context, Matt. 14.11 = Marc. 6.22ff. of Salome. This context is not in Luke, neither in John.

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Κόρη is not found in NT, and it is only as 'pupil of the eye' in Bauer's other literature, as also in LXX. It survives, however, in Cappad. as 'girl, daughter', in Pontic as 'girl', 'pupil of the eye', 'doll', also in Cephallonian, and as 'girl' in Makhairas, e.g. 214.14, 386.31. (These not in LA.)

Κορίδον survives in Livisi χοιρίν, and κορίδον in Pontic κορίδον(n), both listed in LA.

Κορίδον is not demotic, but is common, esp. in songs, throughout the dialects. The usual words are κορίτσα, with presumably Slav. ending, and also κοσάλα, of doubtful origin. It was οὖρλας for Pollux II 17 and condemned by Phrynichus 73, who accepted κόριον, κορίδον, κορίδα. Photius tells us that Philippides ridiculed it as Ἐνυκόν. It came into use at the time of Philip and Alexander and was called Μακεδονικὸν by Sch.B on Y 404. (330) It has a certain isolation especially in the Attic vocabulary, and -δόνω belongs largely to the North-West, cf. s.v. κυμάδον. As Chantraine Noms 75 observes, it is the only example which 'présente nettement une valeur diminutive'. A reason for its success is suggested by Arr. Epict. 2.1.28 οὐδένα ἔχεις κύριον; οὐκ ἄργυρον, οὐ κορδόν, οὐ παιδόλον ...; The normal -δόνω would have produced an awkward ρ ... ρ,
a succession which Greek tended to avoid in ancient times (Schwyzer I 264) as in modern, where λ...ο is the common result. The only early example of such a -οδον is Ar.'s ἀνθρώπον, no doubt an occasional formation, too early for -ον.

The corresponding terminology for males and for the two sexes together has many points of interest in NT.

μαύς itself does not occur in Mark, and in John only once, 4.51 λέγοντες δι' ὑμᾶς οὖν ζητ., with variants μαύδιον and υλός, elsewhere in NT Matthew, Luke, Acts, here once of humanity, 20.12 τὸν μαύδιον = 9 τις νεανίς, otherwise of David and Jesus as μαύδιος of God, which involves theological problems and is of little value for the study of the language of the times. The absence of the word from Mark (apart from 9.21 ἐκ μαύδιος D.) is highly significant, as he has μαύδιον twice where Luke or Matthew have μαύς, 5.40 τὸν μαύδιον τοῦ μαύδιου = Luc. 8.51 τὸν μαύδιον τῆς μαύδου (xoróδον in the same context), and 9.24 = Matt. 17.18 μάυς. In this second example ὁ μαύδιον τοῦ μαύδιου tells Christ that his son has suffered from fits ἐκ μαύδιον, the curious illogicality of the μαύδιον suffering thus from when he was a μαύδιον showing vividly the loss of diminutive sense in the word.

In Matthew and Luke μαύς is either 'child' in age or 'slave' (so surely the μαύδες of Herod in Matt. 14.2), 'son' only Jo. 4.51 if the reading is right (neglecting, as above, the passages where the relationship is to God). In John the preceding υλός would mark the meaning. The extent to which μαύς + genitive is really ambiguous in any form of Greek would merit examination. The combination of the senses 'boy' and '(young) slave' is of course common elsewhere, e.g. puer, garçon, Anglo-Indian boy. It no doubt prompted the curious etymology of the Cod. God. quoted by Valkenaer, μαύς ὁ ἐπιτήδειος εἰς τὸ μαύδιον.

Μαύδιον is usually 'infant', 'young child', plur. 'children' in general. Mark's use of the word twice of older children (above) anticipates the modern μαύς 'child'. A still more remarkable anticipation of Mod. is in Jo. 21.5 μαύδα, μυ προσωπών ἔχεις; 1 ep. Jo. 2.18 μαύδα, ἐστίν Ἐρωτάδος, in familiar address, like Eng. 'my lad!', 'boys!', without reference to age, just like μαύδα in Mod., where even the sing. is similarly used, e.g. καλὸ μαύς 'decent sort' even of a woman (denied by one informant).

Μαύδιον apart from being a v.l. in Mt. 11.16 for μαύδες 'children' is used only by Jo. 6.9 ἔστι
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παιδός (not in parallels in Synoptics), hardly distinguishable from παιδίον.

The meaning 'child of a parent' is regularly given by τέκνον, used also, with τεκνία, as an affectionate form of address to others than children. In demotic παιδί has replaced τέκνον.

Παιδόσιον is recorded on only a few of the Academy's slips. The lack of distinction between παιδός and παιδόσιον in John is illustrated by Cypriot, where παιδόσια i.e. παιδόσια (the χ being a normal phonetic development here) is given by Sakellarios as the plural of παιδός. In Seriphos, however, τό παιδόσιον is given as = δεκανίας. The word is quoted in a folklore from Thera, and as occurring only in a lullaby at Κοίλα near Smyrna. Παιδοσος = μέγας παις, παιδοσέλλα 'street urchin' and a few compounds of παιδόσιο- occur occasionally. These words not in LA.)

Τέκνον survives in places, with a strong tendency to be restricted to certain kinds of context, e.g. from Pontic παινανοός πεδία είστε, τέκνα μ'; 'whose children are you, my children?', with interesting retention of the common use of τέκνον as a term of address, and differentiation from παιδί, the Bithynian proverb καλός γονιός κακά τέκνα, κακός γονιός καλά τέκνα (καλός 'good',

as regularly in Mod.), the Euboean curse τέκνον να μην 'νοικιάσεις 'may you get no child', a song from Symi with typical doubling of synonyms έκμα δέξνα και παιδίν (332). See also LA.

The reader will be reminded of Caesar's καὶ σύ, τέκνον, to Brutus in Suetonius.

As Hatzidakis Einleitung 136 stresses, ἐμαύσω and ἐμαίω ousted the Attic forms in later Greek. The only early example is Crates Com. 27 (not 23), where the reading has been suspected, l. ἐμαύσων for ἐμαύσων Kock.

It is very important that Mayer I ii 133 knows only one ex. of such an Ε for σ, PSI 445.17 καινοτάξει from IIIβ.

The aor. is notoriously rare in Attic itself. Hdt. has ἐμαύσκα.

In Mod. the aor. is ἐμαύσκα in demotic and so also Pontic and Pharasa, in a region of generally Ionic colouring.

μαίνα does not seem to be mod., and even in anc. was replaced by μαίναν. There can be little doubt that they are forms of the same word (Schwyzer 423), though this is not stated by Frisk. If we assume the