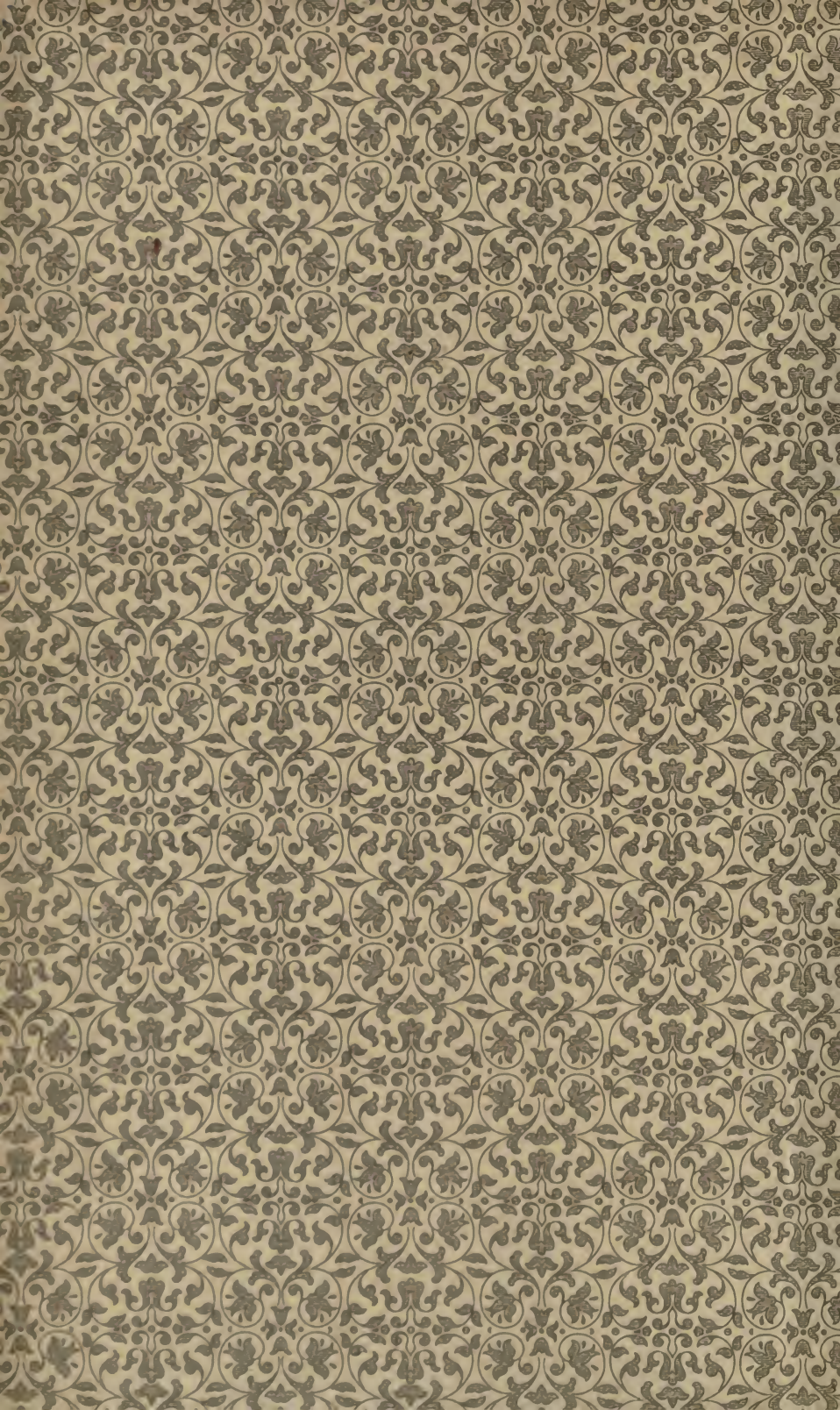


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TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

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TRANSACTIONS
OF THE
AMERICAN PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION.
1889.

I.— *The Vowel System of the Ionic Dialect.*

BY HERBERT WEIR SMYTH,
BRYN MAWR COLLEGE.

OF that Greek dialect which appeals to the sympathies of the student of Greek literature only less instantly than does Attic, we may use the words of Thukydides in reference to one of the momentous periods of the history of his country: *ἐκλιπὲς τοῦτο ἦν τὸ χωρίον*. Half a century ago Ionic did not form a part of the pioneer undertaking of Ahrens; and at the present day, despite a few scattered German dissertations, the history of Ionic is still an unwritten history. Various causes have contributed to the delay in taking possession of so precious a legacy of opportunity bequeathed to his successors by the author of the *De Graecae linguae dialectis*. Of these causes doubtless one has been more potent than all others,—that there did not exist a collection of inscriptions so complete and so perfectly disposed that the scholar might with confidence compare the “testimony of the rocks” with the evidence of literature.

But now that we are equipped with a collection of Ionic inscriptions it becomes the more imperative that those who have at heart the history of Hellenic speech should attempt to cover that wide field from Homer to the Sophistic Renais-

sance, in order that at least a comprehensive outlook may be gained over the development of a dialect containing so generous a wealth of linguistic phenomena and standing in such intimate relations with the history of Hellenic thought.

Upon the present occasion I desire to portray, in somewhat detailed outline, the Ionic vowel system from the eighth century B.C. to the second century A.D., though part of my material reaches over into the following centuries.

As to the field surveyed by my paper, so far as the inscriptions are concerned, I have endeavored to utilize every form pertinent to a knowledge of Ionic phonology. Whenever it was necessary to compare the date of any phonetic change in Ionic with the date of a similar change in Attic, I have drawn the latter dialect into the range of vision. Of the lyric poets, especial attention has been devoted to those of Ionic birth (Archilochos, Simonides Amorginus, Hipponax, Ananios, Kallinos, Mimnermos, Xenophanes, and Phokylides); and I have treated in detail the dialect of Tyrtaios, Solon, and Theognis: Tyrtaios, a Lakonian by adoption, but a representative of the early Ionic elegy; Solon, in order to test the question how far his Muse is Ionic, how far Old-Attic; and Theognis, that we may obtain a complete survey of the language of the elegy down to the end of the sixth century. Herodotos I have examined with special reference to the interrelation of the Mss., and trust that but few points have been overlooked, though I am but too well aware how difficult it is to reach completeness in so wide a field. For the language of the philosophers, Anaxagoras of Klazomenai, Diogenes of Apollonia, Melissos of Samos, Herakleitos of Ephesos, have been investigated; and for the older medical dialect, those writings of Hippokrates which are least open to the suspicion of spuriousness. Of the pseudo-Ionists, Aretaios' *Αἰτίαι*, Arrian's *Ἰνδική*, and Lukian's *Syrian Goddess* and *Astronomy* are easily our chief sources; but I have placed under contribution the fragments of Abydenos' *Assyrian History*, Eusebios, and Eusebios Myndios, that we may realize the more vividly how persistent has been the influence exercised upon later prose by the Ionic dialect.

In this introduction I propose to touch only upon one or two matters which deal with the wider positions assumed in the course of the investigation.

From the point of view of the dialectologist, the history of Hellenic speech falls into four divisions :—

Period of primitive Greek.

Period of the life of single dialects.

Period of the contest of the Attic *κοινή* with the Doric *κοινή*.

Period of the existence of a universal *κοινή*.

Within the confines of the second period, Ionic is, broadly speaking, the dialect of the literary world from the eighth century until it was driven from its commanding position by Attic. Through it every creative effort of Greek thought, save the Doric choral odè and the Aiolic love song, found expression. Taken as a whole Ionic presents in its structure a uniformity far more consistent than that possessed by Doric. It is upon the evidence of the inscriptions alone that we are enabled to assert the existence of sub-divisions, which mark the course of Ionic emigration from the mainland of Greece. These sub-dialects are : I. Ionic of Euboia and colonies. II. Ionic of the Kyklades. III. Ionic of Asia Minor and of the adjacent islands and their colonies.

I. WESTERN IONIC is the dialect of Euboia and colonies (Chalkis, Kyme, Olynthos, Amphipolis, Eretria, Oropos, Styra). It still possesses the rough breathing; names derived from *κλέος* terminate in *-κλέης*, not in *-κλήης*; the genitive of proper names whose second component part is an *-ι* stem, ends in *-ιδος*, not in *-ιος*. These peculiarities and certain others (*ει < ηι*, *οι < ωι*, and cases of *ττ* for *σσ*) testify to what an extent the political supremacy of Athens has succeeded in coloring the speech of the rear-guard of Ionism. When Western Ionic differs from the Ionic of the other divisions, it differs by its preference for Attic forms, save in its possession of rhotacism, found nowhere else upon Ionic territory, and whose ultimate provenance is still a matter of dispute. Another point of isolation is that Western Ionic alone produced no literature. Whatever artistic capacity the Euboians

possessed tended in the direction of the manufacture of vases.

II. ISLAND IONIC has *-κλῆς*, not *-κλέης*; *-ιος*, not *-ιδος*. Retaining the rough breathing, which is well attested in the case of the Parian Archilochos, Island Ionic thus forms a bridge between Western and Eastern Ionic. Up to the present time, no mint-marks of local difference can be observed in the speech of the various islands, and the sole ground for a separation into two sections, (1) Naxos, Keos; (2) Delos, Paros, Siphnos, is a difference in the writing of $\eta = \text{I.E. } \bar{\epsilon}$ and $\eta = \text{I.E. } \bar{a}$. But at best this palaeographic distinction, which seems to betoken a difference in pronunciation, does not hold good for all time, having been retained a century longer by the first group than by the second.

III. The chief characteristic of EASTERN IONIC is the displacement of the rough breathing at a very early period. The inscriptions speak with no uncertain voice against the existence of the *spiritus asper* save in compounds, and literature confirms this testimony to a considerable extent. Asiatic Ionic, like that of the Kyklades, has *-κλῆς* and *-ιος*.

Now it is a modern discovery that far more satisfactory tests of dialect coloring are yielded by phonology and by schemes of inflection than by vocabulary and style. As far back as we trace the history of the dialects we find that, even when recourse is had to epic formulae, these formulae assume the color of the dialect in question. The Korkyraian of the seventh century says ἐπ' Ἀράθθοιο ῥοφαῖσι, and not ῥοφηῖσι, because his dialect is an \hat{A} , not an H, dialect. Now if we apply this criterion of phonology and inflection to the Ionic of Asia Minor in the endeavor to test the accuracy of Herodotos' famous quadrilateral division, we find that the following forms have been held by various scholars to be mint-marks of the four sub-dialects:—

1. *Miletos*: *ἱερέω* < *ἱερῆο*, gen. to *ἱερίης*, also the Arkado-Kypr. form of *ἱερεύς*.

λάφεται in Mil. *κατελάφθη* in Zeleia, from *λαμβάνω*.

2. *Ephesos*: dat. in *-ει*, not in *-ῖ*, from *-ι* stems.

3. *Chios-Erythrai*:

Δεόνυσος for Δίονυσος.

Πειθεῦ and other gen. in -ευ in the \hat{A} decl.

Ἄσιω and other gen. in -ω in the \hat{A} decl.

ἐσλῆς, not ἐσθλῆς.

πρήγμα for πρήγμα.

ἀνηρίθευτος for ἀνερίθευτος.

πόλεως for πόλιος.

The subjunctive in -ει, as ποιήσει.

4. *Samos*: δημιουργός for δημιουργός.

But of all these forms, only those from Samos and Miletos can stand the test of a closer examination; and the Milesian and Samian forms quoted are, upon any sober view, but indifferent data for the support of a quadrilateral division on the score of phonology and inflection. Now the question arises: May not Herodotos have regarded *vocabulary* as the criterion of his four sub-dialects? That such a point of view could be assumed by the ancients is evident from the remark of Hermogenes, that the dialect of Hekataios was pure Ionic (ἄκρατος), but that of Herodotos was mixed (κεκραμένη). While I have no hesitation in referring this remark of the rhetorician to differences in vocabulary and in style (especially since it assists in lifting much of the obscurity in which the Herodotean dialect is enveloped), nevertheless I find myself unable to support any view which holds that there is evidence cogent enough to warrant the belief that the intermingling of Ionians with Lydians and Karians gave birth to a Lydian-Ionic or a Karian-Ionic, which Herodotos might have regarded as sub-dialects of Ionic; and even if such evidence existed, it would not fail of being impeached at the bar of modern conceptions of dialectology, where the presence of sporadic loan-forms from contiguous languages is not recognized as essentially determinative of the character of any dialect.

All Ionic monuments that contain an admixture of non-Hellenic words inflect these words as if they were of Hellenic stock. The Lygdamos stelè from Halikarnassos treats the gentlemen of Karia as if they were full-blooded Ionians, and the billingsgate of Hipponax, drawn from the slums of Ephesos, is inflected after the most orthodox Ionic fashion.

There did doubtless exist sub-dialects of Asiatic Ionic, but the accuracy of the Herodotean division is not yet attested by the monuments under our control. From the point of view of literature there are indications that there existed a Milesian dialect which claimed preëminence over all others. At Miletos were born Thales, Anaximander, Anaximenes, Kadmos, Dionysios, and Hekataios, and it is not the baseless fabric of a vision to conjecture that Herodotos himself may have used a dialect not greatly dissimilar to the speech of a city that was the eye of Ionia as Athens of Greece.

This leads us to the delicate question of the interrelation of the sources of our knowledge of Ionic. On the one hand we have the inscriptional, on the other the literary, sources, which may be divided into: (1) the elegiac and iambic poets; (2) Herodotos, Hippokrates, their contemporaries, immediate predecessors, and immediate successors; (3) the pseudo-Ionists of the Ionic Renaissance.

The language of the inscriptions alone is not an absolute criterion of the genuineness of an Ionic form unless the inscription is older than 400 B.C. and contains no trace of what is specifically Attic. When the language of the inscriptions, with this limitation, agrees with that of the poets, we have the surest criterion of the Ionic character of the form in question that is possible under the circumstances; and against this evidence the fluctuating orthography of Herodotean and Hippokratean Mss. can make no stand.

As in the domain of thought, so in that of language, the elegy occupies a different field from iambic poetry. Upon the dividing line of the frequency of adoption of Homeric forms, we may separate Theognis from the earlier elegists. In its possession of legacies from the earliest Ionic period, and in its use of Homeric Aiolisms, the dialect of the Megarian poet stands in closer touch with the language of the epic period than does the idiom of any of his predecessors of the elegiac guild. That the early elegists used Aiolisms seems to me an incontrovertible fact which has withstood all the assaults of the recent investigations of Fick.

Now there is a wide chasm between the Aioliism of the earlier elegy and the adventitious Aioliisms of Chios. The latter are distinctively prose forms, the former are only such as had been consecrated to use by the epos. Here we must clearly grasp two facts: (1) that an elegiac poet could adopt only Homeric Aioliisms, and (2) that no elegiac poet, not of Ionic birth, could borrow from a genuine Ionian, forms that are specifically Ionic. Solon has his Atticisms, Tyrtaios and Theognis their Dorisms, but they may not use forms that are specifically Ionic. Our inscriptions show that what is not Homeric in the elegy is drawn from the soil whence the elegy sprang; and that the forms taken from the living speech of the poet's time are few in comparison to those found in iambic poetry.

If the language of the iambographers has but little love for archaic Ionisms, it has still less for Aioliisms. The language of Archilochos, Simonides of Amorgos, and Hipponax, is, with due allowance for the perverse influence of copyists who had the Attic norm in their mind's eye, practically the same as that of the inscriptions. In regarding the Ionisms of Attic tragedy as a reflection of the Ionic period of the cultivation of the iambus just as its Dorisms proclaim the birthplace of the choral ode, I regret to be obliged to differ from so eminent a scholar as Rutherford, who holds that to the similarity between Old-Attic and Ionic is due the Ionic ingredient of tragedy.

In great part the language of Herodotos is supported by that of the inscriptions, and much of what is genuine Ionic in Herodotos is also Attic. Many forms which occur nowhere else outside of Herodotos find an easy explanation in the laws of Greek morphology. Of the remaining forms, aside from the out-and-out barbarisms, one part was obsolescent, another, and the larger part, obsolete, at the time the genius of the Ionic race created literary prose.

In the course of the following investigation my primary purpose has been to let the facts themselves show how great is the difference existing between what is certainly Ionic of the fifth century and what is ordinarily proclaimed as Ionic

of the fifth century upon the authority of Herodotean Mss. While I do not deny that Herodotos may have adopted forms that are specifically Homeric in passages that are strongly tinged with an epic tone, nevertheless my survey of the evidence has led me to the conclusion that the original text of Herodotos was written in the dialect of his time, while the bulk of the variations from that dialect is due to a *μεταχαρακτηρισμός*, which I would place about the first century of our era.

In the history of Greek literature *μεταχαρακτηρισμός* proceeded on two lines: either in the direction of Atticizing the dialect texts, a fact vouched for by Galen as usual in his time, or in the direction of the substitution of dialect forms in the light of contemporaneous dialectological theories. The text of Alkman, of Korinna, and, to a lesser extent, that of Pindar, bear witness to the activity of the *μεταγραφάμενοι* in the latter direction.

The writers of the Hadrianic age who imitated Herodotos and Hippokrates have received the full shock of this wave of speculation as regards Ionic. But from the point of view of higher criticism, the "pseudo-Ionisms" of Lukian and Aretaios are on a different footing from the same forms in Stein's or Holder's text of Herodotos. In the one case they are the result of genuine imitation; in the other, these forms never existed in Herodotos. A further estrangement from genuine Ionic was produced by the occasional insertion of such hyper-Ionic formations into the texts of these Ionists, as are not found except in some Mss. of Herodotos.

One of the causes of this *μεταχαρακτηρισμός* was the inability of the dialectologists to distinguish between the Ionic of the Homeric period and the Ionic of the fifth century. It was all Ionic Greek to these sciolists. The cardinal error of the *μεταγραφάμενοι* was the foisting of uncontracted forms upon Herodotos. This was caused by inability to distinguish between those vocalic combinations that normally remained uncontracted and those which by the fifth century had suffered contraction, and by their failing to recognize that *εο* and *εω*, even if written in the uncontracted form, had fre-

quently become diphthongal as early as the seventh century. My paper will adduce evidence that this *μεταχαρακτηρισμός* has not affected alike all the early writers in Ionic, and that upon the authority of good Mss. the original form may very often be reinstated.

All references to my own treatment of those portions of Ionic not discussed in the following pages, will be found in a work on the Greek dialects to be published by the Clarendon Press. Under the appropriate sections I have generally attempted to explain the character of the phonetic processes at work, excluding any elaborate defence of the positions assumed. I have therefore adduced the names of others who have brought forward explanations either agreeing with, or differing from, my treatment of the forms under discussion. In a few instances the desire to institute comparisons with other dialects, chiefly Attic, has caused me to include in an examination of Ionic phonology, certain forms which do not strictly belong in such an examination (*e.g.* § 62).

THE SHORT VOWELS.

A.

I. First we may treat that \check{a} derived from ϵ , which is chiefly seen in conjunction with ρ . The Ionic dialect here presents no features sharp enough to separate it from allied dialects.

κράτος = Aiolic *κρέτος*. *κράτος*, Hdt. VIII, 2, with *κάρτος* in *ABd*; cf. *καρτερή*, VIII, 12, with *κρατερή* in other Mss.¹ Archil. 26 has *καρτερός*, a form that comes to light upon inscriptions: Halik. *καρτερούς* 238₂₀, and so in Attic and Kretan (Gortyna); *κράτιστος* appears in *Κρατιστόλεως*, Thasos (Louvre) 12 B, but was not used by Hdt.; Epic *κάρτιστος*. The Ionic dialect alone possesses the strong form of the adjective (*κρέσσων*). In the inscriptions names in *καρτ-* and *κρατ-* occur: *Μνησικάρτ(η)ς*, Styra 19₂₀₂; *Καρτίης*, 19₃₁₇; *Ἐπικράτης*, 19₃₆₀; *Λυσι-*, 19₂₄₇; *Λεωκρατίδης* Styra, 19₂₁; *Κράτιος* Keos, 44 A 8.

θάρσος, Hdt. VII, 9 γ (*θράσος* in *R*); Homeric and Attic *θάρσος* and *θράσος*. The only trace of the strong form *θέρσος* (cf. Aiolic) appears

¹ Ionic *κάρτα*, Greg. Corinth, *d. d. I.*, § 58.

upon an Erythraian inscription (No. 200). The fact that the inscription is in metre renders it doubtful whether names in *-θερσης* should be regarded as Ionic, though they occur elsewhere in dialects that show no predilection in favor of the *ερ* forms. See Pape's *Lexicon*. Doubtless the Homeric names in *-θερσ-* did much to popularize this form in such dialects.

The prefix *ἀρι-* seems to be Ionic as contrasted with Aiolic *ἐρι-* (Hinrich's *de Hom. loc. vest. Acol.*, p. 64). *Ἀρίμνηστος* occurs upon a Kean inscription, No. 44, B 11.

βάραθρον, Hdt. VII, 133, as in Attic; Homeric *βέρεθρον* Θ 14; Arkad. *ζέρεθρον*.

τερσιά, Sim. Amorg. 39, from Et. Mag. 764²⁵; cf. Hesychios *ταρσιήν · τήν τρασιάν*. Et. Gud. 256 quotes from an elegiac poet *τρασιής*; cf. *τερσήναι* in Homer. *τερσιά* is a very late formation (Julian). *τρασ-* is morphologically older than *ταρσ-*. A variation between *αρ* and *ρα* in order to lighten consonantal weight is seen in a Karian name, Halik. 240⁵⁷, *Ἰμβράσσιδος*; *ibid.* 58, *Ἰμβάσιδος*.

The Ionic dialect was less elastic than Doric as regards its preference for the weak *a* before or after *ρ* in verbal forms (from original *ερ*). Thus, Herodotos adopts *τρέχω* (VII, 57) *τρέψω*, *στρέψω*, following in the wake of Homer, while he accepts *τράπω* (I, 63) in the present, despite Attic-epic *τρέπω*. In the future and first aorist the *ε*-forms hold their ground in Ionic, whereas in Kretan we have *ἐπιτραψῶ*. On the variation between *τρέπω* and *τράπω*, cf. Bredow, p. 145. In employing *τρέπω*, not *τράπω*, Lukian follows in the wake of Hdt. (*d. d. S.* 7, 39, *Astr.* 3). Aretaios has but one sure example of *τράπω*, while Hippokrates inclines in favor of the other form.

When other dialects, notably Aiolic or those allied to Aiolic, have *ρο* or *ορ*, Ionic almost invariably adopts *ρα* or *αρ*. See below on *βρόταχος*, *πορδακός* § 18. Hdt. III, 86, has *ἀστραπή*, with which may be compared Homeric *στεροπή* and *ἀστεροπή*. Kyprian has *στροπά* (Hesychios *στροπά*). In verbal inflection whenever *ορ* occurs it is the *ablaut* of *ερ*, not the Aiolic form of *αρ*.

καρδίη, Hdt. III, 35, a form not unknown in Homer (B 452, A 12), though the poet generally adopts *κραδίη*. Ionic, Attic and Aiolic are here on a plane. The Kyprian has *κόρζα*.

In the variation between *αρ* and *ρα* we can discover no dialect affinities in the wider sense.

2. Other forms with A parallel to E are :

τάμνω occurs in Hdt., though not without variation in favor of *τέμνω*, and is a present formed from the aorist of *τέμω* (*Iliad*, N 707) (*ταμών* < *τημ-οντ-*). Whether *τάμνω*, which occurs as early as Homer (Γ 105) and Hesiod, and is found in Pindar, Kretan, and the Heraklean tablets, is more ancient than *τέμνω*, which is derived from *τέμω* by the infixing of *ν*,¹ is not certain. *τέμνω* is in fact no stranger to Homer (γ 175), and is the regular form in Attic. The inscriptions indicate the preference of Ionic and Attic most clearly. In the former we have *ἔταμον* (Halik. 238₄₄; Kyzikos, 108, B 8), in the latter *ἔτεμον* without exception. The *ε* of *ἔτεμον* is due to that of *τέμνω*.

Hippokrates and the pseudo-Ionist Aretaios use *τάμνω*; Lukian has *τέμνω*, S 15, *τάμνω*, S 51, 60; Demokr., *frag. mor.* 194, has *τάμωνων*.

α for Attic *ε* occurs in the Ionic *ὑπόγαιος* (also late Attic), *μεσόγαιος*, *κατάγαιος*, *μελάγγαιος*, *βαθύγαιος* in Hdt.; Attic *-γεια*, *-γεως* (*ὑπόγεως* is quoted from Hippokrates, though not from a treatise that is colored with Ionisms). There is here no direct interrelation of *α* and *ε*, *-γαιος* and *-γειος* having been each derived from different ground-forms. See the declension of *γῆ* in Ionic.

On the forms *ἔπειτα*, *εἵνεκα*, see under *Adverbs*, etc. On *-αιᾶ*, *-ειᾶ*, *-οιᾶ*, see below under H, § 45, 46.

ψακάς, Hdt. III, 10, according to Stein, though *ψεκάς* is supported by Mss. authority and by Eustathios. Moiris, 419, held that *ψεκάς* was Attic, but not so acceptable a form. Cf. *ψῶχος* < *ψᾶκ*.

Ἄγβάτανα is the form used by Hdt., Ktesias (and Aischylos) for *Ἐκβάτανα*. The Mss. of Hdt. show constant fluctuation between these two forms, though Steph. Byz. distinctly states that *Ἄγβάτανα* is Herodotean.

3. Ionic A = Attic H.

μεσαμβρίη, Hdt. and Arrian, 3, 25, 39 (elsewhere the Attic form). Cf. Eustathios on the *Odys.* 1714 = 478, Greg. Corinth. p. 444, 654, Schmidt, *Voc.* I, 119.

ἀμφισβατέω, Zeleia 113, 18, and in Hdt. IV, 14²; IX, 74. This form is apparently not confined to Ionic unless Rhodian *ἀμφισβασίας*,

¹ Unless *τάμνω* be derived directly from *τηνώ*, in which case we have *αμ = η* in a syllable originally atonic.

² The manuscripts here agree in *ἀμφισβασίας* (cf. VIII, 81), but have *ἀμφισβητέειν*.

ἀμφισβάται, C. I. G. 2905, Aiolic ἀμφισβατημένων, C. D. I. 214²⁵, can be shown to have \bar{a} = Ionic η .

If these non-Ionic forms can be shown to have \bar{a} , weight must be attached to Brugmann's suggestion that an Ionic ἀμφισβᾶτέω is due to the ignorance of scribes who connected the latter part with βαίνω, βάσις, βατός; *Morph. Unter.* I, 22. But there is no proof that the α of the Aiolic and of the Rhodian forms is not short; and furthermore the inscriptional form from Zeleia proves conclusively that the Herodotean ἀμφισβᾶτέω is not due to blundering ignorance. Perhaps the forms in η stood in an ablaut relation to those in \bar{a} .

λάξεσθαι, Hdt. VII, 144, λάξιν, IV, 21, have their \bar{a} from the present stem as λάψεται, Miletos, 100₄. The converse procedure appears in the New Test. λήψομαι, a form found on Lykian inscript. C. I. G. 4244₆, 4247₂₀, 4253₁₅, and in the *Papyr. du Louvre*, 14, 17.¹ It is due to a confusion between λήσομαι and λάψομαι.

The form without nasal comes to light upon Attic vases (Λά(μ)πων, Λά(μ)πος in Kretschmer's collection, *K. Z.* XXIX, p. 436), though here the comparison of λάψεται is not so pertinent as Kretschmer supposes. I would prefer to class Λά(μ)πων, etc., with Νύ(μ)φη rather than regard λάψεται as derived from λά(μ)ψεται despite the Herodotean λάψομαι, ἐλάμφθην, λαμπτέος. We have κατελάφθη, Zeleia, 113₇, and λελάβηκα, καταλελαβήκει in Hdt. (IV, 79; III, 42), λέλαμμαι in Hdt. and Hippokr., ἀναλελάφθαι in Hippokr. III, 308, according to Littré, with ample Mss. support.² I cannot follow Bechtel in branding as spurious the Herodotean λάμψαι, I, 199, λάμψεσθαι, IX, 108, λαμφθεῖσαι, VI, 92, merely on the ground that λάψεται is a well attested Milesian form, and that Herodotos probably made use of the Milesian dialect, as is claimed by Wilamowitz, *Zeitschr. für Gymn.-wes.* XXXI, 645. If λήσομαι, and λήψομαι could be formed, why not λάψομαι? λάμψεσθαι in fact occurs upon the great inscription from Andania, *Ditt. Syll.* 388₆₇, though the genuine Doric was λαψοῦμαι, Epicharmos, 18, Theokr. I, 4. Cf. also the late aorist ἐξέλαμψα, *Diog. Laert.* I, 85. λάμψομαι is now generally banished from Hdt.'s text, and παραλήψηται in Hipp. rests upon shadowy evidence.

Proper names in 'Αγε- or 'Αγε-, which run parallel to those in 'Ηγε-, are from $\bar{a}\gamma\omega$, the *asper* being borrowed from ἡγέομαι (> sāg). Cf.

¹ λήμψη is a probable conjecture in Sterrett's *Epigr. Journey*, Papers of the Am. School, II, 56, VI; cf. 58, XIX.

² Veitch, however, supports ἀναλελάμφθαι. Cf. Schmidt, *Voc.* I, 118.

Lokrian ἄγειν. The Doric Ἀγησίλαος (Perinthos, 234, B 5) has the *lenis* from ἄγω.

Ionic does not differ from the other dialects in offering -ῖ in the nominative parallel to -η; e.g. τὸλμαῖ, Hdt. VII, 135, and Eurip. Ion. 1264 = τὸλμαῖ, Pind. Ol. XIII, 11. In many cases this ἄ after ρ represents the pre-Hellenic suffix -ia, *iota* having been transferred to the previous syllable, e.g. μοῖρα (cf. Bechtel, 265, *Adesp.*). The tendency to hyperionize Herodotos has led to the form μοῖρη in a few Mss. (e.g. μίη μοῖρη, IV, 120).¹ That the grammarians held η to be the unvarying mark of the Ionic dialect appears from Greg. Corinth., p. 390, τὸ ἄ εἰς ἧ τρέπουσιν. Ἡρα Ἡρη, σφαῖρα σφαῖρη, Gramm. Meerm. p. 650, τὰ εἰς ἄ ἐνθείας εἰς ἧ τρέπουσιν οἶον Ἡρα Ἡρη, χώρα χώρα, ὄρα ὄρη, σπεῖρα σπεῖρη, where dialectal forms are confused with pan-Hellenic formations (σφαῖρα, σπεῖρα).² Many proper names ending in -ἄ have suffered hyperionization in the Mss. of Hdt.; e.g. Ὀσση, Αἰγίνη, Τανάγρη. The index to Holder's or Stein's edition of Hdt. will supply the detail of names in -εἰᾶ, -οἰᾶ, -αιῶ, -ειη, -οιη, -αιη.

At the present day the explanation of many words in -ἄ is still uncertain. Many belong to the class of which μοῖρα is an example (μορῖα); thus γέφ-ῦρα, σφ-ῦρα are probably to be derived from -ῦριᾶ. The cause of the ἄ in other words is obscure; e.g. χάραδρα, Hdt. IX, 102, while Stein reads Χαράδρα, VIII, 33, name of a Phokian town. Dissimilation may be here at work, unless we admit with Stein and Holder the Attic χανάδρα.

NOTE. — The reverse process to ἄ for η is found in the Ionic Σύρνη and πρύμνη. Hdt. I, 15; 149, has Σύρνη (cf. also III, 107); Lukian φων. κρισ. 9 Ζμύρνα. The intermediate Σύρνη is frequent upon inscriptions (Kaibel 143, 376, 657). πρυμνή may be an adjective to πρυμνός. See Brugmann, Saxon Soc. Reports, 1883, 191. πρύμνᾶ is then an analogue of πρυφρα.

In the feminine forms of adjectives from υ stems, where Herodotos regularly has ἄ, the pseudo-Ionists not infrequently have η. Lukian *Syr.* ἡμισέη 14, θηλέην 15, 51; Arrian, πλατεῖην 16, τραχείη 23, 37 (cf. 32); βαθέη 27; Eusebios § 5 ἰθείη, Euseb. Mynd. 63, εὐρέη.

4. Interchange of A and O.

In a few instances *a* and *o* seem to be interchangeable sounds, though the law governing this interrelation has not been formulated

¹ Hyperionic μοῖρη, Lukian, *Astr.* 10; Euseb. § 9.

² See Misteli, K. Z. XVII, 177; XIX, 119; Osthoff, Forsch. II, 25; Brugmann, M. U. II, 201; Grundriss, I § 639; Johansson, K. Z. XXX, 411.

in all cases (cf. below on *o*). So far as Ionic is concerned we have the following forms where Ionic *a* = *o* of other dialects. ἄρρωδέω, Hdt. I, 9, 111, 156, III, 119, etc., ἄρρωδίη, IV, 140, etc., and attested by the Et. Mag. p. 632⁴³. Attic has ὄρρωδέω, Hesychios ὄρρωδία, ὄρρωδέως, etc., and Lukian, too, the Attic form. Hippokrates, 618⁴², and Aretaios, *Caus. M. Ac.*, 2, 2, have the *o* form. Probably assimilation of *a* to *o* has here been caused by the influence of the *ω* of the following syllable (Schmidt, K. Z. XXV, 112). Etymologists are generally silent as to the derivation of this word. *Horrere* is probably φρίσσω, and cannot be connected. The Ionic form deserves special note, since it is only very rarely that Ionic differs from Attic in its use of *a* and *o*.

The question as to the interrelation of *a* and *o* assumes a different form in the case of proper names. In the Mss. of Hdt. there is a constant fluctuation between the readings Ἄρταξέρεξης and Ἄρτοξέρεξης, the latter obtaining in Ktesias and Plutarch, though Plutarch, in the *de malig. Herod.*, ascribes the form in *a* to the historian. Cf. also Steph. Byz. *s. v.* Ἄρταῖα. Ἄρταξέρεξης occurs upon the inscription from Mylasa, 248, ABC, and would seem to be a closer reproduction of Arta-khsatrā than Ἄρτοξέρεξης, which Stein adopts, VI, 98,¹ VII, 106, 151, 152, though the form in *a* is not unsupported. In other names Stein does not hesitate to read Ἄρτο-, e.g. Ἄρτοβαζάνης, VII, 2, Ἄρτοζώστρη, VI, 43, though in the case of the former name Thom. Mag. 299¹⁶, testifies to the form in Ἄρτα-. Nor is Stein consistent, since we find Ἄρτάβανος, IV, 83, VII, 10, 11, 17, 47; Ἄρτάβαζος, VII, 66, etc.; Ἄρταβάτης, VII, 65; Ἄρταφρένης, V, 25, and other names in Ἄρτα-. He adopts Ἄστροβάκον, VI, 69, where *R* has Ἄστρα-.

In any event no Ionic change of *a* to *o* may be deduced from the uncertainty attendant upon the Mss. fluctuation. The Persian names in Ἄρτυ- (Ἄρτύβιος, Ἄρτύφιος, Ἄρτυστώνη) are not to be held to be instances of the final effort of a phonetic movement which began with Ἄρτα- and reached Ἄρτυ- through Ἄρτο-, as has been held to have been the case with κατά, κατό, and κατύ. The forms in Ἄρτο- are due, not to an interchange of *a* and *o* (§ 18), but to the fondness for *o*- stems in composition.

5. A in relation to Y.

ἑκαλινδέετο, Hdt. III, 52, compared with κυλίνδεται, Sim. Amorg. VII, 4, κατακυλισθῆ, Hdt. V, 16, must not be regarded as an instance

¹ Cf. his note on this passage in his annotated edition, and Fick, *Spracheinheit*, p. 406.

of the interchange of *a* and *v*, and much less as a proof of the greater age of *καλινδέω* (Curtius, *Etym.*⁵, p. 715). An original *qel* sound = Greek *κλ*, becomes in Greek *κυλ* in weak case forms, cf. *κύκλος* < *qéklos*. With *κυψέλη*, *κάμψα*, *capsula*, and *κύλιξ*, *calix*, are to be classed *καλινδέω*, *κυλινδέω*, Germ. *quellen*.

The non-Ionic (Arkadian) form *κατύ* does not invalidate the above explanation, since it is derived from **κατό* (*κατόπερ* Halikarn. 238⁴³ is from *σπερ*), which in turn is an analogue of *ὑπό*; **κατό* becomes *κατύ*, as *ὑπό* becomes *ὑπύ* (Kyme, 3 A). This is better than to assume that the forms in *a* and *v* are proethnic; cf. Lettic-Lith. *sa* and Lith. *su*, Lith. *ga*, *gu*.

E.

6. Ionic *ερ* for *αρ* of other dialects.

The Ionic dialect in a few cases has made use of the strong forms in *ερ*, though not to the same extent as Aiolic.

ἔρσην: *ἔρσενος*, Hdt. I, 109, *ἔρσενες* I, 193, *ἔρσένων* I, 192, *ἔρσενας* I, 193. The Mss., notably *R*, have the Attic form, which must have been Ionic also, since it comes to light upon the very old Thasian inscription (Bechtel, vs. 68, *ἄρσεν*). Homer has *ἄρσην* © 7, which is doubtless Ionic, since *ἔρσην* is Aiolic (C. D. I. 293⁶). That both the strong and the weak form should co-exist in one and the same dialect need not surprise us. Thessalian and Boeotian (perhaps even Ionic, see on *θράσος*, above § 1) have both *θερσ-* and *θαρσ-*, two forms living together as mother and daughter. The only other dialect which has *ἔρσης* is, I believe, Kretan: Gortyna Tables, X, 52, *ἔρσενες* X, 49, *ἔρσένων*. In the other dialects *ἄρσην* prevails: Attic *ἄρρ[ε]νος* C. I. A. II, 678, B 55-378 B.C., Elean *φάρρνονρ* = *ἄρρενος*, C. D. I. 1152, Lakon. *ἄρσης*, C. I. G. 1464⁹ (first cent. B.C.). See Fick, G. G. A. 1883, p. 117; Schmidt, K. Z. XXV, 23, 43. Hippokrates, Lukian, and Arrian have the *a* form.

τέσπερες: *τέσπερες*, *τεσπερεςκαίδεκα*, *τεσπερεκαιδεκάτη*, *τεσπεράκοντα*, *τεσπερακοντόργγιος*, are found in Hdt. with occasional lapses in favor of the Attic forms (see Bredow, p. 136). Upon inscriptions we meet with *τέσπερας*, 148⁹¹, a comparatively late document from Ephesos, *τεσσέρων*, 104, B 66, Thasos, middle of the fourth century, with *τεσσάρων* on the same inscription, lines 62 and 63; *τεσσάρων* occurs also in No. 114, F (Zeleia), which dates shortly after the battle of Granikos. *τέσπερα*, Teos, 157¹⁸ (the stone has *TEZEPA*); *τέσ(σ)αρεις*, 159⁹, Teos, with but one *Ξ* upon the stone. *τεσπεράκοντα*, 104⁵²,

Thasos, 1111₁₁, Kyzikos; ¹ τεσσ[ερα]κ[ό]ντων, 174, C 16, Chios, and τεσ(σ)ερακαεβδο[μη]ροντούτης, 58, Paros. Arkadian and Ionic alone have ερ. Arkad. τεσσεράκοντα, Foucart, 352 n. (late).

Ἄρταφρένης is adopted as the genuine reading by Stein in every instance, though the Mss. of Hdt. constantly vary between the form in -φρένης and that in -φέρνης (V, 25, 30, 31, 32, 35, 73, etc.). Aeschylus, *Persae*, 21, 776, has Ἄρταφρένης. In like manner Stein reads Ἰνταφρένης, III, 70, 78, 118, 119. Upon an Attic inscription, C. I. A. I, 64, B 14 (410-405 B.C.), we find Τισ[σα]φρένην, which ensures the correctness of the form in -φρένης (cf. Old Persian *-franā*), and stamps that in -φέρνης, so popular in later Greek, as a folk's etymology in the direction of φέρω. G. Meyer, *Gr. Gr.* § 175, note 1. The above-quoted Attic inscription is important evidence that the form used in the treaty, Thukydides, VIII, 27, is incorrect. See Kirchhoff in *Sitzungsberichte d. Berliner Akad.*, 1884.

On θέρσος in = θέρσης upon a metrical inscription from Erythrai, see above § 1, under θράσος.

On κρέσσων, cf. below § 13.

In suffixes: χλιρός is said to be Ionic for χλιρός, in *Liddell and Scott*, but in Hdt. IV, 181, we find only the latter form. Hippokratēs, 890 A, has χλιρῶς.²

ιαρός does not occur in Ionic. On ιερός and ιρός see § 167.

ἔτερος = ἄτερος, Doric, Boiotian, Attic (in θᾶτερον, but χᾶτερος, Klein, *Vasen*, 124), though Attic has generally ἔτερος.³ In Aiolic we have conflicting testimony; ἔτερος, Sappho, 106, and C. D. I. 279₉, but Herodian, I, 507₆, opines that ἀτέρνυ is Aiolic. ἔτερος is, morphologically considered, the later form, its initial ε being due to the influence of the ε of the following syllable. Schmidt (*K. Z.* XXV, 92, note, and 25, 43), a reference suggested by Dr. Collitz, explains in like manner ὄρρωδέω, and even ἔρσην and τέσσερες. Cf. also ἀτέλεβος, Hdt. IV, 172, for ἀτέλαβος.

NOTE. — Roberts, No. 167, contains τῆτέρηι (ΤΕΤΕΡΕΙ). Cf. Roberts, pp. 196, 200, 374. The inscription cannot be Elean, as Wilamowitz thinks,

¹ τέσσερα held its ground till late. Upon an Egyptian papyrus (189 A.D.) we find it still preserved. Cf. *Trans. Berlin Acad.* 1883, pp. 916, 919.

² In one instance we have -ελος for Attic -αλος, ἕλος, Hdt. III, 24. ἕλος was regarded by the grammarians as the Hellenic form. Bredow, p. 136, suggested that it was sanctioned by the authority of Theophrastos, who adopted it from Ionic.

³ Attic inscriptions have always ἔτερος. Attic θᾶτερον, *sic*, and not θᾶτερον. It is impossible that τὸ ἔτερον should become θᾶτερον, as is commonly stated.

since that dialect loves \bar{a} in preference to η . Does not the absence of the *asper* indicate an Asiatic-Ionic origin? We find $\tau\eta\tau\epsilon\rho\eta$ in Phoinix in Athen. 495 E.

7. Other examples of Ionic E = A of other dialects.

$\delta\tau\epsilon$, $\pi\acute{o}\tau\epsilon$, $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\tau\epsilon$, Ionic-Attic = Dor. $\delta\kappa\alpha$, $\pi\acute{o}\kappa\alpha$, $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\kappa\alpha$, = Aiolic $\delta\tau\alpha$, $\pi\acute{o}\tau\alpha$, $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\tau\alpha$. Both Ionic and Doric forms are equally original, an I.E. palatal sound becoming *tau* before ϵ , *kappa* before a . The Aiolic forms are contaminations.

On $\epsilon\dot{\iota}\nu\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\nu$, $\epsilon\dot{\iota}\tau\epsilon\nu$, $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon\iota\tau\epsilon\nu$, see under Adverbs. $-\theta\epsilon\nu$, $-\theta\epsilon$ are the Ionic forms. $\gamma\acute{\epsilon}$ Ionic-Attic = Doric $\gamma\acute{\alpha}$, Epeirot. $\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu$.¹

$\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\mu\mu\alpha$ was the Ionic form used especially by Demokritos according to the unsupported testimony of Eustathios, 370¹⁵. For other variations between ϵ and a , a and ϵ , occurring in various dialects, and for which no satisfactory explanation has as yet been reached, compare G. Meyer, Gramm. § 24.

$\mu\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\alpha\theta\omicron\varsigma$, $\acute{\upsilon}\pi\epsilon\rho\mu\epsilon\gamma\acute{\alpha}\theta\eta\varsigma$ in Hdt., *e.g.* IV, 52, 191, $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\alpha\theta\omicron\varsigma$ in Anaxag. 1. Cf. Greg. Corinth. *d. d. I.* § 59. Attic $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\epsilon\theta\omicron\varsigma$, the variation between a and ϵ being due perhaps to the influence of ϵ in the initial syllable. The statement that the Doric dialect possessed the form $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\alpha\theta\omicron\varsigma$ is not beyond suspicion, since Philoxenos, who has the form with a in II, 19, either contradicts himself, V, 21, where he uses $\acute{\upsilon}\pi\epsilon\rho\mu\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\epsilon\theta\epsilon\varsigma$, or at least shows that both forms were known to Doric. Lukian has $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\alpha\theta\omicron\varsigma$, *S* 27, 30, according to Jacobitz, though *A* has the ϵ form everywhere. In Arrian, $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\epsilon\theta\omicron\varsigma$ is the only reading in seven out of eleven cases, and this is the form used by Abydenos 5. Hippokrates and Aretaios both adopt the common form.

ϵ apparently takes the place of a in certain verbs in $-\epsilon\omega$ ($\acute{o}\rho\acute{\epsilon}\omega$, $\tau\omicron\lambda\mu\acute{\epsilon}\omega$, $\omicron\acute{\iota}\delta\acute{\epsilon}\omega$, etc.) and before o , ω , ou in inflection. A full list, with an attempted explanation of the interrelation of the forms, is given in the §§ treating of the verb.

Before the termination $-(\sigma)ai$, a becomes ϵ in Ionic by dissimilation; *e.g.* $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\epsilon\alpha\iota$, $\delta\acute{\upsilon}\nu\epsilon\alpha\iota$. See on the Ionic verb.

8. Ionic E = O of other dialects.

A singular substitution of ϵ for o is found in $\Delta\iota\epsilon\nu\acute{\omicron}\sigma\omega(\iota)$, Bechtel No. 31, from Amorgos, an inscription of the fifth century; whereas,

¹ $\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ would seem to be the original form, but it is, perhaps, $\gamma\epsilon + \nu(\epsilon)$. Cf. Thessal. *ve.* $\gamma\acute{\epsilon}$ may be the Old Slav. *ze*, Old Lith. *ge*; $\gamma\acute{\alpha}$ = Skt. *hi*, Lith. Pruss. *gi*, *ga* (Skt. *gha*).

the other Ionic inscriptions have either Διονύσιος or Δεονύς. See below on E and I. G. Meyer, *Gramm.* § 26, is inclined to regard this ε as parallel to that of Ἰππεδάμουν (Rhodes) or of ἀνδρεφόνης, called Doric by Herodian, — forms of common speech with an ε comparable to the toneless e of Modern Greek. Bechtel's suggestion is preferable: Διένυσος : Διόνυσος = αἰέλουρος : αἰόλος, or as Lac. ὀμέσθαι, R. M. XL, 8, : ὀμόσαι, or Herakl. ἐρρηγείας, etc., : Nom. in -ως. Cf. G. G. A. 1881. 1447, Baunack's *Stud.* I, 71, and K. Z. XXVI, 354. Solmsen, K. Z. XXIX, 89, offers no proof of his suggestion that Διενύσωνι is an error.

Of the various names taking their rise from the two chief ablaut forms of Apollo (Ἀπόλλων Ἀπέλλων), there are a few examples upon Ionic soil of the latter, so common among Doric peoples. Ἀπελλίωνος, 153 s, Smyrna (names in Ἀπολλ-, lines 3, 15, 24, 37, 40, 41), Ἀπ]ελλῆς, 177 Chios, and in Erythraian inscriptions: Ἀπελλίου, 206 A 4 (cf. Ἀπόλλωνος, 206 A 20), Ἀπελλίου, 206 B 17 (in the same line, Ἀπολλών[ιος]), Ἀπελλικῶν, *Bull. de Corr. Hel.* III, 388. Also in Naukratis (Gardner's *Naukr.* I, pl. XXXII, 104), Ἀπολ- names are very frequent. In no case does the god bear the name Ἀπέλλων among Ionic peoples, though it is a form of as great antiquity as the usual Attic-Ionic one. See my paper *Trans. Am. Philol. Assoc.* XVIII, 97, and, above all, Prellwitz, B. B., IX, 327, ff. Baunack in the *Studia Nicolaitana*, p. 54, in his *Studien*, p. 155, and Meister *G. D.* II, 90 may also be consulted.

In ἐξαπέδου, Hdt. (II, 149) has preserved the older form of the termination; cf. Ψ 164, ἐκατόμπεδον (*Ven. A*), where the *vulgata* has -ποδον. In Attic (Thuk. and Xen.) the stem ποδ- has supplanted its rival πεδ.

Τερώναον, Terone 7 (before 420), cf. *Τορωναῖοι* on Attic tribute-lists in the first volume of C. I. A., and *Τορωναῖος* on an Attic mortuary stele, *Mith.*, X, 367 ff.

The Mss. of Hdt. have ε for ο in -κόντερος, etc. Examples: πεντηκόντερων, τριηκοντέροισι. In III, 41, 124, VI, 138, the Mss. vary; but in each case Stein has adopted the -κοντερος form. The Ionic form contains the simple form of the root ἐρ (ἐρέσσω ἐρέτης), whereas the Attic πεντηκόντορος, τριακόντορος have the ablaut ὄρ-. Both forms, τριακόντορος and τριακόντερος, occur in Attic inscr., and in the fourth century only; but the former is the more frequent. The ablaut form is the one to be expected from the composition of the word.

9. E in Ionic = I of other dialects.

Names derived from, or connected with, Διόνυσος exhibit a greater elasticity of vowel relations in Ionic than elsewhere.

We have above, § 8, met with the *sui generis* Διένυσος; besides this form we have Δεονῦς, 196, Maroneia, and Δεονῦδος, No. 198, Erythrai. The ε vowel we have also in Δεουνῦς¹ upon a coin of Imhoof-Blumer's collection (Bechtel, p. 114), in Δεένυσος, Anakreon, 211, 11, (but Διόνυσσε, 54, 55), and in the abbreviated ΔΕΟ on coin legends of Abdera, Bechtel, No. 1631.

In sharp opposition to this ε are the forms with ι, which are very common. Examples are: Διόνυσος, Iasos, 104₁₆, Eryth., 206 B 24, and often elsewhere; Διονύσιος, Smyrna 153_{3, 5}, Thasos (L) 15 C 4, Kyzik. 111₅, Olbia 131₁₄, 261 (unc. locality), Halik. 241, Thasos (L) 19 B₄, 20 B 11; Διονυσᾶδος, Abdera, 163, 15, Coins of Brit. Mus., Thrace 66 nos. 62, 68, 85, and in almost every other Ionic quarter. Ionic is also Διόνυσος. On the probable connection with Ζεὺς by folk's etymology, see Baunack (*Gortyn*. p. 67, note 1), and Solmssen, K. Z., XXIX 89. Cf. also *Frogs*, 215, Apoll., *Argon.*, II 905, IV 1132.

The corruption of antevocalic ε to ι, so frequent in Thessalian, Boiotian, Doric, Kyprian, etc., is rare in Ionic, if indeed it can be shown to exist at all. Καλλιμένιος 36 (Amorgos) is doubtless a mere slip on the part of the engraver. The nearest approach to ι is the pronunciation of ε as a semi-vowel in the synezesis εο. This semi-vocalic ε may disappear in contract verbs, as in Arkad. ἐλλαν]οδικόντοιν, 1257₁₁. Cf. νεοσσευμένα, Hdt. I, 159. Before ο, ε not unfrequently disappears in prose: Θόκλος, Styra, 19₂₀₆, Θεόδων 19₃₇₈, Κλόδεινος 19₂₂₁, Ἐτοκλέ[ης] 19₁₅. Cf. Megarian Θεοκλείδι, Θεοκλῆς, *Mith.*, VIII, 189, 190. Fritsch's paper in Curt. *Stud.* VI (cf. esp. pp. 125-132), is scarcely trustworthy in all its dealings with Ionic. A reverse process has given us Θε- in Boiot., Θεόζωτος Θεδωρος, perhaps from Θεῖδωρος.

10. E for H.

μέν for μῆν in the formulae ἦ μέν, I, 196; μῆ μέν, I, 68, III, 66, V, 106; γε μέν, VI, 129, VII, 152, 234; ἀλλὰ-μέν, II, 20, 32, IV, 77, VII, 103; καὶ-μέν, IV, 45, VI, 98. Cf. Greg. Corinth., 471. Hdt. here adopts a usage common to Homer, and not unknown in Attic. Cobet, *Mis. Crit.*, 365, is an advocate of the view that Homer has

¹ For εον see § 144.

only ἦ μὲν, μὴ μὲν, not ἦ μὴν, μὴ μὴν. Cf. Monro, *Hom. Gram.*, § 345, and note, p. 322. With μὲν I would connect the Thessalian, Homeric and Attic μά as κέν is connected with κά.

ἄπλετος is said by Bredow, p. 143, to be used by Hdt. for ἄπλητος = ἄπλᾶτος (πελάω). ἄπλητος occurs first in Hesiod, and then in the Hymn to Demeter; ἄπλετος is, however, to be classed with πλέως, and not with any derivative of πελάω. Cf. Siegismund in Curtius, *Stud.*, V, 201, 202.

έσσοῦμαι in Hdt., cf. Attic ἠττάομαι, out of which ἠττα was formed, Wackernagel, K. Z., XXX, 299. Hdt. has έσσοῦντο, I, 67; -μενος, I, 82; έσσωθείς, I, 207; έσσοῦσθαι, III, 22, etc. Brugmann conjectures (*Berichte d. sächs. Gesell. d. Wiss.* 1883, p. 193, cf. Osthoff *Perfect.*, 449) that έσσοῦμαι is from έττων, whose ε represents a mechanical change of η (cf. ἠκα, Attic ἠττων) to ε, in order to bring the comparative into line with κρέσσων, Ionic for κρείσσων. Stein, however, has no qualms of conscience in writing ἠσσων (cf. ἠσσον, I, 98; ἠσσονες, V, 86, VIII, 113; ἠσσόνων, VII, 18; ἠσσοσι, VIII, 83) since he is supported in part by the unanimous voice of the Mss. Krüger holds to έττων, *Formenlehre*, § 23, 4, 3.

Θαργελέος for Θαργη-, Chios, 174 C 18.

ἴλεος appears to be the Herodotean form, IV, 94, VI, 91. The interrelation of this form, which is also Kretan, with ἴληφος and ἴλλαος is a much-vexed question. ἴλεος represents that form which had η, the forms with α an old ablaut form ἴλᾶ-. Archilochos, 75₂, has ἴλαος (-υ-) according to Bergk, for which Fick proposed without justification to accept ἴλεως. Cf. ἴλᾶος, Theognis, 782. ἴλᾶος is, however, Ionic as well as Attic (which has also ἴλᾶος). See Pischel, B. B. VII, 332 and Solmsen, K. Z., XXIX, 351. The Hesychian εἰλῆς εἰ· ἴλεως εἰ, has been read εἰλῆς εἰ, and explained as an Asiatic-Ionic perfect.

This word belongs also under the following section :

II. Ionic E = Ā of other dialects.

1. In this category falls first Ionic -εων, — ᾠων < -αιων or -αφων. ὀπάων, Hom. = ὀπέων, Hdt. IX, 50.

Ποσειδάφων, Korinth., Ποσειδάων, Hom. = Ποσειδέων in Hdt., Ποσειδῶν, Arch. Ep., 114, for which we may read Ποσειδέων.

NOTE. — Ποσειδάων in the Ionic elegy is due to the pressure exercised upon the elegy by the epic. Cf. Theog., 692. In Archil., 10, Ποσειδάωνος ἀνακτος, as given by Bergk, is not supported by Ms. evidence, though corresponding to

Ποσειδάωνα ἄνακτα, Iliad, XV, 8. The objection that if Archil. may adopt -οιο from Homer, he has an equal right to -ᾶωνος is not cogent, since -οιο is an ancient Ionic termination, while -ᾶων cannot be shown to be the property of any period of the Ionic dialect. Fick's correction, Ποσειδήωνος, is based upon Ποσιδηών, Anakt., 6, Ποσειδέων, Archil., 114 νηός 4, παιήονα 76 (tetr.) (on the peculiar position of παιήων in Homer, see Fick, *Odyssee*, p. 17), and ἀλλήων, Naxos, 23, where ηω seems to be an intermediate stage between -ᾶων and -ων. Cf. § 29.

Ἄλκμάων, Hom. = Hdt. and Thuk. Ἄλκμέων. With Φιλέων in Φιλεωνιδ[ε]ος, Thasos, 73, cf. Hdt., VIII, 11, Φιλάων, which is, however, the name of a Kyprian. Μαχέων, Thas. (Louvre) 10₁₁ = Hom. Μαχάων. Cf. Zacher, *Nomina in -aios*, p. 112, Merzdorf, *Curtius' Stud.*, IX, 238.

2. Ionic genitives in -εω = ᾶ(ι)ο, Ἄτρειδέω, etc., see *Declension*.

3. Genitive pl. in -εων = -ᾶων (Boiot., Thessal. (-αων), Hom.). Homer's gen. in -εων (H 1, φ 191) and -εων, -ῶν are Ionic. Menrad, p. 41, calls for the restoration of -εων and -εω wherever possible in the text of Homer.

4. λεώς = λαός, and in proper names: Hdt., Ἄρκεσίλεως, Χαρίλεως, Μενέλεως¹ (Μενέλαος, Hdt., IV, 169, of a λιμήν), and Ἄναξίλεως, Miletos, 93, not long after 600 B.C. So in λεωφόρον, Chios, 175, Λεωκράτης, Λεωμέδων, and many other forms on inscriptions. The Mss. of Hdt. are, of course, not consistent (cf. II, 124, V, 42). Even in the case of Doric names he occasionally uses the Ionic forms; e.g. Λεωπρέπης, VI, 85, but Λαοδάμυς, Λαοδίκη, etc. The latter form is clearly a contamination of an original Λαοδικᾶ and an Ionic Λεωδίκη. Variation in the proper names must be expected even upon inscriptions: thus we have, Chios, 177, Λεωσίβεο[s], l. 3, but -τόλαος, l. 14. In the lyric poets the epic form prevails to some extent: λαός, Kall. I, 18, Xenoph., II, 15, whereas Hipponax (88) has preserved the only example of ληός, a form which shows that words with an ᾶ, represented in Ionic by ε, must have gone through a transitional period with η, though the examples are exceedingly few. Cf. *Eng. Journal of Philol.*, vols. IX, X, for a discussion as to the periods of Ionic.

With these compounds of λεώς and Ἄμφιάρεως² in Hdt., cf. the Homeric Πηνέλεως, Βριάρεως, etc. On λεώς, see also § 28, 30.

3. Furthermore, in Ionic ἔως, τέως³ (ιαφω-ς τᾶφω-ς), μετέωρος, νεός

¹ Greg. Corinth, pp. 42, 686.

² Cf. Greg. Corinth, p. 42. Ἄμφιάραιον, Oropos, 18₂, a non-Ionic form.

³ Bredow, p. 50.

(gen. of ναῦς), γεωπεδίον, etc., δίμνεως = διμναίους (Attic δίμνωσ), and in verbal forms, χρέωμαι, ἐξαναστέωμεν, ἐπιβέωμεν, μέμνεο, Hdt., V, 105, τεθνεός, I, 112, etc.

On θηέομαι = Attic θεᾶόμαι, see on the verb.

In almost every instance when primitive \bar{a} was followed by a vowel, Ionic attests the presence of ϵ in place of \bar{a} . The instances where this is not the case deserve to be brought out into clear light. ληός, in Hipponax, has already been referred to. In Hdt. we do not find νεός, as might be expected, but νηός, the epic form = Aiolic ναῦος, well attested in literature and in inscriptions.¹ Herodotos' conservation of νηός is artificial and not in consonance with the genius of the Ionic dialect, which would call for νεός, a form which in fact appears in composition: νεωποιήσαντες, Samos., 222. νεω- is the Hellenistic form, and as such is not foreign to Aiolic monuments; but it may be safely claimed as genuine Ionic, even though the Samian inscription is not old.

Whether the Ionic form of the adjective is ἕλεως, or ἕλεος, is still a matter of contention, since the ground form of the word has not been cleared up by the Lakonian ΕΙΑΦΦΟ (Roehl, 75, = Rob., I No. 261); and it is even a matter of uncertainty what is the genuine Homeric form, since Nauck has demanded ἕληος and ἕλεος in place of ἕλαος and ἕλαος. Stein's claim that ἕλεος is the Herodotean form is supported by the arguments of Wackernagel, *K. Z.*, XXVII, p. 264. See § 10.

On Ἄλκμέων, δίμνεως, see below under E = AI.

12. Ionic E = AI of other dialects.

Ionic γέη = epic γαῖα may be regarded as forms phonetically interdependent, though the parallelism of Ἄθηναία, adduced by Bechtel (*Ionische Inschr.*, No. 62), is faulty, since there is no *Ἄθηνήη. We have, however, here to do with strong and weak case forms, as is shown on γῆ, under *Declension*.

A further example adduced as cogent is ἀγεόμενοι, Hdt., VIII, 69, though in Homer, *v* 16, Hesiod, O. D. 333, and Archilochos, 25, the original *αι* cannot be impeached; nor does an *ἀγέομαι win the support of our sympathies when ἀγάσσεσθαι, etc., are compared. Fritsch (*V. H. D.*, p. 39) is inclined to the view that ἀγεόμενοι can

¹ νηός is derived from a stem νᾶF-, ναῦος from a stem νᾶF-, both stems combining to form the declension. Cf. the intermixture of strong and weak stems in the case of ναῦς, νηῦς, "ship." The stem νᾶF- arose from the locative *ναφέι.

have originated only in a period when *αι* was written *ε* (150 A.D. according to Meisterhans,² p. 27). Cf. *παρακέεται*, II, 130 (*C. P. d.*) for *παρακαίεται*.

If recourse to this means of accounting for the form *ἀγε-* be deemed too bold, we may be compelled to dissociate *ἀγέομαι* from *ἀγαίομαι*, and to class the former with such verbs as *ἀρέομαι*. Cf. Hesychios, *ἀγη· παρ' Ἡροδότῳ βασκανία*. We must withdraw beyond the realm of probability any suggestion that *ἀγαίομαι* was the ground form which, through *ι* passing into the glide and by an Ionic weakening of *α* to *ε*, became *ἀγέομαι*. Curtius, *Verbum*, I, 176, does not mention *ἀγέομαι*.

Ἄλκμέων, *δίμνεως*, are not to be derived from *Ἄλκμάϊων*, etc. (Wackernagel, *K. Z.*, XXVII, 267), but from *Ἄλκμάων*, etc. (Kretschmer, *K. Z.*, XXIX, 416; Johansson, *B. B.*, XV, 183).

13. Ionic E = EI of other dialects.

μέζων in Hdt. < *μεζων*, a more original form than *μείζων*. *μείζων* is the poetical form (*Theog.*, 338, 517), though *μέζων* appears upon a metrical inscription from Attika, *B. C. H.*, VIII, 470.¹ The form with *ει* has not been cleared up despite the efforts of Brugmann (*Ber. d. sächs. Gesell. d. Wiss.* 1883, p. 193, *Grundriss*, I § 639) and of Osthoff (*Jena Litteraturzeit.* 1878, Art. 476, *Zur Gesch. des Perf.*, 449) to refer it to the analogy of *χείρων*, *ἀμείνων*. Brugmann adopts the same explanation for *κρείσσων* for *κρέσσων*. Cf. also *K. Z.*, XXIX, 140. *μέζων* has been imitated by Lukian, *Syr.*, 12, 19, 22, though *μείζων* 10 in all Mss.; in the *Astr.*, 5, 6, the *ε* form. In Arrian, *μεζ-* is well attested, but it is absent from the text of Euseb. *Mynd.* Eusebios, 3, has *μέζων*. Hippokrates and Aretaios adopt the Ionic form in a large majority of instances.

κρέσσων, formed from the strong base *κρετ-*, which does not elsewhere appear in Ionic, though well attested in the case of Arkado-Kyprian, and perhaps not foreign to Aiolic. *κρέσσων* occurs in Hdt., in Hipponax, 79, Anan., 33, Phokyl., 52, though in these poets the reading *κρέσσων* is disputed by some Mss. *Theognis*, 218, 618, 631, 996, has *κρέσσων*; which is sufficient authority to justify Renner's displacement of *κρείσσων*, 1074, 1173. I hold fast to my assertion (*Diphthong EI*, p. 58) despite the objections urged against it, *A. J. P.*, VIII, 98, that it is impossible for *γod* with *tau* to have become

¹ *μέζων* appears upon a Tegean inscription, *B. C. H.* XIII, 281.

σσ, and at the same time to have changed ϵ to $\epsilon\iota$ in the preceding syllable. Hippokrates and Aretaios have κρέσσων, a form which recurs in Euseb. Mynd., 10, 62, though the Mss. of the Neo-Platonist has μειζων. In the letters of Hippokrates the Ionic form has been carefully imitated (17^{22, 57}, 27:4).

εἰς, ἐς < ἔvs, see under *Prepositions*. The genuine Ionic form appears to be ἐς, though εἰς is not unknown. εἰς in Ionic contains a spurious, in Aiolic a genuine, diphthong.

κύπερος, an aromatic plant used by the Skythians for embalming, Hdt., IV, 71. Whether this is connected with the marsh plant, κύπειρον, Il., XXI, 351, is doubtful.

δέκνυμι (ἀποδεκνύντες, Chios, 174 B 14; δέξαι, δέξασθαι, δεχθῆναι, δεδέχ'αι, ἀπόδεξις, in Hdt.; ἀπόδεξις, Euseb. Mynd. 25, but ἀναδειξάμενοι, 31) is to be separated from δέικνυμι, and compared with *doceo*.¹ The poets offer no example of δέικνυμι (δείξει, Solon, 10, ἔδειξε, Theog., 500). G. Meyer's suggestion (Gramm. § 115, note) that δειδέχεται is connected with *doceo* and δέξαι, etc., is scarcely to be accepted.

ἔργω = εἶργω (the distinction between εἶργω and εἶργω is late and fanciful). Hdt. uses ἔργω (ἀπεργμένον, ἀπέρξαι, κατέργοντες, etc., Bredow, p. 153), and not εἶργω² or ἔέργω. ἐξείργον, V, 22, is due apparently to the variable augment of ἔργω, and need therefore not be classed with κατειργνύσι, IV, 69, ἀπείργουσα, IX, 68, where the Mss. unite in demanding a form stamped as un-Herodotean by all other passages. In Homer both εἶργω and ἔέργω are well established, hence a change of τῆλέ με εἶργουσι to τῆλέ μ' ἔέργουσι is not advisable.

NOTE. — I have tentatively explained the interrelation of εἶργω and ἔέργω as follows: εἶργω contains a prosthetic vowel that appears upon the weakening of the base *Fery* to *Firy* through influence of the accent. ἔέργω is perhaps a contaminated form, with the prosthetic vowel that is in place originally in the weak form above. Schulze, *K. Z.* XXIX, 235 protests against this explanation.

14. Varia.

The ϵ in ἐξαιθραπέιοντος, Mylasa, 248₂, is a prefix to help out ξ as representative of the Old Persian χξ. Wiese, *B. B.*, V, 90, sug-

¹ So far as I am aware no scholar has accepted the conclusions of Möller in regard to δέικνυμι, *K. Z.*, XXIV, 462.

² Anan. 3, has καθείργαι, a doubtful form. Theognis, 686, 710, 1180, has εἶργω, which I would not change with Renner.

gests that ἐξ- is due to a popular etymology which connected the word with the preposition. Cf. ἐξσατραπείοντος, C. I. G., 2919, Tralles; ἐξσατράπης, Theopompos, Lobeck, *Ell.*, I, 144. A parallel example from Attic is Ἐξυπεταίων, C. I. A., III, 1119, for Ξυπεταίων, C. I. A., I, 243.

The vowel I (short ι).

15. Ionic I = E of other dialects.

E + σ + consonant + ι becomes ι¹ in ἰστίη in the Ionic of Homer and of Hdt., as in other dialects. Cf. *φιστίαν*, Arkad., Ἰσστιαίε[ι]ος, Thessal., Ἰσστιαίδας, Boiot. and Doric (Lokrian, Kretan, Syrakusan, Heraklean), Aiolic and Attic alone having preserved the ε vowel here. In Hdt. we find ἰστίαι, I, 176, Ἰστίης, II, 50, ἰστιητορίου, IV, 35, ἐπίστιος, I, 35, ἰστιῆσθαι, V, 20 (cf. the v. l.), ἰστίη VI, 86 (δ) for the ἔστίη of *L.* Greg. Corinth., p. 500, quotes ἐπίστιος. The editors of Hdt. have now removed all cases of εστ- from the text, even Ἰστιαιεύς having been substituted for Ἐστ-, though attested by Plutarch. Cf. the variation between Homeric Ἰστίαιαν and Apollodoros' Ἐστιαίαν.

In *συνεστίη*, VI, 128, the Mss. have -εστ-. For various conjectures, see Stein, *ad loc.* Bechtel *Thas.* (L), 18 B 10) writes [E]στιάϊον.

ε before σ + cons., when the latter is not followed by ι, does not become ι; e.g. εὔεσταί, Hdt., I, 85, ἀπεστοῖ, IX, 85.

NOTE. — A nominative ἰρής = ἐρής (Thessal.) is assumed by Baunack, *K. Z.*, XXVII, 565; and for ἰρένες, ἰρέες is substituted by the same scholar in Hdt. IX, 85.

16. Ionic Ī = EI of other dialects.

See under Ī, § 65, for cases of itacism in Ionic. Sections 44, 46, will discuss the interrelation of -ιη and -αιη. No cogent instance can be adduced of an itacistic change of -αιη to -ῖη in any older period in the history of Ionic.

ἴκελος varies with εἴκελος in the Mss. of Hdt. as in those of Homer. I have shown in *A. J. P.*, VI, p. 439, that the ι of the form ἴκελος is not descended from the εἰ of εἴκελος by the merging of ε + ι to ī, and by the weakening of this ī to ῖ. ἴκελος is = *(ε)ικελός (cf. ἀφ(ε)νεῖος). Stein has εἴκελος, III, 81, εἴκελα, VIII, 9, προσείκελα, III, 110, προσει-

¹ Cf. Collitz, *A. J. P.*, VIII, 216, who suggests that the change is late. It is certainly confined to certain dialects.

κέλους, IV, 61, προσείκελος, IV, 177. The Et. Mag. 297²⁸, states that εἶκελος is the correct form, though ἴκελος often occurs; and that in composition the form with ι is alone admissible. This testimony is not authoritative for the fifth century. In Homer *εἶκελος* occurs 17 times, while *εἶκελος* has the v. l. ἴκελος 16 times. From the Mss. of Lukian we cannot learn what form the satirist used. Hippokrates, Aretaios, and Uranios prefer the ι form, which is doubtless to be adopted in the *Dea Syria*, 33, 40.

The existence of parallel forms in εἶ and ι in the name of Poseidon, and in names derived therefrom, does not substantiate the presence of itacism in this word. Hdt., VII, 115, has Ποσειδηῖον, III, 91, Ποσειδηῖον with Ποσειδηῖον as v. l. The Ionic name of the Deity in Hdt. is Ποσειδέων (12 times). Cf. also Ποσειδωνιήτης, I, 167, and Ποσειδώνιος, I, 71, 85. On the Archilochean Ποσειδάων, see above, under E, § 11. Archilochos has Ποσειδῶν, or perhaps Ποσειδέων, ep. 114.

As regards the inscriptions, which speak with greatest authority in cases similar to this, their testimony is as follows:—

{	Ποσειδωνιό[ν], 153 ³⁷ , Smyrna.	Ποσιδέων, 153 ³² , Smyrna.
	“ 131 ^{16, 17, 18} , Olbia.	“ 177 ¹⁷ , Chios.
		Ποσιδέιον, Jahrb. für Phil. Suppl. Vol. V, 487, No. 47, and Vol. X, 29, No. 21.
	Ποσειδέιος, Thásos (Louvre), 10 ¹⁰ .	Ποσιδέιος, 234 B 34, Perinthos.
		Ποσιδηῖον, 196 ⁵ , Maroneia. Cf. the form in Hdt.
	Ποσειδῶνος, 206 B 31, Eryth.	Ποσιδεῶνος, 206 A 46, Erythrai.
	Ποσειδώνιος, 240 ^{28, 47} , Halik.	
	Ποσειδέππου, Thásos (Louvre) 211.	

The Attic month Ποσειδέων appears thus in the Ionic form, Ποσιδέων (Clodius, *Fasti Ionici*).

As regards the age of the inscriptions, the only inscription with ι, dating certainly before 400, is that from Maroneia, 196⁵, the others with εἶ being later; while those with εἶ are not older than the bulk of those with ι. Chronological considerations do not therefore make in favor of the origin of the forms with ι from those with εἶ. Despite the obscurity which attends this word (cf. Prellwitz, B. B., IX, 331), it is evident that the variation between εἶ and ι, which is confined to no single dialect, must depend upon stem-gradation. On

this view the ϵ and ι stand in no immediate personal relation to each other.

The ι of Πισίστρατος, Samos, 225, does not necessitate the assumption of itacism, though its quantity is not certain. Cf. Πισίθεος in Delphic, Πισίας, Πισιδώρα, etc.

17. Varia.

1. *Iota* and *alpha* are not phonetically related; hence, Σινώπη and Σανάπη (Schol. Ap. Rh., II, 946) are not connected.

2. The form $\upsilon\gamma\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha$ for $\upsilon\gamma\acute{\iota}\epsilon\alpha$ is found, Olbia, 129₁₄ (imperial period). I do not discover any occurrence of $\upsilon\gamma\acute{\iota}\alpha < \upsilon\gamma\acute{\iota}\epsilon\alpha$, or of $\upsilon\gamma\acute{\iota}\epsilon(\iota)\alpha$. $\upsilon\gamma\acute{\iota}\epsilon\alpha$ is the regular Attic form upon inscriptions. See 45 A.

THE VOWEL O.

18. Ionic O = A of other dialects.

On $a = o$ in forms in Ἄρτω, ἀρρωδίω, etc., see above § 4, on ζώω § 69.

Examples of op , $po = ap$, pa , are very rare: Βροτάχων, 117 Panti-kapaion and Ephesos (Wood's *Discoveries*, App. 2, No. 2). Hippokrates used βότραχος for βρόταχος, so we are informed; and βρόταχος is further supported by the Hesychian gloss (*s. v.*) and by the Et. Mag. 214_{4c}, where the form is quoted from Xenophanes¹ and Aristophanes. The dialects of Lesbos, Boiotia, and Thessaly are generally held to evince a strong predilection in favor of the weak op , po , but Brugmann (*Grundriss*, I § 292) makes mention only of Lesbic and Boiot. forms. I have, however, shown A. P. A., XVIII, 104, 159, that it is inadvisable, if not futile, to attempt to set up such a restriction. Βρόταχος was the name of a Gortynian worthy of an epigram from the great Simonides (127), though the substitution of po for pa is not elsewhere attested as a peculiarity of Kretan speech. At best βρόταχος can have been but partially adopted by Ionic. According to the express testimony of the scholiast on *Iliad*, Δ 243, Eustath. II., 468:2, and Greg. Corinthius, 414, the Herodotean form was βάθρακος, a form not adopted by Stein (IV, 131, 132). Cf. Roscher in Curtius' *Studien*, IV, 189, whose etymological combinations are somewhat out of date, German *kröte* being the phonetic equivalent.

¹ Βρόταχος, τὸν Βάτραχον Ἴωνες. Bergk.⁴ does not register the word.

παρδακός, Sim. Amorg. 21 = Attic παρδακός. Archilochos (140) has, however, παρδακός.

The form Καλλίστροσο[ς] has been adduced from one of the Styraian lead tablets as proof of the influence of Boiotian vocalization upon the dialect of Styra. In Bechtel, No. 19²¹³, we read -στρΑτ clearly enough, Vischer's -στρΟ being incorrect. All other examples of the supposed interdependence of Boiotian and Styraian have in like manner been deprived of their validity upon more careful examination of the evidence. In Styra we have Στράτων 19⁴¹⁶.

The inscriptions offer several instances of a preference for the ο sound: —

*Όστακος, Delos, 55 I., has been identified by Bechtel with ἄστακός, lobster. The form ὄστακός comes to light in Aristomenes, Γοητ., 2, and is quoted by Hesychios. It occurs also in Athenaios. Cf. Sturz, *de dialecto Mac. et Alexandr.*, p. 70, who held that ὄστακός was Alexandrian.

With Κο]μοσαρίη, Phanagoreia, 167 cf. Καμασαρίη, a queen of Bithynia, C. I. G., 2855. See Dittenberger, *Syll.* 1041.

Ἐρμώνοσσα, Chios, 174 A^{2, 4}, a locality in Chios. With this compare Ἐρμώνασσα, name of a woman and also of several cities.

19. Varia.

έουτῶν, Panionion, 144 (= C. I. G., 2909), an inscription but indifferently written.

έντοῦθα, Oropos, 18¹⁷, whereas Sim. Amorg., 23, has ένταῦθα, Hdt. ένθαῦτα. This and the preceding example present no slight difficulties, since in no Greek dialect is there a well-attested instance of an interchange of αυ and ου. These forms may be rescued on the view that it shows the influence of other pronominal forms (οὔτος, έν τούτῳ). See § 124.

NOTE. — A variation between ā and ο exists in the case of χαμᾶθεν, Hdt., II, 125, where *ds* have χαμῶθεν, a form attacked by Cobet (*Varia. Lect.*, 89) and expelled by him from Kratinos, Xen. (*Hellen.*, VII, 2, 7), and Aristotle.

20. O in Ionic = E in other dialects.

Κναροψιών, name of the month in Samos, Kyzikos (Reinach, *Traité*, p. 489), also Attic (*Berichte der Berl. Akad.*, 1859, p. 739). Cf. Πναρψιών. See Schmidt's *Chronologie*, p. 458, Brugmann's *Gr. Gr.* p. 32 note.

The old ablaut of *φεργ* (*-φοργ*) occurs in Ἰθηνάης Ὀργάνης, Delos, 54. Cf. Hesychios, *s. v.* Ὀργάνη: ἡ Ἰθηνᾶ, ἣν καὶ Ἐργάνην ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων λέγουσιν. The same form of the name has come to light in Athens, Bull. dell. instit. di Corr. Arch. 1874, 107. Cf. ὄργανον, and later, ἔργανον with its *ε* from ἔργον. See § 162.

21. O in Ionic = OY of other dialects.

The Samian inscription, No. 220, has the new forms ἀλοργούς, l. 23, ἀλοργούν 22, 30, ἀλοργήν 15, 16, ἀλοργά 36, ἀλοργὰς 28, and παραλοργές 21; with which compare the Attic ἀλουργής and παναλουργέα, Xenophones, 33. ἀλοργός is from ἀλο(ε)ργός, Bechtel, *ad loc.*, Smyth, A. P. A., XVIII, 159. Cf. §§ 162, 179, on the contraction of O + E.

On the Ionic οὔνομα, μούνος, Οὔλυμπος, see under OY.

22. O in Ionic = OI of other dialects.

From Roehl, 501, = Roberts, 148 (Kyzikos), δεσπόνησιν = Attic δεσποίναις according to the commentators, we might conclude that Ionic *o* was here = Attic *oi*. No such interrelation of *o* and *oi* is known. It is possible that the *o* is due to δεσπότης, etc.; but Osthoff's attempt to connect *-ποινα* and *πότνια* (*potniija, *-ποτνια, *-ποννια, *-πονια), which still awaits confirmation, does not provide us with the "fitting key" to explain the appearance of *o* in a δεσπόνη.

On anaptyctic *i* in Τροιζήνιος, see under OI, § 97.

23. Varia.

The assumption of hyphaeresis of *o* in Hdt. βοηθός is rendered easier if we recall the Homeric ὄγδρον, ξ 287. With βοηθός, cf. δορυξός, Πειριθός, etc. No dialectal dividing line can here be established. See G. Meyer, Gramn., § 152.

On the change of *o* to *v* in Euboian Ionic, see under Y. On the substitution of *o* for the *v* of *av*, *ev*, see under these diphthongs.

Short Y.

24. Ionic Y = O of other dialects.

The change of O to Y is attested to a limited extent in Ionic: —

Upon a Kymaian inscription (Bechtel, 3 A = Roberts, 177 A) we find ΗΥΠΥ (*ύπύ*) twice; from which it is clear that of the Ionians,

the Chalkidians¹ had not adopted the later *ii*. Other instances from Euboian Ionic of a similar retention of the I.E. phonetic value of *v* as *u* do not stand on so sure a footing, though Wilamowitz, *Hom. Untersuch.*, p. 288, claims that the modern names *Kuma* and *Stura* are living witnesses to a pronunciation which held ground throughout the Ionic period of the epos, and in fact to the rise of Attic supremacy in Greece proper; while in Asia Minor *v* had become *ii* before the year 500. The Styraian *Μέτυκος*, 19⁷⁰, may stand for *Μέτοικος*; but it is at best a doubtful form which has illegitimately been used to show the connection between Boiotian and Euboian Ionic.² No interrelation of *O* and *Y* need be assumed on the score of *Κεφαλότης*, Styra, 19^{217, 218} (*Κέφαλος* 19²¹³⁻²¹⁷), or of *Φιλύτης* 19³³³, since names in *-ύτη*, etc., are primitive. Cf. *Φιλύτα*, Kyrene, C. I. G., 5143, *Φιλυτάς*, Delos, C. I. G. 2310. **Ολομπος*, occurring in C. I. G. 8412, an apparently Ionic inscription, is of doubtful validity.

As regards the Ionic of the mainland, we have but slender support for the assumption that the old *v* was retained. *ῥυφείν*, in Hipponax, 132, and *ὑπέατι*, Hdt., IV, 70, are the only examples from literature of the change of *o* to *v*. In Phokaia *v* was pronounced as *u*, if we may judge from *Ἰελητῶν* 172²³, about 350 B.C. *Hyele* = *Velia*, the Oscan name being spelled with *V*, which the colonists reproduced by their *Y* (Hdt., I, 167).

That *o* became *v* in *αἰσυμνήτης*, Teos, 156 B 4, is not proven. Cf. Chalkedon. *αἰσυμῶντες*, C. I. G., 3794, with *ι* perhaps from *v* as in *Ἀστίμαχος*, R. M., XXXV, 358. Cases of *ι* arising from an *v*, which is itself from *o*, are far to seek.

There is no change of *o* to *v* in *ὄνυμα*, found in *Κλεώνυμος*, Smyrna, 153¹⁹, *Ἐκατόνυμος*, Eryth, 206 A 15, *Κλειτόνυμος*, Thasos (L.), 8⁹, *Πυθώνυμος*, Thas. (L.) 10¹² B. *v* occurs in this word and its congeners in Aiolic, Boiot., Thessal., Phokian, Delphic, Aitolic, in Aigina and Selinus, and is pan-Hellenic in *ἀνώνυμος* and *εὐώνυμος* (Eph. 145). The extensive geographical reach of the forms with *v*, and the undeviating writing *ἀνώνυμος*, render the assumption not improbable that the forms in *v* are original, those in *o* later. If the *o* forms are original, there can be no doubt that the vowel interposed between the nasals was in a pre-historic period closed, the first *o* remaining open.

On the substitution of *o* for the *v* of *av*, *ev*, see under the head of these diphthongs.

¹ *Κύμης τῆς ἐν Ὀπικίᾳ, Χαλκιδικῆς πόλεως*, Thuk., VI, 4.

² Kyprian *Στασίλυκος* Meister (G. D. II. p. 19) is not above suspicion.

25. Ionic Y = I of other dialects.

Συκεεῦσιν, on the stelè of Sigeion Bechtel, 103 = Roberts, 42 A 10. In the Attic part of the inscription we find Σιγενεῖσι. The *v* is doubtless older since it is found on the epichoric document. The two forms are then interrelated as βυβλίον βίβλιον, Τυνδαριδᾶν Τινδαριδᾶν Roehl, 62 A, and Κυνδυῆς and Κινδυῆς on the Attic tribute lists. Iota does not pass into *v* in any Greek word.

Hdt. has βύβλος, βύβλινος, βυβλίον. A complete mustering of the occurrences of these words in Stein's edition shows that the chief support of the forms with *ι* is derived from Mss. *P. R.*, while in one-seventh of all passages there is no variant. I conclude, therefore, that Bredow's distinction between βίβλιον, βίβλος (*notione charta scriptoriae, libelli*) and βύβλος (*notione libri conticis papyri*) must fall to the ground, and that the Ionic of the fifth century preferred, if it did not recognize exclusively, the forms with *v*. The variants in favor of *ι* are due to the scribes rather than to the influence of such actual forms in *ι* as we find as early as 400 B.C. in Attic (C. I. A., II, Add., 1 B 25; Mitth., VII, 368, concerning the Attic cleruchs in Samos, 346 B.C.). The forms in *ι* continue in Attic inscriptions until the second century B.C., after which βυβλίον is the normal form. See Birt's *Buchwesen*, p. 12.

μόλυβδος, Hdt., I, 186, III, 56, has the variation μόλιβδος, a form that does not find any support in the Attic μόλυβ[δῶν], C. I. A., II, 476⁴³, or in any other inscriptional form. That the *ι* form elsewhere forced an entrance at an early period should not mislead us as regards Ionic.

In a Halikarnassian inscription (Bechtel, No. 241) we read ΗΜΥΣΚ, which Bechtel transcribes ἤμ(ι)σ(ν). This is possible, though the occurrence of ἤμυσσ upon Attic inscriptions (C. I. A., II, 17⁴⁵) and elsewhere, e.g. Delos (B. C. H., II, 580), renders the attempt to rescue this form for Ionic not overbold. Cf. Meisterhans, p. 22, Blass, *Aussprache*,³ p. 40. ἤμυσσ occurs on a late inscription from Thasos, 72¹⁶, upon one from Teos, 158²⁴, and in Sterrett, *Wolfe Expedition*, III, 335. The forms in *iota* are the more primitive, those in *upsilon* being due to an assimilation which could take place in Greece only at a period when the inherited tendency to avoid a succession of *v*'s was no longer felt.¹

¹ In Attic the *iota* held its ground in those forms which show no *v* in the endings.

On *αἰσυνμήτης* see above § 24. Ionic here preserves the original *v* in the Tean *αἰσυνμήτης*, 156 B 4; and it is to the influence of Ionic that is due *αἰσυνμάτας* in Cherson. Taur., whereas *αἰσιμνάτας* is the Megarian orthography (Selinus, Chalkedon, Selymbria). Bechtel, C. D. I., 3016, conjectures that the change between the weak vowels *v* and *i* ensues when *f* originally proceeded the strong vowel (*ἄφεσμα, ἀῦτμή, αἰσθω*).

On a supposed change of *a* to *v*, see above § 5.

THE LONG VOWELS.

26. \hat{A} .

The three subdivisions of Ionic uniformly present \hat{A} in place of that H which is specifically Attic. An Ionic \bar{a} in Homer, though supported by Brugmann, Gr. Gram., § 10, must be held to be indefensible. Nor on the other hand does the constitution of the Homeric poems permit us to assume that *κᾰλός* is Doric (King-Cookson, p. 184). See Bechtel, *Phil. Anzeiger*, 1886, 20 ff.

27. The dialect of Styra it has been alleged, offers instances of an original Hellenic \hat{A} , due to the influence of the speech of Boiotia. Names of Ionians may assume, it is true, a form inconsistent with the laws of Ionic, but this happens solely when a special reason exists. Compare for example the names of the children of Kimon, where political preferences have dictated a nomenclature alien to Attic. In all other cases it must be denied that Ionic can admit a thoroughgoing contamination of its phonetics from the influence of a neighboring speech centre. The examples from the lead tablets are worthy of registration. Cf. Bechtel, *Ion. Insch.*, p. 36.

Σκοπάνωρ 19₃₀₆, to be read *Σκόπᾰνδρος*.

-αντίδα[ς] 19₁₀₀, to be read *Ἄντιᾰ[ρης]*.

Λυσαγόρας 19₂₄₄, an uncertain reading.

Λαοκράτης 19₃₉₁, to be read *Λ(ε)ωκράτης*, since E and A are not infrequently confused in the tablets.

Χαρίλαος 19₄₂₄, to be read *Χαρίλ(ε)ως*.

Λοχᾰγός 19₁₂₆ is based upon the Lakonian *λοχᾰγός*, which is in Attic, too, a loan form. Hdt. uses *λοχηγέω* ($\sqrt{\bar{a}\bar{\gamma}}$).

Ἐσνείας 19₁₉₁ is no name at all, which may be said of Lenormant's *Εινείας*. In Roberts, 189 F, upon a vase from a colony of Chalkis,

we read *Αἰνέης*, and upon a Thasian inscription in the Louvre (35), *Αἰνησίης*. Bechtel, 12, has *Αἰνεητῶν*, from Ainea.

Δαμάρετος, cited by Karsten, p. 18, is in reality *Δημάροτος*, and is so read by Bechtel, 19¹⁸⁰.

Ηηγμονεύς 19²⁰⁰ is read by Bechtel *Ηηγμονεύς*. This and *Δαμάρετος* are due to Lenormant.

28. The retention of *ā* in Hdt. occurs in the names of non-Ionic personages, which are of Doric stock. As Gramm. Meerm. states (649): τὰ εἰς \bar{a} ς λήγοντα ὀνόματα, ἐὰν μὴ ᾧσι Δωρικά, εἰς $\bar{\eta}$ ς τρέπουσιν (**Ιωνες*), a statement which must not be twisted so as to give life to a Doric *κᾶλός* in Homer. The following are instances of proper names with *ā* in Hdt.:—

**Αγίς*, VI, 65, the Spartan. It is noticeable that Hdt. uses the Ionic form of the adj. *Σπαρτιήτης*. Cf. **Ηγησίλεως*, VII, 204.

**Αέροπος*, VIII, 137, an Argive, VIII, 139, a Makedonian; but **Ηέροπος*, IX, 26, a Tegean.

**Ακαρνάν*, I, 62; **Ακαρνανίη*, II, 10.

**Απιδανός*, the Thessalian river, VII, 129; but **Ηπιδανός*, VII, 196.

**Αρίσβα*, I, 151, a city in the Troad = **Αρίσβη*, B 836. The proper form may, however, be **Αρισβα*; so Strabo, XIV, 635. Eustathios distinguishes between two cities, **Αρίσβη* and **Αρίσβα*.

**Αριστέας*, VII, 137, a Korinthian. Cf. **Αριστέης*, IV, 13, from Prokonnesos.

Γυγάδας χρυσός, I, 14. This apparently irregular form (*Γύγης* elsewhere) is explained by the statement of the historian: ὑπὸ Δελφῶν καλεῖται Γυγάδας ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀναθέντος ἐπωνυμίην.

Δυμανᾶται, V, 68, a Doric tribe.

Κρᾶθις, I, 145, a river in Achaia and also a river near Sybaris, V, 45.

Names in *-λαος*. *Μενέλαος* of a *λιμὴν*, IV, 169, and *Μενελάον*, VII, 169; **Αρχέλαοι*, V, 68; *Λαοδάμας*, a Phokaian, IV, 138, an Aiginetan, IV, 152. Hdt., however, is not consistent in writing *Νικόλεως*, VII, 134, and *Νικόλας*, VII, 137, though a Spartan is referred to. Furthermore, we have *Λακρίνης*, a Lakedaimonian, I, 152; *Λαφάνης*, an Arkadian, VI, 127; *Λαδᾶκη*, a woman of Kyrene, II, 181.

Cf. the forms of *λαός* § 11, 30. A perfect dichotomy of the dialects as regards names in *-λαος* is clearly impossible, in view of the fact that even Attic citizens before the year 500 B.C. bear names formed from this form of the word, the right to use *Λεώς* having been confined to the tribe *Leontis*. That *-λαος* was also in use among the Ionians is

clear from its occurrence upon a Chian inscription, 177¹⁴, -τόλαος, l. 14 (Λεωσέβεο[ς] in l. 3).

Ὅρνεᾶται, VII, 73.

Παρωρεᾶται, IV, 148, but VIII, 73, Παρωρεῆται.

Προναίη, I, 92. Cf. also Προνηίη.

Τιθορεία, VIII, 32, a peak of Parnassos.

Ἰᾶται, V, 68, from Sikyon.

Φιλάονα, VIII, 11, despite -ων generally becomes -εων in Hdt. Cf. Μαχάων in Homer = Μαχέων, Thasos (Louvre), 10¹¹. Cf. Φιλεωνίδ[ε]ος, Thasos, 73. Hdt. has ὀπάων, V, 111.

Χαράδρα, in Phokis, VIII, 33. So Stein, Bredow Χαράδρην. So also, χαράδραν, IX, 102. Cf. § 3.

Χοιρεᾶται, V, 68, from Sikyon.

Besides these names we have several which show -ῦς in the nominative case preceded by a consonant (Ἀριάντας, Σίκας, Αὔρας, Δύρας) which are inflected -α, -α, -αν. Proper names in -εης and -ιης are the rule, with but few exceptions (Ἀριστέας, VII, 117).

Herodotos' treatment of the names of non-Ionic persons and places is tolerably elective. In a considerable number of instances where we might expect a thoroughgoing Dorization he surprises us by such Ionisms as:—

Λεωνίδης, Λεωβάτης, Λευτυχίδης (a form that occurs in Timokreon, 1₂). Μενέλεως he occasionally uses despite Μενελάου, VII, 169. By a reverse process we have Ἀριστολαίδεω, I, 59, an Athenian.

Again, the island is called Θήρη, its founder, Θήρας. The leader of the colony never occurs in any writer in the form Θήρης. Ἀζήν, VI, 127, is the inhabitant of the Arkadian Ἀζανία; Ἐνιήνες, VII, 132, etc., despite the frequent names in -ᾶνες; Τεγέη, Σικελίην, Σικανίην, VII, 170.

29. Retention of *ū* in proper names occurring outside of Herodotos. In poetry, see on Ποσειδάων, under the vowel E, § 11.

Upon a Halikarnassian inscription, 240²³, we read Ἰάσονος; Ἀετίωνος, Iasos, 104¹⁶, Ποιᾶσσιών, Keos, 47², Ποιᾶσσαν 47¹¹. Cf. Ποιήσσιοι, Ditt., *Syll.*, 63⁸², time of the second maritime league; Δημαινέτης, Amorg., 29, but Εἰθύνδαμος, Klazom. Le Bas, *Voy. Archéol.*, III, 1, No. 186. Naïs, Roberts, 190, II F, Χώρα 190, I K, Γαρυφώνης 191, on Chalkidian vases. See K. Z., XXIX, 390.

NOTE.—The usage of Attic prose inscriptions may here be noted. In the fifth century we find both the epichoric and the Attic names of tributary states (Hermes, V, 52). In the fourth century the tendency to permit the adoption of the epichoric name seems to be stronger.

30. $\widehat{A} < \bar{a}f$.

$\lambda\bar{a}\acute{o}s < * \lambda\bar{a}f\acute{o}s$.

Homer has $\lambda\bar{a}\acute{o}s$, $\lambda\bar{a}\acute{o}ss\acute{o}s$, and in proper names $\lambda\bar{a}\acute{o}\delta\acute{\alpha}\mu\epsilon\iota\alpha$, etc. ; $\lambda\epsilon\acute{o}s$ in $\lambda\acute{\alpha}\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\omega s$ and $\Pi\eta\eta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\omega s$ ¹ ; and $\lambda\eta\acute{o}s$, incorrectly transcribed in $\lambda\epsilon\iota\omega\acute{\kappa}\rho\iota\tau\omicron s$ ($\lambda\eta\acute{o}\kappa\rho\iota\tau\omicron s$) and $\lambda\epsilon\iota\omega\acute{\delta}\eta s$ ($\lambda\eta\acute{o}\delta\eta s < \lambda\bar{a}f\omicron + \acute{\rho}\alpha\delta\eta s$). Of these, the first form has found an echo in Ionic poetry : Archil., $\chi\alpha\rho\acute{\iota}\lambda\alpha\epsilon$, 79 (paroemiachus and ithyphallicus, Flach, Gr. Lyrik, p. 228). The reading is not perfectly certain, Aelian having $\chi\alpha\rho\acute{\iota}\delta\alpha\nu$. Cf. $\chi\alpha\rho\iota\delta\alpha\nu\tau\acute{\iota}\delta\eta s$, a Thasian name, Bechtel's *Thas. Inschr.*, p. 8. $\lambda\acute{o}\lambda\alpha\omicron s$ 119₃ (a hymn of uncertain metrical reconstruction) ;² Kallinos, $\lambda\alpha\acute{\omega}$ 118 ; Tyrt., $\lambda\alpha\acute{o}\nu$ 111₁₃, $\lambda\alpha\acute{o}\nu s$ 12₂₁ ; Xenoph., $\lambda\alpha\acute{o}\iota s i$ 215 ; Theog., $\lambda\alpha\acute{o} i$ 53, 776, $\lambda\alpha\acute{o}\phi\theta\acute{o}\rho\omicron\nu$ 781. These forms are not Ionic.³ Genuine Ionic is $\lambda\eta\acute{o}s$, the oldest Ionic form of the word known to us, preserved in Hipponax, 88, and in Hdt., $\lambda\acute{\eta}\tau\omicron\nu$, VII, 197 ($\lambda\acute{\eta}\tau\omicron\nu \kappa\alpha\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\nu s i \tau\acute{o} \pi\rho\omicron\tau\alpha\nu\acute{\eta}\tau\omicron\nu \omicron i \lambda\chi\alpha\iota\omicron i$).⁴ Cf. $\lambda\acute{\eta}\tau\omicron s$ in Homer, XIII, 91, and Pott, K. Z., VII, 324. With $\lambda\eta\acute{o}s$, cf. $\nu\eta\acute{o}s$ in Hdt. and $\pi\alpha\iota\acute{\eta}\nu\alpha$, Archil., 76.

This $\lambda\eta\acute{o}s$ became $\lambda\epsilon\acute{o}s$ in later Ionic ; in Miletos, at least, shortly after the year 600 B.C. ($\lambda\acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\alpha}\xi\acute{\iota}\lambda\epsilon\omega s$, Becht., No. 93). $\lambda\epsilon\acute{o}s$ is the form in Hdt., though we find $\lambda\eta\acute{o}s$, V, 42, $\lambda\alpha\acute{o}\nu$, IV, 148, which Stein refuses to accept. $\lambda\alpha\acute{o}\phi\acute{o}\rho\omicron\nu$, I, 187, exists parallel to $\lambda\epsilon\omega s\phi\acute{\epsilon}\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\nu$, IX, 33, though the testimony is so greatly on the side of $\lambda\epsilon\acute{o}s$ that a fair view will not regard harshly the attempt to make Herodotos uniform in his adoption of this form.

When f disappeared after \acute{a} , its disappearance was not signaled by the lengthening of the vowel ($\acute{\alpha}\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\acute{\alpha}\omicron s$, Hdt., I, 93, 145 ; Attic $\nu\acute{\alpha}\omega =$ Aiolic $\nu\acute{\alpha}\nu\omega$). Hence, when in Ionic \bar{a} appears, it is clear that we must distinguish between such poetical forms as $\acute{\alpha}\epsilon\acute{\iota}\sigma\omega$, Theog., 4, cf. Od., 17, 519, and such prose forms as $\lambda\acute{\alpha}\tau\eta s$. In Ionic poetry the short a appears in $\lambda\acute{\alpha}\delta\alpha\omicron$, Theog., 244, 427, 906, $\lambda\acute{\alpha}\delta\epsilon\omega$ 703, 726, 802, 1014, 1124, Solon 248 ; $\lambda\acute{\alpha}\delta\eta\nu$, Tyrt., 12₃₈ = Mimn. 214. $\lambda\acute{\alpha}\delta\omicron s$, Theog., 914, has \bar{a} .

In but two iambic passages (Simon. Amorg. 114, 7117) do we find traces of $\lambda\acute{\alpha}\tau\eta s$. In both passages the \bar{a} falls under the ictus, a fact which seems to suggest the Homeric usage, which is as follows : $\lambda\acute{\alpha}\tau\eta s$

¹ See K. Z., XXVII, 266.

² $\lambda\acute{o}\lambda\alpha\omicron s$, Acharn., 867, Eurip. uses both $\lambda\acute{o}\lambda\alpha\omicron s$ and $\lambda\acute{o}\lambda\epsilon\omega s$. $\lambda\acute{o}\lambda\alpha\omicron s$ on a vase (Klein, *Vasen*,² 206, 1), which shows mixed dialect ($\lambda\acute{o}\lambda\alpha\omicron s \text{ Μανία}$ by the side of Μεγάλη Ἀλκμήνη). Cf. K. Z., XXIX, 400.

³ This is not disputed by the Chian, $\lambda\acute{o}\lambda\alpha\omicron s$ 177₁₄, as has been shown, § 11. It is noteworthy that $\lambda\alpha\acute{o}s$ does not occur in the iambs of Archilochos.

⁴ Et. Mag. 562₅₃.

(Iliad nine times, Od. four times), elsewhere \check{a} (so 'Αἴδης, V 395, IX 158, etc.).

Hesiod always has \check{a} , and the Homeric Hymns, except in one passage, IV, 348, where Ἄιδῆ is read by Gemoll. Hdt. has 'Αἴδης. In Aiolic and Doric the a is invariably short. So, too, in words derived from the same base. See § 142.

It has been widely held that 'Αἴδης is derived from $a + \text{φιδ-}$, and that the passages in Homer where the a is long, represent $av, \text{φ}$ having been vocalized. There is no objection to this explanation, so far as it goes. The difficulty lies in the Attic Ἄιδης (\check{a} ιδης), which cannot have arisen either from $\check{a}\text{φιδ-}$ or $\bar{a}\text{φιδ-}$. Since the Attic and Homeric forms cannot be dissociated, it is best to regard each as descended from $a\text{ιδιδ-}$ (cf. κάω, ἀεί). This of course necessitates the abandonment of the old-time etymology whereby 'Αἴδης is the *unseen* god. $a\text{ιδιδ-}$ may be connected with $a\text{εί}$ or with $a\text{ία}$. See Wackernagel, K. Z., XXVII, 276. On this view Ἄϊδος is the older, Ἄϊδος the younger, form; and the apparently isolated cases in Simonides Amorg., are brought into line.

31. $\hat{A} < \check{a}vs.$

$\pi\hat{a}\sigma a < * \pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\iota a$ may serve to illustrate the existence of that \bar{a} in Ionic-Attic which did not suffer the change to η at the time when $* \pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\iota a$ became $\pi\hat{a}\sigma a$. When there arose the tendency to substitute a lighter form for the disyllabic $* \pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\iota a$, or to expel v before *sigma* (whether proethnic or from $\tau\iota$), the law according to which \bar{a} has become η in Ionic had ceased to exist, having extended its operations throughout the length and breadth of the dialect. A $\pi\hat{\eta}\sigma a$ or $\tau\hat{\eta}\sigma$ for $\tau\acute{a}vs$ was thus rendered impossible. So, too, with names in $-\delta\acute{\alpha}\mu\bar{a}\sigma$.

In this connection it is noteworthy that Kallinos, I₁₆, has $\check{\epsilon}\mu\pi\bar{a}\sigma$, whereas Homer has $\check{\epsilon}\mu\pi\eta\sigma$; forms not to be derived immediately from $\pi\hat{a}\sigma$, despite $\check{\epsilon}\nu\pi a\sigma\iota$, adj., C. I. G., I, 1625₅₀. The latter form does not occur outside of the epic. Brugmann, Gr. Gr., p. 225, connects $-\pi\bar{a}-$ with $\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\epsilon\omega$ through $\kappa\upsilon-\bar{a}-$, and thus regards $\check{\epsilon}\mu\pi\bar{a}\sigma$ either as a genitive or as a petrified instrumental with the *sigma* of ablative adverbs. This $-\pi\bar{a}-$ does not seem to be associated with Kyprian $\pi a\iota$. I know of no other case where *sigma* has attached itself to an instrumental. $\check{\epsilon}\mu\pi\eta\sigma$ in Homer should be reflected by $\check{\epsilon}\mu\pi\eta\sigma$ in Kallinos, as I am aware of no reason for expelling the Homeric form in favor of the Aiolo-Doric (or Attic) $\check{\epsilon}\mu\pi\bar{a}\sigma$.

32. $\widehat{A} < \text{anf.}$

Ion. $\phi\theta\acute{\iota}\nu\omega$ = Attic $\phi\theta\acute{\alpha}\nu\omega$.

33. \widehat{A} in the forms of the Comparative degree.

$\mu\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\nu$, for which one might expect $*\mu\eta\lambda\lambda\omicron\nu$, if the form with $\lambda\lambda$ was formed before or during the period in which proethnic \widehat{A} became H in Ionic-Attic. The force of analogy has, however, substituted for the old comparative $*\mu\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\lambda\omicron\nu$ (melius) the form $\mu\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\nu$, which arose at a period when \bar{a} no longer became η in Ionic-Attic. The proportions $\tau\acute{\alpha}\chi\alpha, \tau\acute{\alpha}\chi\iota\sigma\tau\alpha : \theta\acute{\alpha}\sigma\sigma\omega\nu$ and $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\acute{\alpha}\chi\iota\sigma\tau\alpha : \acute{\epsilon}\lambda\acute{\alpha}\sigma\sigma\omega\nu$ might have given us first $\mu\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\nu$, then $\mu\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\nu$ for $\mu\eta\lambda\lambda\omicron\nu$. The difficulty, which is not recognized by King-Cookson, p. 364,¹ is that $\theta\acute{\alpha}\sigma\sigma\omega\nu$ and $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\acute{\alpha}\sigma\sigma\omega\nu$ are themselves associative forms, whose priority to $\mu\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\nu$ is not made out on other grounds than the desirability of using them to account for $\mu\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\nu$. $\mu\acute{\alpha}\lambda\iota\omicron\nu$, Tyrnt., 126, is hysterogenous, due to the parallelism of $\eta\delta\iota\omicron\nu : \eta\delta\iota\sigma\tau\alpha$; so $\mu\acute{\alpha}\lambda\iota\omicron\nu : \mu\acute{\alpha}\lambda\iota\sigma\tau\alpha$. Cf. Choirob., Orthog., 248, where for $\mu\acute{\alpha}\lambda\iota\omicron\nu$, Harder, *De alpha vocali arud Homerum producta*, p. 104, would read $\mu\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\nu$ (*sic*).²

$\theta\acute{\alpha}\sigma\sigma\omega\nu$, Attic $\theta\acute{\alpha}\tau\tau\omega\nu$, with \bar{a} according to Herodian, I, 523, II, 1313, 94217, from $*\theta\acute{\alpha}\gamma\chi\iota\omega\nu$ for $*\theta\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\chi\iota\omega\nu$ with a through influence of $\tau\acute{\alpha}\chi\alpha, \tau\acute{\alpha}\chi\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$. The nasal before $\sigma\sigma$ disappears, leaving compensatory lengthening.

$\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\acute{\alpha}\sigma\sigma\omega\nu < * \acute{\epsilon}\lambda\acute{\alpha}\gamma\chi\iota\omega\nu$ for $* \acute{\epsilon}\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\chi\iota\omega\nu$ cf. $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\chi\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$. Cf. Schmidt, K. Z., XXV, 156.

$*\mu\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\iota\omega\nu, \theta\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\chi\iota\omega\nu, \acute{\epsilon}\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\chi\iota\omega\nu$ are displaced forms which existed at a period when I.E. \widehat{A} was changed to Ionic η . Their displacement by the \bar{a} forms was therefore subsequent to the production of Ionic η .

34. \widehat{A} in other words.

$\kappa\bar{\alpha}\lambda\omicron\varsigma : * \kappa\alpha\lambda\iota\omicron\varsigma$ = Skt. *kalya-* would become $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ in Greek, which by reduction of the geminated liquid should appear as $*\kappa\eta\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ in Ionic, as $\kappa\bar{\alpha}\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ in Doric. Now in Homer we find $\kappa\bar{\alpha}\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ without exception, a form that cannot, however, be regarded as Doric. In Hesiod $\kappa\bar{\alpha}\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ prevails: in Theog., 585, W. D., 63, $\kappa\alpha\lambda\omicron\varsigma$. In the lyric poets we find $\kappa\bar{\alpha}\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ in the following passages: Kallinos, 22;

¹ Following Osthoff, *Perfectum*, 450.

² The schol. II., VIII, 353, brings forward a $\mu\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\nu$, which Eustathios calls Doric.

Tyrtaios, 4₇, 10₁, 10₃₀*; Mimnermos, 5₃, 11₄; Archilochos, 21₃, 29₂, 77₁; Simon. Amorg., 7₅₁, 7₈₇; Theognis, 16, 242, 257*, 609, 683, 1019, 1047, 1106, 1216, 1251, 1329, 1336, 1350*, 1369* *bis*, 1377; Solon, 13₂₄, 13₄₀*; Phokyl., 13₂; Anakreon, 22, 63₁₀, 71; Oracle in Hdt., I, 66*; cf. also Sim. Keos, 147. On the other hand *καλός* appears as follows: Mimn., 1₆; Solon, 13₂₁; Theog., 17 *bis*, 282, 652, 696, 960, 994, 1259, 1280, 1282; Ananios, 5₂; Sim. Am. 7₀₇(?); Anakr. 71(?); Sim. Keos, 147, 156. Passages marked with a * have the *α* in the arsis.

If we question the other dialects outside of Attic, we learn that *καλός* is the prevailing form: Terpander, 6₂; Alkman, 35; Sappho, 1₉, 3, 11₂, 14₁, 19₂, 28, 58, 101_{1,2}, 104; Praxilla, 5₁. Alkman has *κάλλα* = *καλω̄ς* 98, Alkaios, *καλιον* 134, Sappho, *καλιστ'* 104₂, if Bergk's conjecture be admitted. In the "universal melic" of Simonides of Keos we have *καλός* 5₇, 37₁₂, 40₂, 70, in Bacchylides, 1₁, 25. In the Attic drama we find both forms, *καλός* being the rarer form. The lyric poets have *καλός*: Ion, 1₁₅; Kritias, 1₁₄, 2₁₉; and in the Skolia, 19_{1,2}, 20_{1,2}. Plato (?) has *καλός* 8; Aischrio, 1, 4₂, the same form. *καλός* occurs upon an epigram from Delos, 53.

If, as is held, the reduction of the geminated liquid affords an opportunity for a compensatory lengthening of the vowel preceding *λλ* (*στηλη* < *σταλλᾶ*, *ἦλος* < *φάλλος* in Hesychios' *γάλλοι*, *κρήνη* < *κράνῃ*), this reduction would produce **κηλός* in Ionic. Those who demur to the form *καλός* in Homer have recourse to the easy expedient of regarding this form as an incorrect transcription of *ΚΑΛΟΣ*, which they would read *καλλός*. But have we the right to assume with G. Meyer (*Gramm.*² § 65) that wherever *καλός* is found in the Ionic iambic and elegiac poets this form is incorrect? Cf. Schmidt, *Neutr.* p. 47.

φᾶρος in Herodotos as in Homer, if *φᾶρος* is not to be read with Nauck. So, too, in Xenophanes, 3₃. See Harder, *de alpha vocali*, p. 92 ff.

καρᾶδοκέω in Hdt., who, however, has *τρικάρηνος*; *κάρᾶ* < *καρᾶσα*.

εἶσω in Hdt. = Skt. *sāvayati*, Lat. *desivare*. *εἶω* is originally an aorist formation, pres. *σένω*, aor. *σεῦᾶ*- (*σεῦᾶ-τω*).

ἰθαγένης, Hdt., II, 17 = epic *ἰθαγένης* locative (Curt. *Stud.* VI, 384). Rutherford, *Phrynichus*, p. 15, classes the *ἰθαγένης* of Aischylos among the old Ionisms of the Attic dialect. See on *ἦν* and *εἶν* under *Conjunctions*.

ἀνάλωμα, Thasos, 7₂₁, *ἀνάλωσιν*, Theog., 903. Cf. *ἀνήλωμα*, C. I. G.,

2347, c. 61, 3137⁵⁸ = Ditt. *Syll.*, 171⁵⁸ (Smyrna), which owe their η to verbal influence. η is here not original. Even the perfect indic. and the participle have this loan η .

$\overset{\alpha}{\theta}$ ανάτων, Kall., 110, Tyrnt. 12³², Sol. 4², 13^{64, 74}, Theog. very often. $\pi\alpha\overset{\alpha}{\iota}\delta$ Ἄρεω, Archil., 48,¹ probably with $\bar{\alpha}$; cf. also Tyrnt., 117. The regular Ionic η would have disfigured these words. The lyric poets have $\overset{\alpha}{\alpha}$, except Bacchyl., 36². Another poetical form is:—

$\overset{\alpha}{\alpha}$ νήρ, Xenoph., 6⁴, Phokyl., 15², Demod., 3, Solon, 13³⁹ (?). Elsewhere $\overset{\alpha}{\alpha}$. No form in η (cf. ἠγορέη) is found.

λᾶρινοῦ, Xenophanes, 5², as λᾶρός in Homer from *λασερός.¹

κιχάνει, Archil., 54³ (troch. tet.), as in Homer, from *κιχάνρω = Attic κιχάνω.

φάρμακος, Hipponax, 5², 6, 7, 8², 9, 37³, but φάρμακον, 43⁴ (= Attic φάρμακον). The Ionic word is not accented differently from the Attic, according to Bergk. Ion. φάρμακος = *φάρμακφος = φάρμακ(κ)ος.

χαμάθεν is rejected by Blass, *Aussprache*,³ p. 116, in favor of χαμαίθεν or χιμαίθεν. Cf. Osthoff, *Perfect.*, p. 597. The Mss. do not have χαμάθεν, II, 125, where χαμάθεν is found beside χαμόθεν; and in IV, 172, we have no authority for Stein's χαμαίθεν.

The Mss. often mix Ionic η with Attic $\bar{\alpha}$ after a fashion that gives a false conception of the original dialect preferences of the poets; e.g., Archil., γραῦς, Ananios, ἀνθίας.

NOTE.—Names in $\bar{\alpha}s$ (Const. Decl.) are not contracted from $\bar{\alpha}as$, but represent, originally at least, the lengthening of the short final a of the first member of a compound name, e.g. Ἄλκᾱς from Ἄλκαμένης; or from the lengthening of the initial $\overset{\alpha}{\alpha}$ of the second member, e.g. Μολπᾱς (Μολπαῖδος, 163¹⁰, Abdera) from Μολπ-ἄγώρας. Later on these forms were created *ad libitum*. See Bechtel on No. 76, p. 60. Ionic and Attic are here parallel: cf. Ἄλκᾱς, C.I.A., I, 433, which cannot have originated from Ἄλκᾱς; Ionic Μολπᾱς, Νοσοικᾱς, Ἡρᾱς, Θευδᾱς, etc. See § 36.

35. H. Preliminary Remarks.

Pronunciation of η . In the alphabet of Keos, Naxos, and probably Amorgos, Ionic-Attic $\eta = \bar{\alpha}$ of Aiolic, Thessalian, Boiotian, North-Greek, Arcado-Kyprian, Doric, or $\epsilon + a$, is represented by Θ or H (later); pan-Hellenic η by E . From this it is clear that the difference in graphical representation reflects a qualitative difference in pronunciation, $\eta = \bar{\alpha}$ or $\epsilon + a$, being the open $\bar{\epsilon}$, $\eta = \text{I.E. } \bar{\epsilon}$, the closed long vowel.

¹ Eustath., 518²². $\delta\theta\epsilon\upsilon\kappa\alpha\tau$ Ἰάδα διάλεκτον ἐπεκτείνας Ἀρχιλόχος.

Examples are :

<i>Keos.</i>	<i>Keos.</i>
θυΗ, Rob., 32 A.	ἐπιβλεματι, Rob., 32 A.
<i>Amorgos.</i>	<i>Amorgos.</i>
μνΗμα, Rob., 158 D.	wanting.
<i>Naxos.</i>	<i>Naxos.</i>
Δεινοδῆ:κΘο, Roberts, 25.	ἀνέθεκεν, Rob., 25, 26 A.
ἀλΘον, Roberts, 25.	κασιγγετΘ, Rob., 25.
ΝικάνδρΘ, Roberts, 25.	
ἐκΘβόλωι, Roberts, 25 and 26 A ;	
cf. also Delos, 24 A.	

This accurate distinction is, however, not carried throughout the entire history of the dialect ; and in fact, before the adoption of the Ionic alphabet at Athens we find instances of a confusion between the two E sounds. Thus in Naxos ἐποίησεν, Rob., 28, in Keos, Rob., 32 A, l. 17, we have διαρανθη, l. 23, θανη, where we should expect the closed ē sound to be represented by E, not H. Cf. Dittenberger, *Hermes*, XV, 229, Blass, *Aussprache*,³ p. 24 ff., Roberts, § 33, and on 32 A, the authorities there quoted, and Karsten, p. 23.

A knowledge of the character of the η sound in Ionic is important, since Merzdorf, in Curtius' Studien, IX, 202 ff., has endeavored to establish the principle that open ē < ā + o becomes εω (ληός, λεός), whereas closed ē (= I.E. ē) + o becomes εο (βασιληός, βασιλέος). Opposed to this doctrine is the Chian πόλεως (Becht. 174 A, 13), a form that must be held to be genuine Ionic. See declension of *Iota* stems, where the other occurrences of this form are registered. Furthermore, *Αρεω, Archil., 48, is as cogent an objection to the law of Merzdorf as is πόλεως. And ηφο from pro-Hellenic āvo does not become εω in later Ionic with consistency ; as witness Ionic πλέος, χρέος and Hdt. νηός beside λεός. Cf. Brugmann, *Gr.* § 19.

36. *Pan-Hellenic η appears invariably as η in Ionic.* The form χρᾶσθαι in Herodotos, and even in Attic (*Mitth.*, IX, 289, l. 24), is no exception to this law. That the root of this verb is χρη- (*χρηνομαι) is elevated beyond a doubt by the forms of the Kretan, Aitolian, Lokrian and Megarian dialects. A weaker form of χρη- is χρᾶ- (cf. κτη-, κτάομαι), and it is this that appears in the Herodotean χρᾶσθαι, and perhaps in Attic χρώμαι, χρώμενος, and Messenian χρῶνται, χρωμένους. *χραινομαι is then the base of this form. A second form of χρη- is χρε-, found in χρέομαι (Hdt., Heraklea, Rhodes, Krete, Delphi,

etc.). A fourth form is *χρηόμαι*, in Boiot. *χρειείσθη*, Megarian (Chalkik.) *χρηείσθω*, and Elean *χρηήσται*. Cf. Ahrens, II, 131; Meister, I, 70, 226, 297; Brugmann, M. U., I, 64; Merzdorf, C. S., VIII, 203, 209 ff., IX, 230, 236; Johansson, D.V.C., 155 ff. See § 131.

Attention may here be called to that *η*, which is produced by the lengthening of *ε*, the initial vowel of a word which stands second in a compound. This initial vowel may or may not be lengthened in the same dialect upon composition taking place. Cf. Chios, 174 C 25, *ἀνριπίθεντος* with *ἀνερπίθεντος* (Homeric *ἐριθος*); also *Ξενήρετος*, Keos, 42, not from *ἀρετή* despite the later *Ξενάρετος*, C.I.G., IV, 8578, 108, 109 (Archil., *ἐρέω*, 25, 68). But see Wackernagel's *Dehnungsgesetz*, p. 41.

37. *Relation of η to ει*. The non-diphthongal EI is generally expressed by E upon Ionic inscriptions (see below under EI). Ionic *η* = (1) pan-Hellenic *η* and (2) *ā* of other dialects, stands in no relation to this non-diphthongal *ει* in Ionic; nor is any change of *η* to diphthongal *ει* to be admitted. The form *Κτεισίων*, Styra, 19¹³⁹, was asserted by me (*Diphthong EI*, p. 80) to be an impossible form. The same is held to be the case by Bechtel, *ad loc.*¹ 19¹³⁴ was read by Vischer *Θείσων*, and held to be the "Boioto-Aiolic" form for *Θήσων*. This is incorrect as regards the presence of a Boiotian form upon the Styraian leaden tablets. Nor can it be justified on other grounds. Bechtel suggests *Ἄλ]θήσων*; cf. *Ἄλθημένης*, a Thasiotic name.

38. Ionic H = *Ā* of other dialects. I.E. *ā* is represented in Ionic regularly by *η*.

παμπήδην, Theog., 615, with which cf. Solon's *πεπᾶσθαι* (137). This verb is, however, not in use in Ionic, which has accepted *κτάομαι*. Theog., 146, has, however, *πᾶσάμενος*. Schmidt, *Neutra*, p. 411.

On *Πολυπάμων* in Homer, cf. Fick, *Odyss.*, p. 17; Wilamowitz, *Hom. Unters.*, 70; G. Meyer, *Gramm.*, § 65; Johansson, D. V. C., p. 150. A Thessalian has the name *Παμε[ν]ός*, from **πάμαι*.

ἦκη, Archil. tr., 43, the only instance in Greek of the *ā* of this root. Cf. Skt. *ācus*, Lat. *ācer*. Weak form in *ἄκόνη*, *ἄκων*, etc.

ἦερος, *ἦερί* in Hdt. with the pseudo-Ionic nominative *ἦήρ* in Hipp. ΠΑ 6, 10, 22, 26, Aretaios, 260; *ἦερος* in Lukian, Hippokr.

¹ Cf. *Κτησίων* 19^{58-60, 234-236, 386}, *Κτήσιμος* 19⁵⁷, *Κτήσις* 19¹²², *Κτηρίνος* 19⁴³⁸, *Κτησίνος* 19²³²⁻²³⁶. The *ā* of *κτάομαι* is ablaut of *κτη-*. Boiot. *Κτεισία*, C. D. I., 483 = *Κτησίου*.

εφ., Aretaios; *ἠέρι*, Hippokr. Aret.; *ἠέρα*, Hippokr. Aret.; *ἠερίων*, Luk., *de Astr.*, 23. The Homeric *ἠήρ* has been regarded as equivalent to *αἠήρ* = *ἄφῆρ* (cf. Dor. *ἄβῆρ* and Aiolic *αῖηρ*). **Αἶδος*, which has been cited as offering a parallel case of the vocalization of *αφ*, must be classed elsewhere on account of the Attic **Ἄιδης*; see § 30; so, too, *ἄϊσσω* cannot be explained as = *αἰίσσω* (Fick), since an *ἄφίσσω* would have become *αῖττω*.¹ *ἠήρ* in Attic is not a form in accordance with the genius of that dialect. Were the *ā* genuine we should have to seek for a root *αιφ*. Wackernagel, K. Z., XXVII, 276, ventures the assertion that it is an importation of the philosophers and the poets. While this still awaits confirmation, it is clear that *ἄφ* = Aiolic *av* cannot be reflected by Attic *ā*; in other words, that *φ* upon its disappearance lengthens a preceding vowel, must be abandoned as an inveterate superstition. Scholars have only just learned that the loss of the palatal spirant *yoʹd* does not lengthen a preceding vowel. The momentary appearance of *ἄφ* as *ἄv* under the ictus in Homer cannot cause *ā* to be regarded as long elsewhere. Homeric verse does not make Greek words for the dialects which live their own life. We must always distinguish between words that have been adopted into literature from Homer in the Homeric form and the phonetics of the dialects which are free from such external influence.

ἠέρος in Herodotos is a mere reproduction of the Homeric form, which is due to the Ionic transcribers who inconsequentially left *ἠήρ*, but used the Ionic *η* in the genitive. Consistency had required them to go that step farther which seems to have been taken by the Hippokratean *ἠήρ*.

NOTE.—*ἠέριος*, *ἠήρι*, "early," are from *ἄυσερι*. *ἄριστων* < *ἄυσερ*. These words must be separated from *ἠήρ*, etc. Cf. Collitz, B. B. X. 62, Brugmann in Curt. Stud. IX. 392, and Grundr. II. § 122.

39. H = *Ā* of Doric, E of Attic, and of later Ionic by *metathesis quantitatis*.

In the Hipponaktian *ληός* we have the oldest Ionic stage of pre-Hellenic **lāfos* which can be recognized upon Greek soil. *ληός* is found in a Ms. of Hdt., V, 42. Were it not for *λεός* I, 22, II, 129, VIII, 136, *ληός* might claim admission to the text of the historian with the same justice as *νηός*. See § 30.

¹ *ἄϊσσω*, Attic *ἄττω* < *φαιφικιω*. Cf. *ā* as representative of *αιφ* in *δαήρ* = *δαιφήρ*, Skt. *devār*, and in *ἄελ* = *αιφέλ*.

$\nu\eta\acute{o}s < *n\bar{a}f\acute{o}s$ in Hdt. and Lukian as in Archil., 5 (eleg.), with the retention of η , whereas, according to Merzdorf's "law" the form should not have η . The Doric genitive is $n\bar{a}\acute{o}s$. Theognis has $n\acute{a}\nu s$ 84, 856, 1361, in 970 *A* has $\nu\eta\nu s$, though Bergk reads $n\acute{a}\nu s$; $n\acute{a}\nu$ 680.¹ On the other hand, $\nu\eta\acute{o}s$ 513, $\nu\eta\nu\acute{s}\iota$ 12, Solon, $\nu\eta\acute{\iota}$ 19₃, $\nu\eta\nu\acute{s}\iota\nu$ 13₄₁ (Mimn. 9₂). The forms in η deserve comment in this connection, because of the superstition that $\nu\eta\nu\acute{s}\iota$ and $\nu\acute{a}\nu\acute{s}\iota$ are identical as regards quantity. The α of $\nu\acute{a}\nu\acute{s}\iota$ is short. Cf. $\beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}s < -\eta\nu s$, $Z\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}s < Z\eta\acute{o}s$, etc. In Ionic $\nu\eta\acute{o}s$ the η is due to $\nu\eta\acute{o}s$; $\nu\eta\acute{\iota}$ instead of $\nu\eta\acute{\iota}$ is due likewise to the influence of the genitive.

40. *Ionic H = \hat{A} of other dialects (including Attic \hat{A} after E, I, Y, P).*

1. In the endings of the Vowel Declension, and in adverbs representing petrified cases of this declension.
2. In verbal forms of the $-a\omega$ inflection, and in forms derived therefrom.
3. In radical and thematic syllables (excluding such as may be classed under 1 and 2).
4. In syllables of derivation.

NOTE.— $\epsilon\eta =$ Attic $\epsilon\acute{\alpha}$ is derived from $\epsilon(\iota)\eta = \epsilon(\iota)\acute{\alpha}$. Cf. Attic $\delta\omega\rho\epsilon\acute{\alpha} < \delta\omega\rho\epsilon\iota\acute{\alpha}$, which prevails till 268 B.C.

References for the study of the interrelation of Ionic η and Attic $\acute{\alpha}$:—

Strabo, VIII, 1, 2. Ahrens, Göttinger Philol. Versammlung, 1852. Cauer, Curt. Stud. VIII, 244, 435, and *Wochenschrift für kl. Phil.*, 1887, No. 51, Curtius, in his Studien, I, 248, Brugmann, *Gr. Gr.* § 10, *Grundr.* I. § 104, Bechtel, *Phil. Anzeiger*, 1886, p. 20.

41. *Preliminary Remarks.*—The question at issue is whether Attic $\acute{\alpha}$ is here original, or whether the Ionic η was also Attic at some period of the Attic dialect, and later became $\acute{\alpha}$. Certain scholars have ventured to compare the instances of Elean $\acute{\alpha} =$ pan-Hellenic η , despite the fact that the cases are not perfectly parallel, and that the actual appearance of a "hyper-Doric $\acute{\alpha}$ " in one dialect is not proof that an Iono-Attic η became $\acute{\alpha}$ in Attic. The dichotomy of the Greek language into \hat{A} and H dialects rests upon the assumption that at an extremely early period $\acute{\alpha}$ had become η in Ionic. It may be doubted whether this shifting of pronunciation was in all quarters of the Ionic world so old as is generally assumed to be the case. We have learned

¹ Renner regards this form as a Dorism, but wishes to substitute $\nu\eta\acute{o}s$ for $n\acute{a}\nu s$.

to distinguish in the alphabets of Naxos, Keos, and perhaps Amorgos, between the sign for pan-Hellenic η and that for $\eta = \bar{a}$. Now the coloring of the latter η , recalling that of \bar{a} , makes it probable that the substitution of η for \bar{a} was gradual in Ionic, and did not happen "at the stroke of twelve." Even though a sign was adopted different from the old A, the newer sign may have been pronounced more like the Attic \bar{a} , which is an heirloom from the oldest period. Herein then is Attic more ancient than Ionic, and its \bar{a} in the earliest inscriptions speaks in favor of the retention of the original sound.

NOTE. — If Attic \bar{a} arose from η we might expect that an older η should be sporadically attested, or that Attic \bar{a} might be substituted here and there for pan-Hellenic η . In neither case is there any support for the view that I. E. \bar{a} became η in Ionic and Attic, and afterwards became \bar{a} in Attic.

In literature the adoption of the Ionic η in Ionic writers dates from a period considerably anterior to that of the inscriptions of Keos and Naxos. Whether or not the Ionic pronunciation of \bar{a} came into existence at the time of the Ionian migration eastward is impossible to state with certainty, though probability speaks in favor of the change having taken place after the Ionians had settled in Asia Minor.¹ Cf. Ionic $\text{M}\eta\delta\text{o}\iota$, Kypr. $\text{M}\hat{\alpha}\delta\text{o}\iota$, Old Pers. $\text{M}\bar{a}\delta\text{a}$. The Ionisms of the Homeric poems represent in a majority of instances the earliest form of Ionic and have, so far as the characteristic Ionic use of η is concerned, not been retouched by the Ionic Homerids of the ninth or later centuries. This view excludes the possibility of any \bar{a} 's in Homer being Ionic.

Gustav Meyer has made the statement (Gr. Gramm., XXXIII) that the farther back we follow the history of the Attic dialect, so much nearer does it approach to Ionic. As regards the interrelation of \bar{a} and η at least, whatever may be said of other points in question (see on $\eta\upsilon$, $\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\nu$ in Ionic under *Conjunctions*, Rutherford's Phrynichus, and Verall's remarks in J. H. S., I, 260, II, 179) it cannot be affirmed that Meyer is correct. The Attic dactylic poetry of the seventh and sixth centuries rigorously excluded forms of Ionic vocalization. Thus in C. I. A., I, 471, which dates close upon the time of Solon, we find $\acute{\alpha}\nu\text{o}[\rho\acute{\epsilon}]\text{a}\nu$, $\eta\lambda\iota\kappa\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$. So, too, in C. I. A., I, 463, $\nu\epsilon\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}\nu$, $\pi\rho\hat{\alpha}\gamma\mu'$; in IV, 477 E, $\gamma\epsilon\upsilon\acute{\alpha}$. This holds good of the fifth century. Cf. Kirchhoff, *Hermes*, V, 54, Cauer in *Stud.*, VIII, 244-249, Kirchhoff's remarks on C. I. A., IV, B 492, 12, and Meisterhans,² p. 13.

¹ From this it will be clear that I do not adopt Curtius' theory of the Ionic migration.

42. Ending of the Vowel Declension (stems in \bar{a}).

A. *Masculines* in $-εις, -ιης$, are retained upon all early Ionic inscriptions. Ἔσνέας and Λυσαγόρας , forms assumed to exist upon the lead tablets of Styra (19¹⁹¹ and 244) have been shown, § 27, to lack foundation. Cf. 19⁵⁶, 19¹⁷³ in Bechtel, Αινέης in Rob., 189 F, Ἀντίης , Rob., 190, no. I, E. Πυθαγόρας , Samos, 215 = Roberts, 156, in an artist's signature to an Ionic epigram. Since the giver of the εἰκῶν was an Epizephyrian Lokrian, Pythagorês may have adopted for his name a form in harmony with the dialect of the dedicator Euthymos.¹ Cf. the mixture of dialect at Rhegion. Whatever be the true explanation of this form, it deserves notice that this is the earliest example of $-αγόρας$ upon an Ionic inscription. In Rob., 157, we read $[\text{Πυ}]θαγόρ[α]s$, restored on the lines of 156. A coin of Samos (400–350) gives the genuine Ionic form Πυθαγόρης , Bechtel, 226, I. On Πυθαγόρης , from Selybria, see Bechtel on No. 261.

$-ιας$ appears in Thasos at the end of the third century (Κριτίας 28 A 7); Ἡγέας in Keos, 44 B 4; Ἑλπέας , *ibid.*, 44 B 16, an early document perhaps of the fifth century; Ἀρισταγόρας , Thasos, 82 A 5 (225–200).

B. In *feminine* nouns the termination $-ιη$ appears sporadically till after Christ in the inscriptional monuments of the Ionic dialect (cf. below, § 43). The ingression of the Attic forms in the \bar{A} declension dates from the middle of the fourth century B.C. Thus, for example, we have Κλευπάτρα , Delos, 55, III, 34 (cf. VII, 27) of the third century B.C., and ἀρᾶν , Teos, 158²⁶, Δημητρία , Chios, 192, ὕγείας , Olbia, 129¹⁴, all inscriptions of late date. Upon an archaic vase (Roberts, 190) we find Χώρα , whose \bar{a} perhaps makes for Attic provenance (see Kretschmer, K. Z., XXIX, 398).

Δωροφέα , Roberts, 29, upon a stone in Naxos, is certainly not an Ionian woman, not only on account of the \bar{a} , but also on account of the ϕ for θ , which is not a substitution known elsewhere as Ionic ($\phi = \theta$ in Aiolic, Boiotian, and Thessalian).

Ἥρας , Samos, 220³⁶, and 221³⁷ (about 350), whereas in 226 we find Ἥρης . Cf. Greg. Corinth., 390, Gram. Meerm., 650. The η form is retained upon inscriptions till a late period, though doubtless no longer spoken. The conservative style of the inscriptions has retained Πυθαγόρης on coins of the empire (P. Gardner, *Num. Chron.*, 1882, 280).

¹ Dedicators generally have the dedicatory inscription engraved in their native alphabet; but cf. Roberts, 230, *bis*, for an exception.

On \bar{a} in the poets, see below, § 54 ff. The occurrences of \bar{a} in proper names in Hdt., where η might have been expected, have been enumerated above under \hat{A} (§ 28).

43. Note on the *chronology of η after vowels and ρ in Ionic inscriptions.*

It is to be noted that upon inscriptions as late as the third century after Christ, Ionic η held its ground sporadically; e.g. Keos, 52, Ἰουλιητῶν (in Attic even in the fourth century B.C.); Paros, 66, Εἰλειθνήμη; Istros, 135, Ἰστρή (as late as Gordianus Pius); Priene, Πριηνέων, on a coin, Imhoof-Blumer, Monnaies Grecques, 296, No. 127 (time of Hadrian). Coins of Olbia retain η till the period of Caracalla and Alexander Severus.¹

The inscriptions before 350 B.C. generally have the Ionic η .

This retention of η , the inflection of adjectives of material in $-\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$, etc., and the inflection of the *Iota* declension (gen. $-\iota\omicron\varsigma$), are the last heirlooms of the Ionic dialect that were displaced by the Attic κοινή.

44. In the following paragraphs we will attempt to discover to what extent the Ionic dialect has preserved the long vowel of the suffix $-\iota\bar{a}$, which in Attic and occasionally in Ionic has been displaced by $-\iota\check{a}$. An immediate connection, temporal or local, between Ionic and Attic cannot be shown on the ground of this tendency, which obtains in both dialects. Thus, the usual Attic form is ἀλήθεια, a form younger than the "Old-Attic" ἀληθείᾱ and the Ionic (Homeric) ἀληθείη, since it is the result of a transferring of an abstract noun with the suffix $-\iota\bar{a}$ into the category of the adjectival flexion, which had $-\iota\check{a}$ as original feminine ending. Cf. also $-\etaίη$ and $-\epsilon\iota\alpha$ from $-\eta\nu$ stems, $-\eta$ being the substantival, $-\iota\check{a}$ the adjectival, ending.²

The question of the interrelation of $-\epsilon\iota\eta$, $-\etaίη$, $-\eta$ will be touched on, §§ 66, 101 ff. On Attic $-\epsilon\iota\alpha$ and $-\iota\alpha$, see Schanz, Plato, II, 2, p. vii., ff., Moiris, 199¹⁵.

45 A. Abstract feminines in $-\epsilon\iota\eta$ in Ionic.

Unless especially noted, no case of $-\epsilon\iota\check{a}$ occurs. See Choirob., Bekk. Anecd., IV, 1314; Hdn., II, 454²⁰; Fritsch, *Zum Vokalismus*, etc., p. 19, etc., Bredow, 127, 188. Figures without authors refer to Hdt.

¹ Ionic forms occasionally appear in the Mss. of the New Testament. Cf. Acts x, 1; xxi, 31; xxvii, 1.

² Ionic and Attic Εὔβοια is older than Εὐβοία, Hesiod, *W. D.*, 651. Cf. εἰδύια.

Unless specially noted the forms may be referred to a nom. in *-ιη*.

ἀδείη, VIII, 120, but ἄδειαν, II, 121 (ζ), in all Mss.

ἄδρανείη, Aret., 150, 261.

ἀεικείη, I, 73, etc., as in Homer.

ἀκριβείη, Hippokr., ep. 17³.

ἀληθείη, not ἀληθηήη, in Hdt.; ἀληθείη occurs in Euseb. Mynd., 19, 21, Luk., *Astr.*, 1, Hipp., ep. 10⁶, 12⁴, 17²⁹, Mimnermos 8, Iliad, Ψ 361, Ω 407, and often in the Odyssey.

ἀναυδέιη, VI, 129, etc., Archil., 78⁵ (Athen., *-είην*, or *-εἰαν*); Theog., 291, 648 (*O -ίη*); Hipp., ep. 17⁴².

ἀσελγείη, Hipp., ep. 17^{30, 44}.

ἀσθενείη, IV, 135, etc., Hipp., ΠΑ 29.

ἀσφαλείη, III, 7, etc.

ἀτελείη, I, 54, IX, 73, III, 67; ἀτε[λ]είην, Kyzikos, 108 B 3. This form has been attributed by Karsten, p. 18, to that species of Ionic which he calls Karian.¹ No other example of ἀτελείη occurs upon Ionic inscriptions, though it is the regular Ionic form which has been supplanted upon other inscriptions by the Attic ἀτέλεια, Eryth. 199⁶ (394 B.C. one of the earliest cases of the ingression of Atticisms²), 202⁹ (350 B.C.); Zeleia, 114 (334 B.C.); Ephesos, 147¹³ (300 B.C.); Iasos, 105⁹ (end of fourth century).

ἀτρεκείη, IV, 152, Hipp., ep. 16⁸, 17⁵⁶.

αὐταρκείη, Hipp., ep. 17^{37, 41}.

ἐμμελείη, VI, 129, where *d* has εὐμέλειαν, the other Mss. ἐμμέλειαν. Stein and Holder read *-ειην*.

ἐπιμελείη, Hippokr., ep. 17⁵⁷.

ἐπιπειθείη, Sim. Amorg., 1⁶.

εὐηθείη, I, 60, in VII, 16 γ, *R* has εὐηθείας, not adopted by the editors.

εὐλαβείη, Hippokr., ep. 12⁴, 16¹⁰.

εὐμαρέη, II, 35, IV, 113; Greg. Corinth. § 119, εὐμαρέην δὲ, τὴν ἀπόπατον. Suidas gives both εὐμαρέη and εὐμάρεια.

εὐμενήη, II, 45, is written by Holder against the authority of the Mss., which have *-εἰα* or *-εα*. In II, 55, both Stein and H. write Προμένεια, the name of a Dodonaian priestess. In the case of proper names, Hdt.'s elective affinities may permit him to choose

¹ Βησιλέως is Karsten's other example of "Karian" Ionic. This form is quoted from Rayet, *Rev. Arch.*, XXVIII, 109, as if existing upon a Milesian inscription. It is not found in Bechtel's collection, and vitiated by βασιλεύς, Miletos, 100⁵.

² προεδρίην in the same inscription.

neither the Ionic nor the epichoric name. The name may have come to him from Attic sources.

εὔπαθείη, I, 135, etc.

εὔπετείη, V, 20.

εὔτελείη, II, 92, etc.

μεγαλοπρεπέη, I, 139, III, 125.

νωθείη, Aret., 208.

ξύγγειναι, Hippokr., ep. 17⁴².

πολυτελείη, II, 87.

πολυπληθείη, Hippokr., ΠΑ 22.

πρεσβυγενείη, VI, 51.

προμηθείη is correctly handed down in Xenoph., I²¹. Hdt. has προμηθίη, I, 88, III, 36 (CPd, -είη). A schol., quoted by Bredow, p. 188, says τῆς νεωτέρας Ἰάδος ἐστὶ τὸ λέγειν τὴν προμήθειαν προμηθίαν.

προσηνείη, Aret., 250, Hippokr., ΠΔΟ, 21.

σιτοδείη, I, 22, 94.

συμπαθείη, Aret., 145, 152, ξυμ-, 153.

ὑγείη, II, 77; ὑγεία, Paros., 67; ὑγείας, Olbia, 129¹⁴. On ὑγεία for ὑγεία, see Blass, *Aussprache*,³ p. 60, who compares late Boiotian Θεισπέων for Θεισπειών, C. D. I., 816. On Attic ὑγιᾶ and ὑγιῆ, see Meisterhans,² p. 118. Aret., 12, Euseb. Mynd., 26 have ὑγείη, and so in Hippokr. ep. 17², 26, EI, 11, ΠΑ 2, 9. ὑγείη, Aret., 95, 120.

φιλομαθείη, Euseb. Mynd., 1.

φρενοβλαβεΐη, Luk., *Syr.*, 18.

ὠφελείη might be expected in view of ἀνωφελής in Aischylos; and Gram. Leidensis, p. 628, says, χρῶνται (Ἴωνες) μὲν οὖν τῷ ἠ ἀντὶ τοῦ α, ὅταν λέγωσι . . . ὠφελείην ἀντὶ τοῦ ὠφέλειαν. Both these forms, however, find no support from inscriptions (Attic ὠφελία in all inscriptions). Herodotos, V, 98, and Hippokr., EI, 7, ΠΔΟ, 51, ep. 17^{48, 25}, seems to have used ὠφελίη. Aretaios, 238, and Eusebios, § 4, adopt the same form.

45 B. Other forms in -ειη (-ειᾶ) < -ετια.

θερείη, I, 189. Bekk., Anecd., θερεία.

περιφάνεια, Holder's reading, Hdt., IV, 24, though supported by all the Mss., should yield to Stein's -είη.

ὑπώρα, Hdt., IV, 23,¹ for -ε(ι)α from ὄρος, a word of doubtful etymology. Hipponax, 35⁸, ὄρείας, Hdt., ὄρεινός.

πανώλεα and ἐξώλεα, Bechtel, 263, found in Lykia, belong to the

¹ ὑπωρείη is to be expected. This form is found, II, 158 (K).

same class as ὑπόρε(ι)α, but it is not certain that these forms are not Attic.

Ἡρακλείη, V, 43 (-εἰαν, ABCd, Stein -κλείην), but II, 44, Ἡράκλεια, Holder. Ἡράκλεος appears frequently in Hdt. Upon inscriptions, Ἡρακλείοισιν, Teos, 156 B 33; Ἡρακλείου, Eryth., 201, 17; Ἡράκλεος, Eryth., 206 A 12 (third century); Ῥοδόκλεια, Samos, 225 (late).

-εἰᾶ- occurs only in the following cases without any variant in -εἰη: Aret., 147, 324, ξυνάφεια; Hippokr., ἀκράτεια, ΠΚ 170; ἀσφάλεια, ΕΙ 11, ΠΔΟ 9, ΠΤΚ 19, Π 22; Euseb. Mynd., ἐγκράτεια, 26.

46. Feminines in -είη or -εἰᾶ derived from -ην- stems.

ἰρείη, in Hdt., V, 72; II, 53, ABC, ἰέρεια, II, 55, *id.*, the reading adopted by Holder. In II, 55, occurs Προμένηα, on which see § 45 A. ἰέρεια is the Homeric (Z 300) and original form. Upon Ionic inscriptions we have this form, Keos, 48, of the fourth century. Contracted form ἰερῆ < ἰερέη,¹ Pantikap., 123₃, Ephesos, 150 (late). If ἰέρεια is correct, we have in Hdt. the older and the younger form co-existing. ἰερείᾶ is attested by grammarians as Attic, though ἰερε(ι)ᾶ, too, is Attic (Meisterhans,² p. 32).

βασιλεια appears in numerous passages in Hdt. without a variant, and is the Homeric and original form. The v. l. βασιληῆς, I, 211, in R is an hyper-Ionism.

Bredow has collected the cases of -εἰᾶ, -οἰᾶ, -αιᾶ, and -εἰη, -οἰη, -αιη, in proper names in Hdt. The explanation of the forms in -ᾶ is often a matter of extreme difficulty.

47. Ionic -ιη = Attic -ἰᾶ appears, furthermore, in Ὠρειθνή, Hdt., VII, 189 = Attic Ὠρείθνια. Cf. ὄργνια, by the side of the later ὄργνη (-ἰᾶ).

NOTE.—Hippokrates and Aretaios have μῆη, οὐδεμῆη, etc., whereas Hdt. always uses μῖᾶ, οὐδεμῖᾶ, etc. μιᾶ[ς], Olynthos, 8 B 13, but Ionic μῆς, Sim., Amorg., 2; μιῆ, Theognis, 664, in A. O. Lukian, *Syr.*, 19, *Astr.*, 27, 29, has οὐδεμῆην.

On the nom. ᾶ = η, see *sub* A, § 3.

48. *Adverbs* representing petrified case-forms of the \widehat{A} declension have throughout the Ionic η, e.g. λίην (cf. Greg. Corinth. § 58) λάθρη, πέρην (Arrian, 3) πέρηθε.

¹ Kallim., *Epigr.*, 40, has Ἰερέη.

49. II. In verbal forms of the *-aw* inflection, and in derived forms. *καταρήσασθαι, πειρήσομαι* (cf. Theog., 126) *θειήσασθαι, Ἄδρηστος*, Tyrnt., 12₈, in Hdt. and on a vase, Roberts, 194. *Ἄδραστος*, Smyrna, 153₁₇, an inscription of Attic inclinations. Cf. also *ἡγόρασεν*, Eryth., 206 B 48, C 44, *Νικασίωνος*, Thasos (Louv.), 20 C 9. *Πολυάρητος*, Thasos, 72₃, but *Ἄρατος*, Eryth., 206 B 44.

50. III. Words containing H = I. E. \widehat{A} in the radical and thematic syllables. A few examples of each class will suffice.

η = extra-Ionic \bar{a} , after ρ .

γρῆς; for which Bergk reads *γραῦς*, Archil., 31, though Schneidewin long ago corrected the Ms. to *γρῆς*. There is no warrant for supposing that the inflection of *γρῆς* differed from that of *νης* in the nom.; and in Archil., 168, Bergk reads *γρῆν*. *γρῆς* should not be derived from *γραῦς* (Curtius, Et.⁵, 176, cf. Schmidt, K. Z. XXVII, 375), but is probably an immovable feminine adjective like *θῆλυς* in *θῆλυς ἐέρση, ἡδύς* in *ἡδύς αὔτιμή*; and of this, *γραῦς* and *γραῖα* are the movable feminine forms. *γραῖα* appears to be a solitary example of a *v*-stem which has not taken on the *-εια* inflexion. *γραῦς* is of Aiolic source. *γρῆς* in Homer is scarcely an analogue to *πρέσβυς*, as Brugmann, M. U., III, 25, suggests.

κεκρημένος, Hdt., III, 106, against the authority of all the Mss., cf. Hippokr., *κέκρημαι*. The base *κερα* has the form *κρᾶ* = Ionic *κρη*. *ἀκρητοπότης, -ποσίη*, Hdt.

πιρήσκω (cf. Kallimachos, 85), *πρ]ηθέντων*, Eryth., 204₆; Hdt. *πρηθῆναι*. Solon, however, has *πραθέντες*, 4₂₅ eleg., 36₇ trim.

πρήσσω: *Πρηξάσπης, Πρηξίλεως, Πρηξίνος* in Hdt. *Πρηξίπολις*, Thas. (L.), 8 B 6, 10₄, 11 B 3, 13₁₁, 21₂. *Πρηξίλεως*, Thas. (L.), 3 B 8, cf. Thasos, 75 A 7. *Πρηξᾶς*, Eryth., 206 A 11. *Πρηξαγόρης*, Thas. (L.), 10_{2,6}. *Πρηξῶ*, Kyme, 20; *Πρήξιον*, Delos, 57; *ἐκπρηγτόντων*, 22₆, near Eretria; *πρηξάντων*, Teos, 158₁₇, Chios, 174 A 15, 20; *πρήγμα*, Chios, 174 B 18, 174 C 7 (also Attic, C. I. A., III, 382₂). In Hdt. the Attic forms have crept into some Mss. Cf. I, 8, V, 12, VII, 147. Theognis has η forms, 70, 80, 73, 1026, 1027, 553, 661, 953, 461, 1031, 1075, but the \bar{a} forms in *A* or in other Mss., 204, 659, 256, 644, 642, 1051. Ionic inscriptions, too, have admitted the Attic forms, Mylasa, 248 A 10 (367-6 B.C.), 248 C 10 (355-4), Ephesos, 147₁₆, about 300 B.C.

πρῆς, πρῆνεσθαι in Hdt., *Πρηύλος*, name of a Thasiote, *Πρηύχος* of a Styraian, 19₃₄₇ (cf. *Πρεάνθης*, Keos, 50, IV, 65). *πρηῖα*, Luk., *Astr.*, 29.

ῥηδίως, ῥηστῶνη in Hdt. and Luk., *Syr.*, 20, *Astr.*, 21. Cf. Aiolic βράδιος = φράδιος, Theokr., XXX, 27, βραιδίως. Osthoff, *Perfect.*, 446 ff., explains ῥῆτων = ῥᾶσίων = Lat. rārior (*vrāsos).

ῥηχίη, *flood-tide*, in Hdt., can have nothing to do with ῥήγγυμι as L. S. state, since the latter has pan-Hellenic η.¹ Connect rather ῥᾶχis, *spine*, Hdt., III, 54. For the use of names of parts of the body to express natural objects, cf. *arm of the sea*, *shoulder of the mountain*, Gk. πολυδεираς *Ολυμπος, etc.

τρηχύς. The relation of τρᾶ to ταρα in ταραχίη, τάραξις is not perfectly clear, though it is probable that there is a correspondence of types, κερα : κρᾶ :: ταρα : τρᾶ. τρηχέα in Hdt., VII, 33, is due to Abicht, the Mss. having the Attic form which comes to light in Solon, 4₃₅. The genuine Ionic form is found in Tyrtaios, 12₂₂, Hipponax, 47₂.

The pseudo-Ionists generally adopt the Ionic forms.

51. Νικήρορος, Thasos (L.), 12 C 11, may serve as an example of η = ā lengthened from ᾶ upon formation of a compound word. See § 36. On Δοχαγός in Styra, see above, § 27.

52. Ionic η = extra-Ionic ā, after vowels.

Ἰήσων in Hdt., but Ἰάσων, Halik., 240₂₃.

ἰητροός, Pantik., 119; Ἰστρᾶη, Istros, 135.

νεηνίης Hdt., cf. Νεήπολις, Bechtel, 41. The stem νεᾶ- varies with νεο-; Νεοπολιτέων, 4₂, cf. 4₃ and 4₄. Cf. Φαίηλος, Thasos (L.), 7 B 6, from φαιο-, as Κύδρηλος from κυδρο-. Cf. Ἐρμάφιλος, Th. (L.), 20 C 8, and Ἐρμόφιλος.

παιήων, the Homeric form, is still preserved in Archilochos 76. Hdt. has παιωνίζω.

Πριηνέων, Imhoof-Blumer, Monn. Grecq., No. 127, period of Hadrian; ΠΠΗ, Bechtel, No. 143.

τιήρη, Hdt., VIII, 120, but τιάρα, I, 132, III, 12, retained by Stein and Holder.

τριήκοντα and other forms of τριη in composition. τριήκοντα, Eryth., 202₁₇, cf. Mylasa, 248 A 1, Keos, 43₂₀, Chios, 174 B 23, D 15, Thasos (L.), 9₆, has an η = ā that is probably not original, despite the ā of the I. E. neuter pl. triā took its ā from the ο decl. when the plural of the ο stems ended in ā. See Schmidt's *Neutra*, p. 39.

¹ ναυηγίη, *shipwreck* = Attic ναυᾶγιη contains, of course, the lengthened form of fāγ, ablaut of fāγ (κατεγῶτα in Hdt. and Hippokr.).

διη- in *διηκοσίων*, Zeleia, 114 D 5, Chios 174 D 18. The long vowel is due to the influence of that of *τριηκόσιοι*. See Spitzer, *Lautlehre des Arkad.*, p. 19.

53. IV. Syllables of Derivation containing H.

For example, in Herodotos, *Σαρδίνος*, *Κρηστωνιήτης*, *Σπαρτιήτης*, *Λίγυηται*. *Τεγέη*, *Τεγεήτης* (*Τεγέη* is from *Τεγεή* as *δωρεά* from *δωρειά* in Attic, if the latter, as Dittenberger thinks, is not the younger form), *Βαργυλιητών*, Bechtel, 252. In *Ὀρνεᾶται*, Hdt., VIII, 73, Stein has the epichoric form, though in the same chapter *Παρωρεῖται*. On other names in *-ᾶται* in Hdt., see above, § 28. Arrian, 5, has *Τιτηῖνος*.

Ionic *θώρηξ*, *θωρηκοφόροι* in Hdt. and Arrian, *Ind.*, 16 (but see Hdt., I, 135). *ἴρηξ* = Attic *ἰέραξ*, etc. *στύραξ* is the Herodotean form (in III, 107, one Ms. has *στύρηκα*).

Ποσειδάωνος ἄνακτος, Archil., 10, is not in the Mss., but corresponds to *Ποσειδάωνα ἄνακτα*, Iliad, XV, 8. Cf. § 11.

54. The verdict of Attic metrical inscriptions (§ 41) in favor of the adoption of the Attic vocalization of forms which might, on the view that the influence of the epic dialect was paramount, have been Ionic, invites an investigation of Ionic poetry as to how far it has preserved *η* after *ε*, *ι*, *υ*, and *ρ* in the four categories enumerated in § 40. Ionic was the dialect of the Greek literary world prior to the advent of Attic, as Attic was the medium of literary expression until the advent of the *κοινή*. The question at issue here is: How far does the dialect of poets born in Ionia differ, if it differs at all, from the dialect of poets whose birthplace or place of residence was in a canton whose speech had never admitted *η* after *ε*, *ι*, *υ*, and *ρ*? In other words, are the *ā*'s of Tyrtaios due to his Spartan home, and are the *ā*'s of Solon the result of his Athenian citizenship? Furthermore, we can here but call attention to the fact that the Mss. of the Ionic poetry may have suffered, either from the hands of ignorant scribes who knew only the common dialect of their time, or from preconceived notions as to the character of early iambic, trochaic and elegiac poetry.

55. Tyrtaios: In the elegies, where, on any view, we should expect to find fewer cases of *ā* than in the *embateria*, we notice *αισχρᾶς δὲ φυγῆς* 12₁₇, *ἀτιμία* 10₁₀, *ἐχθρὰν-ψυχὴν* 11₅ and *ἀναρότατον* 10₄ in Mss. Less cogent is *ἀ φιλοχρηματία Σπάρταν ὀλεῖ* 3₁, since these words represent the response of the Delphic oracle to Lykurgos,

while *Σπάρτας* in 4₄ (accord. to Plutarch) might be excused for a reason not very dissimilar, though the *Σπάρτης* of Diod. Sic. seems more probable.

Elsewhere the Ionic forms prevail: *στυγερῆ* *πενίη* 10₈, *εὐρείης* 11₂₄, *δεξιτερῆ* 11₂₅, *βίην* 12₃, *πρηχέας*, accus., 12₂₂, *Ἀδρήστον* 12₈. Since it is more probable that the later copyists should have inserted an Attic *ā* in place of *η* than that they should have changed a Doric *ā* to *η* in elegiac compositions, I regard *αἰσχροῦς*, *ἀτιμία*, *ἐχθράν*, and *ἀναρότατον* as foreign to the original dialect of Tyrtaios.

In the case of the *embateria*, we shall, I think, have to accept as certain an admixture of Lakonian forms. Thus we find *Σπάρτας* 15₁, *πολιατᾶν* 15₂ (cf. Pindar, Isthm. I, 51), *λαία* 15₃, *τᾶς ζωᾶς* 15₅, *τᾶ Σπάρτα* 15₆. Bergk's reading, "Ἄγετ', ὦ Σπάρτας ἔνοπλοι κοῦροι, ποτὶ τὰν Ἄρεος κίνασιν, in fragment 16, presents a hopeless mixture of Doric and Ionic, such as the Spartan youth would scarce have listened to. *κίνασιν* is a "hyper-Dorism," unattested for the period of the early Messenian wars; and *κοῦροι* should be *κῶροι*, if Doric. Hephaestion has *κίνησιν* correctly enough.

56. In the case of poets of Ionic birth, whose art is Ionic, the restoration of the genuine Ionic forms in *η* offers but little difficulty. Thus we have an Attic *ἀνθίας* in Ananios, 5 (*θείην* 1₂), and *Ἀναξάγορας* in Anakreon, 105.

57. The temptation to Atticize Solon was still greater. Though it is not advisable to go so far as Fick in rejecting all traces of Solon's dependence upon his elegiac predecessors, some evidence in favor of the retention of Attic *ā* is found, not only in the fact that contemporary Attic dactylic poetry used the native *ā*, but also in the numerous instances of the occurrence of *ā* in the Mss.

In his trimeters we find *ἐλευθέρα* 36₅, *βίαν* 36₁₄ (Plut., *βίην*), *πραθέντας* 36₇. *η* in *ἀναγκαίης* 36₈, *δουλίην* 36₁₁.

In the tetrameters: *ἄγραν* 33₃, *ἡμέραν μίαν* 33₆, *μιάνας* 32₃. *η* in *βίης* 32₂.

In the elegies, where the greatest dependence upon epic forms might be anticipated: *ἡμετέρα* 4₁, *βία* 4₂₆, *δυσνομία* 4₃₂, *ἐνόμια* 4₃₃, *λαμπρᾶς* 9₂ (*sic* Diod. Sic. Plut., -ῆς, Diog. L.), *ὑμετέραν* 11 (*sic* Diod. Sic., -ην, Plut. Diog. L.); also in *πραθέντας* 4₂₅, *τραχέα* 4₃₅, *πραῦνει* 4₃₈, *ῥᾶδιον* 9₅.

If it is possible to distinguish between the dialectal preferences of the Solonian metres, *η* may be defended even in the trimeters and

tetrameters on the view that the background, especially of the iambic trimeter, is Ionic. If \bar{a} be genuine here, η must have been introduced by scribes prepossessed by the belief that Solon was entirely dependent upon the Ionic dialect in matters of vocalization.

In the elegiac poems there is no positive proof that Solon adopted Attic forms where they differed from Ionic, nor, on the other hand, have we criteria sufficient to establish the uniform appearance of the Ionic forms. While we may assume that Solon did not mix dialects, nevertheless the solution of the question which form he preferred must be left open until this point is discussed more fully from the vantage ground of literary history.

58. The Theognidean collection offers so much that is adventitious that the question as to whether or not Theognis colored his Ionic elegies with slight masses of local matter is rendered well-nigh insurmountable. The cases of \bar{a} in the chief Mss. are as follows:—

πρᾶγμα 256, 642, 644, 1051; *ῥᾶδιον* and connected words, 120, 429, 1220; *μικρά* 607; *Τιμαγόρα* 1059 (by conj.); *ἐχθρά* 270 (in some Mss.); *παιδείας* 1305, cf. 1348; *πατρώας* 1210, 888; *σμικρῆ* 323; *μῆ* 664 (some Mss. *μῆῃ*); *λείαν* 1327; *δυστυχίαν* 1188 (*A* has $-\eta$, as frequently where the Mss. divide on this question); *ναῦς* 84, 856, 970, 1361; *ναῦν* 680. Renner wishes to read *νηὺς* 84, 856, and 970 (*A* *νηυς*). The genitive sing. and dat. plur. are *νηός* 513 and *νηοσί* 12.

Xenophanes preserves the Ionic η everywhere except in *κρατήρ* 14; on *ἔμπᾶς*, see above, § 31.

59. Ionic H = Attic A.

διπλῆσιος, πεντα-, ἔξαπλήσιον, πολλαπλήσια, Hdt. The latter form, III, 135, where *ABR* have the Attic form; which comes to light in *διπλάσιον*, Teos, 158²², an almost completely Atticized inscription. Cf. Gothic *ain-falþs*.

The genuine Herodotean form *πεντακόσιοι* is amply attested (III, 90, IX, 29), and in the Chian inscription, 174 D 7 (*π[ε]ντακοσίων*). *πεντᾶκοσιοι* has its *πεντᾶ-* on the lines of *τετραῖ-, ἐπτᾶ-*. The form *πεντη-* in certain Mss. of Hdt. (III, 13, VII, 186) is doubtless to be explained on the view that the scribe had in his mind's eye the Homeric *πεντηκόσιοι* (γ 7), whose η is due at once to the influence of *πεντήκοντα* and at the same time to the ictus.

Instances of $-\eta = \check{a}$ in suffix syllables have been adduced, § 3.

Such forms as *μοίρη*, *σπείρη* (Greg. Corinth. *d. d. Ion.*, p. 390), *γεφύρη*, occasionally in the Mss. of Hdt., are hyper-Ionisms.

Ionic *νηῦς*, *νησι* = *ναῦς*, *ναῦσι*, is due to case levelling, the *η* forms being strictly in place only in such cases as the genitive singular where the case termination begins with a vowel.

Kallinos' *Ἡσιονῆας* (5) has been regarded by Fick, *Odysee*, p. 24, as an instance of ictus lengthening, Steph. Byzant. connecting *Ἡσιονία* with *Ἀσία*. *ἦκην*, cited as a parallel instance from Archilochos by Fick, has been differently explained, § 38; and *Ἡσιονῆας* may rest ultimately upon similar ablaut gradations. At least it is premature to assume lengthening *per ictum* in so hazy a word.

NOTE. — Prof. Fick's contention that *ἥμορος* is a living Ionic form for *ἄμορος*, still awaits proof. Evidence in favor of his view may be found in the gloss of Hesychios: *ἥμορίς· κενή, ἐστερημένη· Ἀίσχυλος Νιόβη*. This would then be another indication of the close interrelation between the dialect of the Ionians and that of the Attic tragedy. *ἄμορος* is a strange form in Hipponax (2), a poet whose intellectual constitution and whose use of language is alien to the retention of such Homeric forms as are Aiolic in coloring.

60. H = E.

See § 10. On *θηέομαι* = *θεάομαι*, see on the verb; on the interrelation of *ει* and *ηι*, see § 100–107.

61. Ionic H = I.

No interchange of *η* and *ι* can be maintained on the score of the name *Σημωνίδης*, attested as that of the iambographic poet by Et. Mag., and adopted by Christ in his History of Greek Literature. Elsewhere no trace of this form of the name appears; while *Σιμωνίδης* is genuine Ionic from the evidence of a lead tablet from Styra (19¹³⁹), and it is under this name that the author of the *Mirror of Women* is usually cited by ancient authorities.

62. Ionic H = Ω.

Μαιῆτις, often in Hdt. with different suffix than in *Μαιῶτις*, the later name. Cf. *Μαιῆται* = *Μαιῶται*, Hdt. IV, 123. Hdt. generally used *-ωτις*-, *-ωτης* (*Πελασγίωτιδες*, *Φθιώτις*, *Θεσσαλιώτις*). *Ἰστιαῶτις* is the form in Hdt. as in Strabo, though VIII, 23, *R* has *Ἰσταίητιδος*. *Ἀμπρακιητέων* is the accepted form, IX, 28, *-ήτας* 31, but *Ἀμπρακιώτησι* occurs VIII, 47.

Archilochos has *παίηονα*. See §§ 11, 71, 146.

63. Ionic H = AI.

μηφόνον, Archilochos, 48 = Homeric μαίφονε (E 31).² A similar balance of η and αι forms appears in Ἀλθημένεος, Bechtel, Thas. (L.), 4 B 3, and Ἀλθαιμένης.

64. Long Iota.

1. Ionic with other Hellenic dialects has retained a few cases of ἱ which may be assumed to be proethnic.

2. ἱ on Hellenic soil from *ιφ* (τίνω), etc., *ιρξ*, οἰκτίρω, ἴλεος, and ἴλαος < σισλη-. On ἱ from contraction of *ι + ε* in ἱρός, ἱρέη, etc., in Herodotos, see under Contraction of Vowels.

Ionic is on a plane with the non-assimilating dialects (*i.e.* all except Aiolic and Thessalian) in lengthening short iota + σμ to ἱμ (*Ἴμερος*, Perinthos, 234 B 25). γίνομαι < γινυ-¹ seems to have been the accepted form of the fifth century, though we lack the evidence of old inscriptions. Oropos, 18₁₇, about 400 B.C., has γνέσθων, Mylasa, 248 A 15 (367-6 B.C.), γίνεσθαι, Teos, 158_{5, 28} (first century), γινόμενοι. If we may trust the Mss. of the iambographic poets, γίγνομαι is the better attested form for their period. The substitution of γίνομαι for γίγνομαι appears to have taken place earlier in Ionic than in Attic, in the inscriptions of which latter dialect γιν- does not come to light until 292 B.C. The Herodotean γινώσκω is not met with upon Attic inscriptions until the period of Roman supremacy. Hdt. uses μίσγω, not μίγνυμι, on which see A. J. P., VI, 449.

ἱ under influence of the ictus in κάκιον, Archil. 13; σνίετε, Archil. 50, ἐσθίειν, Anan. 54.

65. Itacism. It is extremely doubtful whether there is any instance of itacism in inscriptional Ionic of the fifth or previous centuries. In the third edition of his *Aussprache* (p. 58) Blass has withdrawn all the examples he had collected (ed. 2, p. 51) from the inscriptions in proof of an early appearance of *ι* for *ει*. In the case of *Μαρωνιτέων*, 196₄, not noticed by Blass, we have a form by the side of which exist *Μαρωνειτέων*, 196₃, and Brit. Mus. Catal. 125, No. 15, and *Μαρωνητέων*, 196₂, all three forms occurring upon coins before 400. The coin, Brit. Mus. Catal. 125, 15, has *Μαρωνειτέων* on the front

¹ Hoffmann (D. M. G., p. 23) denies that γίνομαι arose from γίγνομαι and derives it from *γίνυμαι (cf. jinvati), but takes no note of γινώσκω. Both arose from γινυ-.

and *Μαρωνιῶν* on the reverse; *Μαρωνιῶν* occurring after 400 in Bechtel, 196₆. In such forms as show both *η* and *ει*, the former is the older form, as in Attic *Ἀριστηίδης* and *Ἀριστειίδης*; but no instance of a parallel form in *ι* can be adduced. An *Ἀριστοκλίδης*, Styra, 19₁₆₃, is derived from *Ἀρίστοκλος*, an *Ἀριστοκλειίδης*, Styra, 19₁₂, from *Ἀριστοκλῆς*. Greg. Corinth. *d. d. Ion.*, p. 379, attests the existence of diaeresis in *Πηλείδης* and *Πηληίδης*, thereby confusing Homeric and Herodotean Ionic. On the latter form and on other Herodotean patronymics, see Bredow, p. 190.

There are several forms in the Ionic of literature which point to the later confusion between the *ει* and *ι* sounds, such as I have shown, A. J. P., VI, 419-450, to exist in the text of Homer. Cf. *ε.g.*, *Πολυνείκης*, Hdt. IV, 147, etc., with the spelling of *Στρατονείκου*, Paros, 67, and of *Νείκην*, Olbia, 129₁₁, both of the period of the empire. For the older forms in *ι*, see *Roehl*, 79, 515. *Πολύνικος* occurs on inscriptions from Attika and elsewhere (C. I. G. Samos, 2248, etc. See Baunack, *Gortyn*. p. 58). The early *ει* forms may be rescued by the proportion *νείκη : νίκη : τείμη : τιμή*. See § 83.

Τείμαρχος, Styra, 19₃₁, is Lenormant's incorrect reading for *Τιμ-Τιμ-* is, however, attested in *Τιμαγόρα*, Cauer, 195₂₄ (Rhodes). This form is due to the influence of *τείσω*, *ἔτεισα*, *Τεισικράτης*, etc.

Εἰδομένεως, Thasos (L.), 5₆, about 300 B.C. (cf. *Εἰδομενέα*, C. I. G. 2184, -εἰ 6418), may be derived from *εἶδομαι*. *Ὀλβιοπολειῶν*, Olbia, 130₃ (not before 200 B.C.), is certainly itacistic. *Ὀλβιοπολιῶν*, 130₂. *Ἀφροδείτης*, Eryth. 206, c. 48, with later *ει*.

The Homeric *Πολυίδος* I have treated, A. J. P., VI, 440. The form *Πολυίδος* occurs upon a metrical inscription from Amorgos (No. 35) of the fourth or third century, unknown to Schulze, K. Z., XXIX, 236, who assumes -ίδος, and in a document from Halikarnassos, 240₄₆ (fifth century according to Dittenberger). *Πολυίδειος*, Thessal. 345₈₄. The form *Πολυειίδης*, if it existed in earlier Ionic, must have ceased to exist in Ionia by the fourth century. The forms in *ι* seem well attested.

For *ἴλη* Stein writes *εἴλη*, I, 73, and *εἴλας*, I, 202, *εἰλαδόν*, I, 172. Cf. Kret. *ἀχιλλάν' ἀρχιποίμενα*. In the *Glossary* to Herodotos, Stein, II, 465, we find *εἰρήν*, so also Plut. Lyk. 17; whereas Hesychios has *ἱρανες · οἱ εἶρανες*. The Spartan *ἱρήν* has been claimed by Brugmann, Curt. *Stud.* IV, 116, and J. Schmidt, *Vocal.* II, 330, to be derived from *ἔρσην*, through **ἔρρην* and *ἱρρην*. *ἱρήν* is like *ιρής* and *ἐρής*, an independent nominative, whereas *εἰρήν* is itacistic (Baunack, K. Z., XXVII, 566).

ἰτέη, in Hdt. I, 194 is proved by the εἰτέα of Attic inscriptions to be itacistic.

66. To the forms terminating in -ειη from -εσ stems, quoted above, § 44, there exist in the Mss. of Herodotos sporadic variants in -ῖη, none of which forms deserve recognition as genuine Ionisms; and much less may they be brought in evidence for the reduction of εἰ to ι. There is, however, a small list of forms with no trace of -ειη, where Hdt. has -ιη, Attic -ια. These are:—

δημοκρατίη, εὐτυχήη, εὐωδίη, ἰσοκρατίη, λιπαρίη, συντυχήη.

Comparable to these forms are the Attic substantives in -ία, which, like the Ionic termination -ιη, is to be held to represent a transference of the -ιη (-ια) which is in place in O stems. Forms in -ια are claimed as the property of the νεωτέρα Ἰάς by a scholiast quoted by Bredow, p. 189, but without foundation. Where the Attic poets have -ῖα (αἰκία, etc.), this termination should be classed with the Homeric words in -ῖη (11 in *thesi*, 3 in *arsi*), the explanation of which is still involved in obscurity, despite recent attempts to clear up the nature of the ῖ. Cf. Johansson, K. Z., XXX, 401, B. B., XV, 176, Brugmann, *Grundriss*, II, 1, p. 313. The most probable explanation is that we have to deal with a set of doubles, due to a contamination of nom. -ῖ-, gen. -ῖās, by which the ῖ was transferred to the oblique cases. So Danielsson (*Gramm. Anm.* I, 40).

Thus: nom. αἰκῖ-
 gen. αἰκῖās, whence αἰκῖᾶ(-ς).

This explanation grapples at closer reach with the phenomena in question than that preferred by Jebb on *Electra*, 486 (small edition).

67. Relation of ἶ to EY.

The statement that εἰ becomes ῖ in ἰθός, ἰθύνω, is incorrect. Hdt. has εὐθός, I, 65, etc.; but ἰθύν, I, 185; ἰθέα, II, 17, etc.; ἰθύτριχες, VII, 70. On the stones we notice a similar juxtaposition of forms: Εἰθύμαχος, Styra, 19¹⁹⁰³,¹ Εὐθονείδης 19¹⁹¹³, Ἰθουκλέη[ς] 19⁴⁶³, ἰθυνα Chios, *B. P. W.*, 1889, p. 1195. See Bezzenberger in his *Beiträge*, IV, 345. Wackernagel, K. Z., XXIX, 151, suggests that ἰθv- became εἰθv- in post-Homeric times through influence of εὐθv- (I. E. ūdhú).

¹ Ε(ῖ)θύμαχος 19³⁹⁹, not Ε(Ϝ)θύμαχος, G. Meyer, *Gramm.*, § 121 note.

68. $\hat{\Upsilon}$.

1. I.E. υ is retained.
2. $\bar{\upsilon}$ developed on Greek soil as in other dialects, e.g. $\bar{\upsilon}$ from $\upsilon\sigma\nu$. $\beta\acute{\upsilon}\nu\omega$, Hdt. II, 96.

$\delta\rho\sigma\theta\acute{\upsilon}\rho\eta\varsigma$, Sim. Amorg. 17, has $\bar{\upsilon}$ due apparently to the ictus.

$\bar{\upsilon}$ is not interchangeable with ω ; $\acute{\kappa}\acute{\upsilon}\mu\eta$ has nothing in common with $\acute{\kappa}\acute{\omega}\mu\eta$, nor $\acute{\alpha}\mu\acute{\upsilon}\mu\omega\nu$ with $\acute{\alpha}\mu\omega$ -. In Ionic we find, e.g. $\acute{\Lambda}\mu\mu\acute{\mu}\acute{\omicron}\xi\acute{\epsilon}\iota\nu\omicron\varsigma$, Styra, 19₁₅₅, and $\acute{\Lambda}\mu\acute{\omega}\mu\eta\tau\omicron\varsigma$, Thasos, 72₁, which reproduce the two Homeric adjectives. Hinrichs (H. E. V. A., p. 81) asserts the Aiolic character of $\acute{\alpha}\mu\acute{\upsilon}\mu\omega\nu$, though it is not clear why the Aiolians should have possessed a monopoly of this word.

 Ω .69. Ω for Λ .

$\zeta\acute{\omega}\omega = \zeta\acute{\alpha}\omega$ is not restricted to Ionic, since we have in Boiotian $\zeta\acute{\omega}\omega$ and in Kretan $\delta\acute{\omega}\omega$. $\zeta\acute{\omega}\omega$ seems to have been formed from an aorist $*\xi\zeta\omega\nu$, present $*\zeta\acute{\omega}\mu\iota$. Whether we have to deal with a reduction of ω to \omicron in $\zeta\acute{\omega}\omega$ that is specifically Greek, and whether the ω forms are pro-Hellenic, is not certain. In Ionic both the ω and \omicron forms exist, e.g. $\zeta\acute{\omicron}\epsilon\iota\nu$, Sim. Amorg. 1₁₇; cf. $\zeta\acute{\omicron}\epsilon\varsigma \cdot \zeta\acute{\eta}$, which Brugmann, M. U., III, 6, classes with his *injunctives*. Parallelism of ω and \omicron is not unusual, as witness $\gamma\iota\gamma\nu\acute{\omicron}\sigma\kappa\omega$, Aiolic $\gamma\nu\acute{\omicron}\acute{\epsilon}\omega$, Attic $\acute{\alpha}\mu\phi\iota\gamma\nu\acute{\omicron}\acute{\epsilon}\omega$, $\chi\lambda\omega\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$, $\chi\lambda\acute{\omicron}\eta$; $\lambda\acute{\omega}\omicron\nu\tau\omicron$, Kallim., $\lambda\acute{\omicron}\acute{\epsilon}\omega$, etc. Homeric $\zeta\omega\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ is a later formation for older $\zeta\acute{\omega}\varsigma$, Brugmann, *Grundr.* I, p. 458, $\zeta\acute{\omicron}\eta < \zeta\omega\acute{\eta}$, as $\nu\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\omicron}\nu < \nu\eta\phi\acute{\omicron}\nu$, *ibid.*, p. 463.

70. Ionic Ω where Attic has ϵ .

$\pi\lambda\acute{\omega}\omega$ in Homer and Hdt. for $\pi\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omega$, though the latter is more frequent (Bredow, 171). $\pi\lambda\acute{\omega}\omega$ has been held to contain an ω which is the ablaut of η , and which does not originally belong in the present; M. U., I, 45. $\pi\lambda\omega$, on this view, seems to be treated like $\gamma\nu\omega$ or $\delta\omega$. King-Cookson record a different explanation, p. 84, which is less satisfactory than that of Johansson, D. V. C., p. 159, who shows that $\pi\lambda\omega$ has a proethnic $\bar{\omicron}$ (Germ. $f\ddot{a}dus$). Saussure regards $\pi\lambda\acute{\omega}\omega$ as a comparatively late formation (*Mém.* 67).

71. Ionic $\Omega =$ Attic $\hat{\Lambda}$.

$\theta\acute{\omega}\kappa\alpha$ and $\theta\omega\acute{\kappa}\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ in Hdt. with the ablaut in ω , cf. Attic $\theta\acute{\alpha}\sigma\sigma\omega$, $\theta\acute{\alpha}\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\omega$. Hdt. has $\pi\alpha\iota\omega\nu\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega$, which is also the Attic prose form except in Xeno-

phon, *Symp.* 2, 1. The noun has always \bar{a} . Theog. 779, *παιῶσιν* cf. Archil. *παιήονα*, 76. See § 146.

72. Ionic Ω = Attic H.

For Attic *πτήσσω* we have the Homeric *πτώσσω* in Hdt. IX, 48; cf. Iliad, IV, 372, *πτωσκάζω*. Ionic *πτώσσω* (Eustath. *ad locum*) is either a denominative or a present formed from the base of the perfect.

On the suffix *-ητις*, *-ωτις*, see under H, § 62.

73. Ω = Ī.

ἄμπωτις, Hdt. Cf. Aiolic *πώνω* and *πῶ* from perf. *πέπωα. See Schulze, K. Z. XXVII, 420.

74. Ionic Ω = AY.

In a few Ionic words the *a* of *av* seems, through influence of *v*, to have taken upon itself an *o* coloring, and this *o* + *v* to have been pronounced as *ω*; cf. Delphic *ῶτόν*, Spart. *ῶτῶ*.

We have thus *ἀφώσσω*, Hdt. III, 86, but *-av-* probably IX, 13, and *ὑπόφανσις*, VII, 36. *φώσσω* may still be heard at Anchialos on the Black Sea. So also *ω* for *av* in *τρῶμα*, *τρωματίης*, *τρωματίζειν*, *κατατετρωματίσθαι* in Hdt., with similar forms in Hippokrates, Aretaios, and Arrian, *Ind.* 19. In Hdt. IV, 180, the Mss. have *τρωνμάτων*, which Stein corrects to *τρω-*. *τρωῶμα* is found in Lukian, *d. d. S.*, 20, in all Mss. except *E*. *θῶμα* occurs in Mss. of Hdt. with such frequency that we may well question whether Dindorf's *θῶμα* and *τρῶμα* are not preferable to Bredow's and Stein's *θωῶμα* and *τρωῶμα*. The pseudo-Ionists, however, offer slender support to *θῶμα* (Arrian, *Ind.* 34, 40, *θαῦμα* 15, Eusebios, § 3, *θώματι*); and Lukian testifies in every passage to *θωῶμα*. See § 126.

75. Ionic Ω = Attic OY.

ῶν is the form of the adverb in the Aiolic, Boiotian, Doric, and Ionic dialects. Thessalian *οῦν* is only apparently equivalent to Attic *οῦν*, which seems to have been engrafted upon Homer upon the authority of Aristarchos, who regarded the poet as an Athenian; unless it may be held that *ov* became *ω* as did *av* in *τρῶμα*. Hdt. has *οὔκων*, *οὔκῶν*, *ὄσονῶν*, *τοιμαργῶν*, with occasional lapses in the Mss. in the direction of the Attic forms, as is the case in the Mss. of

Lukian and Arrian. The letter of Pherekyd. has $\omega\nu$; the Mss. of Hippokrates, of the letters, and of Euseb. Mynd., have $\omicron\nu$. Aretaios has $\omicron\nu$ in the first four books, $\omega\nu$ in the latter books. See § 120, note 1.

$\omega\varsigma$, *ear*, Delos, B. C. H., II, 322 (before 167 B.C.), is formed like $\phi\omega\varsigma$. The stem $\omega\tau$ - is = $\omicron\upsilon\sigma\alpha\tau$ -; $\omega\varsigma$ is from * $\omicron\upsilon\sigma\omicron\varsigma$. Theog. 1163 has $\omicron\upsilon\alpha\tau\alpha$.

76. Ionic $\Omega = OH$.

The Homeric and Herodotean $\delta\gamma\delta\acute{\omega}\kappa\omicron\iota\tau\alpha$ is either a contraction for $\delta\gamma\delta\omicron\eta$ - (cf. $\delta\gamma\delta\omicron\eta\kappa\omicron\iota\tau\alpha$, Attic epigram, C. I. G. 1030₂, and Solon's $\delta\gamma\delta\omega\kappa\omicron\iota\tau\alpha\acute{\epsilon}\tau\eta$ 20₄) or has ω from the influence of $\delta\kappa\tau\acute{\omega}$. Neither $\delta\gamma\delta\omega$ - nor $\delta\gamma\delta\omicron\eta\kappa\omicron\iota\tau\alpha$ has as yet turned up upon Ionic inscriptions. The Chian $\delta\kappa\tau\alpha\kappa\omicron\sigma\acute{\iota}\omega\nu$ 174 C 23 does not assume the ω of Aiolic $\delta\kappa\tau\omega\kappa\omicron\sigma\acute{\iota}\omega$ (C. D. I. 281 A 30, Lesbos). Though the Aiolic form records the influence of $\delta\kappa\tau\acute{\omega}$, yet since that dialect has $\delta\gamma\delta\omicron\eta\kappa\omicron\iota\tau\alpha$, nothing is thereby proved as to the Ionic form. It should be borne in mind that, if the Homeric form is a contraction of $\delta\gamma\delta\omicron\eta$ -, forms that arise under stress of the verse in Homer are not criteria for the common extra-Herodotean prose use.

Other instances of ω for $\omicron\eta$ are: $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\gamma\acute{\nu}\omega\sigma\alpha\varsigma$, $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\acute{\nu}\omega\sigma\alpha\varsigma$, $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\acute{\nu}\epsilon\acute{\nu}\omega\kappa\alpha\sigma\iota$, $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\nu}\epsilon\acute{\nu}\omega\tau\omicron$, in Hdt.; cf. Theognis, 1298, $\nu\omega\sigma\acute{\alpha}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$, and $\nu\acute{\omega}\sigma\alpha\tau\omicron$, Apoll., Rhod. IV, 1409; also $\xi\beta\omega\sigma\alpha$, $\acute{\epsilon}\beta\acute{\omega}\sigma\theta\eta\nu$, $\beta\epsilon\beta\omega\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\varsigma$, as in Homer, $\beta\acute{\omega}\sigma\alpha\nu\tau\iota$, $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\beta\acute{\omega}\sigma\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$. Stein still holds (Pref. to school edition, LI) to the view that we have to go back to a stem formation in \omicron ($\nu\omicron$ -, $\beta\omicron$ -); cf. Leaf *ad* M 337. $\acute{\epsilon}\beta\acute{\omega}\theta\epsilon\omicron\nu$, $\acute{\epsilon}\beta\acute{\omega}\theta\eta\sigma\alpha\nu$ from $\beta\omicron\theta\eta\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ (cf. Aiolic $\beta\acute{\alpha}\theta\acute{\omicron}\epsilon\nu\tau\iota$, $\acute{\epsilon}\beta\acute{\alpha}\theta\acute{\omicron}\eta$) are now expelled from the text of Hdt. Cf. *Βαδρομίωνος*, Lampsakos, C. I. G. 3641 *b* 8.

The Diphthongs in Ionic.

77. AI.

We have first to investigate how often the diphthong AI loses its final mora before a vowel. See below on EI and OI, and cf. Fritsch, V. H. D., 37 ff., Allen, *Versification*, 72. The inscriptions attest the change in the following instances.

West Ionic. $\tau\epsilon\rho\acute{\omega}\nu\alpha\omicron\nu$, Terone, 7 (before 420), cf. *Mittheil.* X, 367 ff.; $\acute{\alpha}\epsilon\phi\nu\gamma\acute{\iota}\eta\nu$, Amphipolis, 10_{5, 25} (357 B.C.); $\acute{\alpha}\epsilon\nu\alpha\upsilon\tau[αι]$, Rob. 172, Chalkis, and according to Plut. 2, 298 C, found in Miletos; $\acute{\alpha}\nu\kappa\acute{\alpha}\omicron\varsigma$, C. I. G. 7375; $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\tau\acute{\alpha}\omega\nu$ 8431 (vase incr.); $\mu\acute{\iota}\nu\delta\alpha\omicron\nu$, Mende, 17 (500-450), but $\mu\epsilon\nu\delta\acute{\alpha}\iota\eta$ after 400; $\Sigma\pi\acute{\omicron}\nu\delta\alpha\omicron\varsigma$, Styra, 19₁₄₁; $\acute{\alpha}\iota\sigma\kappa\rho\alpha\omicron\varsigma$

19¹³³; Τίμαος 19³¹³. About the same number of forms with AI are found in West Ionic, e.g. Ἀθηναίη, Volci, Rob. I, 191.

Island Ionic. Ἀθηνάης, Delos, 54 (fifth cent.),¹ Νικᾶν, Thasos, 72⁸ (300–250), = Νικάνη; cf. ἱερῆ < ἱερεΐη. In l. 10 of the same inscription we have Ἀθηναίης. Fritsch, V. H. D., p. 37, suggests that Νικᾶς is not certainly an Ionian, being merely proxenos. Ἀθηναίη occurs frequently in the Ionic of the islands: Keos 41 (epigram), 51, Paros 64, Thasos 72¹⁰; cf. also Roberts, I, p. 64, and No. 165, where an inscription of uncertain provenance has Ἀθηναίος twice. Roberts (I, No. 26) reads Ἀθήνη, a rare form in an old inscription, but not isolated, as we have Ἀθηναῖ, C. I. A., IV, B 373⁶⁵ (sixth cent.), IV, 373, w (about 400).

Asiatic Ionic. αἰί, Iasos, 105¹⁰ (end of fourth cent., hence not certainly genuine Ionic); Ἀθηναίη Φωκαεῖς, Phokaia, 170 (age uncertain), which recalls the Attic inscriptional forms Φωκαῖς, Φωκαϊκός; Ἀθηναῖς, Erythrai, 206 A 27, 29, B 20 (in the last example we have Ἀθηναῖς Ἀποτροπαίας) after 278 B.C.; Ἀθηναῖς, Samos, 216 (before middle of fourth cent.). Ἀθηναῖς is not certainly Ionic, since this document may contain an admixture of Attic.² The above list, so long as it is not augmented by more certain proofs of the appearance of A(I), makes for the conclusion that in Asiatic Ionic intervocalic *a* from *ai* is not frequent. Ἀθηναίη is attested in Halik. 240 A 3, 241, Chios, 173; metrical inscr. 265 (unc. loc.); Erythrai, 200, 204³², Priene, 142; αἰεί in Halik. 240 A 6, and so all editors except Ruehl, in 238³⁷. αἰί, Iasos, 105¹⁰ (Attic); Φωκαεῖς, Eryth. 207 (not much older than 100 B.C.).

In the *poets*, whose authority stands second only to that of the inscriptions, we do not find any evidence beyond that presented by Ληθαίου, Anakr. 1⁴, with *ai* short. γεραίους, Tyrnt. 10²⁰ (cf. Tyrnt. frag. 17), is called in question by Bergk, though the *ai* is found in all Mss. αἰεί appears Tyrnt. 5⁵, Mimn. 17, Sol. 13⁴, Theognis more than 20 times; Sim. Amorg. 1⁴, 7⁶⁵; the poetical αἰέν, Xenoph. 1²⁴, Theog. 631, etc.;³ αἰῶνος, Anakr. 112⁴; καίερός, Archil. 86² (epod.). Ἀχαιίης should be expected, and doubtless is the correct form, Sim. Amorg. 23, for Ἀχαιίης (Fick, B. B., XI, 269), which is due to an Attic scribe. Cf. Ἀχαιῖκ[ά], C. I. A., II, 723³.

¹ Ἀθηναῖα in Attic inscriptions of the sixth and fourth centuries; cf. Alkaios, 9, Theokr. 28¹.

² Ἀθηναῖς in Attic prevails after 362 B.C. in inscriptions.

³ αἰένναος, Hdt. I, 145, as *v. l.*

In *Herodotos* the chief difficulty as regards settling the question of the occurrence of *a* for *αι* is presented by *αιεί*. Proper names in *-αιεύς* preserve the *ι* except in *Φωκαεύς*, in seven passages, according to Stein, though the same editor adopts *Φωκαειύς* in thirteen cases. *Φωκαεῖς*, Bechtel, No. 170, *Φωκαειύς*, 207, are of doubtful authority,¹ the latter at least being very late.

Nouns and adjectives in *-αιη*, *-αικός*, *-αίς*, fall into line. *Θηβαῖς*, II, 28, etc., appears to be correct, since a *Θηβαιεύς* is defensible solely on the ground of analogy.

αιεί is Stein's reading, though the Mss. are shaky in the extreme. Stein's eclecticism dictates *αιεί*, but *αείναος*. *αεί* may be West Ionic, but scarcely Asiatic Ionic. *αιετός* is certainly the genuine reading in Hdt.; and *αι* does not become *a* in this word in the Attic inscriptions of the fifth and fourth centuries. *ελαίη* and congeners, *κλαίω* Theog. 931, 1041, 1132, Archil. 13, 20, and *καίω* do not admit the *a* form (Theog. 1145). From the stem *καφ* we have *λυχνοκαίη*, *πυρκαίη*. On the interrelation of *καίω* and *κάω*, see Wackernagel, *K. Z.*, XXV, 268; Brugmann, *Gr. Gr.*, § 18, 54.

78. Ionic AI = A of other dialects.

εταῖρος is the Ionic form. Cf. *εταρηῖος*, *εταρητή*, in Hdt. Hdt. has *εταῖρος*, so too Theog. 643. *εταρός* is epic alone, though claimed as Ionic, without any chronological distinction, by Greg. Corinth., p. 457. See Hinrichs, *H. E. V. A.*, p. 90.

παραιβάτης, an Ionic form, Ψ 132. An Attic inscription, C. I. A., I, 5, 1 (500-456), has *παραιβάτης*. Attic cult documents are colored by Ionisms to a limited extent.

αἶδασμος, Chios, 183 A 30, B 30, is an unexplained form for *ἄδασμος*.

NOTE. — *ιθαγενής* is the Herodotean form, not *ιθα-*, as *P. R.* II, 17.

79. AI = A (ι).

Φαιέννον, Thasos (Th. L. 18 C 5), *Παμφαίης*, Th. L. 19 A 6, *Δαναίη*, Miletos, 99, from *Δανάη* Ξ 319 in a passage held by some to be an Ionic insertion. The myth of Danaë is referred to nowhere else in the *Iliad*. Hekataios, 358, has *Δανᾶ* < *Δανάη*. Another instance of *αι* for *a* is suggested by Bechtel, *Thas. Insch.*, p. 28 : *ι* 222, *ναῖον* δ' ὄρω ἄγγεα πάντα, Arist.; Mss. *νᾶον*. Cf. *ἐννεία*, Zeleia, and other forms, *sub* EI, § 90.

¹ Sappho 44, has *Φωκιδας*.

80. *Varia.*

Note on AI = H.

1. There is no interrelation between η and α in 'Αλθημένης, Thasos (L), 43 B, compared with 'Αλθαιμένης, similar to that existing between ἡμισυς and Aiolic αἰμισέων, Coll. 2139. The η of 'Αλθημένης is that of ἀλθήσκω, ἀλθήσομαι; see Bechtel, *ad loc.*

2. α in ἐξαιθραπειόντος, Mylasa, 248, is referred by Lagarde (Gesammelte Abhandl. 70) to Avestan šōithra- , ἐξατράπης and ξατράπης to Old Pers. khšath'apāvā (Lagarde, p. 68, Le Bas, Voy. Arch. III no. 388).

3. Archil. 3, δαίμων = δαήμων. The latter is derived from δαζήμων.

81. EI.

The diphthong EI will here be treated under the divisions —

I. Genuine EI = pan-Hellenic and proethnic EI.

II. Spurious EI (monophthongic) = Attic ϵ , Doric η .

Doubtful cases will be considered at the close.

82. Note on the orthography of Ionic inscriptions. Confusion between E and EI as representatives of the two EI's is of not infrequent occurrence upon Ionic inscriptions antedating the year 400. After that period monophthongic EI was gradually diphthongized.

1. Genuine EI represented by (α) EI.

δυνάμEI, Teos, 156 B 31.

Eιδώς, Teos, 156 B 22, 25.

EI, Halik. 238₃₁.

ΠEIθοῦς, Thasos, 70.

(β) by E rarely.

ποιήσEαν, Teos, 156 B, 30 (but here ϵ has been dropped).

Eπεν, Didyma, Roberts, I, 139. Cf. Meisterh.² p. 135.

'Αριστοκλεδ[ης], Styra, 19₁₂.

Νεοκλεδης, Styra, 19₂₀₅.

2. Spurious EI represented (α) by E.

προσέρδEν, Thasos, 68.

φείγEν, Halik. 238₃₇.

ἐπικαλEν, Halik. 238₄₅.

ὀφείλEν, Thasos, 71₁₁ (fourth century).

In Attic the last examples of E for spurious EI date from 350–300.

(β) by EI rarely.

EIχον, Halik. 238₃₀.

Instances of the writing of *εμί*, etc., will be given § 93. The diphthongization of the *ει* of *εμί* may be traced back as far as the sixth century in Attic.

83. I. Genuine EI.

In radical syllables, *e.g.*, Φειδώνων, Styra, 19³²⁶; Φειδίλω, Kyme, Rob. I, 174; Μείδων, Styra, 19⁶⁸; Τειχιούσσης, Miletos, 98, etc.

The following words call for special attention :

1. *τει* in *εκτεισιν*, Zeleia, 113¹⁷, *εκτείσωσι* 113³⁵, the future and aorist of *τίω* (ῖ) being *τείσω* and *ἔτεια* :¹ *Τείσαρχος*, Styra, 19³¹¹; *Τείσαιδρος*, Smyrna, 153¹⁴; *Τεισικράτης*, Thasos (L), 17⁶, 19 B 3; *Τεισίμαχος*, Halik. 240¹¹. Similar forms occur in other dialects (*Diphthong EI*, p. 17, A. J. P., VI, 443). Names in *Τίσ-* are itacistic, but not so those in *Τίμ-*. It is better to assume a root *qāi*, whose weak form is *qī* in *τιμή*, rather than to hold that case-levelling has produced *Τίμ* : Nom. *τείμᾱ*; Gen. *τίμᾱς*, whence *τίμή*, through remembrance of the long penult of the nominative and not with *nebentoniges ī* (K. C., p. 234). See § 65 and Schmidt's *Neutra*, p. 396.

2. The *ει* of *οφείλω* is genuine, despite the pair *οφέλλω* : *οφείλω* (with different significations); *οφειλέτω*, Chios, Rob. I, 149 A 14, *οφειλόντων*, *ibid.*, l. 17, so *οφειλεν*, Thasos, 71⁹⁻¹¹. EI is also attested, C. I. A., 40¹⁴, I, 58, 324 A 52, whereas we have E, C. I. A., I, 32 A 38, B 22, 41³. See Johansson, D. V. C., p. 212.

3. *ἐνέικαι* and connected forms (*ἐνήνειγμαί*, Hdt. VIII, 37) : *ἐν]ΕΙ-κάντων*, Chios, 174 B 4. The *ει* formation occurs in Homer, Hesiod, Pindar, Theokritos, Kretan, Boiotian, Aiolic. See Baunack, Gortyn, pp. 56 ff. Other theories are registered by Meyer, Gramm., p. 287; to which add Fick, G. G. A., 1883, p. 590, Meisterhans,² p. 146. See § 91.

84. Genuine EI in other syllables.

On *τουτΕΙ*, *νηπουΕΙ*, *ἀσπονδΕΙ*, etc., cf. section on *Adverbs*, etc.

The *ει* of *Διειτρέφης*, Keos, 44 B 12, is from a stem *διφο*. Cf. *Διειτρέφης*, C. I. A., I, 402², 447 III, 53; Kypr. *Διφείθεις*, 60²¹. In Homer, Zenodotos read *διειπετής* for the vulg. *διίπετής*. Cf. *Δηπέτης* (perhaps), Styra, 19¹⁸¹.

On *ει* in suffixes *>εσι* and *εφι*, see § 45, 46, and under *Declension* (*-es* and *-ην* stems).

¹ Arkad. *τείω* is a neologism. Brugmann, *Grundr.* I, § 314, doubtfully suggests that *ἔτεια* is from **ἔτησα*.

85. Genuine EI from ϵ + anaptyctic ι .

Ionic examples of this phenomenon are $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\sigma\chi\eta\kappa\alpha$, Smyrna, Berl. Monatsberichte, 1875, 554, l. 7; $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\sigma\chi\eta\kappa\alpha\tau\epsilon$, Erythai, Μουσ. κ. βιβλ. 1875, p. 99; $\pi\alpha\rho\epsilon\acute{\iota}\sigma\chi\eta\tau\alpha\iota$, Olbia, C. I. G. 2058, a 4, — all late inscriptions.

86. Genuine EI from EF-

I must not be taken to be the direct representative of f . In some cases it may be a minimum vocalic sound, found in a weak syllable, as survivor of a tonic vowel. Many of the words to be classed here are not of transparent structure, *e.g.*:

$\epsilon\acute{\iota}\rho\omicron\varsigma$ (Hdt., Hippok., Hom.) is either $*\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}\acute{f}\acute{\iota}\rho\omicron\varsigma$, with $f\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omicron\iota\omicron\nu$ as strong form, or $*\acute{\epsilon}f\rho\omicron\varsigma = *\acute{\epsilon}\rho\rho\omicron\varsigma$. G. Meyer, Gramm., § 101.

$\epsilon\acute{\iota}\rho\eta\eta$, Eryth. 199⁹, 203⁸, etc., < $\acute{\epsilon}f\acute{\iota}\rho\text{-}$. If from $\acute{\epsilon}f\rho\eta\eta$, we would expect $\acute{\eta}\rho\eta\eta\alpha$ in Doric, $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\eta\eta\alpha$ in Aiolic, which never occur. Spitzer, *Arkadischer Dialekt*, p. 20, attempts unsuccessfully to explain the dialectal interrelation of \bar{a} and η after ρ in this word. I cannot adopt Meister's conclusions (G. D. II, 93).

87. Genuine EI from HI.

$\pi\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omicron\tau\omicron\varsigma$ from I.E. $pl\acute{e}i\sigma\text{-}$ < $pl\acute{e}i\varsigma\text{-}$ by proethnic contraction of \bar{e} and i . The Ionic dialect offers no trace of $\pi\lambda\acute{\eta}\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$, on which see Meister, G. D. II, 95, and Schmidt, *Neutra*, p. 413. On $\pi\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu$, etc., see § 88.

NOTE. — $\eta\iota$ does not become $\epsilon\iota$ in the subj. in the forms $\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\kappa\rho\acute{\upsilon}\psi\epsilon\iota$, Ephesos, 145⁴, $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\alpha}\rho\epsilon\iota$, 145²; $\kappa\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}\xi\epsilon\iota$, Teos, 156 B 37, $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\kappa\acute{\omicron}\psi\epsilon[i]$, 156 B 38, $\pi\omicron\acute{\iota}\eta\sigma\epsilon\iota$, 156 B 39. The forms in $-\epsilon\iota$ are genuine and original subj. See Schulze, *Hermes*, XX, 491 ff. On $\epsilon\iota$ < $\eta\iota$ in subjunctives, see under HI, § 107.

88. E from EI before vowels.

Genuine EI suffers the loss of its second element, as does AI (above, § 77), though not frequently.

West Ionic: Chalkidian vases in Roberts, 189 F, $\text{A}\acute{\iota}\nu\acute{\epsilon}\eta\varsigma$; $\text{K}\lambda\epsilon\acute{\omega}$, C. I. G. 8369; $\text{Θ}\acute{\alpha}\lambda\epsilon\alpha$ 8412; $\text{Σ}\pi\epsilon\acute{\omega}$ 8354.

Asiatic Ionic: $\pi\omicron\acute{\iota}\eta\sigma\epsilon\alpha\nu$, Teos, 156 B 30; $\delta\alpha\sigma\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\nu$, Miletos, 100^{2,6}.

Other examples, as Fritsch (V. H. D., p. 41) states, are not free from the suspicion of not being pure Ionic. $\text{Π}\omicron\sigma\iota\delta\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\upsilon$, Chios, 177¹⁷ (about 300 B.C.), Smyrna, 153³² (this name with $\epsilon\iota$, Perinth. 234 B 34, Th. (L.), 10¹⁰); $\text{Η}\rho\acute{\alpha}\kappa\lambda\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$, Eryth. 206 A 12; $\text{Η}\rho\alpha\kappa\lambda\epsilon\acute{\omega}\tau\omicron\nu$, 206 A

38, -εώτης 206 B 26 (after 278 B.C.); Ἡρακλειώτης, Halik. 241, in a metrical inscription. Meisterhans,² p. 34, quotes Ἡρακλειώτου from C. I. A., I, 65¹, before 403 B.C.; Ἡρακλειώτην, II, 613¹⁵ (298 B.C.), cf. Ἡρακλέος, Hdt., Greg. Cor., § 36, Meerm. 649; δωρεάς, Ephesos, 147¹⁵ (300 B.C.); ιεραταί, Eryth. 206 C 13,—the only instance of this form, while there are ten of *ιερηταί*. *ιερῆ*, Pantikap. 123 (third cent.), Ephesos, 150 (late), from *ιερε(ί)η*; cf. Hdt. *ιρείη*, I, 175, V, 72. *ἐξώλεα*, *πανώλεα*, Bechtel, 263 (Lykian), may be Ionic or Attic.

Nouns in -ειο = *ηιο* and nouns and adj. from sigmatic and *ην* stems generally retain *ει* in all branches of Ionic.

The form *δασέαν* in Miletos 100₂ an inscription, dating, according to Rayet, from the fifth century, is apparently as complete a parallel to *δασέα* in Hdt. as might be desired; and the more interesting, on account of the fact that Hdt.'s dialect is in some measure similar to that of Miletos. Greg. Corinth. p. 440, says *τῆς θηλείας τὸ ἰ ἐξαιροῦσι, καὶ ἐπὶ πάσης πτώσεως τοῦτο ποιοῦσιν*, quoting Hdt. for *θηλέων* and *θηλέη*. Following are the forms adduced from Hdt., with the evidence from other quarters of Ionic. Other examples of the -ει- forms from the pseudo-Ionists are given, *σὺβ* Declension.

TABLE A.

MSS. OF HERODOTOS.	HOMER.	LYRIC POETS.	OTHER IONIC PROSE WRITERS	INSCRIPTIONS.
βαθέα	-έα only O 606, Π 766, Φ 213 cf. Fick <i>Ilias</i> 84, 86, 380	βαθεΐαν Sim. Am. 7 ⁶⁶ cf. Sim. Keos 37 ⁹	βαθέαν Arrian 27, 33	
βαρέα	βαρέα	Sim. Keos 117		
φραχία		πραχία Sim. Am. 7 ⁷⁵		
δασεία	δασεία	δασεΐαν Hipp. 19 ₂ δασεΐσαν 19 ₃	πραχέη Arct. 28 πραχεία Demokr.	δασέαν Milet. 100 ² , 6 δασείης Zeleia 114 E
εύρεα	εύρεΐα		εیره Euseb. Mynd. 63 εύρεΐα Hippokr. ΠTK 6, 9	
ήμίσα				
θήλεα	θήλεΐα, θήλεας		θηλέην Luk. Syr. 15, 51 θήλεας 54 (θηλείης 27 Mss.) Arrian 14	
ιθεία	ιθεία		ιθείη Demokr.	
όξεία	όξεία. Δ 272 όξεία not probable.		όξείων Hippokr. ΠΔO 2	
πλατέα		πλατέα Bacchyl. 37	πλατέας Ktesias πλαστεΐην Arrian 16 (Mss.)	
ταχία	ταχεία	ταχεών Theog. 715		
τραχία	τραχεία	Τραχείης Hipp. 47 ₂ τραχείαν Sim. Keos 163	τραχέα Arr. 21; τραχία Herch. τραχείης <i>Vita Homeri</i> 18 δριμέα Arct. 204	[τραχίαν Kaib. 237 Smyrna II. or I. cent. B.C.]
δριμέα	δριμέα			

A probable support is given to the Herodotean adj. in *-έα* by the Homeric *Ῥέα, βαθέα, ὠκέα*, and by an occurrence of this formation in the lyric poets (*ταχεῶν*). It is therefore inadvisable to refer this adj. form to the influence of the later Attic writing *εα* (for the first time in an *-v-* adj., 345 B.C.). Since the vowel following upon the last *ι* was a palatal, we may assume that the genitive *-είης* was the source of the expulsion, and the new form then extended its territory, creating an *-έα*. Cf. Johansson, B. B., XV, 184; but also K. Z., XXX, 405, where recourse is had to the assumption that these feminines are from *-εϝᾶ*, not from *-εϝιᾶ*.

I class together *πλέον* and related forms.

ι-less forms: *πλέον, πλέονι, πλέονα, πλέω, πλεόνων, πλέους, πλεόνως* (and *πλεῦν, πλεῦνος, πλεῦνα, πλεῦνες, πλεύνων, πλεῦνας*), in Hdt., according to Stein; *πλέον* Solon, 32₄, Phok. 4; Anax. 6; *πλέω*, Demokr. 92, Anax. 13; *πλέον* and *πλέου*, Melissos, § 14; *πλέονας*, Theog. 605; *πλέονεοσι* 800; *-πλεος*, Hdt. and Archil. 58₄; *πλέον*, Oropos, 18₄, Keos, 43₉; *πλέονος*, Keos, 43₅; *πλέω*, Miletos, 100₂. *πλέον*, *Syr. dea* 46.

Forms with *ι*: *πλείον*, Sim. Amorg. 2₂, and Theog. 606; *πλείους*, Hdt. I, 167 (?), and in Theog. *πλείονα* 702, *πλείω*, 907.

Hippokrates and Aretaios have both *πλείον* and *πλέον*.

πλείον lost its *ιότα* before any other form, according to Wackernagel, K. Z., XXIX, 144, because the *ε* bore the accent, while in other forms *ι* was tonic (*πλείων*).

Ἄμαλθήης, Anakr. 8 (for Bergk's *Ἄμαλθίης*), seems warranted in the light of Phokyl. *Ἄμαλθείης* 7₂. *σίοντα*, Anakr. 49, is probably *tvisháti*, and not to be written *σέοντα* (Fick) = *tvéshati*. Alkaios has *σείων* 22 (with *ει* reinstated from the aorist), and *σέων* 26.

In the case of *-εσ-* stems, we have *-εος* = *-ειος* in the following cases in Hdt.: —

τέλεος, τελεόω, generally, but *τέλειον*, IX, 110, and Eryth. 204₂₃, *τελείους* (about 354 B.C.), and in Homer and Demokritos *τελεώτατος*; cf. Kret. *ἀτέλεα*, Cauér, 119₂₂.¹

ἐπιτήδεος, Greg. Corinth. p. 473. Fritsch, V. H. D., 43, prefers to derive the adj. from *ἐπιτηδεύω*, but denies in any case the correctness of the ending *-εος*, which is the reading of the Mss. in almost all instances.

ὑπώρεα, cf. *πανώλεα, ἐξώλεα* 263 (Lykia).

¹ *τέλεος* in fifth and fourth centuries in Attic inscriptions; *τέλειος*, second century B.C.

ἐπέτειος is now written by Stein.

ἀφνεός, Theoc. 188, 559.

Ἡράκλεος, Hdt. IV, 43, 152, 181, VIII, 132, as in Erythrai, 206 A 12 (after 278 B.C.). Ἡράκλειος is the best attested form in Hdt., appearing also Erythrai, 201₁₇ (before 350 B.C.).

μονογενήν, Arrian, *Ind.* 8.

-εος in adjectives from other stems.

βόεος, χήνεος, οἴεος, αἴγεος,¹ may have existed side by side with the -εος forms (ἡμιόνεος, μήλειος). Ἄριμάσπεα and Ὑπερβόρεος need not be rejected with Fritsch, V. H. D., 44 (Fick, *Ilias*, 551 ff.). ἀδελφεός in Hdt., Lokrian, I. G. A. 321 A 7, B 4, 22, and in the letters of Hippokr. 17²⁹, 27^{20, 34, 35}.

Mimmermos, 11₆, κείαται, has, like Attic κείωνται, C. I. A., II, 573₁₀, a later ει.² In Hdt. and Hippokr. κέεται, ἐκέετο, κέεσθαι, with ε from ε(ι) regularly. Δεάλκος, Thasos, 83₆, seems to have lost *iota*. Cf. Δείαλκος, Thasos, 81 B 14.

Expulsion of I from EIH.

Iota does not disappear in stems in -εσ-: ἀεικείη, ἀληθείη, etc. (above, § 45). εὐμαρέη seems to be supported, Hdt. II, 35, by all the Mss., by Greg. Corinth. *d. d. Ion.* § 119, and by Suidas, εὐμαρέη ἀπόπατος παρὰ Ἡροδότῳ, but cannot make stand against the overwhelming mass of counter-testimony.

Δεκελέη, Hdt., as Δεκελέεωσ, C. I. A., II, 733, B 6, from Δεκελειεύς, II, 660, 4. See Bekk. *Anecd.* II, p. 601, Steph. Byz., *s.v.* Δεκελειῶθεν. Hdt. has also Μαντινέη, Μαρέη, Μαλέη.

Upon the expulsion of ι, contraction resulted in *ιερῆ*, Pantikap, 123, Ephesos, 150; cf. Ionic *ιρείη* in Hdt.; *ιέρεια*, Keos, 48 (fourth cent.), as Z 300. The intermediate step between *ιερείη* and *ιερῆ* is represented by K. 'imachos' Ἰερέη, epigr. 40. In Attic we may have *ιέρεια* and *ιερῖα* (Orestes, 261) by suffix exchange. The explanation of the form Ἐρμῆς is as yet too uncertain for it to be classed here. Apparently it is = Ἐρμε(ι)ῆς = Ἐρμείας. Ἐρμῆς in Homer is rare (but often in hymns). Herodotos has gen. Ἐρμέω; cf. Ἐρμείω, Chios, 180, where -εω seems an analogical formation.

89. EI from E + glide I (before a vowel) occurs before ο, ω, ου, α; as yet no examples before ε and η in Ionic.

δειόμενον, Oropos, 18₃₆ (about 400 B.C.); cf. δειώ[ν]ται, C. I. A., II, 119₁₄, about 340 B.C.; προσδείηται, C. I. A., II, 167, 43, 48, 334-

¹ Homeric αἴγεος, except ι 196.

² Cf. Λ 659, κέαται, and κατακείαται, Ω 527.

325 B.C.¹ Attic inscriptions of the fifth century have ϵ ; and so elsewhere in Ionic: $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\eta\tau\alpha\iota$, Olynthos, 8 B 4; $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\eta\iota$, Zeleia, 113³⁰ ($\delta\acute{\epsilon}\iota$, Teos, 158⁸, § 173). Mimn. 2 13, $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\delta\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$ has been unjustly expelled by Fick, B. B., XI, 253, in favor of an assumed $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\delta\epsilon\iota\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$. $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\iota\omega$ is an Aiolic form (C. D. I. 214³⁷, 250⁶, 281 A 19, B 26), and $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\delta\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$ may be classed with other Aiolisms preserved by Ionic elegists. Traces of this form appear even in Mss. of Hdt. IV, 130 ($\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\delta\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\epsilon\varsigma$, where $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\delta\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon\varsigma$ is correct).

$\acute{\epsilon}\nu\eta\acute{\iota}\alpha$, Zeleia, 113³⁰, shortly after Granikos.

$\acute{\epsilon}\iota\acute{\alpha}\nu$, Zeleia, 113^{30, 39}; cf. C. I. A., add. nov. 14, B 11 (387 B.C.); add. 115 B 30, 47 (after 350 B.C.); add. 573 B 13, 18 (after 350 B.C.),² and in Epeirotic.

$\pi\acute{\omicron}\lambda\epsilon\iota(\omega)\varsigma$, Zeleia, 113¹⁹.

$\Theta\epsilon[\iota]\acute{\omicron}\omega\rho\omega\nu$, Eryth. 206 C 12, is a probable conjecture, as a letter is certainly lost. $\Theta\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\omicron}\phi\rho\omega\nu$, 206 C 11, need not disprove this. $\theta\epsilon\iota\acute{\omicron}\nu = \theta\epsilon\acute{\omicron}\nu$, Priene, 141, an inscription in Ionic orthography, but not Ionic in dialect. $\theta\epsilon\iota\acute{\omega}\iota$, 167, Phanagoreia.

$-\acute{\epsilon}\iota\omicron\varsigma$, genitive of $-\eta\nu$ - stems, called Ionic (and Lesbian) by Herodian, II, 674⁴ ($\acute{\alpha}\chi\iota\lambda\lambda\epsilon\iota\omicron\varsigma$, $\beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\epsilon\iota\omicron\varsigma$). No examples occur in Ionic literature or inscriptions. Hdt. $\beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\epsilon\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$, and so $\acute{\alpha}\chi\iota\lambda\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\varsigma$, Olbia, C. I. G. 2076 (late).

$-\kappa\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$, genitive. See list *sub* ΕΣ stems in § on Declension. See Meisterhans,² p. 36, and Dittenberger, Syll. p. 780, for other forms.

90. An $\epsilon\iota$ that is never represented by η in other dialects, and which is nevertheless not strictly a genuine diphthong, appears to exist in $\kappa\rho\acute{\epsilon}\iota\alpha\varsigma$ by a probable conjecture of Hermann, Ananios, 5³. $\kappa\rho\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\varsigma$, Hippon. 77, Sim. Amorg. 24.³ As in $\lambda\epsilon\iota\acute{\alpha}\iota\omega$, Solon, 4³⁵, $\chi\rho\acute{\epsilon}\iota\omicron\varsigma$, Theog. 1196⁴ ($\chi\rho\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\varsigma$ 205), $\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\pi\nu\acute{\epsilon}\iota\omega$, Tyrnt. 10²⁴, this $\epsilon\iota$ is a mere graphical representation of $\epsilon\nu < \epsilon\phi$, and appeared originally only when a long syllable was necessary, a fact not comprehended by later transcribers. Cf. also $\delta\epsilon\iota\delta\acute{\iota}\omicron\tau\epsilon\varsigma$, Theog. 764, $\delta\epsilon\iota\delta\acute{\iota}\theta'$ 1179 ($\delta\acute{\epsilon}\delta\omicron\iota\kappa\alpha$ 780), where $\delta\epsilon\iota\delta = \delta\epsilon\delta\acute{\rho}$.

In $\acute{\epsilon}\iota\alpha\rho\acute{\iota}\nu\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$, Theog. 1276, Lukian, S. 49 $\acute{\epsilon}\iota\alpha\rho\omicron\varsigma$ ($\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\rho\acute{\iota}\nu\eta\varsigma$, Styra, 19¹⁸⁴;

¹ Cf. also $\acute{\epsilon}\delta\epsilon\iota\acute{\eta}\theta\eta$, Lokris $\acute{\alpha}\theta\eta\nu$, I, 489.

² The oldest certain example of $\epsilon(\acute{\iota})$ is Attic $\text{N}\eta\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omega\varsigma$ $\acute{\epsilon}\phi$. $\acute{\alpha}\rho\chi$. 1884, 161 (418 B.C.).

³ The ι of this $\kappa\rho\acute{\epsilon}\iota\alpha\varsigma$ must not be confused with that of Hom. $\kappa\rho\acute{\epsilon}\iota\omega\nu$, which is that of the suffix (Skt. *kravya*). $\kappa\rho\acute{\epsilon}\iota\omega\nu = \kappa\rho\epsilon\acute{\rho}\alpha\omega\nu$ has the ι of $\kappa\rho\acute{\epsilon}\iota\alpha\varsigma$.

⁴ Unless this be from $*\chi\rho\eta\iota\omicron\varsigma$.

Ananios, ἄρι, tetr. 5 ; Hdt. ἄρ¹ ; Theog. ἦρος 777), the εἰ is due to the development of the glide *iota*, the ground form being *ἡρινός, cf. vēr from vēzr, old Norse vār. ἦρος seems to be from ἔαρος, rather than from *ἡραρος. Cf. § 147. Hom. εἰλάτινος (ἐλάτινος, Olynth. 8 B 3) is purely metrical.

In the cases where this intervocalic *iota* appears, we must, I think, distinguish two distinct classes.

1. Cases of εἰ in poetry, where the εἰ is a mere graphical expression, not made use of by the earlier poets at least, to represent εῠ = εϝ ; e.g. Hom. λείονσι.

2. Cases of the pure glide *iota*, as in εἰάν, ἐννεία, where ϝ has nothing whatever to do with the appearance of the ι, though in some of the words in question ϝ, as a matter of fact, did once exist ; but at the period from which the forms date, cannot have left any trace of its former appearance.

At the present stage of our knowledge, I hold it best to keep the two classes apart, though thereby not wishing to deny that in certain special instances one class may overlap into the other.

91. ἦννεκα, ἐννείκαι, in Hdt. with an εἰκ, whose relation to εϝκ is not perfectly clear as yet. Lukian follows well in the wake of Hdt., but Hippokrates and Aretaios have throughout the Attic forms. See § 83, 3, and under *Conjugation*.

92. Itacism.

See above, under Ī, Î, for instances of εἰ for ī (Τεῖμαρχος, etc.).

93. II. Monophthongal EI.

A few sample, and some of the most important, forms under each head will illustrate this characteristic feature of Ionic. On 4-13, see Solmsen and Wackernagel, K. Z., XXIX.

1. Spurious EI from εϝϝ.

ἔεινος : Ξεῖνος, Styra, 19^{54, 76, 277}, Ξεῖνων 19²⁷⁹, Ξεῖνών 19⁴⁰², Ξεῖνιος 19⁷⁴, Ξεῖναινος 19⁷³, Ξεινοχάρης 19^{75, 278} ; Ξεινοκρίτης, Amorgos, 228 ; Ξεινόθεμις, Perinthos, 234 B 28, Φιλόξεινος 19³³⁰, Τιμόξεινος 19³¹⁸, Πρόξεινος 19²⁸⁰ ; Θευξεινίδου, Smyrna, 153²⁹, etc. Hdt. πρόξεινος, VI, 57, whereas

¹ ἦρι in Hdt. must be corrected. The form in Lukian cannot stand, unless it can be proved that he here imitates an epic, not a Herodotean, form. Hippokr. and Aretaios have no trace of εἰαρ, their Mss. fluctuating between ἦρ and ἔαρ.

Eustathios, quoting Hdt., uses the form *πρόξενος*. In the poets we have *ει* forms, Sim. Amorg. 7^{19, 20, 107}; Archil. eleg. 7, 19²; Theog. 521, etc. Lukian has *ξείνος*, though cases of *ξένος* occur. Arrian, 26, 28, has *ξέν-*; and so, too, Aretaios and the *Vita Homeri*. In other pseudo-Ionic sources, though there is great fluctuation, the weight that Herodotos' unimpeachable *ξείνος* carries, may pardon the adoption of this form.

Attic *ξένος* in some relatively pure inscriptions: Oropos, 18⁹; Miletos, 100⁶; Eryth. 199⁴; later documents, Thasos, 72³; Eryth. 206 B 12; Ephesos, 147¹⁰; Phanag. 165. In Solon, *ξένος*, 23², Theog., *ξένως* 518, are to be classed together as epic reminiscences. *ξένος* in Attic must be derived directly from *ξένφος*, not through *ξείνος*.

κενός = Attic *κενός* (*κενότερος*), Wackernagel, K. Z., XXV, 260; G. Meyer, *Gramm.*, § 76.

στεινός = Attic *στενός* (*στενώτερος*). Arrian has *στεινός* three times, *στενός* an equal number. Aretaios seems to have the vulgar form; cf. Hippokrates, ΠTK 9, *στενώτερα*.

ένεκεν perhaps = *ἐμ + κεκα* (Osthoff, *Perfect*, 334; Brugmann, *Gramm.*, § 13) in Hdt. (cf. on *Prepositions*). *ένεκα*: Sim. Amorg. 7¹¹⁸; Theogn. 46, 730, etc. *ούνεκα*, Theogn. 488, 854; Xenoph. 2¹⁹; Solon, tr. 37. See Wackernagel, K. Z., XXVIII, 109 ff. *Vita Homeri* has *ένεκα*, *ξένος*, etc.

ένατος, *είνακόσιοι*, Wackernagel, K. Z., XXVIII, 132; G. Meyer, *Gramm.*, p. 379.

2. Spurious EI from *εφ*.

δειρή, Hdt. and Theog. 266.

πέιρατα, Arch. tetr. 55; Solon, eleg. 16; Theog. 140, 1078, 1172. Skt. *pārvan*.

έρομαι, *ask* (Greg. Corinth. *d. d. Ion.* § 73), appears to be a present formed from the aorist stem with prosthetic vowel (*έ-ρ-φέςθαι*).¹ *έρωτάω*, *ask*, in Homer, Theogn. 519, Hdt. III, 14; *έρωτώμενον*, I, 86, is rejected by Stein in favor of *έρωτεύόμενον*; Thasos, 72¹², *έπερωτήσαι*, Attic (300-250 B.C.); cf. C. I. A., II, 6017. Attic inscr. have also *έπερέσθαι*.

είρύομαι, Hdt. See Leaf on A 216 (*είρύω*, *drav*, $\sqrt{\text{φεν}}$; *είρύομαι*, *protect*, $\sqrt{\text{σερφ}}$. Schulze, K. Z., XXIX, 235, holds to the view that *είρύσαι* is from **έφρύσαι*.

¹ So my *Diphthong EI*, p. 64, and also G. Meyer, *Gramm.*², p. 425. Or *έρομαι* as well as Homeric *έρέω*, *έρέομαι*, *ask*, and also Attic *έρομαι*, are based upon the transference of **έρευμι*, **έρυμαι*, to the Ω conjugation (*έρέφω*, *έρφομαι*; Solmsen, K. Z., XXIX, 64.

3. Spurious EI from ελφ.

είλισσω, Hdt. (cf. Attic ειλικτῆρες) probably from $\sqrt{\text{φελφ}}$.

4. Spurious EI from -ενσ- or -ενς.

The *sigma* may represent either I.E. *s* in a final syllable, or secondary (dialectal) $\sigma = \tau_2$.

On εἶς, εἶσω, and the orthography in inscriptions, see under *Prepositions*. εἶσι = ἐντί, λυθείς < λυθέντς, χαρίεις < χαρίεντς, ἀ[πο]κτενεῖ(ε), Teos, Rob. 142 B 11. μείς, Hdt. II, 82, gen. μηρός, Halik. 2384. Oropos, 186. κένσαι, Ψ 337, > κέντσαι, for κείσαι, with the ν of κεντέω.

4 A. πείσομαι from *πέθσομαι.

5. Spurious EI from ερς.

κείρας, Paros, 67.

6. Spurious EI from ελς.

ἀγγεῖλαι, ἀποστεῖλαι.

7. Spurious EI from εμς.

ἐνείματο, etc.

8. Spurious EI from εσμ.

εῖμα[τ]ίω[ις], Keos, 432, with the εἰ of εῖμα. Cf. Andania, Cauér,² 47^{16, 19, 20, 21}, εῖματισμός, *ibid.* 15. Hdt. has ἰμάτον. Brugmann, M. U., II, 223 (cf. IV, 133), separates ἰμάτιον from εῖμα so far as to imply that itacism does not exist. That G. Meyer, *Gramm.*, § 115, Solmsen, K. Z., XXIX, 73, are incorrect in maintaining this view, is clear from Attic ἰμάτιον, C. I. A., II, 755, 8, 9 (349-344 B.C.), etc. We have double forms in εἰμάτιον and ἰμάτιον.

Medial εσμ is preserved by analogy in Ionic as in other dialects.

The orthography of εἰμί shows a fluctuation found in no other form in εἰ. All inscriptions, not otherwise dated, are earlier than 400 B.C.

With E.

Kyme, 3, = Rob. 177.

Kyme, Rob. 173, 185.

Naxos, 25, = Rob. 27.

Arkesine (Amorg.), 29 = Rob.

158 D.

Prokon. 1032, = Rob. 42.

Samos, 214, = Rob. 155.

Naukr. Rob. 132 A, E, G.

Chalkidian, Rob. 175, 186.

Asiatic Ionic, Naukr. Bechtel, 259.

With EI.

Miletos, 98, = Rob. 138.

Theodos. 125, written IEMI (after 400).

Olbia, Rob. 163 A.

Kameiros, 256, Rob. 164.

Naukr. Rob. 132 C.

For a similar fluctuation in other dialects, cf. my Diphthong EI, p. 60. EIμί in Attic is as old as 570 B.C. (Cauer, 487), this proving that $\epsilon\iota = \eta$ in this and a few other words had a tendency toward diphthongization at an early period.

9. Spurious EI from $\epsilon\sigma\nu$.

The orthography of εἶναι in Ionic inscriptions shows the fluctuation in the representation of the closed $\bar{\epsilon}$ sound.

With E.

Halik. 238^{22, 24, 42} (fifth cent.).

Erythrai, 199^{5, 10, 11} (after 394).

Keos, 43⁴, ἐξείναι (fifth cent.).

With EI.

Halik. 237^{27, 29, 36}.

Thasos, 71^{5, 6} (fourth cent.) 72⁹
(300-250).

Oropos, 18³² (about 400).

Amphip. 10¹² (about 350).

Eretr. 15¹⁴ (fifth cent.).

εἶν, Olynth. 8 A 3, B 5, 7 (betw.
389 and 383).

ἐξείν, Orop. 18³¹.

ἐπείνυσθαι, Hdt. IV, 64. Cf. καταείνυσαν, Ψ 135. εἶνυμι is not a direct descendant of εἴνυμι, but derived from a later *εῖσνυμι, brought into life through the influence of εἶσσω, εἶσται, etc.

κλεινός < κλεφεσνός: κλεινογένης, I. G. A. 396 (Keos). *Αργεννον near Erythai is perhaps due to the Aiolic element in the neighboring Chios. *Αργεννον occurs in Troas and Lesbos, ἀργεννός being an Aiolic word, Hinrichs (H. E. V. A., p. 56). Other traces of Aiolism are Πελιναῖον, name of a mountain in the north of Chios, and Φαίεννου, Thasos (L.) 18 C 5.

10. Spurious EI from $\epsilon\sigma\lambda$.

χείλοι = Aiol. χέλλιοι, Lak. χηλίοι.

χείλος < χέσλος. Windisch, K. Z., XXVII, 169.

11. Spurious EI from $\epsilon\nu\lambda$.

According to Brugmann, Gr., § 54, Homeric εἶν is = $\epsilon\nu\lambda$ + vowel. ἐνάλιος we find in Archil. 74⁸ (tetr.), εἰνάλιος in Theogn. 576.

NOTE. — Brugmann, Grundr., I. § 639 (cf. Johansson, D. V. C., p. 212), has no hesitation in referring the $\epsilon\iota$ of ἀμείνων to compensatory lengthening (*i.e.*, $\epsilon\iota$ is a spurious diphthong); and to make this $\epsilon\iota$ of ἀμείνων a point of departure for that of κρείττων, μείζων where ϵ would have been in place.¹ ἀμεινό-

¹ The only way to reconcile Brugmann's view with the fact that EI is written on old Attic inscriptions, is to assume that genuine EI was monophthongized, which is directly opposed to Meisterhans' view (p. 16). Brugmann himself believes in such a monophthongization (Gr., § 15).

τερος occurs in Mimn. 14₉, Ἀμεινοκράτης, Mykonos, 92₁₄, ἀμεινον, Rob. 159 a, Amorgos.

12. Spurious EI from ερι.

φέρω say < φερῶ. Ionic εἰρέθην, Hdt. IV, 77, 156, etc. < ἐφέρεθην, Attic ἐρρήθην < ἐ-φρήθην.

ναυστείρης, Styra, 19₂₆₄, Homeric στείρα or στείρη, A 482, β 428 and nowhere else (*Dipth.* EI, p. 65). Theog. 757 ὑπερέχοι with ὑπείρ, as in Hom., < ὑπερῆ before an initial vocalic syllable. ὑπειρόχους (Hdt. V, 92 η), adopted by Stein, is alien to the form usually accepted by the historian, and can be defended solely on the assumption of ποικιλία in the Herodotean dialect.

94. EI of doubtful origin.

Σειλήνη, Paros, 66, a late inscription with ε̄i not in accord with the common Attic-Ionic form (Sappho, σελάννα; Doric, σελάνα; Archim. σελήνα).

Εἰλειθύει, Delos, 56₈₀, Paros, 66 (Εἰλειθυίη). See Baunack, *Studien*, I, 69.

Εἰθύμαχος, Styra, 19₃₀. See § 67.

Τειρεσίας. Cf. τείρεα, Σ 485 (< τέρας, cf. γέρεα, Miletos, 100₇).

κεῖνος, written κενος, Teos, 156 A 4, 5, 11, 13, 156 B 28, 39, but with EI, 156 B 7; ἐκεῖνος, Mylasa, 248 A 16 B 15, C 19. Prellwitz rightly holds that the εἰ is a monophthong, and divides ἐ-κεῖ-ενος: his proposed etymology, B. B., XV, 155.

95. OI.

This seems to have been pronounced as a genuine diphthong. Bechtel, *Ion. Inschr.*, p. 37, has refuted the view that in Styra οἰ was pronounced as ü, and that the dialect of Styra was herein influenced by the Boiotian change of οἰ to υ, *i.e.* ü. Μέτυκος, 19₇₀, may or may not be correct; but in the fifth century, the period of this leaden tablet, Boiotian οἰ had not abandoned the old diphthongal pronunciation of οἰ. Cf. Blass, *Aussprache*,³ p. 57.

96. Antevocalic OI = O.

See above for A(I), E(I) in Ionic.

A. In inscriptions.

WEST IONIC.

Εὐβοεύς, Styra, 19 ₈₃	V	ἐποίει, Eretria 14	V
		ἐποίησε, Adesp. 21	VI
		ἐποιησάτην, 265 (Euboia or Island Ionic)	V

ISLAND IONIC.

ἐποίει, Delos, 57	II 300- 250	ἐπ[ο]ίησεν, Naxos 26	500
ποε(ί), Thasos, 72 ₄		[π]οιεῖν, Keos, 43 ₂₁	end of V
		Εὐκοίης, Keos, 44 B 9 ¹	IV?
		Ποιασιών, Keos, 47 ₂	IV
		Ποιδσσαν, Keos, 47 ₁₀	IV
		θαυματοποιός, Delos, 55, 3	270
		ἐχσεποίησεν, Paros, 58	VI
		ποίημα, Paros, 60 (metr.)	V
		ἐννοίας, Thasos, 72 ₆	III

¹ Cf. κοῖται, G. G. A., 1883, p. 119.

ASIATIC IONIC.

ἔξεποίησ', Abdera, 162 (metrical)	V 394 pre- Rom.	A. Before η, ει.	
ποήσασθαι, Eryth. 199 ₁₃		ἐποίησε, Miletos, 94	VI
ἐποίει, Samos, 222		ἐποίησεν, Miletos, 95	VI
		ἱεροποιήν, Miletos, 100 ₆	400
		ποιεῖ[ν], Didyma Rob. 139	V?
		[π]εποιήκασιν, Iasos, 105 ₄	end IV
	ποίησαν, ¹ Teos, 156 B 30	470	
	ποίησει, Teos, 156 B 39	470	

ASIATIC IONIC — *continued.*

ποιήσας, Teos, 158 ¹⁴	II or IP?
ποιήσει, Chios, 174 A 12	V
ποιῆι, Chios, 174 C 9	V
ποιῆται, Chios, 174 C 11	V
[ἐποίησεν, Chios?] Rob. p. 64	V?
ἐποίησεν, Eryth. 207	II
ποιήσεν, Sam. 221 ²⁴	322
ἐποίει, Sam. Rob. 157	V
νεωποήσαντες, Sam. 222	pre-Rom.
ποίησεν, Halik. 241 (metr.)	?
ποιήσαντες, Myl. 248 A 12	367/66
ἐποίησαντο, Myl. 248 A 13	367/66
ποιήσαντος, Myl. 248 B 6	361/60
ἐποίησαντο, Myl. 248 B 12	361/60
ποίησασθαι, Myl. 248 C 9	355/54
ποιησαμένη, Myl. 248 C 16	355/54
ἐποίησεν, Adesp. 264	VI
οῖην, Chios, 183 A 46	350
Οῖην, Eryth. 201 ²⁷	IV
αἰδοίην, Adesp. 264 (metr.)	VI
B. Before ο.	
τειχοποιού, Kyzikos, 111 ⁶	IV
ποιοῖ, Teos, 156 A 2	470
ποιούντων, Teos, 158 ¹³	Hellen.
ἱεροποιού, Eryth. 206	278
ABC (12 times)	
Ἐνδοῖος, Adesp. 264.	VI
C. Before α, αι.	
νεωποίας, Ephes. 147 ¹⁵	300
νεωποίας, Halik. 240 ⁶	450-400
εἰνοῖαι, Ephes. 147 ⁸	300
εῷοιαν, Samos, 221 ⁸	322

ποιέω is the word most frequently affected by the change.

Cf. ποιῆς, Theokr. 29²¹; ἐπόησε, Theokr. 29²⁴, Aiolic, 218⁹; ποιήσασθαι, Aiolic, 281 A 19, B 24; πόη = ποιῆ, 238⁶; ποιήσω, 281 B 54;

ποιέμενος, 305₈; Arkad. ποέντω, 1222₉; other examples, G. Meyer, *Gramm.*, § 155.

B. *Lyric Poets.*

Anakr. ἀδοιάστωσ 95, ἐπτοήθη 51₃ (ἐπτοίηθεν χ 298, ποιῶμαι, Mimn. 52).

C. *Herodotos.* Cf. Fritsch, V. H. D., p. 45 ff.

Εὐβοεύς, VII, 156, VIII, 4, 19, 20; Εὐβοῖς, III, 89.

Εὐβοϊκός, III, 89, etc. In fact, Εὐβοιεύς is found in no Attic pro-saist, and Εὐβοῖς only in poetry: Trach. 237, 401; Εὐβοῖς Trach. 74, Eurip., Herakl. 83.

εἰνοίη and προνοίη.

ποιή, as in Homer ποιῶδης. Attic ποία is poetical, elsewhere πóa, as Sappho, 54₃.

ροή, Homer ροαί, Attic ρóa (Greg. Corinth. p. 220, quotes ροαί as Doric).

στοή, according to Stein, III, 52 (*R* has στοιή); στοιά is poetic in Attic, στοά alone is found in inscriptions, στοιά is Doric (*D. S.*, 369₂₅).¹ Why Hdt. should use ποίη and ροή, but στοή, is not clear.

φλοῖός, IV, 67, also Homer and Attic.

χλόη, IV, 34, Stein; χλοι- in χλοιούσθαι, Galen, *lex. Hippokr.*, χλωῖωδης, Hippokr.

ὄμοχροίη has Mss. authority, I, 74, where Stein prefers -οίη.

ποιέω in Hdt. throughout.

φθόη is a medical expression adopted by Plato, perhaps from Hippokrates. Wackernagel's (*K. Z.*, XXX, 268) objection to the hiatus is removed if we compare Skt. kshayá and apply Fick's law as to the interrelation of *ι* and *yod*: when the accent falls originally, as here, upon the final syllable, *ι* is expelled, *i.e.* becomes *yod*. Cf. Bechtel, *Gött. Nachrichten*, 1885, No. 6.

97. *Variá.*

1. There appears to be no certain instance in Ionic of *οι* for *ο* before a vowel (as in *ὀγδοίης*, etc.). *κοίλη*, Mimn. 12₆ (Alkaios, 15₅), is a conjecture. It has not been shown that a *κοίλος* arose in the manner assumed for *γελοῖος ὁμοῖος* (Hartel, *Hom. Stud.*, III, 41). A preferable solution is that *κοφιλος* (*κοφ* = cav-us) = *κομιλος* was represented graphically by *κοίλος*.

2. [T]ροιζήμιος, Iasos, 104₂₀, before 353 B.C., disproves the state-

¹ Also C. I. G., 2483₂₂₂, Astyp.

ment of G. Meyer, *Gramm.*, § 112, that this form (with anaptyctic *ι* before *ζ*) does not appear before the imperial period. Cf. Τροζάνιος, Roehl, 70₁₃, Schneider, *Dial. Megarica*, 39, Müllensiefen, *Dial. Lacon.* 88.

3. δεσπώνησιν, Kyzikos, Rob. 148 = δεσποίναις, if correct, is a unique form. The converse appears in Φιλοδέσποιτος, *Wolfe Expedition to Asia Minor (Papers of the American School, III, No. 218)*.

4. *οι* appears for *εοι* in the Herodotean οίκας, οικός, with absence of reduplication, as in οικοδόμηται, I, 181, Heraklea, I, 137.

98. ΥΙ.

The second mora of the diphthong ΥΙ may disappear before a following vowel.

ύός, Paros, 67 (late), Ηνύς, 266, of uncertain provenance. Cf. υῖός, Δ 473, λ 270; δύη, ν 286. ἀφύη, often used by the comic poets, may be an Ionic loan-form (G. Meyer, *Gramm.*, p. 36).

υῖός is found, Amorg. 35 epigr., Priene, 141 (in Ionic alphabet), 265, uncertain locality; Delos, 57 (cf. *μυσοόβαι*, B. C. H., VI, 32, 33). On υῖός in metrical inscriptions, cf. Allen, *Versification*, p. 71 ff., on υ(ι)ός in Attic, Meist.,² p. 47.

DIPHTHONGS κατ' ἐπικράτειαν.

99. ᾹΙ.

ā = pre-Hellenic āi, gave way to ηι at the earliest period of Ionic that can be reconstructed by us.

100. ΗΙ.

Whether ΗΙ is really a δίφθογγος κατ' ἐπικράτειαν in such forms as βασιλήιος is not perfectly certain (Blass, *Ausspr.*³ 22, Johansson, B. B., XV, 182). Schulze, K. Z., XXIX, 252, writes βασιλῆος, and holds that ηι became η between the time of Hipponax and Herodotos.¹ See below, § 152.

101. Medial ΗΙ.

I. Retained before vowels.

In this category fall chiefly the derivatives in -ήιον, -ηίη = Attic -εῖον, -εῖη, from stems in -ηυ-. In dealing with the vexatious problem

¹ In Hdt. the correct form is ἦε, not ἦιε.

of the interrelation of these terminations it must be borne in mind that originally an *-ην-* stem yielded *-ηη* or *-ηιο-*, except in the case of such feminines as had adjectival motion (§ 46); while sigmatic stems produced *-ειη* and *-ειο-*. This original mark of distinction has been obliterated to a great extent in all the dialects, and especially in this the case in Ionic. In the following § wherever *ηι* is written, this is regarded as *ηϊ*. The forms of the *ην* stems have been collected by Fritsch, V. H. D., pp. 9 ff.; e.g., Hdt., ἀριστήιον, ἀρχήιον, ἱερήιον, μαντήιον, -ηίη (μαντείας, Tyr. 4₂), πολιτηίη, πρυτανήιον, Prokon. 103 (V cent.); στρατηίη, ταριχηίη, χαλκήιον, etc. Also from *-ην-* stems nouns and adjectives in *-ηιος*, *-ηιον*, *-ηηη*, = Attic *-ειος*, *-ειον*, *-εια*. βασιλῆια, δουλίος,¹ ἐξοδηίη, κηρυκήιον, Ὀδυσσῆιος, ἀρήιος. Mimn. has Νηλήιον.

In other Ionic prosaists we find that the *-ηι-* forms are not so prevalent as in Hdt.: *θεραπέηη*, Lukian, *Syr.* 31, Aretaios often, Hippokr. ΠΚ 460, ΠΑ 2, Ε III, 3, Π 1. *θεραπηήη* occurs only in the letters: Hippokr. 15₇, 16₇, 17_{20, 23}. *-ηι-* forms occur as follows: *μαντηι-*, Luk. *Syr.* 36, *Astr.* 8, 23, 24; *πολιτηίη*, Hipp. ep. 17₃₂; *βασιληι-*, Luk. *Syr.* 18, 25, *Astr.* 12, Arr. *Ind.* 3, 8, 39, Hipp. ep. 17_{84, 41}; *ἀρήιος*, Arr. *Ind.* 7, 11, 12, Euseb. 2; *παιδηίους*, Euseb. 2; *ἱρήιος*, Luk. *Syr.* 42, 58, 57, Arr. *Ind.* 18. The following have no variant in *-ηι-*: *μοιχειίη*, *δοναστείη*, *γοητείη*, *προφητείη*, *φαρμακείη*, *πρεσβείη*, *ἐρμηνείη*. *στρατηίη* is the only example in the *vita Homeri*.

Fritsch's thoroughgoing examination shows that here and there the Attic forms have forced themselves into the Mss. of Hdt. In the inscriptions we meet with the following forms in *ει* where *ηι* would be Ionic:—

- ἀρχεῖον, Iasos, 105 (end of third cent.).
- πολιτεία, Zeleia, 114 ABC (late), Samos, 221₂₇ (322 B.C.).
- πρυτανεῖον, Kyzikos, 108 B (first cent.).
- καπηλεῖον, Iasos, 104₄₄.
- πορεία, Samos, 221₂₁ (322 B.C.).

All these forms are due to Attic influence.

Furthermore, *-ηιο-* occurs (Attic *-εῖο-*) where there is no *-ην-* stem involved. Hdt. ἀνδρήιος, ἀνδρηήη, γυναικήιος, where Homer has, λ 437, γυναικειάς, Phokyl. 3₂, γυναικειών (cf. Fick, B. B., XI, 272), Archil. γυναικειον, 9₁₀; ἐργαλήιον, ἑταιρήιος, -ηίη, Καδμήιος but Καδμείη, I, 166, Καδμείοι often in Hdt. μνημήιον, οἰκήιος -όω, σημήιον.

¹ Cf. Anakr. 114.

Stems in \hat{A} or O yield $-\eta\omega$ in the later Ionists : —

$\omicron\acute{\kappa}\eta\acute{\iota}\omicron\varsigma$, Luk. *Syr.* 20, 22, 53, 54, 57, Arrian, *Ind.* 20 (elsewhere $-\epsilon\iota-$); $\acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\rho\omega\pi\acute{\eta}\omicron\varsigma$, Luk. *Astr.* 27. From consonantal stems we have $\acute{\alpha}\nu\delta\rho\acute{\eta}\omicron\varsigma$, Luk. *Syr.* 15, 26, 27, Euseb. Mynd. 56 (Hippokrates has $-\epsilon\iota-$ always); $\gamma\upsilon\nu\alpha\iota\kappa\acute{\eta}\omicron\varsigma$, Luk. *Syr.* 15, 27, 51, Arrian, *Ind.* 8, Aret. 60, 61, 62, 285 (Hippokrates $-\epsilon\iota-$, and also Euseb. Mynd. 54); $\sigma\eta\mu\acute{\eta}\omicron\iota\omicron\nu$, Luk. *Syr.* 15, 17, 49, *Astr.* 4, 7; Arrian, *Ind.* 28. Here Hippokrates and Aretaios follow the Attic rather than the Ionic standard. We have here a line of distinction drawn with tolerable distinctness between the medical writers and Herodotos, Lukian, and Arrian. Arrian, *Ind.* 10, has furthermore $\mu\eta\eta\mu\acute{\eta}\iota\alpha$, 10, but $\theta\acute{\eta}\rho\epsilon\iota\alpha$, 17, 24, and $\Lambda\acute{\iota}\theta\iota\omicron\pi\acute{\epsilon}\iota\omega$, 6.

And again, $-\eta\omega =$ Attic $-\epsilon\omega$.

$\acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\rho\omega\pi\acute{\eta}\omicron\varsigma$ (and $-\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$), $\beta\omicron\rho\acute{\eta}\omicron\varsigma$, $\epsilon\upsilon\rho\omega\pi\acute{\eta}\omicron\varsigma$, $\kappa\eta\lambda\omega\nu\acute{\eta}\omicron\iota\omicron\nu$, $\Phi\omicron\iota\beta\acute{\iota}\eta\omicron\varsigma$, $\phi\omicron\iota\nu\kappa\acute{\eta}\omicron\varsigma$ ($\phi\omicron\iota\nu\kappa\acute{\eta}\iota\alpha$, Teos, 156 B 38, 470 B.C.), $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\gamma\alpha\rho\acute{\eta}\omicron\iota\omicron\nu$, $\lambda\alpha\iota\sigma\acute{\eta}\omicron\iota\omicron\nu$, $\acute{\Lambda}\lambda\acute{\eta}\omicron\iota\omicron\nu$, $\Delta\iota\mu\epsilon\nu\acute{\eta}\omicron\iota\omicron\nu$. Hipponax, 57, has $\tau\rho\omicron\pi\acute{\eta}\omicron\iota\omicron\nu$ from $\tau\rho\omicron\pi\acute{\epsilon}\omega$, an Ionic verb.

Upon inscriptions $\epsilon\iota$ for $\eta\iota$ in

$\acute{\Lambda}\nu\delta\rho\acute{\epsilon}\iota\omega\nu$, Eryth. 206, B 48, 56 (278 B.C.).

$\omicron\iota\kappa\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omicron\tau\eta\tau\omicron\varsigma$, Ephesos, 147₄ (300 B.C.).

$\omicron\iota\kappa\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omicron\iota$, Lykia, 263 (perhaps an Attic form).

$\epsilon\upsilon\phi\rho\omicron\nu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omicron\iota$, $\Theta\alpha\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omicron\iota$, Eryth. 206 B 46.

$\Lambda\nu\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\iota\omicron\nu$, Eryth. 206 A 20 (Steph. Byz. $\Lambda\nu\kappa\acute{\eta}\omicron\iota\omicron\nu$).

$\acute{\iota}\epsilon\rho\eta\tau\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha\iota$, Eryth. 206 A 44, B 1, 45, 60, C 7; $\acute{\iota}\epsilon\rho\eta\tau\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omega\nu$, A 14, 36, $\acute{\iota}\epsilon\rho\alpha\tau\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha\iota$, C 13; Priene, 144, $\acute{\iota}\epsilon\rho\alpha\tau\epsilon\acute{\iota}\eta\varsigma$.

$\delta\rho\kappa\nu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu$, Halik. 240₄₄ (fifth cent.).

The inscriptions have $\eta\iota$ in $\pi\rho\nu\tau\alpha\nu\acute{\eta}\omicron\iota\omicron\nu$ Prokon. 103 (600 B.C.), $\phi\omicron\iota\nu\kappa\acute{\eta}\iota\alpha$ (above), $\acute{\iota}\epsilon\rho\acute{\eta}\omicron\nu$, Oropos, 18_{33, 36} (see § 103); $\acute{\eta}\mu\iota\mu\eta\acute{\eta}\omicron\iota\omicron\nu$ and $\sigma\pi\omicron\nu\delta\acute{\eta}\omicron\iota\omicron\nu$, Paros, 62; $\Sigma\alpha\rho\alpha\pi\acute{\eta}\iota\alpha$, Naxos, 28.

$-\eta\omega$ in Ionic has by analogy extended its sphere beyond that of the $\eta\upsilon-$ stems in the class $\acute{\alpha}\nu\delta\rho\acute{\eta}\omicron\varsigma$ and $\acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\rho\omega\pi\acute{\eta}\omicron\varsigma$. In no case is there any justification for the adoption of $-\eta\iota-$ even in such $-\epsilon\varsigma-$ stems as yield abstract nouns, e.g. $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\eta\theta\eta\acute{\eta}$, which has been foisted upon Herodotos by the Aldine edition. The few instances of $\eta\iota = \epsilon\iota$, are of late date. $\acute{\Lambda}\rho\gamma\acute{\eta}\omicron\varsigma$, Ditt. Syll. 421₅ (400–350), is, however, certainly on the stone, though it may be an error, as it dates from a period when there was a fluctuation in the orthography.

NOTE. — If it can be shown that there are stems in $-\eta\sigma\iota\omega-$, which is still a moot point, such apparent anomalies as Aiolic $\kappa\upsilon\pi\rho\gamma\omicron\gamma\epsilon\nu\eta$, and Boiot. names in $-\gamma\epsilon\nu\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$, $-\mu\epsilon\iota\delta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$, may be cleared up. See Johansson, B. B., XV, 181. $\Xi\epsilon\nu\omicron-$

κρατήια, Eryth. 208, is a hyper-Ionic form, and not to be regarded as an example of -ησια. That yod should lengthen a preceding vowel, as G. Meyer, *Gramm.*,² § 79, states, is of course out of the question.

Ξενοκρατήια is not to be classed with Delphic Καλλικράτηα, etc., where the η is a late graphical expression for ει. It is scarcely probable that a stem in -ησιο- should manifest itself so late as the first century B.C. when it is not beyond peradventure proved in the case of older forms.

NOTE 1. — ἀγγήιον without variant, Hdt. II, 121 β, δ, IV, 2, Lukian, *Syr.* 20, 48. This is the sole support for this supposed Ionic form. Keos, 43₁₀, with ἀ]γγεία, is not free from the suspicion of being Attic, though this form is undoubtedly Ionic too. Cf. ἀγγείον and κενεαγγείη in Hippokr. and Aretaios.

NOTE 2. — Feminines derived from masculines in -ευσ have ει, not ηι. In Keos, 48, *ίέρεια*; Pantikapaion, 123₃, *ίερή*; Ephesos, 150, *ίερή*. In Herodotos, the Mss. have generally *ίρείη*, but occasionally the shibboleth of the Ionic ηι is disclosed (II, 53, 54, 55). Cf. also, *βασίλεια*, not -ηίη.

102. Medial ηι retained before consonants.

1. Masculine patronymics.

In but one case in Hdt., VIII, 132, Βασιληίδεω. Cf. [B]ασιλείδης, Chios, 179₉, the same form on a Chian coin, *Denkmäler der Wiener Akad.*, IX, 322 (400–350). If Σελληίδεω in Archil. 104 is correct, it is the only instance in the lyric poets, and Σκηβηίδης, Teos, C. I. G., 3064₂₃ (late), the only instance in the inscriptions. In all other cases -ειδης, on which see below. Πηληιδης, attested by Greg. Corinth. *d. d. Ion.*, p. 377. Μηίων, Hdt. I, 7.

2. Feminine patronymics.

Hdt. Νηρηίδων, II, 50; Νηρηίσι, VII, 191; Βοιβηίς, VII, 129, not to be written ηῖ, a poetical form introduced by the grammarians. Doubtless -ήιδης and -ήις (-ής) are correct.

3. Dat. Plur. of Ἄ(η) stems.

-ηισι was the regular Ionic form in the fifth century in Hdt. and in the inscriptions. The last Ionic ηισι of which we have any knowledge dates from 394 B.C. (Erythrai, 199₆). After this, αῖς is the normal use. See under *Declension*.

4. In compound names (two stems).

Δηῖδαμαντ-, Aigiale, 28 A.

Δηῖλέων, Smyrna, 153₁₈. Cf. Bechtel, *ad loc.*

Δηῖλλεος, Thas. (L) 7, B 9.

Δηῖαλκος, Th. (L) 34, 99.

Δηϊθράσης, Th. (L) 3 A 8.

Δηϊπέτης, Styra 19¹⁸¹, perhaps.

Ἄρηϊθους, Th. (L) 14 B 2 ; 16⁷.

Ἄρηϊφίλον, Anakt. 106.

5. Greg. Corinth. *d. d. Ion.*, p. 377, quotes κληϊσθέντες as Ionic. Μαρωνηπέτων, Maroneia, 196², though from the same period (before 400) we have Μαρωνειπέτων, 196³.¹ ηι, as augment, is preserved ; *e.g.*, ἠιρημένους, Samos, 221³⁵.

103. II. Medial HI becomes H.

ἱερήον, Oropos, 18^{33, 36}, about 400 B.C. Greg. Corinth. *d. d. Ion.*, p. 379, mentions ἱερήϊον as Ionic. Also Aiolic and Delphic.

A remarkable form is λητουργεῖν, on a Teian document, Ditt. *Syll.* 126⁷² (306-301).

104. III. Medial HI passes into EI.

(α) before vowels.

Here belong the forms mentioned under § 101, from inscriptions, from the lyric poets γυναικέιον, Archil. and Phokyl., unless Fick's defence of the form as it stands (= γύναιον) holds good. [á]γγεῖα, Keos, 43¹⁰, while Hdt. has ἀγγῆμα, IV, 2 ; Homer, *ι* 222, ἄγγεα. Fritsch holds that ἀγγεῖον alone is correct, which is probable (*cf.* ἄγγος).

(β) before consonants.

In all masculine patronymics, except those mentioned § 102, Hdt., as Attic writers, uses -ειδης with but a single exception : Αἰγεῖδαι, IV, 149 ; Ἀριστείδης, VIII, 79-82 ; Ἀτρεῖδαι, VII, 20 ; Νηλεῖδαι, V, 65 ; Περσεῖδαι, I, 125 ; Ἀλκείδης, IV, 149. No Ionic inscription of the fifth century contains a patronymic form. Πιθειδης, Keos, 44 A 10, Ἀρι(σ)τείδης, Thasos, 77 A 9, Ἀριστείδευσ, B 14, are all too late to be of moment, though they apparently support the general conduct of the patronymic in Ionic prose. Βασιληίδεω may well be correct despite the numerical weight of evidence against -ηιδης in Hdt. As Attic inscriptions of the fourth century have -ηιδης, the older form existing parallel to the younger -ειδης (to say nothing of the fifth century with its ΕΙΔΕΞ), so in Ionic we may assume the contemporaneous existence of both forms, though ηι may have been weakened to ει in the majority of instances. The Ionic dialect is tenacious of ηι (νηί, Πριηνηί, etc.). See § 102, and below, § 106, 107, 152.

¹ Cf. Hdt. Βορυσθενεῖτων, IV, 17.

105. IV. Medial $\text{H}\tilde{\text{I}} = \text{E}\tilde{\text{I}}$.

This *metathesis quantitatis* was first proposed by Fick (B. B. XI, 267) on the score of Anakreon's four syllable $\Theta\rho\eta\tilde{\kappa}\acute{\iota}\eta$ (96) by the side of $\Theta\rho\eta\kappa\acute{\iota}\eta$ (49, 75), Hipponax' $\Theta\rho\eta\tilde{\kappa}\acute{\iota}\omega\nu$ 42 ($\acute{\epsilon}\pi\tilde{\iota}$ ἀρμάτων τε καὶ $\Theta\rho\eta\tilde{\kappa}\acute{\iota}\omega\nu$ πώλων). Bechtel, *Ion. Inschr.*, p. 13, goes so far as to claim for Ionic and Attic that, wherever $\epsilon\iota$ appears for $\eta\iota$, $\eta\iota$ passed through the stage $\epsilon\tilde{\iota}$. On any view $\epsilon\iota < \eta\iota$ is found chiefly in Eretrian Ionic, since in Asiatic Ionic $\eta\iota$ lost its *iota* and did not become $\epsilon\iota$. From prose inscriptions we can scarcely expect proof, and even if we accept $\Theta\rho\epsilon\tilde{\iota}\kappa\acute{\iota}\omega\nu$, we are not compelled to extend this *metathesis quantitatis* over all the territory claimed by Bechtel. The parallelism of later $\lambda\epsilon\iota\tau\omicron\upsilon\rho\gamma\epsilon\tilde{\iota}\nu$ and $\tau\epsilon\tilde{\iota}$ does not disprove the *vocalis ante vocalem corripitur* rule, or necessitate the hypothesis that in Ionic-Attic there was a middle stage, $\epsilon\tilde{\iota}$.

106. I. Final HI is retained.

(α) In the dative singular.

$\nu\eta\tilde{\iota}$, perhaps from $\nu\tilde{\eta}$ from the analogy of $\nu\eta\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$, etc. (Alkman has $\nu\tilde{\eta}$ according to Blass, *Hermes*, XIII, 25). On $\Pi\rho\eta[v]\tilde{\eta}$ see under *Declension*.

(β) In the subjunctive (Island and Asiatic Ionic, but not generally in West Ionic). See under *Conjugation*.

The ι ἀνεκφώνητον is but rarely misplaced; e.g., $\epsilon\tilde{\iota}\eta$ (opt.), Teos, 158^{15, 30}, (second cent.). Cf. the similar form on an old papyrus, Blass, *Ausspr.*³ 48, and the confusion between $\epsilon\tilde{\iota}\eta$ and $\epsilon\tilde{\iota}\eta$, H 340, Σ 88. $\epsilon\tilde{\iota}\eta$ occurs on the papyrus that has $\theta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\eta\iota$.

107. II. Final HI = EI.

(α) In the dative singular of $\hat{\text{A}}(\eta)$ and $-\eta\upsilon$ - stems.

For the forms from Euboian Ionic, see under *Declension*. The Herodotean $\beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\tilde{\iota}$, or $\beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\epsilon\tilde{\iota}$, is due to the analogy of other cases. * $\text{A}\rho\epsilon\iota$, found Sim. Amorg. 1¹³, may be read * $\text{A}\rho\eta$; * $\text{A}\rho\epsilon\iota$ in Homer will readily yield to * $\text{A}\rho\epsilon\tilde{\iota}$, or * $\text{A}\rho\eta$ (Φ 112, 431, B 479). Smyth, *Diphthong EI*, pp. 36, 42.

(β) In the subjunctive. Here we have to distinguish between (ι) $\epsilon\iota$, an original form with short modal vowel (Schulze, *Hermes*, XX, 491 ff.).

κατάξει, Teos, 156 B 37,	} of the fifth century.
ἐκκόψε(ι), Teos, 156 B 38,	
ποιήσει, Teos, 156 B 39,	
ποιήσει, Chios, 174 A 12,	
ἀποκρύψει, Ephesos, 145, 1, 8,	
ἐπάρει, Ephesos, 145 ₂ ,	

Cf. παραμύσεται, Mimn. 3, and also in Kretan (Baunack, *Studien*, I, 3; Bechtel, *Gött. Nachr.*, 1888, p. 402).

(2) ει < ηι in later inscriptions.

ἀναψηφίσει, Amph. 10₁₉ (middle of the fourth century).

παρέλθει, Orop. 18₃,

ἀδικεῖ, Orop. 18₉,

ἐκτίνει, Orop. 18₁₂,

ἀδικηθεῖ, Orop. 18₁₄,

συνχωρεῖ, Orop. 18₂₀,

παρεῖ, Orop. 18₂₆, = παρῆι < παρέηι;

cf. εἶ, 18₃₄, = ἦ,

ἐμβάλλει, Orop. 18₄₀,

} between 411-402 or 387-377.

This ει < ηι is restricted in Ionic to the division of the West,¹ and in so far presents a proof of the progression of West Ionic and Attic along the same phonetic lines. There are no examples of this later ει from other portions of Ionic territory, and even in West Ionic the change has not been thoroughgoing (Olynthos, 8 A 6, B 17, ἦι; B 14, δοκῆι). In the Kyklades and in Asiatic Ionic we have -ηι in the verb and nouns, except where ι has fallen off. The change of -ηι to -ει precedes in Amphipolis that of -ωι to -οι. In Olynthos, 8 A 6, Bechtel reads π]ολέμοι whereas we have -ωι in 8 B 4 (as well as -ηι).

108. Final H from HI.

Rarely, and then not in West Ionic, in the dative: Μάνη, Kyzikos, 108 (sixth century); τῆ βουλῆ, Eryth. 199₁ (394 B.C.); Μαλυνείη, Eryth. 201₁ (fourth century); τῆ, Zeleia, 113₁₅ (after 334); δημοσίη, Mylasa, 248 C 15 (355/4).

109. ΩΙ.

Final ΩΙ becomes ΟΙ only in Western Ionic. See under *De-clension* for examples.

¹ ἐὰν δὲ δει, Teos, Ditt. *Syll.* 126, (306-301), is Attic.

110. AY.

I find the following examples of $ao = av$ ($a + u$) in Ionic inscriptions. See below for $eo = ev$.

αὐτοί, Priene, 1449.

αὐτός, Chios, 184.

αὐτόν, Samos, 221₁₄.

αὐ[τῶ]ι, Eryth. 202₁₁,¹ 263 (unc. loc.).

αὐτοῖς, Samos, 221_{21, 27, 28}, Eryth. 203₂ (ταῦτα, l. 8).

αὐτούς, Samos, 221₂₉, Leros, 107₇.

ταῦτα, Leros, 107₁₂, Chios, 184, Eryth. 202_{10, 18}, Samos, 221₁₄, Halik. 240₇ (the only example of the change in the dialect of Halikarnassos).

ἑασῶν, Samos, 221₂₀, 263 (Asiatic).

Γλαῶκος, Eryth. 209₁.

Ταορέας, Eryth. 209₂.

Καοκασίωνος, Chios, 183 A 33; but Κανκασέ[α]s, *B. P. W.*, 1889, p. 1195; cf. Eryth. 206 A 19.

Ναόλοχον, Priene, 141, an inscription not in Ionic dialect but in Ionic orthography. Ναῶκλος, Paus. VII, 3, 6, may be compared. Styra, 19₂₆₄, has *Ναυστείρης*; Olynth. 8 B₂, *νανπηγησίμων*.

The graphical substitution of o for v is practically confined to Ionic territory. Kumanudis, Ἐπιγρ. Ἄττ. ἐπιτύμβιοι, 2597 (Ἀδοκρά[τ]ης), offers the only example from extra-Ionic territory. So far no evidence for this ao has been found in any portion of Ionic except that of the Asiatic mainland and adjacent islands.

This method of writing, however, does not of itself necessitate the conclusion that Ionic av was of different color from Attic av . Perhaps the Naxian AFYTO represents nothing more than an attempt at showing the pronunciation of au in a clearer manner than by AY, though we must not entirely exclude the suggestion that AFTO was meant, and AFYTO was a correction of the engraver (ἀφυστοῦ). See Blass, *Aussprache*,³ pp. 74 ff. This af for av before a consonant is chiefly the property of Kretan, and sporadically of Lokrian and Korinthian.

111. AY = Ω.

See § 74, 126, for τρῶμα, διφώσκω, etc. The substitution of o for v is more frequent in Ionic than that of v for o . At present but one example of the latter orthography is known to us in Ionic: Μύ-

¹ About 350 B.C. No. 199, Eryth. (394 B.C.) has *αὐτῶι* twice.

λαυρος, Styra, 19¹³³ = μυλωρός < -αορος. Cf. πυλαυρός = πυλωρός in Hesychios and the other examples quoted, G. Meyer, *Gramm.*, § 120. Hdt. III, 72, has πυλουρός with the *v. l.* πυλωρός. The grammarians went so far as to hold that αυ became ων in a supposititious form ωντός. Greg. Corinth. p. 419.

On OY from AY, see under OY, § 19, 124.

112. A from AY.

In late inscriptions *v* is sometimes not written before a consonant. In Kaibel's *Epigrammata* I find τοῦνομα τὰτόν 311 Smyrna, ἀτῶν 321, near Sardis, ἐατοῖς 340, valley of the Makestos, ἀτῆς, Sterrett, III, 235.

113. EY.

EO for original EY is not specifically Ionic, though this orthography was more extensively adopted by the Ionians than by any other Greek people.

1. Inscriptions of the fifth century.

βασιλεύς, Chios, 174 C 10.

Κεφαλεύς, Adesp. 266; see Bechtel *ad loc.*

2. Inscriptions of the fourth century.

φεόγειν, Amphip. 10₃.

φεογέτω, Amphip. 10₂₄.

φεόγο[υσιν], Chios, 185¹⁵.

κοπρεόων, Chios, *B. P. W.*, 1889, p. 1195.

Εὐνομίδης, Miletos, 102, 1.

Εὐέλθων, Ephesos, 151₃.

Εὐπαθίδη(ς), Ephesos, 151₄.

Εὐχωρος, Ephesos, 151₅.

εῶνοιαν, Samos, 221₈.

ἐοργέτην, Eryth. 202₅.¹

Εὐθύδαμος, Klazom., Le Bas, *Voy. Arch. Inscr.* III, 1, No. 86.

Λεοκαῖος, Klazom. 169₃. Cf. λεοκοῖς, Priene, 141, Ionic orthography as in Ναόλοχον.

Θέοττις, Chios, *Zeitschr. f. Numism.* XIV, 153, No. 3. Cf.

Θεῦττ[ις], *l. l.* No. 4 = Becht. 194 (both fourth century).

3. Inscriptions of third century.

Εὐαγόρης, Thasos, 83₃; cf. 83₄.

¹ Bechtel's [ἐοργ]έτην, Eryth. 199₃, is doubtful on account of ἀντῶι, l. 5, 12.

4. Of uncertain date.

Εἰρύδα(μος), Eryth. 209₃.

Σινωπέος, Sinope, 116.

NOTE. — Εἰπάμονος (Bechtel, *Ion. Inschr.*, p. 104), held by Boeckh (C. I. G. 2121) to be Phanagorean, cannot well be Ionic on account of -παμων = κτήμων, despite πολυπάμονος, Δ 433, which must give place to πολυπάμμονος of many Mss.¹ That εο = εν is not confined to Ionic is clear from the following list: Εἰβωλος, Knidos, B. C. H. IV, 51; ἄνεο, Sunium, C. I. A., III, 73₁₂; Ὀρφεός, C. I. G. 7049; Σεῶρον, C. I. G. 3423, etc. See Hausoullier, B. C. H., II, 47 ff. Bechtel proposes to refer Εἰπάμονος to Knidos.

This εο is sporadic merely, and does not indicate that the pronunciation of εν (*i.e.*, *e + u*) was any different in the localities where these forms were at home from that prevalent among all Ionic speaking Greeks. The following list shows the retention of εν in words that in the above list had εο.

φεύγον[το]ς 13₆, Chalkis (?), found at Olympia.

φεύγων 13₈.

φεύγειν, Iasos, 104₅.

Εἰάγόρης, Thasos, 83₄.

Εἰ(π)ορία, Pantik. 121.

Λεύκων, Theod. (?) 127; Λευκ[ά]ριος, Styra, 19₁₂₄; Λεύκαρος, 19₃₈₉, Λεύκωνος, Phanag. 164.

εἰώνυμον, Eph. 145₅.

Εἰκράτον, Teos, 159₃.

On εν for original εο, see also under *Contraction*.

114. ενο represents the diphthong εν in Πίθνεος, Ephesos, *Num. Chron.* 1881, 16. εον stands for εο = εν in Δεουνῆς, Maroneia, on a coin in Imhoof-Blumer's coll., referred to by Bechtel on No. 196. εον = εν also in Ἀριστοκλεοῦς, Thasos, 72₁, Εἰρυσθένεοῦς, Samos, 217. Analogous is αον in Παουλλίνα, C. I. G. 6665, G. Meyer, § 120. Cf. Baunack, *Studien*, I, 72; B. B., II, 269.

115. β takes the place of ν in the late κατεσκέβασεν, Kyzikos, C. I. G. 3693. Cf. the same form C. I. G. 2015 (Gallipoli), and such forms as Boiot. εὔδομον 491₁₇, εὔδομέκοντα, C. I. G. 1845 (Korkyra).

¹ On Πολυπημονίδαο, ω 305, see Wilamowitz, *Hom. Unters.* 70, note.

116. Loss of Y in EY.

Before vowels *v* is expelled as is *ι*. Scanty evidence of this phenomenon is furnished by the Ionic poets, Hipponax using *ευ* as a short syllable in *εῦωνον* 22 B (cf. *Ἔωνυμῆς*, Kuman. *Ἐπιγρ.* *Ἄττ.* *ἐπιτύμβιοι* 501₈), *θηρεύει* 22 A.

Inscriptions offer us but doubtful evidence: —

Ἐαλκίδης, Styra, 19₁₈₃, may be due to pure carelessness, as Blass suggests; at least we have *Εὔαλκείδης*, Thasos, 77 B 10, and *Εὔαλκίδεω*, Th. (L.) 3 A 10.

πρυτανέ(ο)ντος, Priene, 144₁₀, Ross' conjecture for *-εωντος* of the transcribers. Johansson, *D. V. C.*, p. 61, retains *-εωντος*, which he explains as = *-ηοντος*, comparing Lesbian *ἀδικήω*. This is, however, entirely unwarranted and has in fact been partially withdrawn by the same scholar, B. B., XV, 171.

βασιλέοντος, C. I. G. 2107 C, Pantikapaion, is not free from suspicion, since Ionic verbs in *-εω* retain the *v*¹; e.g. *βασιλείοντος*, Pant. 118, Mylasa, 248 ABC; *ἐξαιθραπιέοντος* and *παρεπρέσβειεν* 248 A 6; *θεραπιέσθαι*, Oropos, 18₂₁; [*ιέρα*] *τευσεν*, Ephesos, 150; [*κιξα*] *λλεῖοι*, Teos, 156 B 19; *μνημονέοντος*, Halik. 238₁₂. There is no confusion here between *-εω* and *-εω* verbs such as is discussed by Bredow, p. 81.

117. EY for AY.

πέτευρον, Oropos, 18₄₂, deserves notice as the Ionic form, found also Theokr. XIII, 13.

OY.

118. I. Genuine OY.

The diphthongal *ου* is generally represented upon inscriptions by OY or in a few cases by ΩY (ΩY = οὐ, and ΩYΔE = οὐδέ, Thasos, 68). OY in ΤΟΥΤΟ, Halik. 238_{21, 23, 32, 35}, ΤΟΥΤΟΣ, Amphipolis, 10₂₀. ΤΟΤΟ = τούτο 175 = Roberts, 150 (Chios), as occasionally in pre-Eukleidean Attic documents. ΑΡΟΔΗΙ, Teos, 156 B 17 = ἀρούρηι (?) is a vexatious spelling, though it is certain from Kyprian *a·ro·u·ra* that the diphthong is genuine.

¹ *κατεσκέασε*, Magnesia (Μουσ. καὶ βιβλ. τῆς εὐαγγ. σχολ. Σμυρν. 1878, p. 46), is late. Cf. similar examples from Kyme (C. D. I. 311₄₂), Korkyra (C. I. G. 1838 B 6), Tenos (C. I. G. 2344₃); *κατασκεώσεται*, Delphi (WF), 263₈.

Genuine *ou* (*i.e.* *o + u*) is retained in Ionic as in other dialects. It occurs in ablaut forms, such as *σπουδή* and where *υ* has been joined to *ο* as in *το-υ-το* (particle *υ*).

119. II. Spurious OY.

The monophthongal *ou* is generally written O; *e.g.* :—

ὄρκον, Halik. 238₂₆, = ὄρκουν.

τορμοκράτεος, Prokon. 103₂.

βολέουι, Teos, 156 B 24.

τιμοχέοντες, Teos, 156 B 29.

τειχοσης, Miletos, 98.

Sporadically OY appears :—

TOY, Amphipolis, 10₁₃, only case of this writing of τοῦ.

βαρβαροΥΣ, Teos, 156 B 26; in every other case of the accus. pl. ΟΣ.

120. Spurious *ou* before nasals.

μοῦνος < *μονφο-*s*, in Hdt. Archil. ep. 89₄₃, Sim. Amorg. 7₂₄, 14₃, Kall. 1₂₁, Solon, tetr. 33₆; μουνόκερα, Archil. 182; μούναρχος, Theog. 52. Attic forms in Solon, 24₃, 9₃. μοῦνος survives in late inscriptional poetry; *e.g.* Arch. Instit. of America, III, 341₆ (Pisidia). Lukian, Abydenos, Aretaios, and other later Ionic writers have *ou*. Arrian varies between μοῦνος and μόνος, but the prevalence of the former in Aretaios and Hippokrates is so striking that there can be no question but that μοῦνος was accepted by all the pseudo-Ionists, except the author of the *Vita Homeri*.

γούνατα < γονφ-, Hdt., Theog. 978, Tyr. 10₁₉; Archil. tetr. 75, γουνυμένω; Lukian, *d. d. S.* 22, γούνων; Arrian 36, γόνατα. Hippokr. and Aretaios have the *ou* form.

NOTE 1.—The etymology of *οἶν* is uncertain. It is found Hipponax, 61, though there probably an Atticism. Sim. Amorg. 7₄₅ has the genuine Ionic form. Wackernagel (*K. Z.*, XXIX, 127) suggests that *οἶν* is extracted from *μῶν*. But *μῶν* is not Ionic. See § 75.

NOTE 2.—The principle that the exigencies of the Homeric verse cannot force any Greek form upon the ordinary dialect life of the people is fatal to a genuine Ionic *οἶνομα*, despite the fact that Lukian, etc., read it in their copies of Hdt. Stein writes *οἶνομα*, although the Mss. are in a constant flux, and *οἶνομαῖνω*, *οἶνομάζω*. *οἶνομα* is the genuine Ionic prose form, found Oropos, 18₃₉, and so also in *Ὀνομάστου*, Kyme (Roberts, 174). *οἶνομα* is found in poetry, Theog. 246, Tyr. 12₃₁; *οἶνομαστός*, Theog. 23, *Ὀνομάκριτε* 503. *οἶνομα* receives poor support from Sim. Amorg. 7₈₇, *κοῖνομάκλυτον*, a form alien to the genius

of the folk-dialect (misread from KON?). In Hippokrates, Lukian, *d. d. S., de Astr.*, Arrian, Aretaios, *ὄνομα* prevails over *ὄνομα*, in the *Vita Homeri*, *ὄνομα* over *ὄνομα*; *ὄνομαζω* is the accepted form in later Ionic prose, while *ὄνομαστί* varies with *ὄνομαστί*.

121. Spurious OY before liquids.

1. -ορφ-.

ὄρος, *mountain*, Sim. Amorg. 141, Theogn. 881; *ὄρειος*, etc.; Hekat. 172 *ὄρεα*, 173 *ὄρεσιν*. In Hdt. and Homer we find both *ὄρος* and *ῶρος*. The latter is the sole reading of the Mss. in about nineteen passages in Hdt. In other places where the word occurs, ABR have *ῶρος*, CPd *ὄρος*; whence Stein concludes, in opposition to Dindorf and Bredow,¹ that *ῶρος* is the genuine reading in Herodotos. Of the pseudo-Ionists, Lukian has *ὄρος*, *d. d. S.* 8, 28; Arrian has *ὄρος* but once (§ 11), *ῶρος* fourteen times. Hippokr., Aretaios have the *ο* form, as the *Vita Homeri*; *ῶρος*, Hekat. 44, 227, 344, Tyrt. 57, Archil. tetr. 749, ep. 115, Theog. 1292; Hipponax, 35, *ῶρέας* is attacked by Renner (p. 179), whose *πέτρας γέραιος* has not met with favor. The form *ῶρειοι* is certain, Arrian *Ἰνδ.* 17. *Ὀροβιγή[της]* or *Ὀροβιέ[ύς]*, Chalkis, Roberts, 172, an inscription not adopted by Bechtel. *Ὀράλιος* is an uncertain conjecture of Roehl, No. 394 = Bechtel, No. 42.

ὄρος ὄ, *boundary*, Chios, 174 A 6, 8, 10; *ὄροφύλακες* 174 A 15, 19; *ῶμουρος*, Halik. 240₆₁; *ὄρος*, not *ῶρος*, Samos, 216; and if Roehl 406 is Ionic, then HOPOΣ must be read Hoῦρος. In Herodotos, *ὄρος*, *ὄμουρέειν*, *ὄριζειν*, etc., Demokr. *Μορ.* *ὄρος*. In Arrian, 2, *ῶρος*, *ὄρος* 40, Euseb. Mynd. 13, *ὄρον*. Solon, trim. 364, has the Attic form.

δορφ- is not found in Mss. of Hdt. in the oblique case forms, though Tyrt. 11_{20, 37}, Archil. eleg. 35 have the *ου* form, which alone is genuine Ionic. Cf. *Δουρίης*, Adesp. 21 (Western Ionic) of the sixth century. The epic *δορ-*, Archil: eleg. 31, 2.

κοῦρος, amply attested on Ionic inscriptions and by Greg. Corinth. *d. d. Ion.*, p. 387; cf. p. 489.

Ἐπίκουρο[ς] Styra, 19₃₅, Samos, 221₂.

Φούρη, Naxos, 23; but *Κόρηι*, Paros, 65 (late); *Κόρης*, Eryth. 206 B 22 (almost an Attic inscription).

Δισκουρίδης, Halik. 240₃₂.

¹ *Ὀρειος, ὄρεσιβώτης* in the tragedians make for an Ionic *ὄρ-*. Solmsen, K. Z., XXIX, 358, goes so far as to hold that in *ῶρος* (Dor.) and *ῶρος*, *ω* and *ο* are ablaut vowels.

Δ]ιοσκούρο[ι]σι 257 (unc. loc.); but Διοσκόρων, Eryth. 206 A 7 (Attic).

Διοσκουρίδεις, Thasos (L.), 11 C 11.

Διοσκουρίδου, Thasos (L.) 20 B 3.

In the poets we find *κουρ-*, Tyrnt. 10₆; 15₂, 16 (Doric!).

Δίοςκουρος, Hipponax, 120, and so in Hdt., who has also *κου-ρίδιος*.

κόρος, Attic, Hdt. only IV, 33, 34. Aret. 18 has *κούρησι*; Archil. 120, in the iobacchics, uses *κόρης*. On *κουρεύς*, cf. K. Z., XXIX, 128.

122. Other Ionic forms with *ou*.

Ούρανίη, Phanag. 164, 168; Ούρανίη, on an old amphora, C. I. G. 8412. Wackernagel derives from *φορ-*, *rain*, with accent on the syllable after the radical syllable (K. Z., XXIX. 129). In that case we may connect *φέρση* and *φουρέω*. The older attempts at derivation assume *ρφ* (*ρῶση-*).

οὔρη, *tail*, illustrates Wackernagel's accent theory, K. Z., XXIX, 127.

2. ουλ.

(a) ολφ.

οὔλαι, Hdt. < *φολφο-*?

Hom. οὔλος, *entire*, < *ὄλφο-* is not represented by the same form in later Ionic. The absence of any form except *ὄλος* shows that the parallelism between Hom. Ionic *ou* by compensatory lengthening = Doric *ω* = Attic *ο* is not complete. Attic, Doric, and Ionic here agree in having *ὄλος*.

Proper names in Πουλυ- have come to light in Megarian and Thesalian as well as Ionic. Hdt. has *πολλός* (cf. *πολλάς*, Abdera, 162, metrical); but that *πουλύς* may have been Ionic is probable from *πουλύπους* in Attic (Athenaios, VII, 316), which looks like a loan from *πουλύς*. Theog. 509 need not be Megarian, but is to be classed with such Ionisms as *πουλύποδος*, ε 432, Hym. Apoll. 77.

Πουλυδάμας, Samos, 1537, Eretria, 16 B 5.

-χάρου, Eretria, B. C. H. II, 277.

Πουλύωνο[ς], Chios, 187.

Πουλυάναξ, Thasos (L.), 8 B 1.

Πούλυος, Thasos, 78 B 11.

Πολλυρ'δης, Styra, 19₂₈₆.

There are no names in Πουλυ- in Hdt.

Cf. also in other dialects:—

Πουλυτίων in the Hermokopidai process (Thuk.).

Megara, Πουλίας, Πουλυχάρους, *Revue Arch.* XXX₁₉; Πουλυδάμας, Le Bas, *Explications*, No. 346.

Πουλυδάμας, Thessal. 345⁷⁹⁻⁸⁰.

There are no names in Πολλο-, but those in Πολυ- are abundant.

Πολυάρκης 19²⁸⁷, and perhaps 19⁴⁰⁶.

Πολύδωρος 19²⁸⁸.

Π[ο]λυξείν[ι]δης 19⁴⁰⁷.

Πολυξίδης 19²⁸⁶, framed from Πολύξενος.

Πολύθρους, Thasos, 75 B 11, Teos, 158²⁷.

Πολυάρητος, Abdera, 163₁₂, Maroneia, 196₁₅, Thasos, 72₃.

Πουλυδάμας, Thasos, 76₈.

Πουλαίνετος, Thasos, 81 B 11, Thas. (L.) 3₇, 6 A 9, 15 C 10.

Πολύοκτος, Eretria, 16 B 37, 49; also Thessal. 345⁷⁵.

Πολύχαρμος, Smyrna, 153₁₁.

Πόλυος, Smyrna, 153²².

Πουλυπείθης, Erythrai, 206 A 28.

Πολύιδος, Halik. 240⁴⁶.

Πολύφαντος, Thasos (L.), 6 C 9.

Πουλυαθέος, Thasos (L.), 10₁₁.

Πολύτιμος, Thasos (L.), 21₅.

Πολυ-, Thasos (L.), 16 A 17, B 3.

Πόλυ[β]ος, Volci, Roberts, 188 H.

Bechtel holds that the names in Πολυ-, in whatever dialect found, are due to the influence of the epos. This, if true, does not render nugatory our contention that the Homeric verse does not create genuine forms in the dialects, since proper names have their own history. It is better to regard πολυ- as a genuine prose form, from contamination of πολυ- and πολυ-, πολυ- originating in the oblique cases (πολυ-ός).

πολυός is but sparingly attested in the late Ionists. Lukian and Arrian follow Hdt., while the medical writers use now πολυ-, now πολυ-. πολυό occurs in the letters of Hippokrates (XVII, 16 in *c*); elsewhere πολυός and πολυό should probably be read (Lindemann, p. 12 ff.).

It is no contradiction of the laws of phonetic development that πολυ- and πολ- should be coexistent at one and the same time in a single dialect. As in Ionic, so too in Megarian (Baunack, *Stud.* I, 229) are both forms permissible. A πολ- is, however, foreign to Ionic, despite πόλυπον, Sim. Amorg. 29. Perhaps Sim. of Keos is the Simonides referred to by Athenaios, VII, 318 F.

(β) ουλ from ολν.

οὔλος, *crisp*, < φολνο-?

οὔλόμενος, Tyrnt. 7₂, Theog. 156, 1062.

βούλομαι, probably from βολνο-, from βωλν-? Forms with O:—

βΟληται, Oropos, 18₃₁; ΚριτοβΟλης, Kyme, 2.

Θεοβούλου, Naxos, 28 and Βουλοθέμιος, Naxos, 28 with OY (late)

NOTE.—The ου of Οὔλυμπος appears to be due to the metre alone in Homer and Theog. 1136. In Herodotos 'Ολ- is to be written, a form attested by Xenoph. 2₃, Theog. 1347, Solon, tr. 36₂, Sim. Amorg. 7₂₁, Arch. tetr. 74₂₃, Hipponax, tr. 30 A; 'Ολυμπίω (dat.), Miletos, 101 (late), and 'Ολυμπιόδωρος, Smyrna, 153₂₇ (before 350 B.C.).

123. Other cases of ου.

Editors of Hdt. reject οὔδων, *ways*, I, 123 (cf. *Od.* 17, 196), but accept οὔδόν, *threshold*, I, 90. So long as this ου is to be regarded as metrical merely, it cannot belong to common Ionic speech. Samos, 220_{30, 36}, has ὄδοῦ (346/5 B.C.).

νοῦσος, Hdt. Mimn. 6, Solon, 24₁₀, Theog. 274, etc., is not from *νογκίος = *νονσος, as Curtius held in his *Studien*, X, 328, but from σνοφτιος, = Old Norse snauðr, *stripped, poor, bereft*, sneyðiligr, *destitute* (Germ. *schnöde*). νοῦσος occurs in late poetry, B. C. H., VIII, 502, No. XI, from Phrygia; *Am. Arch. Instit.* III, 341₃. Lukian adopts the form seven times in the *Syria dea*, Arrian has it chap. 15; Herakleitos, epist. V, VI; Pherekyd. and Hippokr. epist.; and so too in Aretaios. Hdt. always uses νοσέω, if Mss. authority means anything, and Hippokrates, Lukian, and Aretaios agree in adopting this form. The Mss. of these authors fluctuate constantly between νόσημα and νούσημα, to the former of which preference must be given. Sim. Amorg. iamb. 1₁₂ has νόσοι, corrected by Ahrens and Renner (see especially the latter in Curtius' *Stud.* I, 178). The author of the *Vita Homeri* used the ο form alone.

Συρακούσιος appears to exist in Ionic side by side with Συρακόσιος. That the latter is not a fictitious form is evident from its occurrence in C. D. I. 1200, incorrectly supposed to be Arkadian, and in inscriptions from Agrigentum, Cauer,² 199_{9, 13}, etc. -κουσα is from -κοντια, -κοσα from -κοστια, instead of -κατια, by influence of the former termination.

124. Ionic OY = AY of other dialects.

This is found in ἐντοῦθα, Oropos, 18₁₇ (Hdt. ἐνθαῦτα, Sim. Amorg. 23, ἐνταῦθα). Cf. ἐουτῶν, Panionion, 144₄ (an inscription indifferently

copied). Cf. Attic Οἰλιᾶται, C. I. A., I, 2317 = Αἰλιᾶται, C. I. A., I, 226₁₃. *a* seems to have become *o* through influence of the following *v*. This change is unique, recalling only indirectly $\bar{\omega}$ for *av*. See § 19, 111.

125. ΗΥ.

In the dialect life of Greece wherever *ηυ* appears before a consonant it is not an original diphthong.¹ So Ionic γρηῦς, νηῦς with *η* from the oblique cases (νηφ-ός γρηφ-ός); so too in πρηῦς, whence Πρηῦλος, a Thasian name (and Πρεάνθης, Keos, 50, IV, 65), from root *prūi*. *ηυ* in the augment (e.g. ηὔξισατε, Solon, 113) is not proethnic $\bar{e}u$ or $\bar{a}u$. In Attica *ηυ* as augment of *ευ*-verbs held its ground until the second half of the fourth century. Hipponax, 63₂, has κατηυλίσθην, but Hdt. often avoids *ηῦ*-.

126. ΩΥ.

Like *ηυ*, *ΩΥ* is not an original diphthong in the dialects. *ωυ* originates in Ionic chiefly by crasis, as in τωῦτό, ἐμεινωτοῦ, σεωντοῦ, ἔωντοῦ < $\bar{e}o + \bar{a}u\tau\bar{o}u$. All these forms are based on the genitive. ἐμαντοῦ, σαντοῦ, are from analogy to ἐμ(ε)αῦτόν, σ(ε)αῦτόν. Whether κοῦ (e.g. κΟΥκ, on a papyrus, cited Blass, *Aussprache*,³ 43) is for κοῦ, as in Sappho's κωῦκ 124, κωῦδέν, Epicharmos, 19, may well be doubted. The same Ionic papyrus has KEN, i.e. κ' + ἐν, and Sappho's δαῦτε by the side of δηῦτε shows the possibility of elision, κ'(αι) + οῦ. Nor would I agree to Blass' explanation of ἐουτῶν, Priene, 144 = C. I. G. 2908 (Mykale), from ἔωντῶν. A form ἐωντῶν is utterly unknown on Ionic inscriptions. Its *a* of ἐουτῶν became *o* either through assimilation to *v* as ϵ became *o* in Kretan ψονδιά, or it is due to the influence of οὔτος, etc.

To a limited extent outside of crasis, *ωυ* appears in Ionic. Hdt. θωῦμα, θωνμάζω, τρωῦμα, IV, 180, in one Ms.; Luk. *Astr.* 3, *Syr.* 7, 8, 10, 30, has θωῦμα, θωνμάζω 13, 32, 36, and the *Vita Homeri*, θων-. Arrian, *Ind.* θαῦμα 15, but θῶμα 40, as Euseb. § 3. The epistles of Hippokr. have generally the Attic form; τρωῦμα is found in the majority of the Mss. *Syr.* 20, while Arrian, *Ind.* 19 has τρῶμα. Lindemann (*de dialecto Ionica recentiore*, p. 30) holds that the *ωυ* of θωῦμα is due to the influence of ἔωντοῦ, etc. A partial support for this suggestion is to be sought in the fact that Greg. Corinth. p. 419, by

¹ In a pre-dialectal period $\bar{e}u$, $\bar{o}u$, $\bar{a}u$, having become $\bar{e}u$, etc., before consonants, their history is the same as that of I.E., $\bar{e}u$, etc.

quoting $\omega\upsilon\acute{\tau}\acute{o}\varsigma$, seems to regard $\omega\nu$ and $\alpha\nu$ as interchangeable. Aretaios, in fact, abounds in forms which indicate that the grammarians were ignorant of the true interrelation of $\omega\nu$ and $\alpha\nu$. See § 74, III.

NOTE. — Perhaps $\theta\omega\upsilon\mu\alpha$ may be explained from $\theta\acute{\alpha}\phi\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$; and was thus the incentive to the formation of a $\tau\rho\omega\upsilon\mu\alpha$.

127. VOWEL CONTACT.

I. Contact of like vowels.

II. Contact of unlike vowels.

III. Contact of vowels and diphthongs, diphthongs and diphthongs.

Under these heads will be treated actual contraction, poetical synesis, diaeresis, and crasis.

Both medial combination of vowels and diphthongs and sentence *Sandhi* are thus included.

Under the head of a short or long vowel + η , ω , are included $\eta\iota$, $\omega\iota$. Examples of the crasis of ι and υ diphthongs are placed under the head of α , ϵ , \omicron + the vowel in question (e.g. $\omicron\iota$ + ϵ under \omicron + ϵ). In citing inscriptions I have generally selected only those of considerable antiquity.

I. CONTACT OF LIKE VOWELS.

128. A + A.

1. $\acute{\alpha}\phi\acute{\alpha} = \bar{a}$ in $\acute{\alpha}\tau\eta$ (except Archil. 73), $\acute{\alpha}\tau\eta\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$, Theog. 433, 634, Solon, 4⁹⁶, 13^{13, 68, 75}.

2. $\acute{\alpha}\sigma\acute{\alpha} = \bar{a}$: $\kappa\rho\acute{\epsilon}\bar{\alpha}$, Sim. Amorg. 24, and Hdt.; otherwise $-\alpha\varsigma$ stems have $-\epsilon\alpha$ in Hdt.

3. Hdt. $\tau\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\alpha$, $\tau\acute{\alpha}\gamma\acute{\alpha}\lambda\mu\alpha\tau\alpha$, etc. (Bredow, 201). $\tau\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\alpha$ we find in an almost Attic inscription, Teos, 158¹³; $\tau\acute{\alpha}$ $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\alpha$, Eryth. 204¹⁸; and $\tau\acute{\alpha}$ $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\acute{\alpha}\lambda\mu\alpha\tau\alpha$, Miletos, 93.

Crasis of $\text{AI} + \alpha =$ Ionic \bar{a} : $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\rho\theta\upsilon\mu\acute{\iota}\eta$, Sim. Amorg. 7³⁵; $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\rho\acute{\iota}\theta\mu\omicron\varsigma$, Arch. tetr. 63; $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\theta\acute{o}\varsigma$, Sol. tr. 36¹⁶, Iasos, 105²; $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\tau\mu\omicron\varsigma$, Chios, 174 A 15; $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\rho\acute{\omicron}\lambda\lambda\omega\upsilon\upsilon$, Thas. 68 ($\kappa\acute{\omega}\rho\acute{\omicron}\lambda\lambda\acute{\omega}\nu\iota$, Hipp. tr. 31 = $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\iota$ δ $\acute{\Lambda}\pi$ -). Crasis with $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\iota$ is almost always omitted in inscriptions: $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\iota$ $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\theta\acute{o}\iota$, Samos, 221⁵; $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\iota$ $\acute{\alpha}\rho\sigma\epsilon\nu$, Thasos, 68; $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\iota$ $\acute{\Lambda}\nu\alpha\acute{\xi}\acute{\iota}\lambda\epsilon\omega\varsigma$, Miletos, 93.

129. E + E.

1. $\epsilon\phi\epsilon$.

(a) uncontracted; in Hdt. $\acute{\rho}\acute{\epsilon}\epsilon\theta\rho\omicron\nu$, as in Homer ($\epsilon\upsilon\rho\rho\acute{\epsilon}\tau\eta\varsigma$, $\epsilon\upsilon\rho\rho\acute{\epsilon}\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$ *sic*).

εε < ηφε < ēve open in Hdt. (βασιλέες νέες),¹ closed in the inscriptions in the forms of the -ην- declension. See under H + E. ἡχέεντα, Archil. 74₈; τελέεντ', Tyrtn. 4₂; χαιτέεσσ', Sim. Amorg. 7₅₇;² Περικλέες, Arch. 9₁, 16; Ἡράκλεες 119₂.

(β) contracted in Κλειτός, Th. (L.), 20 C 9, etc., in later inscriptions. κλειτός, in Theog. 777, Mimn. 17; Κλειτώννυμος, Thas. (L.), 8₉.

2. εσε was contracted to ει, e.g. in εἶχεν. In the ες declension the inscriptions have -εις, the prosaists -εες; in the future of verbs, Hdt. δλέεται. In Ionic on the expulsion of intervocalic *sigma* (and *yod*) no *metathesis quantitatis* took place.

3. εἰε becomes ει in Ionic generally. Examples of -εε- in the imperative and imperfect act., present, imperf. mid. and inf. from prosaists alone are to be found under the section on the verb.³ All these forms are probably figments of grammatical doctrine. In nouns, pronouns, and adj. εἰε yields ει invariably: πόλεις, ἡμίεις.

NOTE.—Whether the infinitive ending is φεν, σεν, or ιεν, the result of the combination of this ending with the final ε of the stem is always -ειν (e.g. ἐκχεῖν, Keos, 43₂₂, ἐπιτιθεῖν, etc.); also in θεῖναι, etc.

130. E + H (see Fritsch V. H. D. p. 31 ff.).

1. εφη.

(a) contracted in νήνι < νήνι, Anakr. 14. Hippon. tr. 49 B 4, has κληδών, a form found also in Hdt. IX, 91, 101, without the *iota*.

On -κλήης and -κλήης, see under *Declension*. Western Ionic has the open, Island, and Asiatic Ionic, the closed forms.

(b) uncontracted in δήτηται, Olynth. 8₄, Νεήπολις, Neapolis, 4₁, parallel form to Νεο-.

εη < ηφ(ι)η < ēvīā in πλέη, Hdt. I, 178 (πληῖ, Diogenes of Apollonia, Hdn. π. μ. λ. 7, 8).

εη < ηφη < āvā remains open in θέη, θέημα, Sim. Amorg. 7₅₇, θεήσασθαι (but θησάμενος, Abdera, 162).

εη < ηφε in λεηλατέω < ληφ(ο) + ελατέω, K. Z. XXVII, 269.

2. εση.

On ἔση, ἦ in παρεῖ, Oropos, 18₂₈ and on ἔην, ἦν, see *sub MI Conjugation*.

¹ Cf. -είες for ἦς in Attic Ἀλαιές, etc.

² Fick, B. B. XI, 266, 271, writes εη < ηε in all these cases. This metathesis quantitatis is, however, not a necessary, only a possible, change in Ionic. Forms in ηε are usual, see § 131. Ἀλέεντος, Mimn. 9₅ may be correct.

³ ἐκτέετο, ἐχρέετο, οἰκέεται, Πυθέω, in Hdt. are forms due to grammatical theories, and do not represent any actual dialect.

3. εκη.

(a) In substantives.

In the nouns in -έης, -ῆς, we find that the poets use the contracted forms: Ἐρμῆς, Hipponax, 32, 55 B, Anakr. 111₃ (voc. Ἐρμῆ, Hipp. 1, 16, 21, 89). Ἐρμῆ Abdera, 162 (metr.), Lampsakos, 171; Ἄπελλῆς, Iasos, 104^{15, 42} (and so probably Anakr. 72 B, where Bergk writes -έης; cf. Μεγιστῆς 41); Λεωνῆς, Keos, 44 A 5; Δημῆς, Thasos, 78 C 14, Thas. (L.) 13 A 10; Θαλῆς, Miletos, 93 (sixth century). Hdt. has also Θαλῆς, I, 74. With such authoritative testimony in favor of the contracted form, we cannot but conclude that Βορῆς is the genuine Ionic form, despite the fact that the Mss. of Herodotus prefer -έης, though in VII, 189 there are two occurrences where the Mss. with but one dissenting voice speak in favor of -ῆς. The same conclusion will hold good in the case of βορῆς, Ἄριστῆς, Πυθῆς.

γη is from γᾶ < *γᾶα from γᾶα (but see Merzdorf, *Stud.* IX, 225, Wackernagel, *K. Z.* XXVII, 269). ἀδελφῆι, Roberts, 158 B (Amorgos-Arkesine), is not in itself an obstacle to the validity of the Herodotean ἀδελφεή, though we have ἀδελφή (*sic*), Mykonos, 92₂₂ (Attic?), and Halik. 240 D 34, parallel to the masc. ἀδελφός. If we admit a by-form in -εη as Ionic, the open -εη cannot be said to be in harmony with the usual treatment of ε + η. When ι was retained in Hdt. (ἰρέη) but disappeared in a later period, contraction ensued (ἰερῆ, Pantikap. 123, Ephesos, 150).

γενή is open in Solon, 27₁₀; ε + η = η in ῥοδῆς, Arch. 29₂; γαλῆς, Sim. Amorg. 7₅₀; Ἐρμῆ, Hipp. 1₂, 16, 21, 89, Ἐρμῆν 32, Ἐρμῆς 55 B, συκῆν 34, Μιμνῆ 49; Anakr. Μεγιστῆ 16₂, 74₃; κωλῆν, Miletos, 100₃, Xenoph. 5; συκῆς, Anan. 5₂.

Avoidance of contraction will have to be accepted in a few proper names: Αἰνετῶν, Ainea, 12 (550 B.C.), later, Αἰνητῶν (end of fourth century); Νεμέηι, Thasos, 69 (fifth century); Κρηήτη, Archil. 175 = Κρήτη (a *rhun* on κρέας?); Hdt. Τεγέη, Θυρέη.

(b) In adjectives (masc. -εος; fem. -εη, -η).

The forms will be quoted under the *A Declension*. The inscriptions prove that when η follows ε, contraction ensues, when ο or α follows ε, the forms are kept open till the latest period of declining Ionism. In the poets -ῆ almost without exception (-αλέη and κυνέην κυνέηι, Tyrt. 11₃₂),¹ χρυσῆς, Mimn. 1, ἀργυρέη, Anakr. 33. πορφυρέη,

¹ Renner, in Curtius' *Studien*, I, 217, claims that the open forms alone are admissible. κερδαλέη occurs Archil. 89₅, ἀργαλέη, Anakr. 43₅, but Ἄρχαλέη, Hippon. 99.

Anakr. 14; πορφυρέη, Anakr. 23; πορφυρήs, Sim. Amorg. 116. Cf. § 155. In Herodotos we find -ῆ generally, but not without exceptions; e.g. διπλέη, III, 42.

As regards the forms of -ΕΩ verbs, Merzdorf's "law" that after consonants εη remains open, but is contracted after vowels, has been accepted in many quarters; but incorrectly, as is clear from the fact that his contention is based upon a mere numerical count of Mss. For the establishing of the dialect of Herodotos, we cannot assume that a given form is genuine Ionic merely because a varying per cent of Hdt.'s Mss. speaks in favor of its adoption. The inscriptions proclaim that the Ionians in their decrees adopted the contraction without exception; and the poets unite with the inscriptions in their opposition to the Merzdorfian law. All the MI verbs too contract εη. On ἐθεῆτο in Hippokr. see under *Conjugation*.

131. H + E.

1. ηε.

From ēve, remains uncontracted in a few forms of the -ηv- declension, as in φονῆς, Archil. 59. See under E + E.

āve in ἠέλιος (σᾶφελίος): the elegiac poets adopt this form alone (Tyrt. 116, Mimn. 18, 28, 121, 1411, Solon, 1323, 14, Theog. 168, 1183, etc.). The iambographers contract: ἦλιος, Archil. tetr. 744, Hipp. tr. 155, Sim. Amorg. 119, and in Anak. 27; and upon an inscription Arkesine, 33, Ζεὺς Ἡγλ[ι]ος (fifth century), Herodotos, II, 92, ἦλιος (Bredow, 45), as Arrian, 11; Lukian using ἠέλιος, *Astr.* 3, 5, etc., *d. S.* 29, 34. Both forms form a part of the poet's material in Aiolic (Sappho, 69, 79).

ηε also in adjectival forms (nom. -ῆεις), Kall. 16, τιμῆεν; Mimn. 53, τιμῆεσσα; 127, τιμῆεντος; Phok. 33, χαιτηέσσης. On Fick's εη, Archil. 748, Sim. Amorg. 757, Mimn. 95 see § 129. ηε in these forms often in Hdt., ηε in the poets and in prose writers is found only when ρ followed η. Forms with ηε seem to be obsolescent in the seventh century.

ῆρι < āuser-, in ἠριγένεια, Mimn. 1210, as in Homer. ἠέριος, etc., must be kept distinct from ἠῆρ, Hdt. ἠέρα. Notice also ἔαρι = ῆρι, Ananios, 51.

NOTE. — On Fick's *Χαραλλε*, Archil. 79, see § 30.

2. ηε.

[χ]ρησθ[αι], Keos, 4312, is not necessarily for *χρηεσθαι*, since it may be formed directly from *χρη + σθαι* (Johansson, *D. V. C.* p. 155).

Cf. § 36, 139, 155. $\xi\chi\rho\eta$ in Tyrt. stands for $\xi\chi\rho\eta\epsilon$ or for $*\acute{\epsilon}\chi\rho\acute{\epsilon}\eta$, if we assume that $\eta\epsilon$ in Ionic becomes $\epsilon\eta$. $\acute{\epsilon}\delta\acute{\iota}\psi\eta$, Hippokr. III, 36, 42, $\delta\iota\psi\acute{\eta}\nu$, Hdt. II, 24, *i.e.* $-\eta + -\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ OR $-\sigma\acute{\epsilon}\nu$.

4. *Crasis and aphaeresis:*

With $\acute{\eta}$ $\acute{\rho}\alpha\rho\acute{\eta}$, Teos, 156 B 36 ($\tau\acute{\eta}\rho\alpha\rho\acute{\eta}\nu$, B 34, Chios *B. P. W.* 1889, p. 1195, as $\tau\acute{\eta}\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\eta\iota$, Arch. 93²,¹) $\mu\acute{\eta}$ $\lambda\acute{\alpha}\sigma\sigma\omicron\nu\epsilon\varsigma$, Chios, 174 B 24, $\acute{\eta}$ $\acute{\varsigma}$, Chios, 174 A 2, compare $\acute{\alpha}\rho\epsilon\tau\acute{\eta}$ $\acute{\sigma}\tau\iota\nu$, Theog. 147 and Phokyl. 17, oldest example of aphaeresis in the case of $\acute{\epsilon}\iota\mu\acute{\iota}$, $\acute{\eta}$ $\acute{\kappa}$, Theog. 577 (in *A*), $\delta\acute{\eta}$ $\acute{\rho}\acute{\iota}\kappa\omicron\nu\rho\omicron\varsigma$, Arch. tetr. 24, and perhaps $\text{Μιμν}\acute{\eta}$ $\acute{\kappa}\alpha\tau\omicron\mu\acute{\eta}\chi\alpha\upsilon\epsilon$, Hippon. 49, $\acute{\omicron}\delta\acute{\nu}\eta\eta$ $\acute{\rho}\iota\alpha\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}$ 21 B.

132. H + H.

Is contracted almost universally. On $\acute{\eta}\acute{\eta}\rho$ in Hippokrates ($\acute{\alpha}\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\eta}\rho$), see § 38. Ionic of the post-Homeric period does not possess such subjunctives as $\sigma\acute{\tau}\acute{\eta}\eta$, $\phi\alpha\acute{\nu}\acute{\eta}\eta$, $\sigma\alpha\pi\acute{\eta}\eta$. On $\acute{\epsilon}\theta\eta\acute{\eta}\tau\omicron$, v. l. Hdt. I, 10, etc., see under *Conjugation*. $\eta\epsilon$ held ground longer than $\eta\eta$.

133. O + O.

So far back as we can follow the history of Ionic, $o + o$ became ou . In view of this fact the position assumed by many scholars that in Ionic $o + o$ became ω , which afterwards became ou , is without foundation. The Doric dialects, which at different stages of their existence had ω and ou , offer but a specious parallel to an Ionic $ou < \omega$. oso in Homer never becomes ω as $\epsilon\sigma\epsilon$ never = η .

1. ofo .

In a few nouns and adjectives of the O declension oo is apparently kept open to a limited extent: Hdt. $\nu\acute{o}\omicron\varsigma$, $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\omicron\varsigma$, $\pi\lambda\acute{o}\omicron\varsigma$, $\delta\iota\pi\lambda\acute{o}\omicron\varsigma$ (but $\delta\iota\pi\lambda\acute{\eta}$, Stein, *Praef.* LIII), $\sigma\acute{o}\omicron\nu$, $\beta\acute{o}\omicron\varsigma$ but $\chi\omicron\upsilon\acute{\varsigma}$, etc. Love of the old-fashioned orthography dictated $\nu\acute{o}\omicron\varsigma$ in the Mss. Sim. Amorg. I, 3, where $\nu\omicron\upsilon\acute{\varsigma}$, or $\nu\acute{o}\omicron\varsigma$, must be read.² $\nu\acute{o}\omicron\nu$ in the same poet (71) must be an archaism, if the authority of the inscriptions is invoked. $\pi[\rho]o\chi\omicron\nu\nu$ occurs upon a vase from Naukratis, Roberts, 132 *bis*. Perhaps contraction resulted during the seventh century, since Archil. 89 epod. and Mimn. 5₈ have $\nu\acute{o}\omicron\nu$. Homer preserves $\nu\acute{o}\omicron\varsigma$, but the beginnings of the later forms appear Ω 354, κ 240 (Menrad, p. 46). Later inscriptions have $\acute{\Lambda}\sigma\tau\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$, Eryth. 206 C 9; $\text{Καλλ}\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$,

¹ TETEPEI = $\tau\acute{\eta}\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\eta\iota$, Rob. 167, of uncertain dialect. Bechtel suggests Asiatic-Ionic. See Roberts, I, p. 374, Cauer,² 557, and § 6, note.

² $\nu\omicron\upsilon\acute{\varsigma}$, Theog. 1185; $\nu\omicron\upsilon\nu$, Theog. 350, 898, Sol. 27₁₃, $\rho\acute{o}\upsilon\nu$ 41.

Thas. (L.) 77; ἔκπλον, ἔσπλον, Eryth. 2027; Πολύθρου, Thasos, 75 B 11 (Πολύθρου, Teos, 158₂₇).

The pseudo-Ionists have πλόος generally in the uncontracted form, though the compounds more frequently avoid the open forms. νόος, ῥόος, πνόος, -χροος, ἀθρόος, generally are found in the resolved forms. διπλόος prefers the closed forms.

In composition: Ἀθηναίη Πολιούχ[ωι, Eryth. 200 (epigr.), and so Roberts, p. 64, and Hdt. I, 160; Πολιούχου, Paros, 64₁₆; Τιμούχοι, Teos, 158₂₆ (τῆμος in Aischylos); Ἀριστοῦχον, Ross, 148.

2. οἶο.

Σαπφύος, Λητούος, called Ionic by Herodian II, 238₁₅, 755₂₁, are supported by no such formation in the existing monuments of the dialect. Hdt. has Λητούς, Λητούν, etc., and φλοῦν. On the retention of -οιο < ο(σ)ῖο, see under O declension.

In verbs in -οω, ου, and never ευ, arises from ο + ο. The examples of ευ collected by Merzdorf, Curtius' *Studien*, VIII, 215, show the confusion as to the character of the Herodotean dialect in the minds of the diasceusts.

134. O + Ω.

1. ορω.

χῶν, Keos, 43₉, fifth century; cf. π[ρ]όχων, Naukratis, 139 A. Hdt. keeps σῶν open, so νόω, συμπλόων.

2. οσω.

Always contracted, e.g. in gen. plural, O declension.

3. οῶω.

Contracts in verbal forms (δικαιῶ). ζῶμεν, Sim. Amorg. 3₂, from ζόμεν < ζώομεν (so the Mss. 1₄), and ῥιγῶ, Hipponax, 16₂, 17, from ῥιγῶω < ῥιγῶω; λαγῶς, Hipponax, 36 < -οως, from -οους (Hdt. uses λαγῶς), if we extend the limits of *metathesis quantitatis* beyond those ordinarily set up for Ionic.

135. Ω + O.

1. ωφο.

ἤρωος, Hdt.; ζωός, Tyrnt. 10₃₀, with ω preserved before a short vowel by the interposition of ρ. ζωοῦ is the correction of Porson for the traditional reading ζωοῦ, Archil. 63. Σῶος, Styra, 19_{23, 300}.

2. ωῖο.

ἔζωον, Hdt. IV, 112, ζωόντων, I, 86, but ζῶντα, *ibid.* ζῶσα, IV, 205. The latter appear to be regular, yet the uncontracted participial forms may be defended. See B. B. XV, 170, 175, and M. U. I, 8.

136. Ω + Ω.

ωω.

ωω preserved in ζώω, Hdt. ζώων, Kallinos, 1¹⁹. Anan. 5⁵ λαγῶν is either from Hom. λαγῶς or Hdt. λαγός.

137. I + I.

1. ιφι.

The Ionic dialect permits, but does not require, contraction: Δί, Paros 65, a late inscription, Mylasa 248 C 6 (fourth century), both examples probably Attic; Δί, Eretria 14 (fifth century), Samos (?) in Roberts 157, Asiatic-Ionic, Bechtel No. 260. Hdt. has Δί. I do not find either form in the poets.

2. On *ī* in the dat. sing. of *iota* stems, see under *Declension*. In the optative of roots ending in *iota*, contraction of *ι + ι* is pan-Hellenic.

138. NOTE. — Before passing to the concurrence of unlike vowels, we may here treat of *v + ι*, strictly not a diphthong, but a phonetic combination, the *v* of which was probably *ü*. On the treatment of the *υ* of *υίος*, see § 98. In the forms from which *ι* is absent, Caer held (Curtius' *Studien*, VIII, 275) that *v* and *ι* had been fused as in *δύη*, *v* 286. *ισχύι, νηδύι*, are edited by Herodotean scholars as *-εϊ* in the dat. of *-εσ-* stems.

II. CONTACT OF UNLIKE VOWELS (*horizontal and vertical vowels*).

139. A + E.

1. ἄφε.

(a) Uncontracted in ἀέκων, Theog. 371, 467, 471, 1379, ἀεκούσιος, Theog. 1343, both forms in Hdt. and in Lukian. Hipp. ΠTK 10 has ἀέκων, Aretaios, 58, ἀεκουσίον. ἀέκων may be read in every case in Homer. In Attic the form is open in the law of Drakon (C. I. A. I, 61³⁴), but contracted before the middle of the fifth century in ἀκούσι[α], C. I. A. I, B, 1.

ἄθλον, Archil. ep. 104, Tyrnt. 12¹³, Mimn. 11³; πενταθλεύω, Xenoph. 2₂; Hdt. ἄθλον, ἀεθλοφόροι, πεντάθλον, etc. Contracted ἄθλα, Theog. 971, 994, 1014, Hippokr. ΠA 6; πενταθλεῖν, Xenoph. 2₁₆; ἄθλοισι, Roberts 174, Kyme; ἄεπτος, Arch. tetr. 74, Solon tetr. 35; ἀεπτίη, Arch. tetr. 54₃; ἐξηκονταέτης, Mimn. 6₂; ὀγδοκονταέτης, Sol. 20₄; πενταέτης, Hdt. cf. Attic πενταέτης and πεντέτης; ἐκάεργος, Tyrnt. 3₂, Solon 13₅₃; ἀεργός, Theog. 1177, but ἀργός, Theog. 584, Hipp. tr. 28, Hdt. III, 78; ἀξέω, Sim. Amorg. 7₈₃, Sol. 27₅, Theog. 1031, 1276. Hippokr. αὔξω, αὔξάνω, Mimn. 2₂, Theog. 362, αὔξεται, Sol. 11₃, ηὔξατε, are from ἀφ(ε)ξ-.

αἰέλουρος, not αἰελ-, is the Herodotean form.

(β) Contracted ἀρθείς, preferred by Mss. of Hdt. to ἀερθείς (Bredow 193, Merzdorf, Curtius' *Stud.* VIII, 186). Anakreon, 19, ἀρθείς. See on αἰέρω, *sub* A + EI, § 171.

NOTE 1. — Contraction of ἀφε, both in a privative and other forms seems to have been possible at least as early as the sixth century. In the ordinary speech of the people many forms were doubtless contracted which were kept open by the artifices of literary expression.

NOTE 2. — In the inf. active α + φεν (or -σεν), e.g. ἐσορᾶν; see § 171. On τεθνάναι, Amphip. 109, and Mimn. 210, as the Mss. read, or τεθνᾶναι < τεθνα + εναι (cf. γεγον-έναι), see under *Conjugation*.

2. αἰε.

Always contracted in verbal forms: ὄρα, ὄρᾶσθαι, διεπειρᾶτο, ἐφοίτα, Hdt. χρᾶσθαι from χρᾶ + εσθαι, Keos 42¹²; χ]ρῆσθ[αι] from χρη + εσθαι, or from *χρηόμαι (Merzdorf, *l.l.* p. 210, G. Meyer, *Gramm.* § 51, Johansson, *D. V. C.* p. 155). See § 36, 131, 155.

Crisis of α + ε in τάν, Chios 174 C 19 = τᾶγ 174 C 22; τᾶμά, Theog. 346, Archil. tr. 50, but often kept apart: τὰ ἐμά, Hdt. VIII, 101, but θάτερα, IV, 157, despite Bredow's protests (p. 201). αι + ε in κάσθλοῖσιν, Theog. 355; κάκφέρη, Hippon. 29; κάγώ, Amorg. Rob. 160 A; κάμοί, κάκείνον, Hdt.; κάπιτετρῖφθαι, Sol. 337; κάγδικασάντων, Chios 174 B 22; κᾶπίελπτα, Archil. 745.

140. A + H.

αη.

In verbal forms: τιμᾶ, τιμᾶτε (Doric η).

αφη contracts in Δανᾶ, Hekat. 358 M.; on the other hand in Δαναίη, Miletos 99, a glide *iota* has been generated between α and η, as in Παμφαίης from Παμφάης; cf. Δανάη ≡ 319. Νικᾶ, Thasos, 728 < Νικάη; cf. ἱερῆ < ἱερείη. μνᾶς, Hippon. 20 < μνᾶῆς, Attic μνᾶς from μνᾶᾶς. Crasis of καὶ + ἦν = κᾶν, Ephesos 145^{3,4}, Chios 174 C 5 (in both inscriptions ἦν, not ἐάν or ᾶν); Hippokr. κῆν, ΠΚ 111, 283, 491, 599, ΠΑ 15, etc.; κῆλειφόμην, Sim. Amorg. 16; χῆμέρη, Theog. 167, κῆμέρης, Anan. 510. Where crasis might take place in the inscriptions it is omitted: καὶ Ἡγήσανδρος, Miletos 93; καὶ Ἡρακλείοσιν, Teos 156 B 33; καὶ ἦθμόν, Prokon. 1038.

141. A + I.

1. ᾶι

= αῖ and αι. πᾶῖς occurs in but one passage in older Ionic poetry (Archil. tetr. 70, πᾶῖ). Renner (Curtius' *Stud.* I, 189) seeks to find

an excuse for the *se jure* irregularity of the Archilochian $\pi\acute{\alpha}\iota$ by assuming a "poetic diaeresis." No such license can be admitted; and these forms find their explanation, in comparison with Hipponax', $\pi\acute{\alpha}\iota\delta\alpha$ 1, $\pi\acute{\alpha}\iota\delta\alpha\varsigma$ 14, and $\bar{a}\iota$ in Solon, in the fact that the dissyllabic $a\bar{i}$ in nominative and vocative, and the monosyllabic ai in oblique cases are an inheritance from Homeric times. $\pi\acute{\alpha}\iota\varsigma$ is, however, not an archaism whose observance was enforced. Sim. Amorg. 11 has $\pi\acute{\alpha}\iota$, Hipponax, 38, $\pi\acute{\alpha}\iota\varsigma$. Anakreon has $\pi\acute{\alpha}\iota$, 12, 41, 62, 631; $\pi\acute{\alpha}\iota\varsigma$, 2113; $\pi\acute{\alpha}\iota\varsigma$, 242. Oblique forms, $\pi\acute{\alpha}\iota\delta\alpha$, Hipp. 1, $\pi\acute{\alpha}\iota\delta\acute{\iota}$, Anakr. 173 ($a\bar{i}$ possible); $\pi\acute{\alpha}\iota\delta\epsilon\varsigma$, Anakr. 45; $\pi\acute{\alpha}\iota\delta\omega\upsilon\upsilon$, Mimn. 213 ($a\bar{i}$ possible); $\pi\acute{\alpha}\iota\sigma\acute{\iota}\nu$, Mimn. 19, 32; $\pi\acute{\alpha}\iota\delta\alpha\varsigma$, Hipp. 141; Hdt. $\pi\acute{\alpha}\iota\varsigma$ (Bredow, 174); $\kappa\lambda\acute{\alpha}\iota\omega\upsilon$, Archil. 13, is possible, $\kappa\lambda\acute{\alpha}\iota\omega$, 20, necessary; $\pi\upsilon\rho\kappa\acute{\alpha}\iota\eta\varsigma$, Anakr. 1002 ($a\bar{i}$ possible); $\acute{\alpha}\iota\omega$, Xenoph. 65; $\acute{\alpha}\iota\delta\eta\lambda\omicron\varsigma$, Tyrnt. 117 (cf. *v.l.* E 757, Δ 897), $\acute{\alpha}\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\omega}\sigma\epsilon\iota$, $\acute{\eta}\iota\sigma\tau\omega\sigma\epsilon$, Hdt. III, 69, 127. See § 142 on $\acute{\alpha}\iota\delta\eta\varsigma$. $\acute{\alpha}\iota\delta\rho\iota\varsigma$, Theog. 683; $\acute{\alpha}\iota\delta\rho\acute{\iota}\eta$, Solon 94; $\acute{\alpha}\iota\delta\rho\acute{\eta}\eta$, Hdt.; $\acute{\alpha}\iota\kappa\iota\zeta\omicron\mu\epsilon\theta\alpha$, Sim. Amorg. 124, from $\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\kappa$ - rather than $\acute{\alpha}\rho\epsilon\iota\kappa$ -. So too in the case of $\acute{\alpha}\iota\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\iota\omicron\varsigma$, Theog. 1344.

In suffixes: $\delta\acute{\alpha}\iota\zeta\omega$, Tyrnt. 1117; $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\lambda\acute{\alpha}\iota\zeta\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$, Sim. Amorg. 770; $\Sigma\acute{\alpha}\iota\omega\upsilon$, Arch. el. 6; $-a\bar{i}\kappa\omicron\varsigma$ in Hdt.

$\bar{a}\rho\iota$.

142. $\hat{A} + I$.

$\text{Πολυ}\pi\acute{\alpha}\iota\delta\eta\varsigma$, Theog. 25, 57, 61, 541, from $\pi\bar{a}$, § 38, or due to the ictus and = $\pi\alpha\nu$; $\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\lambda\acute{\alpha}\iota\delta\eta\varsigma$, Hdt. I, 59.

$\acute{\alpha}\iota\delta\eta\varsigma$, Sim. Amorg. 114, 7117, with \bar{a} as in the tragic poets. $\acute{\alpha}$ in $\acute{\alpha}\iota\delta\eta\varsigma$, Tyrnt. 1228, Mimn. 216, Theog. 427, 703, 802, 906, 1014, 1124, Solon 248, Anakr. 435; with no instance of a necessary \bar{a} . $\acute{\alpha}\iota\delta\eta\varsigma$ probably does not revert to an original $\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\delta\eta\varsigma$, but to $\ast\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\delta\eta\varsigma$, which became either $\bar{a}\bar{i}\delta$ - or $\bar{a}\bar{i}\delta$ - (cf. $\acute{\alpha}\epsilon\acute{\iota} < \acute{\alpha}\rho\epsilon\acute{\iota}$). Hdt. II, 122, has $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\beta\acute{\eta}\nu\alpha\iota \acute{\epsilon}\varsigma \tau\omicron\upsilon\upsilon \omicron\acute{\iota} \acute{\epsilon}\lambda\lambda\eta\upsilon\epsilon\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\iota\delta\eta\upsilon \nu\omicron\mu\acute{\iota}\zeta\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota \acute{\epsilon}\iota\upsilon\alpha$. See Wackernagel, K. Z. XXVII, 276, and above, § 30.

$\acute{\alpha}\iota\delta\iota\omega\upsilon$, Iasos, 1046, may be a later form, built out of $\acute{\alpha}\epsilon\acute{\iota}$. The length of the a in $\acute{\alpha}\iota\delta\iota\omega\varsigma$ is attested but rarely, *e.g.* Hymn. 293, where it may be due to the ictus.

$\acute{\alpha}\chi\acute{\alpha}\iota\eta$, Sim. Amorg. 231, where $a\bar{i}\eta$ might be expected. Since the reduction of au to $a\bar{i}$ in Attic ensued as early as the fifth century ($\Phi\omega\kappa\acute{\alpha}\iota\delta\epsilon$ [5], C. I. A. I, 1997), the traditional reading may be correct. See § 77, on a from antevocalic au .

143. $\hat{A} + H$.

Original $\bar{a} + \eta$ did not remain in Ionic; see $\bar{H} + H$.

1. ἄφο.

144. A + O.

σάφρων, Phok. 9, as in Homer: σωφρονεῖν, Sim. Amorg. 7¹⁹⁸, σῶφρων, Theog. 756, σωφρονέστατον, Hippon. 45², need not contain a contraction. These forms are placed here tentatively, as it has not been shown that *φ* intervened between *α* and *ο* in σάος. Certainly Roehl's reading, 532, σαφοῖ, is too much a matter of dubitation to be admitted in proof. Perhaps σάος stands for *σασος. See Ruehl in *Philol. Anzeiger*, 1886, 14, note 8, and § 161.

θυρωρός < θυρᾶ + φορ- (Fick: θυρεωρός < θυρη-φορός); cf. τιμωρός < τιμᾶ-.

ἀγλαός:

(1) Not contracted: ἀγλαόν, Kall. I, 6, elegy; Ἄγλαοκύδης, Thasos (Louv.) 20 A 8 (about 175 B.C.); Ἄγλα(ό)νικος, Styra 19⁴³³ (fifth century). The preponderance of names in Ἄγλω- has made Bechtel question whether we should not read Ἄγλώνικος. Ἄγλαοκύδης shows that Bechtel's statement (that Ἄγλω- is the invariable rule in Ionic inscriptions) is not accurate. It must, however, be confessed that this form of the name is, if Ionic, an obsolete form for its period. Ἄγλα[ο]φῶν, Kyzikos C. I. G. 1780 is late.

(2) Contracted: Ἄγλώχαρος, Amorgos 227 (sixth century); Ἄ(γ)λωθέστης, Amorgos 37 (unc. date); Ἄγλώνικος, Keos 50 II, 11 (fourth century); Ἄγλωφῶντος, Thasos 78 A 2 (beginning of third century); Ἄ[γ]λωφῶντος, Thasos (Louv.) 6 B 14 (third century); Ἄγλωγένης, Delos 55 I 7 (282 B.C.); cf. also Ἄγλῶν, Thasos (Louv.) 2¹⁴.

We find in other dialects: Ἄγλωφάνης, Thera, C. I. G. 2460; Ἄγλαος, Boiot. 413³⁵; Ἄγλαοφαῖδαο, Boiot. 478.

φάος, Archil. tetr. 74³, Sim. Amorg. 1¹⁹, Theog. 569, 1143; on the oblique cases of names in -φῶν, see Spitzer, *Lautl.* p. 41, Johansson, *D. V. C.* p. 16.

2. ἄσο.

Archil. 116, Mimn. 2⁶, γήραος, also in Hdt. III, 14, in the phrase ἐπὶ γήραος οὐδῶ, with the unusual form on account of the stereotyped nature of the expression. Hdt. generally has -εος in -ας nouns. -ασο, or more strictly, -ασφο, in the second pers. sing. of imperfect and aorist middle: Archil. ep. 94, ἐφράσω 101, ἐδέξω, where Hdt. has ἐεργάσαο, I, 45, and Xenoph. 5, ἦραο.

3. ἄιο.

On the relation of -ἄω to -ἄω (-ηω) verbs in ὤρεον = ὤραον, etc., see Johansson, *D. V. C.* p. 151, etc. αἴο becomes ω in the

Ionic verb despite fluctuations in Mss. of Hdt. See under *Conjugation*.

On *ao*, written for *-au*, see under *AY*, § 110.

Varia. Ὠσπραόννῳ, Halik. 240₄₃, Μάοψος, Roberts I, 193 D, are of uncertain derivation.

1. *ǎfω*.

145. A + Ω.

παρεστῶς, Tyrnt. 12₁₉, and so Attic ἐστῶς, probably not from Hdt. ἐστῆως, but from *-αφῶς*, as *πυλωρός* < *πυλᾶωρός*. Also in proper names in *-φῶν*, § 106, and in Ἄγλῶν, Th. (L.) 2₁₄, § 144.

2. *ǎ̄ω*.

For the treatment of *-ǎ̄ω* verbs, see under *Conjugation*. The contracted forms alone seem genuine Ionic.

Crisis of *ai + ω* in *χῶς*, Sim. Amorg. 24 (but *καὶ ῶς*, Halik. 238₄₄); *κῶπόλλων*, Hippon. tr. 31, according to Bergk's reading, which is open to grave doubts (see Renner, p. 199):

1. *āfω*.

146. $\hat{A} + \Omega$.

Ποσειδάων, Theog. 692; *-άωνος* in Arch. eleg. 10, by conjecture, the Mss. having *ω*. Is *-ήωνος* correct? See § 11. If Attic Ποσειδῶν is from *-έων*, this instance deserves note as being a rare case of contraction of vowels originally separated by *φ* (*ἔως*, *βασιλέως*). Attic *πρών*, *παιών* (*Παιῶνος*, Solon 13₅₇), **Ἴωνες*, arose directly from *-āων*, *-āων-*, not through *-εων* (Bechtel, B. B. X, 283).

On the treatment of pre-Hellenic *ā̄o*, see under *E + O* and *E + Ω*.

147. E + A.

NOTE. — *ε* before a vowel does not become *ι* in Ionic.

1. *εφᾶ*.

Remains open in adj. in feminines of *-vs* (*δασέαν*, Miletos 100₂, etc.), in *Κλεάριος*, Thasos (L.) 4₁₃; *Κλέανδρος*, Styra 19₂₂₀; *Λεάνακτος*, Thasos (L.) 3 B 7; *Λεάδης*, Styra 19₂₄₂; *Πρεάνθης*, Keos, 50, IV, 65. Cf. *πρηγύς* and the Thasiote *Πρηγύλος*; *ἔᾶσεις*, Anakr. 56, *ἔᾶσον* 57.

βασιλέᾶ = Attic *βασιλεᾶ* (*βασιλεῆ*, Teos. Ditt. *Syll.* 165₁₈, about 261 B.C.); *νέᾶ* = Attic *ναῖν*, *βασιλεᾶς* = Attic *βασιλεᾶς* (Curt. *Stud.* IX, 213). *Εὐρυνμεδοντιάδεα*, Hipp. 85 (patronymic in *-αδεύς*, as *Μαιαδεῦ*, Hipp. 16₁), from *εα* (or *εᾶ*?).

έγγεάς, Xenoph. 4₂; *Anakr.* 63₃, with synizesis. No instance of actual contraction occurs. *φρέατος*, Hdt. VI, 119.

2. εσα̅.

Hdt. *ἔαρος*, *ἔαρι*, and *Vita Homeri*, 34; *ἔαρι*, Anan. tetr. 51; *ἔαρος*, Mimn. 2₂; *ἦρος*, Theogn. 777; *ἠρινός*, Solon 13₁₉; *ἦρος*, Hippokr. E I, 164, 181, E III, 213, 215, 216, 220; *ἦρι*, ΠΑ, 5. *ἔαρος*, E I, 192, though *ἦρος* immediately before, 160, 164, E III, 213, 221, etc. In old Attic inscriptions *ἔαρ* (Klein, *Vasen*, 133). See § 90.

In ες declension: *ἔτα*, Olynthos, 8 A 5; *τέλα*, 8 B 6, 8; *Στρατοκλέα*, Orop. 10₂; *ἀφανέα*, Chios 174 A 12; *ἀφανέας*, Teos 156 B 38, and the other forms quoted under *Declension*. *θύη*, Keos 43₁₇ (*ὄλοσχερ[έα]* on the same inscr., end of V C.). Both forms as attested by inscriptions find their parallels in lyric poetry: Solon, *ἔτη* 27₄, *ἦθη* 36₁₂, *κράτη* 36₁₃; Arch. 12 *μέλα*; Sim. Amorg. 3₂ *ἔτα*, *δήνεα* 7₇₈; Mimn. 1₄ *ἄνθεα*; Anakr. 8₂ *ἔτα*, 9₃ *στήθεα*; Sim. Amorg. 7₁₀₂ *δυομενέα*; Mimn. 6₂ *ἔξηκανταέτη*; Anakr. 36 *αἰνοπαθῆ*, 41₂ *μελιηδέα*, 51₁ *νεοθηλέα*; Solon, 19₄ *ἀσκηθῆ*, 13₆₂ *ύγιῆ*; Theog. 1180 *ἀσεβῆ*. The open forms are in a minority: Archil. 9₁ *κῆδεα*, Mimn. 14₈ *βέλεα*, Anakr. 94₂ *νείκεα*, Xenoph. 3₃ *φάρε*, Solon *κέρδεα* 13₇₄, Kallin. 4 *Τρήρεας*, Xenoph. 3₁ *ἀνωφελέας*. For a full list of forms, see under *Declension*.

3. εἶᾶ.

Abstract nouns in εα from εια do not contract: *ἔξώλεα*, *πανώλεα*, Bechtel 263.

ὄστᾶ, Arrian 30, Aret. 42, 88, Hippokr. 188, 237; *ὄστᾶ*, Arrian 29; *ὄστρα*, Arrian 21, 29, 39; *κενεά*, Luk. *vit. auct.* 13. *ὑπέατι*, Hdt. IV, 70.

ἦμέας, Archil. eleg. 9₇, *σφέας*, tr. 27₂, Hdt. *ἦμέας* as *γλυκέας*.

NOTE 1.—On *κατέαται* and *ὀρμέατο* < ηα, see under *Conjugation*. *εἶρηται*, Oropos 18₁₇, compared with *έκεκωφέαται*, Anakr. 81₂, *κεκινέαται*, Hipponax 62₂, *πεπλέαται*, Sim. Amorg. 31 A, seems to represent a difference in writing merely. Whether or not the passage from original ηα to η was made in Ionic through *εᾶ* or *εᾷ* in the verbal forms is not as yet clear, though analogy would seem to incline in favor of *εᾶ*. Here no sound has been lost between ε and α < η + α.

ἦν ἑάν, see Bredow 38, Merzdorf, Curtius' *Studien* VIII, 143, and under *Conjunctions*, etc. In Theog. 682, we find *ἄν* where Schneidewin preferred *ἦν*. *ἐπῆν*, Mimn. 3, Keos 43₁₇; Hdt. *ἐπέαν* (Greg. Corinth. p. 465), but *ἦν*.

4. Elision is frequently avoided in the inscriptions: *με ἀνέθηκε*, Naukr. 139 B.

148. E + Ἄ.

On *πεπλέᾶται* < *πεπλήᾳται*, etc., see above *sub* E + A, note 1.

ειᾶ.

In the inflection of nouns in εη the accus. plural remains open :
κυνέας, μνέας, αἰγέας, etc.

ἀργυρέᾶ, Wood, *Disc. at Ephesus*, App. 6, No. 1, with Attic ᾶ, but with the absence of contraction in adjectives of material, which is the rule in Ionic till the imperial period.

ειᾶ, from εἶανς, also in δωρεάς, Ephesos 147¹⁵; δωρεά appears to be later than δωρεία in Attic. εἶᾶ in ξᾶ, Archil. 51, cf. ἦσεν· εἶασεν, Hesychios.

NOTE. — In proper names in -ᾶς it has been commonly held that -ᾶς is from -εας. Bechtel on No. 76 (Νοσσικᾶς) remarks with appropriateness that this is impossible, since Attic names in -εας could not be contracted to -ᾶς. On Attic Ἄλκᾶς from Ἄλκᾶμένης, Μολπᾶς 163¹⁰, Abdera, from Μολπαγόρης, Abdera 163⁸, and the name of a son of Aristagores in Miletos, Hdt. V, 30, and on Μικᾶς, Thasos (Louv.), 14⁷, see § 34. εᾶς occurs in two names, Ἡγέᾶς, Keos 44 B 4; Ἐλπᾶς, 44 B 16.

149. H + A.

η before the ᾶ of substantival and verbal inflections is regularly shortened to ε. It is a matter of indifference whether this η = I.E. ē or I.A. ā : νέα νέᾶς, βασιλέᾶ βασιλέᾶς, κατέᾶται ὀρμέᾶτο. Traces of this shortening are sporadic in Homer : Τυδέᾶ Z 222, Καινᾶ A 264, ἕαται ἕατο. πόλῆας, Abdera 162 (fifth century), η having the quantity of ω in ἠρῶος, ζ 303. In Homer, πόλῆας, ρ 486. ης in Ἡσιονῆας, Kall. 5; βασιλῆας, Tyrnt. 43. η is retained before α only when ρ intervened (except Hom. πόλῆας). In Ionic these ης forms are obsolescent even at a very early period.

By *crasis*, ἐπειδάν, Hdt. VIII, 144; by *synizesis*, μῆ ἀποπέμψης, Hippon. 43.

150. E + I.

1. εἶ.

εἶ in the dative-locative singular of -υ- stems, see under *Declension*.

2. εσι

Becomes εἶ in the dat.-loc. sing. of -εσ- stems : Archil. 113 ἐναγέι, Sim. Amorg. 113 Ἄρει (Ἄρη?), Hipponax 11 ἀγέι; ξίφει Tyrnt. 11³⁰, κράτει Solon tr. 36¹³ (or κράτη), Theognis γένει 928, δυσμενεί 1219. -εἶ in Hdt. does not represent the stage to which Ionic had advanced in the fifth century. See under *Declension*.

3. In suffixes -ιτης, -ιως, etc. In Hdt. Ἀταρνείτω, Βορυσθενείτης, ὀστέϊνος, ἰτέϊνος, κρᾶνέϊνος.

151. E + Ī.

εῖ by *metathesis quantitatis* has been assumed by Fick, *B. B.* XI, 267, Bechtel, *Ion. Insch.* p. 14, in Θρεῖκιος, Hipponax 42, εῖ standing midway between ηι (Θρηῖξ Archil. 32, Θρηῖκίης Anacr. 96, Θρηῖκίω, Sim. Keos, 120), and εῖ. Fick suggests that Anacr. Θρηῖκίην 49, Θρηῖκίη 75, should be read Θρεῖ-. As held above, § 105, this assumption seems to be based on slight foundations. On Θρεῖκίων, see Osthoff, *M. U.* IV, 209.

152. H + I.

ἦι is very common in Ionic, both from ηι = I.E. *ēi* and I.E. *āi*.¹

I. ηρι < *ēvi*.

-ἦιδης not frequent: Σελλῆιδης Archil. ep. 104₂, Βοιβηῖς, Νηρηῖς, Hdt. Σκηβηῖδης, C. I. G. 3064₂₈. Greg. Corinth. p. 379, quotes as Ionic Πηληῖδης, but by *Ionic* he doubtless means Homeric. With the exception of the instances quoted, -ἦιδης has become -εῖδης everywhere in Ionic. See under HI, § 104. With Νηρηῖδων, Νηρηῖσι in Hdt., cf. Νηριείδων, Eryth. 206 B 27. Εἰθωνεῖδης Styra 19₁₀₄, Νικολεῖδης 19₂₇₂, Περιλεῖδη(ς) 19₂₈₃, are transcribed with εῖ on account of the extreme rarity of -ἦιδης, despite the fact that ηρι < *ēvi* generally = ηι in Ionic. By the fifth century ἦι in closed syllables could become εῖ.

-ἦιον, -ἦη, in suffixes from stems in -ἦν- and from -ἦ- stems, e.g. βασιλήϊος Theog. 1191, Hdt.; βασιληῖη, θεραπεῖη, στρατηῖη Hdt.; Νηληῖος Mimn. 9; δουλήϊος Hdt.; δουληῖη Anacr. 114; οἰκήϊος (-ἦν stem). By analogy -ἦιος is transferred to other stems. For these and those in -εῖω, -εῖα, where ἦιο, -ἦη, are to be expected, see above, § 101.

NOTE.— Either Κεῖος, or Κήϊος, is Ionic from Κεός. Hdt. VIII, 1, 46, Κεῖοι, IV 35, V 102, Κήϊοι; Sim. Keos, 129, Κεῖ-; Bacchyl 48, Κῆῖ-; Timokreon 10, Κήῖα, and Κεῖων Ἰουλιῆται, C. I. A. II, 17 B 22. See Wackernagel, K. Z. XXVII, 265, who regards Κεῖος as certainly Ionic whatever may be said of Κήϊος (*Κηῖος, cf. Ionic λεῖος, from ληῖω). βασιλεῖ is due to the influence of βασιλέος, etc. βασιλήϊος, etc., amply prove that I.E. *ēvi* is represented in Ionic by ἦι. On Πριηνῆι, on a Samian inscription, No. 212, see under *Declension*.

¹ It is not easy to determine chronologically how long -ἦιος was regarded by the Ionists as a trisyllable. The cases of ἦ in Ionic poetry though rare, as in Homer, show that ηι was not far removed from a diphthong. On the accent of βασιλήϊος, see Fritsch, *V. H. D.* 30, and Johansson, *B. B.* XV, 182. It is not clear that ηι in βασιλήϊος is a δῖφοθρογος κατ' ἐπικράτειαν. Kyprian μνάϊον, C. D. I. 41, if correct, supports an Ionic μνήϊον.

ηφι < $\bar{a}vi$

Appears in Ionic as ηῖ without exception. Attic differs from Ionic in its treatment of pre-Hellenic $\bar{e}vi$ and $\bar{a}vi$ in that the former is generally represented by ει (except in patronymics, as Αιγής, Νηρός), the latter by η (κλής, λήξομαι, λητουργός, ἦθεος, προνήον, etc., with ει as a form common to the fourth century). Ionic represents both by ηῖ, though -ηῖδης from -ηυ- stems has been generally supplanted by -ειδης.

ἦτων, λήιον, λητή, Greg. Corinth. § 69; ληῖστής, -τύς, ληίζομαι, Hdt. Sim. Amorg. 6, Teos 156 B 20, 21; ληῖτον, council-hall, ἦθεος, Hdt.; Ποσειδηῖων, Anacr. 6; Μηῖtones, Hdt. Θρηῖξ, Archil. 32, Anacr. 49, 75, 96, Hipp. 42, 120 (see above on E + I). Homer has Θρηκῶν, -κεσσι, -κη, Hdt. Θρηῖξ, Θρηῖκιος, Σαμοθρήικες, -ικιος. δηῖώω in Hdt. δηῖος Sol. tetr. 34², Tyr. 11^{18,30}. Theog. 552, Tyr. 12¹², Mimn. 14⁹ have δηῖώω (δηῖώω) as Homer, by metrical compulsion.¹ Solon 13²¹, δηῖώσας, has the Attic η.

Furthermore, in νῆῖ; ἐπίνειον Hdt. VI, 116, must be incorrect (cf. Προνήτη and Attic προνήον); κληῖω is genuine Ionic, not κλειώ, Bredow, p. 176, Greg. Corinth. d. d. Ion. § 3; so too κληῖδες,² ῥηῖδίως Hdt. IX, 2, in Mss., but ῥηστῶνη, III, 136. Theognis, 239, 524, 592, 1027, 1034, has ῥηῖδίος, but ῥῆδίος, 574, 577³. ῥῆτερον 1370 (Hom. ῥῆτερος). Τῆῖος, Bechtel, 155, probably from *Τᾶῖος (cf. Τέως). In Attic either Τῆῖοι, or Τῆῖοι, according to Meisterhans,² 51, with ῆῖ, which is an Ionic loan. γῆῖνος, Sim. Amorg. 7²¹, is not from γῆῖνος, but a neologism from γῆ, which never contained φ. So too -γῆω- is a new formation. It will be noticed that of the forms that have preserved η before ι, most once had φ before ι (πόληῖ, ῆῖα, -ῆῖος from non -ηυ- stems, are the exception).

χρηῖζω (Greg. Corinth. p. 441) in Hdt. and restored in the only passage where ι is omitted, VII, 38; Phokyl. 7¹, Theog. 1333 (χρηῖζων 958). Whether χρέος is from *χρηφός or *χρηῖος is uncertain.⁴ χρηῖσκομαι in Hdt. alone; χρηῖα (i.e. -ῆῖα) = χρεῖα, Hesychios.

ῆῖα, Sim. Amorg. 32, from $\sqrt{ves, eat}$, Baunack, K. Z. XXVII, 561, found in Alkaios 91, ἔσαν.

πόληῖ, Tyr. 12¹⁵, is a double locative, and not a raised form of πόλε-ι.

¹ Homeric δηῖοιο, δηῖω, δηῖων, δηωθέντ-, etc. So too Θρηκῶν, etc. ηφι becomes ει but once in Homer (λεῖσθή, I, 408). Nauck reads Θρείκες, Ω 234.

² Tyr. 12²⁴, εὐκλείσας is not Ionic.

³ Cf. ῥᾶῖδιον, Solon Eleg. 9⁵ (Diod. Sic. βαῖδιον; ῥᾶῖδιον, Theog. 120, 1220, ῥᾶῖον 429).

⁴ Wackernagel, K. Z. XXVII, 264, Danielsson, *Grammat. und etymol. Studien*, 52, and *Gramm. Ann.* I, 17.

153. E + O.

The earliest testimony to an Ionic contraction of $\epsilon\omicron$ is the existence in Homer of $\epsilon\omicron$ and of a few cases of $\epsilon\nu$. In the older periods of the Greek dialects whenever the contraction of $\epsilon\omicron$ to $\epsilon\nu$ appears, it is to be regarded as Ionic. $\epsilon\nu$ is but sparingly attested from earlier Aiolic, but more frequently from later Doric sources (Ahrens, II, 213 ff.).

As regards the genesis of $\epsilon\omicron$ from $\eta\omicron$, it should be stated that Merzdorf's¹ distinction between pre-Hellenic $\bar{\alpha}\omicron =$ Ionic $\eta\omicron =$ Ionic $\epsilon\omega$, and pan-Hellenic $\bar{\epsilon}\omicron =$ Ionic $\eta\omicron =$ Ionic $\epsilon\omicron$, a distinction accepted for many years by many distinguished scholars, can no longer be upheld. Cf. $-\epsilon\nu$ from masculines of $\bar{\Lambda}$ decl. and $\iota\epsilon\rho\acute{\epsilon}\omega < *i\epsilon\rho\eta\omicron$. The occurrence of $\epsilon\omicron$ ($\epsilon\nu$) makes it appear that the combination $\eta\omicron$ is treated in three different ways in Ionic. (1) $\eta\omicron$ may be retained as an archaism, see below on H + O, (2) $\eta\omicron$ becomes $\epsilon\omega$, and (3) becomes $\epsilon\omicron$. In Ionic no difference can be detected in the treatment of long vowel + short vowel whether f , yod , or σ intervened, though the dialect bears traces of the fact that the labial spirant disappeared later than either of the others. In Attic *metathesis quantitatis* seems to have occurred even when σ or yod were expelled, though the cases are rare.

To a large extent the question whether $\epsilon\omicron$ or $\epsilon\nu$ should be written, is an orthographical question merely, at one and the same time the same word being written $\epsilon\omicron$ or $\epsilon\nu$ in the same portion of Ionic territory. There can be no doubt that $\epsilon\omicron$ was pronounced $\epsilon\nu$ more frequently than it was written.² Cf. $\epsilon\omicron$ for original $\epsilon\nu$ and $\alpha\omicron$ for av . $\epsilon\omicron\nu$

¹ Merzdorf in Curtius' *Stud.* VIII, 163 ff., IX, 226 ff.; Wackernagel, K. Z. XXVII, 262; Schmidt, K. Z. XXVII, 297; Osthoff, *Philol. Runäschau*, I, 933; Erman, *Stud.* V, 294; Brugmann, *Gramm.* § 19; Bechtel, B. B. X, 280, *Ion. Insch.* p. 69, 107, 109; Johansson, D. V. C. 153, B. B. XV, 167; Fick, B. B. XI, 259 ff.; Karsten, 19-22; Blass, *Aussprache*,³ 72.

² In the pseudo-Ionists $\epsilon\omicron$ was carefully preserved. From Lindmann, *de dial. Ionica recentiore*, p. 53, I construct the following table:—

	$\epsilon\omicron$	$\epsilon\nu$		$\epsilon\omicron$	$\epsilon\nu$
Dea Syria,	112	0	Eusebios,	4	0
Vit. auct.	6	0	Euseb. Mynd.	55	4
Astrol.	49	0	Ep. Thales,	1	0
Arrian,	118	2	Aretaios, I, II,	39	13
Abydenos,	4	0			

is occasionally found (*Ἐρυσθένεος* Samos 217, *Ἀριστοκλέους* Thasos 72₁). See § 114. The writing *εο* shows that *ευ* was not pronounced *εῦ*. *εο* especially in the *-εσ* stems becomes *ευ* from about 350 B.C. Whenever in Ionic poetry *εο* must be read *υυ*, it is an archaism. In the early inscriptions of the same date *εο* occurs, both = *ευ* and = earlier *ε + ο*. The *εο* of *φέογειν* shows that the *εο* of *γεγωνόντες* is a diphthong.

1. *εφο*

Becomes in Ionic *εο* or is contracted to *ευ*. Names with *νέος*, *κλέος*, as first parts of a compound name show both forms.

νεο- in *Νεοπολιτέων*,¹ Neapolis 4₂, *Νεοκλείδης*, Styra, 19₂₆₅, *-κλίδης*, 19₂₆₆; *-μήμιος*, Olbia, Jahrb. für Philol. suppl. vol. X, 26, No. 8, Maroneia 196₁₄; Halik. 240 B 29, D 38; *-μανδρος*, Thasos (L.) 17₂. Cf. *νέους*, Arch. 55; *νέοι*, Kall. 1₂; *νέων*, Anakr. 100₃; Hdt. *νέος*, etc.; *νέον*, Samos 220₂₅; *νέωτα*, Sim. Amorg. 1₉ < *νεφορατα*.

Νευ-, in *-πολίτης* 4₃, Neapolis (350-300); *-πολιτών* 4₄, Neapolis (350-300); *Νε[υ]μηνίου*, Olbia 131₉; *Νευμην[ίου]*, Halik. 240 B 7. Cf. *Νεοβούλης* in Archil. 71 and *νεομηνία*, Pind. *Nem.* 4₃₅ = *ευ*; also *νευμηνία*, later Kretan, and *νευμεινίη*, Boiot. 951. *Νουμήμιος*, Iasos 104_{22, 48} (about 350 B.C.), and upon Olbian coins, is Attic.

Κλεο- in *-μαχος*, Styra 19₁₁₉; *-μβροτος* 44 B 10, Keos, Thasos 77 B 12; *-δικος*, Styra 19₂₂₂; *-πάτρα*, Delos 55, VII, 27; *-κρίτου*, Thasos 75 B 4; *-νίκου*, Smyr. 153₁₉; *-ρρος*, Styra 19₂₃₉; *-μήδεος*, Th. (L.) 1; *-μέδων*, Th. (L.) 3₁₀, 6 C 6; *-[λο]χος*, Th. (L.) 6 C 15; *-φάν[ης]*, Th. (L.) 11 C 5. *-κύδεις*, Thasos 77 A 10; *-γένης*, Thasos 77 B 5; *-τίμου*, Chios 177₁₀.

Κλεν- in *Κλεομάνδρου*, Arkesine 34 (fourth century), epigram. *Κλεόβουλος*, Anakr. 2₉, 3_{1, 2, 3}, by synzeesis (Mss. *ευ*). *κλεν-* in prose is written in *-πάτρα*, Delos 55, III, 34; *-νίκη*, Pharos 87; *-κρίτη*, Siphnos 89; *-δώρου*, Hyele 172₂. Cf. *Κλεόδαμον*, Pind. *Ol.* 14₂₂, the names in *Κλεν-* in later Kretan and Rhodian documents.

-εος in the genitive of *-υ-* stems is closed in *ἄστρεος*, Sim. Amorg. 7₇₄. These genitives are never written *-ευσ*, as those of the sigmatic declension may be. *-εος* from *ηυ-* stems in *βασιλέος*, etc. (on *ηος*, see H + O). *-εος* < *ηφοτς* in *τεθνεός*, Hdt. I, 112 (*Studien*, IX, 242); *Γελεύντες*, Perinthos 234 B 13; *Λεόντισκος*, *ibid.* 234 A 4. *Ἰλεος*, probably Herodotean (cf. IV, 94, VI, 91), from *Ἰληφος*. Cf. Kretan *ἰλέος* (accus. pl.). *Ἰλαος* is also Ionic, Archil. 75₂. See § 10, 11.

¹ Cf. *Νεήπολις* 4₁ = Attic *Νεῶν*. In Attic the forms in *νεα-* outlive those in *νεο-*, which obtain from 454 to 356 B.C.

ευ from εω = εω :

θευροί, Thas. 72₂, from θεωροί; cf. ἐθεόρεον, Thas. (L.) 72, with θεωρ- from θεωρ-. Cf. B. B. X, 282; cf. Δευτυχίδης, Hdt.¹ and πυλευρός, in Hesychios, from πυλευρός. See Brug. *Gr. Gr.* § 19.

NOTE. — Greg. Corinth. p. 447, Gramm. Meerm. 654, August. 669, say that the Ionic form is ὄρη, which appears in Hdt.² That this statement is only partially true is evident from ἑορτή, Oropos 18₃₄. That a prosthetic vowel should have the *asper* is irregular (cf. ἑόρτιος in Attic, Roberts, 52), hence Bury's attempt at etymologizing ἑορτή has at least the vantage ground of explaining its presence: ἑορτή = φεφορτή, φρ'φορτή, as *urudāta* from *vrudāta*; ὄρη on the other hand is = *vratā*. Cf. B. B. XI, 333.

2. εσο

Yields either εο, εϙ, or ευ. In the Ionic poets: Archil. ἀγάλλεο 66₄, ὀδύρεο 66₅, ἀπάγχεο 67, χαρίζεο 75, ἀλέξεο 66₂, γενέο 75₂,¹ Anakr. 2₉; εἴχεο Phok. 3₈, ἴκεο³ Anan. 1₃. εϙ in Λυκάμβεος, Archil. 28; θέρεος, Sim. Amorg. 7₃₉, παλιντριβέος; 7₄₃. Παιρισάδεος, Pantikap. epigram, Kaibel 773. Cf. the Attic Παιρισάδου, Bechtel No. 119, 120; Παιρισάδου, No. 122. ευ is written in Hipponax 19₂ ῥίγευς, 49₂ τριήρευς, though no reason may be adduced why in Sim. Amorg. εϙ should be written, but ευ in Hipponax. Tradition is worth but little in such cases, as ευ did not come into vogue at "the stroke of twelve." The open forms still hold their ground in the Ionic poets: πολυανθέος, Mimn. 2₁; ἄνθεος, Xenoph. 1₆. For a complete chronological list of -εος, -ευσ, in the genitive of κλεφειν- stems, see under *Declension*.

In derivatives from θεος,⁴ Θεο-, in Θεοφῶν, Thasos 83₅; -[κλ]ίδης, Keos 44 B 6; -κύδης, Keos 46; -δωρος, Thasos 77 B 8, Olbia 131, 3, Halik. 240₃₁, Samoth. 236; -δοτος, Iasos 105₁; -δοσίη, Phanag. 164, 166, Theodosia 127 (Stephani's *Compte Rendu*, 1866, p. 128); -γείτων, Teos 159₁. Cf. *Jahrb. für Philol., Suppl.* vol. V, 487, No. 47, X, 29, No. 21. -γένευσ, Thasos 78 C 5, -τιμίδης, 78 C 4, -τιμος, Styra 19₃₆. -προπος, Chios 174 C 21; -φάνης, Eryth. 206 B 63 (l. 21, 24, 26, 29, have Θευ-); -φρων, Eryth. 206 C 11 (cf. Θε[ι]όφρων, Eryth. 206 C 12); -πομπος, Th. (L.) 6 C 10.

¹ Λευκ[ά]βιος, Styra 19₁₂₄, regarded by Merzdorf and Wackernagel as containing Λευ- = Λεω-, is an hypocoristic name for *Λευκόκαρος.

² ἑορτή, Luk. *Syr.* 10, v. l., with ὄρη in the better Mss.

³ ου in Mss.

⁴ Brugmann, *Berichte d. königl. sächs. Gesell. d. Wissen.* 1889, p. 41, compares Skt. *ghōrds*. In this paper Brugmann mentions all the old etymologies of the much-disputed word θεός, except the one which I have here provisionally adopted (θεός = *θφεσος, = Lith. *dvesti*).

NOTE 1. — In Attic we often find $\Theta\epsilon\omicron$ - in proper names in sixth, fifth, and fourth century inscriptions parallel to the same names in $\Theta\omicron\upsilon$ -. See K. Z. XXIX, 138.

NOTE 2. — The ϵ of $\theta\epsilon\omicron$ - is sometimes omitted ($\Theta\acute{\omicron}\kappa\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ 19²⁰⁶; $\Theta\omicron\delta\iota\omega\nu$ 19³⁷⁸). Cf. $\text{ΚΛ}\acute{\omicron}\delta\delta\epsilon\iota\omega\varsigma$ 19²²¹; and Megarian names in $\Theta\omicron$ -, Mitth. VIII, 189, 190. In reverse direction \omicron is omitted in $\Theta\epsilon\kappa\lambda\iota\delta\eta\varsigma$ 19²⁰⁹. See Baunack's *Studien*, I, 229.

$\Theta\epsilon\upsilon$ -.

- $\mu\alpha\rho$ [$\eta\varsigma$] 16 B 25, Eretria (340–278); - $\beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$, Naxos 28; - $\delta\omega\rho\omicron\varsigma$, Delos 55, 3³⁰, Keos 169⁵, Eryth. 206 B 42, Eryth. 207, Olbia 131^{17, 21}, Teos 161 (also $\Theta\epsilon\upsilon$ - in *Jahrb. für Phil. Suppl.* IV, 478, No. 16; IV, 484, No. 45; X, 31, No. 3); - $\pi\rho\omicron\pi\omicron$ (ς), Miletos 102; $\Theta\epsilon\upsilon\pi\rho\omicron\pi\iota\delta\omicron\upsilon$, Smyrna 153²³; - $\delta\omicron\sigma\iota\eta$, Pantik. 119, 120, 122, Phanag. 165, 167, 168; - $\gamma\eta\eta\tau\omicron\varsigma$, Smyrna 153¹²; - $\tau\iota\mu\iota\delta\eta\varsigma$, Smyrna 153¹⁹; - $\xi\epsilon\iota\nu\iota\delta\eta\varsigma$, Smy. 153²⁹; - $\xi\epsilon\iota\omega\varsigma$, Eryth. 206 B 24; - $\delta\acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha\varsigma$, Keos 169²; - $\delta\omicron\tau\omicron\varsigma$, Samos 221⁴, Eryth. 206 A 26, an almost Attic inscription; - $\kappa\rho\iota\tau\omicron\varsigma$, Eryth. 206 A 29; - $\pi\omicron\mu\omicron\pi\omicron\varsigma$, Eryth. 206 B 21; $\Theta\epsilon\acute{\omicron}\gamma\gamma\iota\delta\omicron\varsigma$, Theog. 22 = $\epsilon\upsilon$. $\theta\epsilon\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$, Sim. Amorg. 71, $\theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$ 7¹⁰⁴, and elsewhere $\theta\epsilon\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ in poetry. Even in Attic: $\Theta\epsilon\upsilon\delta\acute{\omicron}\sigma\iota\omicron\varsigma$, C. I. A. II, 445 C 16 (160 B.C.).

3. $\epsilon\acute{\omicron}$.

$\epsilon\omicron$ < $\epsilon\acute{\omicron}$ in *verbal* forms is generally contracted in old Ionic poetry, the contraction being written $\epsilon\omicron$. Mss. of the lyric poets vary between $\epsilon\omicron$ and $\epsilon\upsilon$, the Attic $\omicron\upsilon$ sometimes having been brought in by the copyists. See under *Conjugation* for the parallelism of $\epsilon\omicron$ and $\epsilon\upsilon$ forms. All instances of $\omicron\upsilon$ in Ionic documents must be regarded as foreign to the character of the dialect. $\epsilon\omicron$ from $\acute{\alpha}\iota\omega$ or $\eta\iota\omega$ verbs is a diphthong, as is $\epsilon\omega$, at least in the period of Ionic represented by the iambographers.

On $\chi\rho\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$, see B. B. XV, 171–173. That it is a genuine Ionic verb = Doric $\chi\rho\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ is at least open to doubt.

In *adjectival* forms: - $\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$.

Hdt. $\chi\rho\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$; $\chi\rho\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\epsilon\omicron\nu$ 114 E 8, Zeleia; Wood, *Discov. at Ephesus*, App. 6, No. 1; Aphrodisias 254, of the imperial period; Olbia 129, 12; Latyshev, *Inscr. antiq. orae septentr. Ponti Euxini*, I, Nos. 50, 54, 57, 59, 61, 63, 64, 70 (after Christ).

This $\epsilon\omicron$ of late Roman times is a diphthong; in adj. of material the orthographically old form is preserved till the latest times; cf. under E + Ω , E + OI .

$\chi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\kappa\epsilon\omicron\nu$, Samos 224, an inscription otherwise Hellenistic.

$\lambda\acute{\iota}\nu\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$, Hdt. III, 47; $\lambda\acute{\iota}\nu\acute{\epsilon}\omega$, I, 195, but $\lambda\iota\nu\acute{\omicron}\upsilon\varsigma$, Samos 220¹⁵, $\lambda\iota\nu\acute{\omicron}\nu$ 220²⁵ (despite $\chi\rho\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\epsilon\omicron\nu$, l. 18). The same inscription, dating from the

middle of the fourth century, has ἀλογοῦς, l. 23, -οῦν, l. 22, 30 (cf. Plato, Timaios, 68 C).

ἀφνεός, Theog. 188, 559, πλέος in Hdt. with some of the oblique case forms in πλεν- (see § 88, and Bredow, p. 154), ἐπιτήδεος, ἐπέτεος, βόεος, χήνεος, ἀδελφεός, adj. in -λεος, never contracted; § 130, 3 b; 177.

Nouns: ὤεον, Sim. Amorg. 11; ὀστέον, Hdt. χρέος, ἀξιόχρεος, are not beyond peradventure for *χρηφος. If we assume χρη-τος, we have the ablaut χρα- in χραισιμέω.

Pronouns: ἐμεῦ, Mimn. 14₂, Archil. 92; μεν, Hipp. 62, Anakr. 76, 81; τεν, Archil. 110.

σου, found Hippon. 76, μου 83, ἐμοῦ, Arch. 111, are Atticisms to be removed in favor of the forms in εν or εο. ου in Solon is correct.

154. H + O.

ηο is sometimes preserved in Ionic when *φ* originally separated the two vowels. It is indifferent whether η = I.E. \bar{a} or \bar{e} . Such forms as do not show *metathesis quantitatis* are to be regarded as archaisms: ληόν, Hipp. 88; παιήονα, Arch. 76;¹ νηός, Arch. 4; παρήγορος, Arch. 56₅ (Hdt. and Attic μετέωρος); *Αρηος, Tyr. 117 (*Αρηο, Arch. 48, according to Fick, for Bergk's *Αρεω).² On Fick's restoration Ἰόληος, etc., see § 30. Elsewhere ηο, whether = I.E. $\bar{e}vo$ or $\bar{a}vo$, suffers change to εω or εο (εν): Arch. 58₄, πλέως(?); Anakr. 94, πλέψ; Hdt. πλέος (πλεο-). It is not true that ηο < $\bar{a}o$ became only εω in Ionic, and ηο = pan-Hellenic ηο, only εο.

155. E + Ω.

The ω of the diphthong εω from ηο probably did not contain two moras, as the ε on the other hand may have had greater weight than a simple vowel of a single mora. εω in Ionic and Attic, when originating from ηο, must be regarded as a diphthong with three moras, which in Ionic could become a diphthong with two moras (εο, εν) or finally a monophthong (ω). εω generally remains a diphthong in Ionic except when a vowel precedes. When a consonant stood originally before εω, the diphthong is only in rare cases contracted. In lyric poetry open εω (and εο) is an archaism.

¹ Solon, Παιῶνος 13₅₇. Elsewhere παιῶν, see § 146.

² *φ* is here in each case the intervening consonant. πόληος alone lies outside of this category. On this form, see under *Declension*. In ἀλλήων, Naxos 23 H = open ε.

$\epsilon\omega$ in Ionic comes into existence from $\eta\sigma = \text{I.E.}\bar{\epsilon}\sigma$, and from $\eta\sigma =$ Aiolic and Doric $\bar{a}\sigma$. As both $\eta\sigma$'s become $\epsilon\omega$, so may both appear under the form of $\epsilon\omega$. Cf. the remarks on E + O. On the retention in Ionic poetry of $\eta\sigma$ where the later dialect adopts $\epsilon\omega$ or ω , see under H + O.

1. $\epsilon\omega$ from $\eta\sigma\sigma$.

$\lambda\epsilon\acute{\omega}\sigma$, Hdt. Ἄρκεσίλειωσ, Styra 19¹⁵, $\Lambda\epsilon\acute{\omega}\mu\beta\rho\mu\sigma$ 19³⁸, show that $\lambda\eta\acute{\omicron}\nu$ in Hipponax is a survival. The change of \bar{a} to η precedes in time the *metathesis quantitatis*. $\pi\acute{\lambda}\epsilon\omega\sigma$, Anakr. 94, and perhaps Arch. 58₄; $\beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu$ (Hom. -ήων); $\nu\epsilon\omega\pi\omicron\acute{\iota}\epsilon\omega$, Samos 222; $\xi\omega\theta\epsilon\nu$, Arch. 83, while Mimn. 12₃, has the obsolescent Ἡώσ.

$\iota\epsilon\rho\acute{\epsilon}\omega$, Olbia 128^{22, 23, 59}, to which a new nominat. $\iota\epsilon\rho\acute{\epsilon}\omega\sigma$, Miletos, 100₄, has been formed. $\iota\epsilon\rho\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ is the genitive of $\iota\epsilon\rho\acute{\eta}\sigma$ (Ark-Kypr.). On the connection of stems in $-\eta$ and $-\eta\nu$, see Bechtel, *Gött. Nachr.* 1886, 378, Smyth, A. P. A. 18, p. 79. A similar form is Ἄρ $\epsilon\omega$, Archil. 48, though there $\epsilon\omega$ represents the stage intermediate between $\epsilon\omega$ and ω .

$\pi\acute{\omicron}\lambda\epsilon\omega\sigma$ (occurrences under *Declension*), a genuine Ionic form, from $\pi\acute{\omicron}\lambda\eta\sigma$. Johansson, B. B. XV, 169, proposes to explain the $\epsilon\omega$ of $\pi\acute{\omicron}\lambda\epsilon\omega\sigma$ on the theory that if the accent fell upon a syllable preceding or following $\eta\sigma$, $\epsilon\omega$ and not ω , is the result. Cf. Attic $\gamma\epsilon\omega- < \gamma\eta(\iota)\sigma-$ in $\lambda\epsilon\pi\tau\acute{\omicron}\gamma\epsilon\omega\sigma$, $\gamma\epsilon\omega\mu\epsilon\tau\rho\acute{\iota}\alpha$, Hdt. $\gamma\epsilon\omega\pi\acute{\epsilon}\iota\eta\eta\sigma$, $\gamma\epsilon\omega\rho\upsilon\chi\acute{\epsilon}\omega$, $\gamma\epsilon\acute{\omega}\pi\epsilon\delta\omicron\nu$ ($\gamma\eta\sigma\chi\acute{\epsilon}\omega$, VII, 190).

$\epsilon\omega$ originates from $\epsilon\sigma\omega$, not from $\eta\sigma\sigma$, $\eta\sigma\omega$, in $\text{Κ}\lambda\epsilon\acute{\omicron}\nu\mu\omicron\sigma$, Smyrna 153¹⁹, Thasos 82 B 9, from $\kappa\lambda\epsilon\sigma\sigma + \omicron\nu\nu\mu\omicron\sigma$; Ἡρακλεώτης, Eryth. 206 A 38, Halik. 241 (§ 88); Πανταλέων, Iasos 104³⁰; $\text{Κ}\lambda\nu\tau\iota\delta\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu$, Chios 183 A 7, etc.; $\acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\nu\acute{\epsilon}\omega\sigma\alpha\tau\omicron$, Ephesos 147₇.

$\epsilon\omega$ from $\epsilon + \sigma\sigma\alpha$, $\epsilon + \sigma\sigma\omicron$ in $\nu\acute{\epsilon}\omega\tau\alpha$, Sim. Amorg. 19 < $\nu\epsilon\sigma\sigma\alpha\tau\alpha$, $\theta\epsilon\omega\rho\acute{\omicron}\sigma$, Theog. 805, Samoth. 236, from $\theta\eta\omega\rho\acute{\omicron}\sigma < \theta\eta\sigma\sigma\alpha\sigma\omicron\rho\acute{\omicron}\sigma$.

$\epsilon\omega$ from $\eta\sigma\sigma$: $\eta\sigma\omega$ in

$\Lambda\epsilon\acute{\omega}\phi\iota\lambda\omicron\sigma$, Archil. 69. Cf. names in $\Lambda\epsilon\nu$, § 28, cf. 30. $\kappa\upsilon\kappa\epsilon\acute{\omega}\nu\alpha$, Hippon. 43₄ < * $\kappa\upsilon\kappa\acute{\eta}\sigma$; $\tau\epsilon\theta\nu\acute{\epsilon}\omega\sigma$, Theog. 1192.

ω from original $\eta\sigma\omega$ in

$\xi\nu\nu\omega\nu\acute{\iota}\eta\nu$, Arch. 86₂, is from $\xi\nu\nu\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu = \xi\nu\nu\acute{\eta}\omega\nu = \xi\nu\nu\bar{a}\sigma\omega\nu$. Ποσειδῶν is found Archil. 114, to which Ποσειδέων is to be preferred (Herod. π.μ.λ. 11, 5, Renner 190). The long form, Archil. 10; Ποσιδηίων, Anakr. 6; Hdt. has Ποσειδέων.

2. $\epsilon\omega$ from $\eta(\sigma)\iota\omega$.

The Ionic genitive in $-\epsilon\omega =$ Homeric $-\bar{a}\sigma$, is represented on the Naxian inscription, No. 23, by $\eta\sigma$ ($\Delta\epsilon\iota\nu\omicron\delta\acute{\iota}\kappa\text{HO}$), where HO is a diphthong, whose η is not equivalent phonetically to Homeric \bar{a} .

- $\epsilon\omega$ in the Ionic elegiac and iambic poets in a monosyllable: in Hdt. we have $\beta\omicron\rho\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ for $\beta\omicron\rho\acute{\epsilon}\epsilon\omega$, on which see under *Declension*.

- ω from $\epsilon\omega < \eta(\sigma)\iota\omicron$.

$\acute{\Lambda}\nu\eta\kappa\hat{\omega}$, Chios 174 C 13, $\acute{\Lambda}\sigma\acute{\iota}\omega$, *ibid.* C 27, $\Pi\upsilon\theta\hat{\omega}$, *ibid.* D 4, $\Lambda\nu\sigma\hat{\omega}$, *ibid.* D 17, are the result of the contraction of $\epsilon + \omega$ reduced from $\epsilon\epsilon\omega$. With $\acute{\Lambda}\sigma\acute{\iota}\omega$, cf. $\Pi\alpha\nu\sigma\alpha\nu\acute{\iota}\omega$, Abdera 163₁₆. These genitives, as Bechtel has shown (*Ion. Insch.* 109, B. B. X, 280 ff., cf. *Declension*), do not represent a different period of the dialect from those in - $\epsilon\omega$. Those in - $\acute{\epsilon}\epsilon\omega$ are probably grammatical figments. Since upon the same inscription (*e.g.* 240) the forms in - $\epsilon\omega$ and - $\hat{\omega}$ occur, since - $\epsilon\omega$ is a diphthong, and finally, since the ϵ of the genitive had not disappeared from the Ionic genitive in the third century B.C., - $\epsilon\omega$ and - $\hat{\omega}$ must be mere graphical variations of one and the same ending. $\acute{\text{E}}\rho\rho\acute{\mu}\acute{\iota}\epsilon\omega$, Chios 180, and $\acute{\Lambda}\gamma\acute{\iota}\epsilon\omega$, Olbia 131, 11, seem to owe their existence to the workings of analogy. Even Hdt. has $\acute{\text{E}}\rho\rho\acute{\mu}\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ with his usual - $\epsilon\omega$.

In $\Pi\alpha\gamma\alpha\mu\acute{\iota}\omega$, Halik. 238₁₂, 240 A 11; $\Pi\alpha\kappa\tau\acute{\iota}\omega$, Myl. 248 C 3, 13; $\acute{\Lambda}\rho\chi\alpha\gamma\omicron\rho\hat{\omega}$, Halik. 240 B 3; $\text{M}\acute{\iota}\kappa\iota\nu\hat{\omega}$ 240 A 38; $\text{B}\rho\acute{\omega}\lambda\omega$, Ditt. *Syll.* 6 D 22, we have the contraction. The genitives in - $\epsilon\nu$ from - $\epsilon\omicron < -\epsilon\omega$ probably came first into existence when - $\epsilon\omega$ constituted the final syllable; and $\epsilon\nu$ gradually forced its way into medial syllables ($\theta\epsilon\nu\rho\acute{\omicron}\acute{\iota}$, $\pi\upsilon\lambda\epsilon\rho\acute{\omicron}\acute{\varsigma}$). But see Brugmann, *Gr. Gr.* § 19.

$\epsilon\omega$ from $\eta\sigma\omega$.

$\epsilon\omega$ is diphthongal in the gen. pl. $\hat{\text{A}}$ declension. The occurrences of - $\epsilon\omega\nu$, - $\hat{\omega}\nu$, - $\epsilon\omega\nu$, are given under *Decl.* $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\theta\omicron\nu$, Naxos 23, I regard not as = $\eta\omicron\nu$, as Fick takes it, B. B. XI, 268, but as = $\epsilon\omega\nu$, the H expressing the open quality of the e sound (cf. Dittenberger, *Hermes*, XV, 229; Blass, *Aussprache*,³ 24 ff.). There appears to be no warrant for deriving - $\epsilon\omega\nu$ from - $\eta\omicron\nu$, attested at best in this single instance.

NOTE. — Attic - $\hat{\omega}$ arises from - $\epsilon\omega$ (either from pan-Hellenic $\eta\omicron$ or Attic-Ionic $\eta\omicron$) when either ϵ or ω was tonic. Ionic resisted the operation of this law until a late period in its history. Whether accent position ($\angle \eta\omicron$, or $\eta\omicron \angle$) should have produced $\epsilon\omicron$ is entirely doubtful.

$\epsilon\omega$, $\epsilon\omega$, from $\epsilon\sigma\omega$.

$\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\omega}\nu$, Amorg. 35, epigram, Mimn. 3; $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\omega}\nu$, Xenoph. 2₁₁. Adverbs in - $\epsilon\omega\varsigma$: $\acute{\alpha}\delta\eta\nu\acute{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma$, Chios 174 B 12; Theog. 406, $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\nu}\mu\alpha\rho\acute{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma$, $\sigma\alpha\phi\eta\nu\acute{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma$ 963; $\nu\eta\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma$, Anakr. 75₂ ($< \nu\eta\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma$); $\acute{\alpha}\sigma\phi\alpha\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma$, Archil. 58₄, 66₄; Hdt. $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma$, $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\theta\acute{\eta}\acute{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma$, $\sigma\alpha\phi\eta\nu\acute{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma$, etc., but $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma$, V, 77, $\acute{\alpha}\delta\epsilon\omega\varsigma$, I, 216, etc., Diog. $\acute{\epsilon}\mu\phi\alpha\nu\acute{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma$ 4, $\acute{\alpha}\tau\rho\epsilon\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma$ 6. Cf. - $\hat{\omega}$ in the genitive from - $\epsilon\epsilon\omega$.

$\epsilon\omega$, $\epsilon\omega$, from $\epsilon\sigma\omega$ in other forms.

θεῶν, Arch. tr. 25₃, Mimn. 2₄, 9₆, Xenoph. 1₂₄, Solon 4₂, 13₃, but θεῶν 13₃₀, and Archil. 84₂, Hipponax 30 A, Anakr. 65₄. In the genitive plural of nouns of the sigmatic declension both -εων and -ων occur: Archil. ξιφέων 3₃, ὀρέων 115; Mimn. ὀχέων 12₁₁, δυσμενέων 14₈; Archil. δυσμεσέων 66₂, στηθέων 103; ἐτέων, Sim. Amorg. 1₈; ὀρέων, Anakr. 2₅.

3. εω from ηιο.

διφέων (—υ—), Archil. 68, διφέωντα, Anakr. 57, according to Fick (B. B. X, 265), for διψῶντα.

χρέωμαι, the genuine Ionic form (whatever be made of Hdt.'s χρέομαι in *P*, from II, 77 on) is = *χρηιομαι. On χρᾶσθαι < χρᾶϊσθαι, see § 36, 131, 139. Hdt. has χρέωνται, ἐχρέωντο, χρεώμενος. From χρῆν, pronounce, χρῆσθαι, interrogate an oracle, we have in Hdt. χρέωσα, χρεώμενος, ἐχρέωντο (*P* here too ἐχρέοντο, V, 82, VII, 141). From σμῆν, διασμέωντες, II, 37 (Stein, Kallenberg, -σμῶντες); hence ἐξέσμεων, III, 148. If νῆν is the Herodotean form, we would expect ἐπινέωσι IV, 62; if νεῖν, then ἐπινέουσι.

εω from ειω in verbs: under the head of *Contract Verbs* are given the forms in εω, εω, ω. Here too are to be classed participial nouns: προμαχεῶν, Hdt. (προμαχῶνες, Teos 159₉, Attic form); Ἄρκεων, Styra 19₁₇; Κωλέων, 19₂₃₇; Φιλεωνίδ[ε]ος, Thasos 73.

Adjectives denoting a material retain the uncontracted form until far into the imperial period. ἀργυρέω, Olbia 129₁₂; χρυσέωι, Ephes. 147₉; χρυσέω, Latyschev, *Inscr. antiq. orae septentr. Ponti Eux.* I, No. 67, Wood, *Discov. at Ephesus*, App. 6, No. 1. But χρυσέω, Mimn. 11₆, and one case of -ῶ, Latyschev, *l. l.* No. 57. Adjectives in -λεος with but a few exceptions fail to contract any form: ἀργαλέω, Tyrt. 12₂₈. See § 130 ὅ. In the pronominal declension we find ἡμέων, ὑμέων; see Brugmann, *Gr. Gr.* § 96.

Suffix -εων in ἀνδρεῶν, ποδεῶν, φαρετρεῶν, etc., in Hdt.

εω where no consonant intervened:

ἀφέω, Hipponax 75, from *ἀφήω; εἰδέωσιν, Halik. 238₂₁, Demokr. 87, whose εω is diphthongal despite the absence of contraction, and is = εἰδῶσιν, Ephesos 147₁₇ (300 B.C.). Cf. εο in γεγωνέοντες, Chios 174 B 12. Original ειω becomes εω, e.g. in the subj.: δοκέωσιν, Sim. Amorg. 7₉₇; τραπέωσι καὶ πατέωσιν, Ananios 5₄; παραπιτνῶσι, Samos 220₂₂.

156. H + O.

The Ionic developed a pronounced objection to η with following vowel. See above, on εο, εω.

157. H + Ω.

$\eta\omega$ is preserved as an archaic form; e.g. in Ἡώς, Mimn. 12^{3, 10}, and in Hdt. through the protection offered by ρ (ἦώς from * $\bar{a}\nu\sigma\omega\varsigma$, K. Z. XXX, 422, No. 2). On Archil. 83 $\epsilon\omega\theta\epsilon\nu$, see Bartholomae, K. Z. XXIX, 522. Elsewhere H + (ρ, ζ, σ) + Ω becomes $\epsilon\omega$, whether $\eta = \bar{a}$ or pan-Hellenic η .

158. E + Υ.

The elegy still preserves $\epsilon\upsilon$, if the possibility of reading $\upsilon\upsilon$ may be regarded as a criterion ($\epsilon\upsilon\pi\lambda\omicron\kappa\acute{\alpha}\mu\omicron\nu$, Arch. 11; $\epsilon\upsilon\phi\rho\omicron\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\nu\eta$, Xenoph. 14; $\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\tau\epsilon\phi\acute{\alpha}\nu\omicron\nu$, Theog. 1339; cf. 548, 574), while $\epsilon\bar{\upsilon}$ is permitted (Archil. 19, Theog. 639, 845, etc.). Iambic poetry records $\epsilon\bar{\upsilon}$ in $\epsilon\upsilon\phi\rho\omega\nu$, Sim. Amorg. 7⁸⁹, $\epsilon\upsilon\tau\upsilon\chi\epsilon\acute{\iota}$ 7⁸³.

159. O + Α.

1. $o\check{\rho}\acute{\alpha}$.

$\chi\epsilon\rho\omega\nu\alpha\acute{\xi}\acute{\iota}\epsilon\acute{\omega}\nu$, Hdt.; $\Sigma\iota\mu\acute{\omega}\nu\alpha\kappa\tau\omicron\varsigma$, Hippon. 55 B (= $\Sigma\eta\mu\omega$?) ; $\text{Ἰ}\pi\pi\acute{\omega}\nu\alpha\kappa\tau\omicron\varsigma$, Hipp. 13; $\text{Ἀ}\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\omega}\nu\alpha\kappa\tau\omicron\varsigma$, Chios 177¹⁰; $\text{Ἐ}\rho\mu\acute{\omega}\nu\alpha\acute{\xi}$, Iasos 104¹⁴, Eryth. 206 B 13; $\Delta\eta\mu\acute{\omega}\nu\alpha\kappa\tau\omicron\varsigma$ 206 B 21, Thas. (L.) 4 B 10, 14³³, Thasos 81 B 4; $\text{Τ}\iota\mu\acute{\omega}\nu\alpha\acute{\xi}$, Thasos 75 B 4. It seems not incredible that in most of these compound proper names the termination $-\omega\nu\alpha\acute{\xi}$ is due to the influence of such names as $\text{Π}\iota\theta\acute{\omega}\nu\alpha\acute{\xi}$ (which rests upon $\text{Π}\iota\theta\omega\nu$); and that there seemed to be an echo of the vocative $\acute{\omega}\nu\alpha\acute{\xi}$ in the names of the Ionian democrats. See Wackernagel, K. Z. XXIX, 143.

$\pi\rho\acute{\omega}\tau\omicron\varsigma$ (perhaps from * $\pi\rho\omega\phi\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$), Keos 43¹⁶, Styra 19⁴⁷; $\acute{\omega}\sigma\acute{\iota}$, Anakr. 21⁴, * $\acute{\omicron}\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$ < Hom. $\acute{\omicron}\alpha\tau-$, $\acute{\omicron}\acute{\omicron}\alpha\tau-$. See Schmidt's *Neutra*, p. 407.

$o(\rho)\alpha$ uncontracted in $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\acute{\eta}\kappa\omicron\alpha$. $\nu\epsilon\acute{\omicron}\acute{\alpha}\lambda\omega\tau\omicron\iota$, Hdt. IX, 120, is felt to be a compound.

2. $o\check{\sigma}\acute{\alpha}$

= ω in $\kappa\alpha\kappa\acute{\iota}\omega$, Archil. 6⁴; $\kappa\rho\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\sigma\omega$, Anan. 3³; $\acute{\alpha}\mu\acute{\epsilon}\iota\omega$, Theog. 409 [$\pi\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\iota\omega$ 907, not certain]. Hdt. has $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\acute{\alpha}\sigma\sigma\omega$, $\kappa\alpha\lambda\lambda\acute{\iota}\omega$, $\acute{\alpha}\mu\acute{\epsilon}\iota\omega$, $\pi\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omega$, etc., as well as the ν forms. Hdt. $\alpha\acute{\iota}\delta\acute{\omega}$, I, 8 (Greg. Corinth. § 35, says $\alpha\acute{\iota}\delta\acute{\omicron}\nu$ is Ionic); $\acute{\eta}\acute{\omega}$, Hdt. II⁸.

3. *Crisis* (cf. Greg. Corinth. § 29): $\tau\acute{\omicron}\rho\chi\alpha\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu$, $\acute{\omega}\nu\acute{\eta}\rho$, $\tau\acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\lambda\mu\alpha$, etc., in Hdt. render $\acute{\alpha}\mu$, Thasos 68 A, very noticeable, if Fick (*G. G. A.* 1883, 126) is correct in regarding it as = $\acute{\omicron}\acute{\alpha}\mu$. $o + a$ results in a in Elean, Argolic, Korinthian, and in other Doric dialects. In Attic we find a in $\text{Ἀ}\theta\eta\nu\alpha\acute{\iota}\omicron\varsigma$, $\tau\acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\lambda\mu\alpha$, *Mitth.* III, p. 230, 5 (before 343 B.C.),

and also ω in $\pi\rho\acute{\omega}\tau\omicron\varsigma$,¹ $\tau\acute{\omega}\gamma\acute{\alpha}\lambda\mu\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$, C. I. A., I, 322 A 75 (transcribed by Kirchhoff, $\tau\omicron\upsilon(\acute{\alpha})\gamma-$). The parallelism of Attic and Ionic makes it probable that $o + a$ may become ω and a . 'Αμοιβίχον = ὀ'Αμ-, Abu-Simbel (Roberts 130) cannot be introduced in evidence, since the name is not that of an Ionian. Absence of crasis is frequent upon the inscriptions; e.g. $\tau\omicron\delta\ \acute{\alpha}\delta\omicron\varsigma$, Halik. 238¹⁹. $oi + a$ in $\acute{\omega}\lambda\lambda\omicron\iota$,² $\acute{\omega}\nu\theta\rho\omega\pi\omicron\iota$; $ou + a$ in $\tau\acute{\omega}\pi\acute{\omicron}\lambda\lambda\omega\nu\omicron\varsigma$, Chalkis 13¹², Halik. 238²⁶, Naukratis, Roberts 132 E; $\tau\acute{\omega}\gamma\acute{\omega}\nu\omicron\varsigma$, Teos 156 B 32; but $\tau\omicron\upsilon$ 'Απόλλωνος, Amphip. 10¹³, Eretria 15¹⁵, Milet. 98, $\tau\omicron\upsilon$ 'Αφνάσιος, Halik. 238⁴. With $\tau\acute{\alpha}\pi\acute{\omicron}\lambda\lambda\omega\nu[\omicron\varsigma]$, Naukratis, Roberts 132 G; cf. $\acute{\alpha}\mu$ above.

160. O + \hat{A} .

In accus. pl. of \hat{A} stems $o + \bar{a} < avs$ remains uncontracted.

161. $\Omega + A$.

$\Sigma\acute{\omega}\nu\delta\rho\omicron\varsigma$, Amorg. 32 rather from $< \sigma\omega\nu = \sigma\omega$ before vowels (Spitzer, Arkad. 43, 44), than from $\sigma\alpha\sigma\omicron$. See § 144. Hdt. has $\eta\rho\omega\nu$ for $\eta\rho\omega\alpha$. 'Ωρίων, Miletos 93 (Pindar 'Ωαρίωνα) and in Homer, though Nauck proposes to substitute 'Ωαρίων- for 'Ωρίων-. Cf. Menrad, p. 13.

By *crasis*: $\acute{\omega}\nu\theta\rho\omega\pi\epsilon$, Hdt., Theog. 453; $\acute{\omega}\nu\acute{\alpha}\xi$, Hdt.; $\tau\acute{\omega}\pi\acute{\omicron}\lambda\lambda\omega\nu\iota$, Miletos 96, 97, Naukratis 139 B = Roberts 132 *ter.*; $\tau\acute{\omega}\nu\tau\iota\kappa\acute{\nu}\eta\mu\iota\omicron\nu$, Hippon. 49₆; $\tau\acute{\omega}\iota$ 'Απολλ[ωνί]ω, Mil. 93 and Halik. 238⁴⁵, an inscription that refuses to follow the crasis laws.

162. O + E.

1. *οφε* yields *οε* and *ου* in the poets. Arch. $\acute{\iota}\mu\epsilon\rho\acute{\omicron}\nu\epsilon\tau\alpha$ 8, $\sigma\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu\acute{\omicron}\nu\epsilon\tau\alpha$ 9₁, $\acute{\alpha}\acute{\iota}\mu\alpha\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu\epsilon\iota$ 9₈; Mimn. $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\gamma\iota\nu\acute{\omicron}\nu\epsilon\sigma\sigma\alpha\nu$ 11₂, $\acute{\alpha}\acute{\iota}\mu\alpha\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu\epsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$ 14₇; Anacr. $\delta\alpha\kappa\rho\nu\acute{\omicron}\nu\epsilon\sigma\sigma\alpha\nu$ 31, $\kappa\epsilon\rho\acute{\omicron}\nu\acute{\omicron}\nu\epsilon\sigma\sigma\eta\varsigma$ 51₂, $\delta\alpha\kappa\rho\nu\acute{\omicron}\nu\epsilon\tau\alpha$ 94₂; Xenoph. $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\gamma\iota\nu\acute{\omicron}\nu\epsilon\sigma\sigma\alpha\nu$ 24; Phok. $\acute{\iota}\mu\epsilon\rho\acute{\omicron}\nu\epsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$ 3₈; $\acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\epsilon\mu\epsilon\nu\acute{\iota}\nu\tau\alpha\varsigma$ (ou?) Anacr. 62₂, $\chi\alpha\rho\iota\tau\epsilon\nu$ (ou?) 44, Βατου-σιῶδης Arch. 104₂ < Βατοῦς = Βατόεις, the only examples of contraction in forms of *-οεις*, i.e. $o +$ spurious ϵ ; see § 179.

In the compound $\tau\epsilon(\sigma)\sigma\epsilon\rho\alpha\kappa\alpha\iota\epsilon\beta\delta\omicron[\mu\eta]\rho\omicron\nu\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\eta\varsigma$, Paros 58, *οφε* is contracted, and in the adjectival and participial formations: $\tau\epsilon\chi\iota\upsilon(\sigma)\sigma\eta\varsigma$, Miletos 98 ($\tau\epsilon\chi\iota\omicron\phi\epsilon\tau\eta\varsigma$); $\mu\alpha\rho\alpha\theta\omicron\upsilon\acute{\nu}\tau\alpha$, Eryth. 201₂₆; $\theta\alpha\nu\acute{\omicron}\nu\sigma\alpha\nu$ 264, Adesp., $\sigma\tau\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\omicron\nu\sigma\alpha\nu$, Keos 47₁₂; in Hdt. $\omicron\iota\nu\acute{\omicron}\nu\sigma\alpha\iota$, $\Sigma\epsilon\lambda\iota\nu\acute{\omicron}\nu\sigma\iota\omicron\iota$, $\Sigma\nu\rho\alpha\kappa\acute{\omicron}\nu\sigma\iota\omicron\iota$ (on $\Sigma\nu\rho\alpha\kappa\acute{\omicron}\nu\sigma\iota\omicron\varsigma$, see above, § 123). *οε* in $\mu\omicron\lambda\acute{\omicron}\nu\epsilon\tau\alpha$, $\Sigma\omicron\lambda\acute{\omicron}\nu\epsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$, $\acute{\alpha}\acute{\iota}\gamma\iota\rho\acute{\omicron}\nu\epsilon\sigma\sigma\alpha$, $\mu\epsilon\lambda\iota\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu\epsilon\sigma\sigma\alpha$, Hdt. So too in $\epsilon\nu\acute{\nu}\omicron\sigma\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\nu$, V, 24.

¹ Unless $\pi\rho\acute{\omega}\tau\omicron\varsigma$ is for * $\pi\rho\omega\phi\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$.

² Cf. Et. Mag. 821₃₉.

The concurrence of a stem in ϵ/\omicron and of $-\epsilon\rho\gamma\omicron$ or $-\phi\epsilon\upsilon\tau-$, as the latter member of a compound, is dealt with in the dialects in different ways. The original ablaut form, $-\phi\omicron\rho\gamma\omicron\varsigma$, gave way at an early period to $-\phi\epsilon\rho\gamma\omicron\varsigma$, as is shown by Homeric $\delta\eta\mu\iota\omicron\epsilon\rho\gamma\omicron\varsigma$ T 383. See *Studien*, VIII, 213, § 20, 21, A. P. A. XVIII, 95, 158, Meister, II, 41, Bennett 28 ff.

I. The vowels are uncontracted.

$\delta\beta\rho\iota\mu\epsilon\rho\gamma\omega\hat{\nu}$, Kallin. 3; $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\theta\omicron\epsilon\rho\gamma\omicron\iota$, Hdt. I, 67; $\lambda\upsilon\kappa\iota\omicron\epsilon\rho\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\varsigma$, VII, 76; $\Sigma[\epsilon]\lambda\iota\nu\acute{\omicron}\epsilon\nu\tau[\iota]$, Megara C. D. I. 3045 A B₉; $\acute{\omicron}\rho\acute{\omicron}\epsilon\nu\tau\iota$, Lokris C. D. I. 1478 B 33.

II. The vowels are contracted.

(A) $\omicron + \epsilon$ becomes $\omicron\upsilon$.

$\pi\alpha\nu\alpha\lambda\omicron\upsilon\rho\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\alpha$, Xenoph. 3₃; $\Lambda\upsilon\kappa\omicron\upsilon\hat{\rho}\gamma\omicron\varsigma$, Styra 19₁₅; $\acute{\iota}\pi\omicron\upsilon\rho\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\omega$, $\xi\upsilon\lambda\omicron\upsilon\rho\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\omega$, Hdt. (Stein, *Preface*, liii); $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\iota\upsilon\rho\iota\upsilon\rho\gamma\acute{\eta}\sigma\alpha\iota$, *Vit. Hom.* 4; $\xi\omicron\alpha\nu\omicron\rho\gamma\acute{\eta}\varsigma$, Luk. *Syr.* 34; $\mu\omicron\upsilon\sigma\omicron\upsilon\rho\gamma\acute{\eta}\varsigma$, *Astr.* 10, *vit. auct.* 3; $\lambda\epsilon\iota\tau\omicron\upsilon\rho\gamma\omicron\iota$, Arrian 12; $\acute{\iota}\pi\omicron\upsilon\rho\gamma\acute{\eta}\mu\alpha\tau\alpha$, Euseb. Mynd. 10; $\acute{\iota}\pi\omicron\upsilon\rho\gamma\acute{\eta}\sigma\alpha\iota$, Hipp. ep. 141. $\tau\eta\iota\upsilon\rho\gamma\omicron\varsigma$, $\mu\iota\lambda\eta\sigma\iota\upsilon\rho\gamma\acute{\eta}\varsigma$, $\chi\iota\omicron\upsilon\rho\gamma\acute{\eta}\varsigma$, in the inventory of the temple of the Delian Apollo (B. C. H. VI, 29 = Ditt. *Syll.* 367), are too late (185-180 B.C.) to be placed in evidence. So too in North Greek, $\delta\alpha\mu\iota\omicron\upsilon\rho\gamma\omicron\varsigma$, Phokis (Ditt. *Syll.* 294₃₉), of the second century and Argolic, *l. l.* 389₂₆; Kameiros in Rhodes, *Revue Arch.* XIV, 333, No. 59; Lokris, $\acute{\omicron}\rho\acute{\omicron}\iota\nu\tau\iota\omicron\iota$ C. D. I. 1503, 1504 A B, 1505, 1509 B, 1510; $\acute{\omicron}\rho\acute{\omicron}\iota\nu\tau\iota$ 1502₃ (all late); $\Sigma\epsilon\lambda\iota\nu\acute{\omicron}\iota\nu\tau\iota\omicron\varsigma$ C. D. I. 3044, Megara (so Bechtel edits, but in his note suggests $\Sigma\epsilon\lambda\iota\nu\omicron\upsilon\tau-$). The Megarian dialect contracted $\omicron + \epsilon$ to $\omicron\upsilon$ even in an early period (the inscription is written $\beta\omicron\upsilon\sigma\tau\rho\phi\eta\delta\acute{\omicron}\nu$).

(B) $\omicron + \epsilon$ becomes ω according to some scholars (Roehl, G. Meyer, Blass) where syllabic hyphaeresis is preferable. ω is however certain in: $\acute{\alpha}\mu\pi\epsilon\lambda\omega\rho\gamma\acute{\kappa}\acute{\alpha}$, Herakl. Tables II, 43; $\tau\epsilon\lambda\phi\acute{\omega}\sigma\sigma\alpha$, a spring in Boiotia, Ahrens I, 173.

NOTE. — Contraction to $\epsilon\upsilon$ has been assumed on the strength of $\kappa\alpha\rho\iota\kappa\epsilon\upsilon\rho\gamma\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$, Anakr. 91, as written by Bergk for Strabo's $\kappa\alpha\rho\iota\kappa\omicron\epsilon\rho\gamma\omicron$. This contraction belongs in the same class as $\acute{\epsilon}\delta\iota\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}\epsilon\upsilon\upsilon$ with hyper-Ionic $\epsilon\upsilon$.

III. One of the vowels is lost either by syllabic hyphaeresis, or by the lightening of $-\phi\omega\rho\gamma-$ to $-\phi\omicron\rho\gamma-$, $\acute{\omicron}\nu\tau$ to $-\omicron\upsilon\tau$ (never to $-\epsilon\upsilon\tau$).

(A) ϵ is expelled in $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\omicron\rho\gamma\acute{\eta}\nu$, Samos 220_{15, 16, 19}, $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\omicron\rho\gamma\acute{\alpha}$ 220₃₆, $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\omicron\rho\gamma\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ 220₂₃, $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\omicron\rho\gamma\acute{\omicron}\nu$ 220_{22, 30}, $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\omicron\rho\gamma\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ 220₂₈, $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\lambda\omicron\rho\gamma\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ 220₂₁, $\delta\eta\mu\iota\omicron\rho\gamma\acute{\omicron}\nu$ 220₂₉ (cf. *Rhein. Mus.* XXII, 313); $\acute{\iota}\rho\omicron\rho\gamma\acute{\iota}\alpha\iota$, the reading of ABC in Hdt. V, 83. In the other dialects we find $\delta\alpha\mu\iota\omicron\rho\gamma\omicron\varsigma$, Andania,

Cauer 47¹¹⁶, first century; Megara *Mitth.* VIII, 191, No. 5; Aigosthenai, Cauer 104¹⁹ (III, C); Knidos, Cauer 166⁷ (I, C); Kameiros, Cauer 187¹ (conj.);¹ Astypalaia, *B. C. H.* VIII, 26 B 7, 8; Telos, Cauer 169²; Argos, Cauer 48 (conj.) (V, C); Arkadia, C. D. I. 1181⁹ (III, C), *B. C. H.* VII, 488, *Mitth.* VI, 304^{3,9}; Achaia (Ditt. *Syll.* 182¹³ (II, C), 242²¹ (II, C), *B. C. H.* II, 97 l. 16; Lokrian, C. D. I. 1476²⁻³; Oianthea, C. D. I. 1479 B 15 (V, C), 1480 (V, C), Pamphylia, C. D. I. 1260 (late), 1261 (late). Also in Ὀλόντιοι in Krete, C. I. G. 2554³, Ὀ]ποντίων, C. D. I. 1478 A 11, cf. 14 (V, C) (Ὀπόεντι. B 33), as we find ΟΠΟΝΤΙΩΝ on the older coins; Σελινόντιος, as Bechtel proposes to read C. D. I. 3044, Megara, instead of -ονντιος.

(B) o is expelled.

δαμμεργός, Nisyros, Ditt. *Syll.* No. 195 (about 200 B.C.); λιμεργής, Lykophr. 716. Both are doubtless, due to the influence of ἔργον. Cf. § 20.

In infinitives of -ω verbs ο + *φεν* (or *σεν*) or ο + spurious *ει*, has invariably yielded *ου*. ὀρκούν, Halik. 238²⁶; βεβαιοῦν 240^{4,5}; also ο + *φεν* = *ου* as in δοῦ(ν)άι, Priene 144⁸; διδοῦν, Oropos 18^{21,33}; Thasos 72¹¹. ῥιγοῦν, Hdt. V, 92, η = Attic ῥιγῶν (ῥιγω + εν); ῥιγοῦν, after Plato. We should expect ῥιγῶν in Hdt.

2. οσε

Becomes *ου* regularly; e.g. μείους, Xenoph. 34; ἀμείους V, 78, πλέους II, 8, 120, are the only contracted forms in Hdt. of the nom. pl. of these comparatives.

3. οιε

In verbs in -ω, οιε invariably becomes *ου*. See under *Conjugation*.

4. *Crasis*: οε suffers contraction when no spirant intervenes. In lyric poetry: προεκπονῆ, Sim. Amorg. 221; προῦθηκε, Arch. tr. 38; προῦπινεν, Hippon. tr. 39³, προῦδωκα, Theog. 529; not contracted in the Ionic of Hdt. Lukian *Syr.* 24, Hippokr. ep. 17³⁴, have προῦ-; but Arrian *Ind.* 19, 22, 34, Euseb. Mynd. 21, 41, Epist. Hipp. 27¹⁹, προε-. Κλεουμπόρου, Lampsakos 171, from κλεο + ἔμπορος.

Crasis occurs also in οὔτερος, Hdt. I, 34; τοὔτερον, Hdt. and Sim. Amorg. 7¹¹³; τοῦναντίον, Euseb. Mynd. 2; but τὸ ἐλάχιστον, Hdt. II, 13, τὸ ἔσχατον, VII, 229, τὸ ἔδαφος, VIII, 137. ου + ε in τοῦρμοκράτεος, Prokon. 103; οὔνεκ', Sol. tr. 37⁵, Theog. 854, 1349; τοῦνεκα, Theog. 488; τοῦνεκεν, Xenoph. 2¹⁹; τοῦνεκα, Luk. *Syr.* 33, 39, 54. This ου is not a diphthong. *Aphaeresis* in ποταμοῦ πανέρχομαι, Anakr. 23.

¹ For δαμιΟΥΓήσας.

163. O + H.

1. οφη.

ὀγδωκονταέτη, Sol. 20₄. Cf. ὀγδοήκοντα, Kaibel 120₃; Hdt. ὀγδῶκοντα (Eustath. Il. 288 = 218), through influence of ὀκτώ. See § 76.

βῶσαι, ἐβῶσθη, etc. in Hdt.; ἔβωσε, Hippon. tr. 1, 1, for ἐβόησε of the Mss. Homer has βῶσαντι, Anacr. 60, ἐπίβωτον. That the contraction is not thoroughgoing is evident from Anacr. 100₂, ἐβόησε. ἐννώσας, ἐννώσαντα, etc., Hdt. (Greg. Corinth. § 94, Eustath. Il. 288 = 218); νωσάμενος, Theog. 1298; νενωμένος, Anacr. 10; νῶσωνται, Sim. Amorg. 1₁₇ (conj.). This contraction is sporadic (προνοήσας, Sol. 13₆₇, νοῆσαι 16, and often in Hdt.). οφη is retained in ἀθρόην, Arch. 35, etc.

There seems to be no ground for the contention that βῶσαι and ἐννώσας do not stand for βοῆσαι, etc., but are comparable to Homeric and Herodotean ζῶω and have themes ending in ω.

NOTE. — βοηθέω (or -οέω?), in Aiolic ἐβαθήη, is not paralleled by an Ionic βωθ-. Hdt. has βοηθέω, and so βοηθήσω in Eryth. 204₁₅.

2. οιη.

Contracted in ἀλλογνώσας, Hdt. I, 85, perhaps through influence of ἀγνώμων, ἀγνωμοσύνη. μισθῶτον < μισθόητον; μισθόημι = μισθοῖ. Hdt. uses neither διπλόη nor διπλή, but Hippokrates has διπλόη as a substantive.

164. Ω + E.

ωφε.

ῶεον, Sim. Amorg. 11. Cf. Sappho, ῶιον; Hdt. ῶόν, II, 68 (Stein, though many Mss. omit the *iota*); Hesychios quotes ῶβεον as Argolic. *Aphaeresis* in ῶ'ταῖρε, Arch. tetr. 85.

165. O + I.

1. οφι

Becomes οῖ and οι in Ionic poetry: οῖζύς, Arch. 52; οῖζυροί, Theog. 65; and so we generally read in Ionic prosaists. οι in οῖζυρόν, Sim. Amorg. 7₅₀; τρισουζύρην, Archil. 129; i.e. about 700 οῖ could become οῖ.

οῖωνός, not οἰωνός, Theog. 545, Solon 13, 56, Hdt. οῖω < ὄφιω, from ὄφεις, *bird*, which lies at the base of οἰωνός (Hintner, *K. Z.* XXVII, 607), is not found in Ionic outside of Homer.

οῖς: monosyllabic nouns that contain a diphthong, separated originally by φ, are in Homer generally dissyllabic in the nominative and accusative cases, but refuse to admit the diaeresis in the oblique

cases. This holds good in Ionic poetry as late as the sixth century, at least, in the case of *παῖς*. *οἷς οἷες, οἶν οἷς*, are the rule in Homer; but in the other cases both *οῖ* and *οᾶ* occur. For the later Ionic it is difficult to say which form should have the preference, on account of the paucity of poetical forms. *δοῖος* is a conjecture, Anan. 5₆, for *οἷος*; otherwise we have no evidence. Stein (*Preface*, liii) maintains that *οἷς, οἷεος*, are the correct Herodotean forms, while Bredow (p. 173) writes *οῖ* in all cases, even in *δοῖσπη, δοῖέησι*. But if *παῖς* is the Ionic form of the fifth century, it is difficult to see why Bechtel's *οῖν*, Thasos 68 A, is not correct.

δοῖσός is written in Hdt. by Bredow and Stein; *Λητοῖδης*, Theog. 1120; *ἀθροίζομαι*, Archil. 60, 104.

2. *οἷε.*

καταπροῖξέσθαι (cf. *προῖσσομαι*, Arch. 92, 130); *προῖκα*, Myk. 92₁₅ (Makedonian period). Ionic *προῖξ*, Et. Mag. 495₃₂, a form found in the spurious Hipponaktian fragment, 72.¹

3. *οσι.*

αἰδοῖην, Epigr. adesp. 264; *αἰδοῖος*, Archil. 63₁.

166. Ω + Ι.

Except in suffix syllables (-*ωῖος*-), *ω* before *ι* is preserved as an archaism in the earlier phases of Ionic poetry by the echo of the lost *ϕ*, as in

λωῖων, Sim. Amorg. 7₃₀; *λώϊον*, Theog. 424, 690, as in Homer; *λώϊος* 800, *λώϊα* 853, but *λωῖα* 96 (see Bergk on v. 800); *θωῖή*, Arch. 109 = *θωή* (cf. Lokrian *θώϊ* ἔστω, or *θωῖήστω*, in ΘΟΙΕΣΤΩ, C. D. I. 1479₉; *ἀθῶιον*, Thasos 71₆); *ζωῖων*, Sim. Amorg. 13₂, the only instance of the open form (cf. *ῶεον* in Sim.), elsewhere *ζῶον*, as in Hdt. some Mss. having *ζῶιον*, *ζῶον*. See M. U. I. 8. *φῶιδας*, according to Renner 186, Hipponax 59; Bergk, *φῶδας*. Perhaps we should write *φῶιδας*. *σωῖζω*, Hdt. with the *ι* that is often found on Attic inscriptions.

Adjectives in -*ωῖος*: *πατρῶῖος*, Greg. Corinth. p. 441, Theog. 521, Delos 53 epigram, 264 unc. loc.; *πατρῶας*, Theog. 888, 1210, and so often in Mss. of Hdt. though *ωῖ* appears to be genuine Ionic of the fifth century. Thus we read *πατρῶῖος, μητρῶῖος, ἡρώῖος*, Hdt. (Bred. 175); *ἡρώϊον*, Eryth. 201₆ (cf. *ἡρωῖ*); *πρωῖην*, Hdt. VIII, 6,

¹ On the relation of *προῖσσομαι* to *προῖκτης*, see Ascoli *Krit. Stud.* p. 332₁₄ (Germ. ed.), Fick, B. B. VIII, 330.

as *πρωί*, IX, 101. From the Mss. of Hdt. it is impossible to determine beyond any doubt whether *-ωϊος* or *-φος* was the actual form. Most editors write the forms as given above, while for *φ̄* a preference may be made out in the case of *ῆφ̄ος* (= *ῆοϊος*), a poetical word used by the historian, *Ἀχελφ̄ος*,¹ *Τρωάς*, *Κφ̄ος* (on *Κέος*, see above, § 152), *φ̄όν*.

167. I + E.

ισε in *ιερ-* in Hdt.'s *ἀρχιερεὺς*, *καλλιερῆω*, *Ἰερώνυμος*; as regards *ιέρως* the Mss. of Hdt. have *ιε* in the majority of instances, but *ῑ* in some cases without any variant. Hekataios, 284, has *ιρός*. The latter derives a weak support from Greg. Corinth. (§ 66), who states that *ιε* = *ῑ* in Ionic, but quotes *ιερῆς* in § 67. The text of Herodotos, in reproducing the occurrence of both Homeric forms, cannot *per se* be held to guide us to the genuine Ionic form in use in the fifth century. The testimony of the poets is without great weight: Sim. Amorg. 7₈₆, *ιρά* with *v. l.* *ιερά*; 24₂ *ιρωστί* (conj.); Anan. 1₃ *ιερῶν*; (a very obstinate passage), Archil. *ιερ-* 18, Solon 4₁₂, Theog. 545. In the inscriptions we find but few cases of *ιρο-*, but these occur in the three geographical divisions of Ionic: *Ἰρομνήμων*, Abdera 163₇, before 400; ²*Ἰρή*, or *Ἰρή*, 267 adesp.; Amphip. 10₁₃, *ιρόν* (367 B.C.), a sure proof that *ιρο* is Ionic; IHPON = *ιρόν*, Thasos 70, *ιρόν* 71₉, (*ῑ*)*ρεῖ* 71₁₁ (but *ιερῆα* l. 7). *ιερ-* is far more frequently attested: —

500–400 B.C.: Eretr. 15_{14, 19}, Oropos 18 (18 times), Miletos 100_{4, 6, 7}, Amorgos 230, Halik. 238_{3, 36}.

400–300 B.C.: Keos 48; Thasos 71₇ (also *ιρο-*); Miletos 102, 2; Iasos 104_{14, 16}; Zeleia 113_{37, 38}; Pantik. 119, 122, 123; Theodosia 127; Ephesos 147₁₄; Eryth. 201_{5, 24}, 204_{23, 32, 33}; Samos 221₃₇; Mylasa 248 B 8, C 4, 8, Chios, *B. P. W.* 1889, p. 1195, l. 20.

300–200 B.C.: Thasos 72_{10, 11, 14}; Olbia 128; Eryth. 206 very many forms. In still later times: Ephesos 150 (Hadrian), Teos 158_{15, 16, 22}.

From this evidence we cannot but conclude that both forms existed contemporaneously in Ionic, and that it is in vain that we attempt to draw a sharp line between them. As long as the only form that we have from Chalkidian has *ῑ*, and as long as the genuineness of the Thasian and the Abderite *ῑ* is unassailed, it is beyond the lines of sound argument to hold with Fritsch that *ιρός* in Herodotos is borrowed from

¹ Perinthos 234 B 23, and a Samian coin in Brit. Mus. *Num. Chron.* 1882, 255, have *Ἀχελώϊος*.

² This disproves Erman's statement, *Stud.* V, p. 297.

the epic, and that *ἰρός* in Homer is Aiolic. If evidence of inscriptions and Mss. is to be taken for anything, Hdt. used both forms as he used *κεῖνος* and *ἐκεῖνος*.

The pseudo-Ionists fluctuate to such a degree that their testimony can scarcely be brought into court. There appears to be a slight predominance of the open form, which is the sole form in the *Vita Hom.*

Whether *ἴρηξ* is contracted from *ἰέραξ*, or whether *ἴρηξ* is the older form, is still uncertain.

NOTE.—The explanation of *ἰρός* from **ἰσρός* is shattered by the Aiolic *ἶρος*; *ἰσρός* would have become, and remained, in that dialect, *ἶρρος*.

168. I + H.

πολίτης is of course not contracted from *πολιήτης*, as was formerly held; a view as incorrect as that of the pleonasm of the *η* (Bekker, Anecd. II, 524). *ιφη* in *μελιήδης*, etc.

169. Y + I.

υῖ in the dative of *v* stems, occasionally *υῖ* (*ἰλυῖ*, Theog. 961), as Homeric *οἰζυῖ*. *υῖ* also in *πολυιδρέιουσιν*, Theog. 703, etc.

III. COMBINATION OF VOWELS AND DIPHTHONGS, AND DIPHTHONGS AND DIPHTHONGS (*crasis*).

The combinations of vowels and diphthongs will be treated in the following order:—

<i>a + ai,</i>	<i>a + ei,</i>	<i>a + oi,</i>	<i>a + av,</i>	<i>a + ev,</i>	<i>a + ov.</i>
<i>ε + ai,</i>	<i>ε + ei,</i>	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.
<i>ο + ai,</i>	<i>ο + ei,</i>				
<i>η + ai,</i>	<i>η + ei,</i>				
<i>ω + ai,</i>	<i>ω + ei,</i>				

Combinations of *ai + ai*, *ai + av*, etc., are placed under the head of *a + ai*, etc. *ηι*, *ωι*, have been classed under the head of *η*, *ω*, above § 127.

170. A + AI.

ai + ai = ai in *καίερός*, Arch. ep. 86 (*v. l. καὶ αἰερός*).

171. A + EI.

1. *αει*. A. Genuine *ει*.

ἀεικής, Hdt.,¹ Hippokr. ΠΔΟ 44, Sol. tr. 36₁₁, eleg. 5⁴, Theog. 811; *ἀεικέλιος*, Sol. 4₂₅. *ἄϊκῶς* X 336, does not show that *ἄ + ε + ι* can become *ἄ + ῖ*; but that *ἄ + ῖ* (*ἀϊκής*) may remain open or be contracted, as in *αἰκίζοίμεθα*, Sim. Amorg. 1₂₄, which cannot be derived from *ἀεικ-*. The presence of this shorter form and the composition of the word prevented *ἀεικ-* from being contracted to *ἄκ-*. *αἰκέλιος*, Theog. 1344, may be a parallel form to *ἀεικέλιος* (cf. Smyth, A. J. P. VI, 439). Lukian has both *ἀεικής* and *ἀεικέλιος*.

ἀείδω, Hdt., Arch. tetr. 57, Anakr. 65₃, Sol. 20₃, Theog. 533, 939 (Schneid., Mss. *ἄδ-*), 1065, etc. *a + genuine ει* when contracted can yield only *ᾶ*, never *ᾷ*: Archil. 123 (*ἄδων*), Anakr. 45₂ *ἄδω*, Theog. 243 *ἄσσονται*, as Hymn VI, 2. The contraction of *a + genuine ει* (*ᾶ*)² is as old in Ionic as that of *a + spurious ει* (*ᾷ*). *ἀείδω* in Hdt. is perhaps due to the *μεταχαρακτηρισμός*, which affected archaic forms. Lukian has the open form in every case. So too *ἐπαῖω* in Hdt. (III, 29) should give place to *ἐπάω*. Herakl. 73 has still the older form according to Bywater. See Schulze, K. Z. XXIX, 253 ff.

B. *a + spurious ει* either remains open or is contracted in Ionic to *ᾷ*. Ignorance of this fact has led to great confusion in the minds of dialectologists and editors of Herodotos as to the propriety of admitting *αἴρω* into the text of the lyric poets and of Herodotos. Homer has both *ἀείρω* and *αἴρω*, and both forms must be accepted as genuine Ionic. That the Mss. of Hdt. prefer *ἀείρω* to *αἴρω*, and that *ἀείδω* and *ἀεικής* are always read in the text of the historian, have led Dindorf and Stein to adopt *ἀείρω*, though its *ει* has nothing in common with that of *ἀείδω* or *ἀεικής*. *ἀείρω* is attested as follows: Archil. 94, *παρήειρε*; Luk. *d. d. S.* § 36, 52, *Astr.* 11, Abydenos 5, Euseb. Mynd. 9, 33, have *αει*, and so Aretaios, 216, 224, 132, 265 (elsewhere the other forms). The contracted forms, *ἄρειεν*, Sim. Amorg. 7₀₀; *ἐπάρει*, Ephesos 145 A 2; *ἐπάρας*, 145 A 9.³ *αἴρω* is found in Hippokrates ΠΚ, 165, 413, EI, 178; *ἐπήρται*, ΠΚ, 294; *ἐπήρτο*, EI, 192; *ἐπήρθη*, EI, 187, 194; *ξενήρει*, EI, 169.

ἀείρω and *αἴρω* are to be separated, so far as their genesis is con-

¹ I see no reason for following Fritsch (*V. H. D.* p. 20) in his refusal to accept *ἀεικείη* as Herodotean.

² Cf. *α* in Attic from *αι ι*, § 38.

³ Hdt. Mss. have *ἀρθείς* more frequently than *ἀρθεῖς*. The latter, Luk. *Astr.* 15.

cerned, the former representing $\acute{\alpha}$ - $\epsilon\rho$ - $\acute{\alpha}\omega$, the latter $\epsilon\rho$ - $\acute{\alpha}\omega$ (Brugmann, K. Z. XXVII 197; Solmsen, K. Z. XXIX 355). In Attic $\acute{\alpha}\rho\omega$ got the upper hand. Though the desire to rescue open forms for Herodotean Ionic, and to exclude contract forms, has led to the exclusion of $\acute{\alpha}\rho\omega$, the genuine interrelation of the forms offers no obstacle to its acceptance. Whether or not it has been inserted by copyists on the strength of the Homeric form, is another question. It is, however, probable that both forms have a claim to existence in the Ionic dialect of the fifth century.

$a + \epsilon$ uncontracted in $\delta\alpha\acute{\epsilon}\iota\varsigma$, Solon, 13₅₀, and Κάειρα , Δ 142 and Hdt., the masculine form of which is derived from Κᾶήρ Κᾶερός , etc. (Lugebil, B. B. X, 303). $a +$ spurious ϵ = \bar{a} in Attic $\phi\acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ (Lukian $\phi\alpha\acute{\epsilon}\iota\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$, *Syr.* 32), in Hom. Att. $\delta\alpha\nu\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$, and perhaps in infinitives in $-\acute{\alpha}\nu$; see § 179.

2. $\alpha\epsilon\iota$ (ϵ genuine) = \bar{a} in $\tau\iota\mu\acute{\alpha}$ (Doric $\tau\iota\mu\acute{\eta}$).

172. A + OI.

$\acute{\alpha}\rho\omicron\iota$ remains open in $\acute{\alpha}\omicron\iota\delta\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$, Hdt., Xenoph. 54, Solon 29; $\acute{\alpha}\omicron\iota\delta\acute{\eta}$, Hdt., Theog. 251, 791; $\acute{\alpha}\omicron\iota\kappa\eta\tau\omicron\varsigma$, Hdt.

Contraction ensues in $\acute{\omega}\delta\acute{\eta}$, Sol. 12, Hippokr. AAL, 23, EI, 186, as Hymn V, 495; $\rho\acute{\alpha}\iota\psi\omega\delta\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$, Bechtel 260, found at Dodona, but ultimate provenance unknown. Crasis of $a + \omicron$ omitted, e.g. $\tau\grave{\alpha} \omicron\iota\kappa[\acute{\iota}]a$, Halik. 238₂₅.

AI + OI in $\kappa\omicron[\acute{\iota}]\nu\omicron\pi\acute{\iota}\delta\eta\varsigma$, Chios, 174 C 22, Blass, others, $\kappa' \omicron[\acute{\iota}]\nu\omicron\pi\acute{\iota}\delta\eta\varsigma$; $\kappa\alpha\iota \omicron\iota\kappa\acute{\iota}\omega\nu$, Halik. 238₂₅.

173. A + AY.

Crasis in $\tau\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\acute{\alpha}$, Eryth. 204₁₃, and in Hdt., but many cases of $\tau\acute{\alpha} \acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\acute{\alpha}$ in Hdt., e.g. IV, 114. So Miletos 100₄; Zeleia 113₂₇.

AI + AY. $\acute{\alpha}\iota \acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\acute{\alpha}\iota$, Hdt. V, 69; $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\nu\chi\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha$, Theog. 536; $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\acute{\alpha}\gamma\rho\epsilon\tau\omicron\iota$, Sim. Amorg. 119; $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$, Teos 158₁₅; but several cases of $\kappa\alpha\iota \acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ in Teos 156 A and B and Amphipolis 10.

174. A + OY.

$\tau\iota\mu\acute{\omega}\sigma\iota$, Ionic-Attic ($\omicron\upsilon$ spurious).

AI + OY: $\kappa\omicron\upsilon\kappa$, Theog. 1342; Sol. 13₆₀; Hippon. tetr. 83; $\kappa\omicron\upsilon\omicron\nu\omicron\mu\acute{\alpha}\kappa\lambda\upsilon\tau\omicron\nu$, Sim. Amorg. 7₈₇; see § 120, note 2.

175. E + AI.

ε(ϕ)αι in Κλαίветος, Naukratis 139 C ; [συγ]χέαι, Halik. 238₈₃.

ε(σ)αι in Hdt. is not contracted in verbs in -εω. Theog. 252 has ἔσση. εαι for εαι in Hdt. (*Studien* VI, 128), δινέαι, Anakr. 12 B, from δινέαι. Is δινέηι correct here? I have not observed an instance of 2 pers. sing. pres. mid. (Attic βούλει after 378 B.C.).

εαι in adj., even those denoting a material, = αι : λιναί, Samos 220₂₁; ἀργυράι, Latyshev, *Inscr. orae septentr. Ponti Euxini*, I, No. 67. In these adj. -εωι remains open. Hdt. μνέαι ; γέαι, Zeleia 113₄₀.

176. E + EI.

1. εφει remains open in ῥέει, Mimn. 5₁, πλέει πλέειν, Hdt. ; is contracted in δεῖ, Hippon. 6, Anakr. 98, Teos, 158₈. Hdt. has εἴκοσι and not the epic εἴκοσι, as Xenoph. 7. ε + spurious ει = ει in ΚΛΕνοφάνης, Keos, 44 A 11 ; ΚΛΕν[ο]γένης, Keos, 45 ; Κλέσιος, Miletos, 98 ; Κλείανδρος, Thas. (L.), 16₅ ; κλεινός in Solon, 19₃.

2. εει is found in the open forms in Herodotos, e.g. δοκέει, δοκέειν, in direct opposition to the language of the inscription (see -εω verbs). The only examples in poetry are κερτομέειν, Arch. 64 ; φιλέειν 80, Sim. Amorg. δοκέει 19, where the metre in each case calls for -εῖ or -έει.

ἀδείη, Hdt. VIII, 120, etc. < *ἀδεείη.

177. E + OI.

1. εροι. Hdt. πλέοι, ἔμπλοει.

2. εσοι in θεοί (§ 153, 2), Hipponax 93, Theog. 142, elsewhere θεοί, Archil. eleg. 9₅, Solon 13_{9,55} ; θεοῖς, Archil. tetr. 56 ; θεοῖσι 55 ; Tyr. 5₁, Solon 11_{2, 35}.

3. εροι in -εω verbs is contracted in lyric poetry and in inscriptions, except in ἀνωθεοίη, Teos 156 A₁₁, with obsolete orthography. Hdt. has both forms (καλέοι, φρονέοιεν ; ποιοῖ, ἐπιχειροῖεν, φοβοῖτο), the latter representing the ordinary Ionic of the fifth century. See under -εω verbs.

In adjectives of material, εοι is kept open, even in the imperial period : ἀργύροει, Wood, *Discoveries at Ephesus*, App. 6, No. 1 ; χρυσέοις, Latyshev, *Inscr. Ponti Euxini*, I, No. 22, C. I. G. 2059. Adjectives in -αλέος rarely contract ; ἀχαλέοι, Xenoph. 3₅, but γηράλεοι, Anakr. 43₂. See § 153.

178. E + OY (spurious).

1. εφου.

πλέους, Hdt. I, 194; πλέου, Melissos, § 14; Κλεουμπόρου, Lampsakos 171, with ου from ο + ε.

2. εσου.

έούσης, Mylasa 248 C 5, etc., as μεδεούση, Phanag. 164, Samos 216.

θεού, Sim. Amorg. 7¹⁰⁴.

3. ειου.

εου < εοντ- is not contracted in the verb.

179. O + EI.

1. οφει uncontracted in *μηνοειδής, ανθρωποειδής*, Hdt.; *τροχοειδής*, Hdt., Theog. 7; *ιχθυοειδής*, Hdt. VII, 61, is a different formation from *ιχθυώδης*, VII, 109 (-ώδης out of εὐώδης?); *ἀποιπών*, Theog. 89. ο + spurious ει in -οεις in *Σολόεις*, etc.; also in *ἀλογούς*, Samos 220²³, § 162.

2. οει becomes οι in verbal forms: *διδοί*, Sim. Amorg. 7⁵⁴; Mimn. 216; *μισθοίς*, etc., < ο + spurious ει perhaps in *μισθούν*; see § 162, 1 and 2.

180. O + OI.

οοι = οι in *μισθοῖμεν*. οφοι in *ἀθρόοι*, Hdt. III, 109; *τοίκ[ό]πεδον*, Chios 174 D 18, in Bechtel; cf. Attic *τῶκιδιον*, *Clouds*, 92.

181. O + AY.

in *ωύτός*,¹ *τῶτό*, *έμεωντοῦ* < *έμέο αὐτοῦ, σεωντοῦ, έωντοῦ*, in Hdt., Hippokr., and their imitators. οι + αυ in *ώντοί*, II, 168; but *οί αὐτοί*, I, 182, VII, 168; sometimes even *έωντοί*² appears. ου + αυ in *τῶντοῦ*, Hdt. (Greg. Corinth. *d. d. I.* § 46), upon a single occasion, III, 72. Elsewhere *τοῦ αὐτοῦ*, V, 52, IX, 101. ου, it will be remembered, is not diphthongal here.

182. O + OY (spurious).

1. οφου. Ἰπποθόου, Chios 177²; Πολύθρου, Teos 158²⁷; ζοοῦ, Archil. 63; νόου, Theog. 223; Arch. tetr. 56⁸; περιρρόου, Hdt. I, 174; ἀντιξόους, VII, 150; but *εῦνου*, VI, 105 in Mss.

¹ Cf. *ωύτός*, E 396. Greg. Corinth. p. 419, had the absurd notion that *ωύτός* stood for *αύτός*. Analogy went so far as to coin *ή αυτή (sic), ή αυτή, τὰ αυτά, τὰ έωντά, ή έωντή* in the text of Aretaios.

² *εμαντός* in Pherekrates is a poor support to such a form.

2. $\alpha\acute{\omicron}\nu < \alpha\acute{\omicron}\nu\tau$ = ν in $\mu\sigma\theta\acute{\omicron}\nu\sigma\iota$, etc.
 $\omicron + \nu$ = ν by crasis in $\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu\acute{\nu}\omicron\mu\alpha$, Hdt. $\alpha + \nu$ in $\omicron\rho\phi\acute{\omicron}\lambda\alpha\kappa\epsilon\varsigma$, Roberts 149 A 15, 19.

183. H + AI.

$\eta\sigma\alpha\iota = \eta$ in $\beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\eta$, Ionic-Attic.

184. H + EI

in $\eta\phi\epsilon\iota$, $\eta\epsilon\iota\omicron\alpha\nu$, Hdt. IX, 59, VI, 99 (conj. Mss. $-\eta\gamma\alpha\nu$); $\mu\alpha\rho\acute{\eta}\epsilon\iota\omicron\epsilon$, Arch. 94.

185. H + AY.

$\delta\eta\acute{\nu}\tau\epsilon$, Archil. 60, Hippon. 78; $\acute{\eta}$ $\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\eta}$, Hdt. IV, 38, as $\tau\acute{\eta}$ $\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\eta}$, never with crasis, despite $\acute{\omega}\nu\tau\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$, $\tau\acute{\omega}\nu\tau\acute{\omicron}$. Aretaios' text offers $\acute{\omega}\nu\tau\acute{\eta}$ 52, and even $\acute{\eta}$ $\acute{\omega}\nu\tau\acute{\eta}$ 158, and often.

186. $\Omega(I) + AY$

in $\tau\acute{\omega}\nu\tau\acute{\omega}$, Hdt., etc.

ABBREVIATIONS.

A. J. P. = American Journal of Philology.

A. P. A. = Transactions of the Amer. Philol. Assoc.

Allen, *Versification* = Papers of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, vol. IV.

Astr. = Lukian $\mu\epsilon\rho\iota$ $\tau\eta\varsigma$ $\acute{\alpha}\sigma\tau\rho\nu\omicron\mu\acute{\iota}\eta\varsigma$.

'Aθην. = 'Aθ\acute{\eta}\nu\alpha\iota\omicron\nu, $\acute{\sigma}\upsilon\gamma\gamma\rho\alpha\mu\mu\alpha$ $\mu\epsilon\rho\iota\omicron\delta\iota\kappa\acute{\nu}$ $\kappa\alpha\tau\grave{\alpha}$ $\delta\iota\mu\eta\nu\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu$ $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\delta\iota\delta\acute{\omicron}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\nu$, etc.

Bechtel = Die Inschriften des ionischen Dialekts.

Bennett = On the Sounds and Inflections of the Cyprian Dialect.

B. B. = Bezzenberger's Beiträge.

B. C. H. = Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique.

B. P. W. = Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift.

Bredow = *De dialecto Herodotea*.

C. D. I. = Collitz' Sammlung der griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften.

C. I. A. = Corpus inscriptionum Atticarum.

C. I. G. = Corpus inscriptionum Graecarum.

C. S.

Curt. Stud. } = Curtius' Studien.

d. d. I. = Greg. Corinthius' $\mu\epsilon\rho\iota$ $\tau\eta\varsigma$ $\acute{\iota}\acute{\alpha}\delta\omicron\varsigma$ $\delta\iota\alpha\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\tau\omicron\nu$.

d. S.

d. d. S. } = Lukian $\mu\epsilon\rho\iota$ $\tau\eta\varsigma$ $\Sigma\upsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\eta\varsigma$ $\theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$.

D. S. = Dittenberger's Sylloge.

D. V. C. = Johansson's *De derivatis verbis contractis linguae Graecae*.

- Erman* = *De titulorum ionicorum dialecto* in Curt. Stud. vol. V.
 Et. Mag. = Etymologicum Magnum, ed. Sylburg.
 Forsch. = Osthoff's Forschungen.
 G. G. A. = Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen.
 Gött. Nachr. = Göttingen Nachrichten.
 Hdn. π. μ. λ. } = Herodian *περὶ μονήρους λέξεως*.
 Herod. π. μ. λ. }
 H. E. V. A. = Hinrichs' *De Homericæ elocutionis vestigiis Aeolicis*.
 I. G. A. = Corpus inscriptionum Graecarum antiquissimarum.
 J. H. S. = Journal of Hellenic Studies.
 K. C. = King and Cookson's Principles of Sound and Inflection.
 Klein *Vasen* = Die griechischen Vasen mit Meistersignaturen (2d ed.).
 K. Z. = Kuhn's Zeitschrift.
 L. = The united testimony of the Mss. of Herodotos.
 L. S. = Liddell & Scott's Lexicon.
 Lindemann = Lindemann *De dialecto Ionica recentiore*.
 Meist. } = Grammatik der attischen Inschriften, 2nd ed.
 Meisterhans }
 Meister } = Meister's Griechische Dialekte, vols. I and II.
 G. D. }
 Mém. = Saussure's Mémoire sur le système primitif des voyelles dans les langues
 indo-européennes.
 Menrad = *De contractionis et synizeseos usu Homericæ*.
 Mitth. = Mittheilungen des deutschen Archaeologischen Instituts zu Athen.
 Μουσ. καὶ βιβλ. = Μουσείον καὶ βιβλιοθήκη τῆς εὐαγγελικῆς σχολῆς of Smyrna.
 M. U. = Morphologische Untersuchungen.
 Num. Chron. = Numismatic Chronicle.
 Renner = *De dialecto antiquioris Graecorum poesis elegiacæ et iambicæ* in Curt.
 Stud. vol. I.
 Roehl = I. G. A.
 Rob. } = Introduction to Greek Epigraphy; Part I.
 Roberts }
 R. M. = Rheinisches Museum.
 Sterrett = Papers of the Am. School of Classical Studies at Athens, vols. II and III.
 Stud. = Curtius' *Studien*.
 Th. (L.) } = Bechtel's Thasische Inschriften ionischen Dialekts im Louvre.
 Thas. (L.) }
 unc. loc. = uncertain locality.
 V. H. D. = Fritsch's Zum Vokalismus des herodotischen Dialekts.
 W. F. = Wescher-Foucart: Inscriptions recueillies à Delphes.
- Arrian is quoted from the text of Hercher-Eberhard.
 Eusebius is quoted from the text of Müller's Frag. Hist. Graec.
 Eusebius Myndius is quoted from the text of Mullach.
 Lukian is quoted from the text of Jacobitz.
 Aretaios is quoted from the text of Kühn.
 Hippokrates is quoted from the paragraphs of Ermerins. Littré's text has been compared.

- ΕΙ = περι ἐπιδημιῶν τὸ πρῶτον.
 ΕΙΙΙ = περι ἐπιδημιῶν τὸ τρίτον.
 Π = Προγνωστικόν.
 ΠΑ = περι ἀέρων ὑδάτων τόπων.
 ΠΔΟ = περι διαίτης ὀξέων.
 ΠΤΚ = περι τῶν ἐν κεφαλῇ τραυμάτων.
 ΠΚ = προγνώσεις Κωακαί.

The pseudo-Ionic letters are cited from Hercher-Boissonade.

For the study of later Ionism Lukian's *Astronomy* has been regarded as equally genuine with the *Syrian Goddess* (see Allinson A. J. P. VII, 203 ff.).

All Ionic inscriptions are quoted from the numbers of Bechtel's collection; all other dialect inscriptions are cited by the numbering of C. D. I., except when another source is specially stated. The date of an inscription is frequently indicated by a Roman numeral followed by the letter C, e.g. (V C) = fifth century.

Wackernagel's *Dehnungsgesetz* and Johannes Schmidt's *Pluralbildungen der indogermanischen Neutra* were not received until the printing of the above article had so far advanced that it was impossible to take cognizance of the views advocated therein. A few references have, however, been inserted. The second edition of Brugmann's *Griechische Grammatik* reached me too late to permit any but a sporadic notice of modifications of views maintained in the first edition and referred to in the course of this paper.

I desire to express my thanks to my colleague, Professor Collitz, for his courtesy in looking over the proof-sheets of this paper.

II.—*A New Source in Plutarch's Life of Cicero.*

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Two modes of philological investigations have of recent years risen into high favor. The one, which may be termed the *statistical* method, consists in carefully and minutely examining the style of some Greek or Roman author, usually with a view to determine the chronology of his works or to settle questions regarding their authenticity. Dealing only with documentary evidence, this method proceeds on perfectly safe lines, the only danger which it constantly incurs being a kind of irresistible tendency to sweeping inferences, based upon coincidences often, indeed, remarkable.¹ The other method, that of "*Source Researches*," rests on no such firm foundation, the *loss* of the *original* sources being, in fact, the *conditio sine qua non* of its existence. The question with which this paper is concerned belongs to this latter category of philological inquiry and is more immediately confined to Plutarch's *Life of Cicero*.

I need hardly expatiate upon the great difficulties necessarily involved in researches of this nature, a fact made emphatically apparent by the utter lack of unanimity so frequently displayed by scholars, in the conclusions at which they have arrived. The intrinsic difficulty of the subject and an ever-present element of uncertainty, are, however, I conceive, not the only reasons for this deplorable state of affairs. It is also due, in no small measure, to the undeniable fact that philologists too often enter upon their task with preconceived opinions and without having previously ascertained their author's method and style of work by a diligent perusal of his writings, a demand perhaps never so frequently disregarded as in the case of Plutarch.

He was a most voracious reader, with a keen, absorbing interest

¹ Cf. e.g. *Dittenberger* (*Hermes*, XVI. p. 321 sqq.), *Schanz* (*Hermes*, XXI. 439 sqq.), *Ritter*, *Untersuchungen über Plato*, Stuttgart, Kohlmann, 1888; *Hussey*, *On the Verbs of Saying in Plato*, *Proceed. of Am. Ph. Ass.* 1889; *Roquette De Xenophontis vita*, *Diss. Regimont*, 1884. See also *Zeller's* criticisms, *Arch. f. Gesch. d. Philos.* II. p. 665, 676 sqq.

in every branch of human knowledge ; and it was his habit to take notes of what he read or heard, either with a view to the composition of some particular treatise, or perhaps merely for the sake of future reference and use. His erudition is encyclopaedic, and in his works he would draw freely upon this vast thesaurus of fact and anecdote, marshalling them into literary phalanxes, as would best suit his purpose.

But, while the characteristics and typical traits in Plutarch's biographical writings are the direct result of his literary skill and his historical method,² influenced though they were by the limitations imposed upon him by nature, we can properly estimate the *value* of his biographies only by the authenticity of the sources consulted. Where these were few, he naturally followed the one that appeared to him the more copious and best adapted to his purpose. If, however, the material at his disposal was as superabundant as was unquestionably the case in the Life of Cicero, he had to exercise his faculty of criticism and discrimination to no small extent if he desired, as he professedly did,³ to give an *impartial* and *truthful* picture of his hero. To ascertain how near Plutarch came to realizing this cherished aim, unbiassed investigations into the sources whence he drew his information are absolutely necessary. The mere assumption of some one particular source, because of real or alleged coincidences between it and Plutarch's narrative, is quite gratuitous and unwarranted as long as the *probability* of some intermediate source remains, for Plutarch did not at all times have access to the *original* sources for the information which he imparts. He may well have taken, and in innumerable instances demonstrably did take, his facts *at second hand*, which does not, however, necessarily render the testimony given either worthless or even less in value, unless demonstrated to be so on other grounds. A quotation, therefore, from some author now lost, or a striking coincidence with some work still extant, does not necessarily imply that the writer had the original, from which the words are taken, before his eyes.

To determine this, we must, in the first place, carefully inquire in each and every instance, whether other passages in Plutarch will warrant us in ascribing to him a *personal* knowledge of the particular

² Alex. 1 sqq. (*οὔτε γὰρ ἱστορίας γράφομεν ἀλλὰ βίους*, etc.); Pericl. 1, 7, 13; Timol. c. 1; Cato Mai. c. 7; Galba 2; Fab. Max. 16; Pomp. 8; Artaxerxes c. 8; Nicias 1; Arat. 1; Demet. 1.

³ Thes. 1; Cimon. 2; Cat. Min. 37; de Herod. malign. c. 5; de gloria Athen. c. 3.

work under discussion. If so, the further question arises, whether the two apparently similar accounts do not harbor discrepancies and differences of a nature that would make it impossible for us to believe that a writer, possessing the unquestioned ability of a Plutarch, can possibly have made use of certain portions of his "Quelle" and then suddenly have had recourse to some other authority, while completely overlooking or purposely ignoring an entirely different, though perhaps equally truthful version in the author just abandoned by him. I may explain my meaning by an example. In *Plut. Cic. VI. 15 sq.* 'S. we read the following :

Ἐπὶ τούτοις οὖν μέγα φρονῶν εἰς Ῥώμην βαδίζων γελοῖον τι παθεῖν φησι. Συντυχὼν γὰρ ἀνδρὶ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν φίλῳ δοκοῦντι περὶ Καμπανίαν, ἐρέσθαι, τίνα δὴ τῶν πεπραγμένων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ λόγον ἔχουσι Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ τί φρονούσιν ὡς ὀνόματος καὶ δόξης τῶν πεπραγμένων αὐτῷ τὴν πόλιν ἄπασαν ἐμπεπληκώς τὸν δ' εἰπεῖν. "Ποῦ γὰρ ἦς, ὦ Κικέρων, τὸν χρόνον τούτου"; τότε μὲν οὖν ἐξαθυμῆσαι παντάπασιν, εἰ καθάπερ εἰς πέλαγος ἀχανές τὴν πόλιν ἐμπροσθὼν ὁ περὶ αὐτοῦ λόγος οὐδὲν εἰς δόξαν ἐπίδηλον πεποίηκεν κ.τ.λ.

As this anecdote is not found elsewhere, except in *Cicero's* speech *pro Plancio* (26, 63 sqq.), this oration has always been looked upon as the source of Plutarch. This assumption is, however, altogether erroneous, as will be readily admitted on comparing the passage just quoted with the original :

"Vere me hercule hoc dicam : sic tum existimabam nihil homines aliud Romae nisi de quaestura mea loqui; excogitati quidam erant a Siculis honores in me in-auditi, itaque hac spe decedebam ut mihi populum Romanum ultro omnia delat-urum putarem. At ego cum casu diebus iis itineris faciendi causa decedens e provincia Puteolos forte venissem, concidi paene, iudices, cum ex me quidam quaesisset quo die Romae exissem et num quidnam novi. Cui cum respondi- sem me e provincia decedere, 'Etiam, me hercule,' inquit, 'ut opinor ex Africa.' Huic ego iam stomachans fastidiose 'Immo ex Sicilia' inquam. Tum quidam quasi qui omnia sciret, 'Quid? tu nescis hunc quaestorem Syracusis (!) fuisse.'"

Now Plutarch was, as is well known, a passionate lover of anecdote, nor could any one tell a good story more delightfully than he ; and yet we are asked to believe that this clumsy and pointless account, differing also in *essential* details from the original, is the direct repro-duction of the exquisitely well-told story just quoted from Cicero ! But if Plutarch can never have read this anecdote in Cicero himself, it certainly is no rash inference to maintain that he in all likelihood never read a line of this speech, let the alleged coincidences between

it and certain parts of the Greek narrative be what they will. The same may be predicated of the orations against Catiline which are generally supposed to have been known to Plutarch. Such similarity, however, as apparently exists between the two accounts, is in no sense surprising, rather perfectly natural, as it almost necessarily arises from both authors treating one and the same well-known historical occurrence. By a similar process of reasoning which seems never to have been resorted to before, we are enabled to eliminate a number of other writings of Cicero commonly supposed to have been known to the Greek biographer.

In the discussion of Plutarch's *Roman Lives* still another problem presents itself, which must at least be touched upon before we can enter upon the more immediate object of this paper. The question is simply this: Are we justified in attributing to Plutarch a sufficient knowledge of Latin that would have enabled him to read the innumerable authors whom he *expressly quotes*?⁴

⁴ *C. Acilius*, Rom. 21; *M. Porcius Cato*, Cato Maior (17 times), Comp. Arist. et Cat. 5, Quaest. Rom. 49; *L. Capurnius Piso*, Numa 21; *C. Fannius*, Tib. Gracch. 4; *Sempronius Tuditanus*, T. Flam. 14; *Scipio Nasica*, Aem. 15. 21; *C. Gracchus*, Tib. Gracch. 8; *Rutilius Rufus*, Mar. 28, Pomp. 37; *Q. Lutatius Catulus*, Marius 25 sq.; *Claudius* (Quadrigrarius?), Numa 1 (ἐν ἐλέγχῳ χρόνων); *Valerius Antias*, Rom. 14, Numa 22, Flam. 18, de fort. Rom. 10; *Sallustius*, Lucull. 11. 33; comp. Lys. et Sullae 3. *Cicero*—*Letters*: Pomp. 62 (= ad Att. I. 12, 3, cf. also ad fam. V. 2. 6); *Cic. 24* (de Dem. ad Herodem et ad filium, de Gorgia ad filium et altera ad Pelopem Byzantium, cf. ad fam. XII. 16. 2; XVI. 21. 6); *Cic. 35* (ad Caelium, cf. ad Att. XIV. 5. 1; ad fam. II. 11); c. 36 (= ad Att. VIII. 7. 2), c. 40, Praecept. ger. rep. 27 (= ad fam. IV. 13); *Cic. c. 37* (sed cf. ad Att. VII. 17. 3). *Orationes*: Crass. 13; Caes. 4; *Cic. 24* (Philippics, cf. also c. 48, Ant. 6. 9); c. 35 (pro Murena, cf. also Cato 21; comp. Dem. et Cic. 1); comp. Dem. et Cic. 1 (pro Caelio); *Cic. 37* (pro Ligario), cf. c. 10–23 orations against Catilina. *Other works*: Aem. c. 10 (= de divin. I. 46, 103; II. 40, 83); Cato Maior 17; Flam. 18 (= de senect. 12, 42); Lucull. 42 (Academica); Crass. 13 (περὶ ὑπαρείας); Caes. 3, 54; *Cic. 39* (laudatio Catonis); *Cic. c. 40* (philosophical works). Cf. also Phoc. 3; *C. Gracch. 1* (= de div. I. 56); Cato Min. c. 50; *Cic. 2*; comp. Dem. et Cic. 2 (cedant arma togae, etc.). *Tiro*, *Cic. 41, 49*. *Nepos*, comp. Pel. et Marc. 1; Marc. 12, 30; Tib. Gracch. 21; Luc. 43. *Brutus*, *Cic. 44, 45*; Brut. (13 times). *Caesar*, comp. Pel. et Marc. 1; Pomp. 63; Caes. 2, 3, 22, 54; Cato Min. 46, 52, 54; *Cic. 39*. *Asinius Pollio*, Caes. 46; Pomp. 72. *Sulpicus Galba*, Rom. 17. *Tanusius Geminus*, Caes. 22. *Calpurnius Bibulus*, Brut. 2, 13, 23. *Volumnius*, Brut. 48, 51. *Munatius Rufus*, Cato Min. 25, 36, 37. *Livius*, Cam. 5 (cf. Livy V. 21); Marc. 11, 30 (lib. XXVII. 27); comp. Marc. 1 (lib. XXVII. 2, 12); Flamin. 18; Cato Maior 17 (lib. XXXIX. 42); Flamin. 19 (lib. XXXIX. 51); Sulla 6 (ex lib. LXXVII. deperdito); Lucull. 28, 31 (ex lib. LXXXVIII. dep.); Caes. 47 (ex lib. CXI. dep.), 63 (ex lib. CXVI. dep.); Q. R.

On the strength of a famous chapter in the life of Demosthenes (c. 2), it has been answered in various ways. We are there told that he did not begin the study of Latin till late in life, and that he acquired a knowledge of the language by a method most unique and quite incredible, for "it was not so much by the knowledge of words that I came to the understanding of things, but by my experience of things, I was enabled to follow the meaning of words . . . and so in this *fifth* book of my Parallel Lives, in giving an account of Dem. and Cicero, my comparisons of their natural dispositions and their characters will be formed upon their actions and lives as statesmen, and I shall not pretend to criticise their orations one against the other, to show which of the two was the more charming or the more powerful speaker. . . ."

If I rightly interpret this interesting passage, Plutarch does not wish to be understood as saying that he was unable to read Latin intelligently, for he distinctly implies the contrary; but he simply tells us in his modest way that he did not sufficiently master the language of the Romans to constitute him a competent critic of the respective merits of Dem. and Cicero as *orators*, and I am persuaded that every reader will rise from the perusal of his works with the very strong impression that Plutarch certainly possessed a very fair acquaintance with Latin prose writings. But while this must be admitted, it will be seen that the real problem is not whether Plutarch could read Latin authors, *for such sources as he did consult in his Roman biographies were in any case written in that language*,⁵ but whether the information which he imparts was taken *directly* from the writers whom he expressly cites as his authorities, or if not quoted by name, as is but too often the case, may be reasonably supposed to point to some one particular work possibly accessible to him. The case of Plutarch's alleged indebtedness to Livy is a good instance. His name occurs some *fourteen* times in Plutarch, the quotations extending from *book V. to book CXVI.*, not counting a number of

25; de fort. Rom. 13 (Livy V. 37 sqq.). *Varro*, Q. R. 2, 4, 5, 14, 27, 90, 101, 105; Romul. 16. *C. Oppius*, Pomp. 10; *Caes.* 17. *Q. Dellius*, Ant. 59. *Corvinus*, Brut. 40, 42, 45. *C. Drusus*, Tib. Gracch. 2. *Fenestella*, Q. R. 41; *Crass.* 4; *Sylla* 28 [*P. Thræsea Paetus ex Munatio*, Cato 25, 36]. *Cluvius Rufus*, Q. R. 107; *Otho* 3. *Iul. Secundus*, Otho 9. *Augustus*, comp. Dem. et Cic. 3; Cic. 45; Brut. 27, 41; Ant. 22, 68. *Valerius Maximus*, Marc. 12 (= V. 6); Brut. 53 (= IV. 6. 5 K.); [Γαῖος τις πέλων, ἀνὴρ ἰστορικὸς] Mar. 35. *Empulus*, Brut. 2.

⁵ Barring a few exceptions, such as the memoirs of Lucullus and of Sulla, and Cicero's *ὑπόμνημα τῆς ὑπατείας*, which were all written in Greek.

coincidences with this history, where Livy is not especially cited. I do not see how the apparently exhaustive knowledge of Livy here displayed can be accounted for except on the supposition that Plutarch actually read, to use the words of Martial (XIV. 190), "Livius ingens, quem mea non totum bibliotheca capit"! But as this is an intrinsic improbability, and in as much as there is no evidence of an epitome of Livy existing in Plutarch's time, to which all his quotations might in that case be easily referred, we are forced to the conclusion that Livy was solely known to the Greek historian through the medium of other works which he consulted.⁶ But if this is the conclusion which an unprejudiced inquiry must lead to, on the face of Livian passages yet *extant*, the temerity of the attempt so constantly made to establish *without the aid of strong collateral evidence*, an interdependence between Plutarch and such of Livy's books as are now unfortunately *lost*, will be plainly apparent.

Again, to take the case of *Cicero*, we contend, that there is scarcely a passage quoted by Plutarch from this writer of a nature to necessitate the assumption of direct indebtedness, for nearly all of these references are either too vague or too general, if not actually contradictory, or the discrepancies too far counterbalance apparent coincidences, to be compatible with a personal acquaintance on Plutarch's part with the works apparently referred to. And then, does it not stand to reason that the biographer, when he had determined to write up the great orator's life, would not, like a modern Drumann, have gone through the voluminous works of Cicero for his materials, even though every single work of his, thanks to the egregious vanity of the man,⁷ fairly teems with autobiographical detail.

Of the orator's writings which were professedly autobiographical, the titles of five have come down to us, the *ὑπόμνημα τῆς ὑπατείας* (*ad Att.* I. 19, 10; I. 20, 6; II. 1, 1; *Plut. Caes.* 8; *Crass.* 13; *Cassius Dio* 46, 21), the *same* in Latin prose (*ad Att.* l.c.; cf. also *Schol. Bob.* p. 270, Or.; "epistula ad Pompeium non mediocris ad instar voluminis scripta"), a *poem de consulatu*, in three books

⁶ This inference is confirmed by a comparison of the passages themselves. Thus, *Plut. Cam.* 5 sq. cannot well have been taken *directly* from Livy, notwithstanding the very direct reference found in our texts (Λιβύσιος or Λιβίσιος δέ φησι). Cf. also *Plut. Marc.* 30 with Livy XXVII. 28 (Λιβίσιος) and many others.

⁷ What the poet Horace, in a famous passage (*Sat.* II. 1, 35), said of Lucilius applies with equal force to Cicero: "qui velut fidis arcana sodalibus olim crederat libris . . . quo fit ut omnis votiva pateat veluti descripta tabella vita senis."

(Urania, Minerva, Calliope),⁸ a poem *de temporibus suis* (*ad Quintum fratrem* III. 1, 24; III. 9), and finally a work usually designated as *De consiliis suis* (cf. Asc. *Ped.* p. 831 Or.; Cassius Dio 39, 10 and perhaps alluded to in Plut. *Crass.* 13, ἐν τινι λόγῳ . . . οὗτος μὲν ὁ λόγος ἐξεδόθη μετὰ τὴν ἀμφοῖν [Crassus and Caesar] τελευτήν. Charisius *G. L.* I. 146; Boeth. *de inst. mus.* I. 1. Identical with the Ἀνέκδοτα so frequently mentioned in Cic. letters to Atticus II. 6, 2; XIV. 14, 5, etc.).

The four last were unquestionably not consulted by Plutarch; the first has, however, been generally regarded as the principal source of the narrative of Catiline's conspiracy (ch. 10-23). It is not the object of this paper to enter upon a discussion of this question, about which quite a literature has already clustered,⁹ nor am I disposed to deny that the Greek account may be based upon Cicero's ὑπόμνημα, but this concession does not necessarily involve the further admission of Plutarch's direct indebtedness, for the identical chapters of the ὑπόμνημα may well have been reproduced in Tiro's¹⁰ exhaustive biography of his patron and friend, a work generally conceded to have constituted one of Plutarch's principal authorities; and yet we are expected to believe that the moment he had reached this part of his narrative, he suddenly abandoned his author, taking recourse to the identical fountain whence Tiro himself drew all his information!

⁸ A few fragments still remain; cf. *de div.* I. 17-22. Two verses in this poem have gained considerable notoriety, owing to the frequent attacks made against them. *Cedant arma togae*, etc. (*Quint.* IX. 4, 41; Plut. *Comp. Cic.* 2; also quoted by Cic. *de off.* I. 22, 77, in Pis. 30, and *o fortunatam natam me consule Roman*, cf. *Iuv.* X. 124).

⁹ Heeren, *de fontibus*, etc., Plutarchi, 1840, p. 133 sqq. *I. G. Lagus*, Plutarchus vitae Ciceronis scriptor, II. p. 71 sqq., Helsingfors, 1846. *Sibinga*, *De Plut. in vita Cic. fontibus*, etc., Diss. Leyden, 1863 (pp. 47-143). *Weizsäcker*, *Jahrb. f. Phil.* III, p. 417 sqq. *Besser*, *De coniurationes Catilin*, Diss. Leipzig, 1880. *E. Schmidt*, *De Cic. commentaris . . . a Plut. in vita Cic. expresso* Lübeck (Diss. Iena) 1884. *Thouret*, *De Cicerone*, Asinio Pollione, etc., Diss. Leipzig, 1878 (= *Leipz. Stud.* I. 313 sqq.). *K. Buresch*, *Comment. philol. in honorem Ribbeckii*, Teubner, 1888, p. 219 sqq.

¹⁰ A phrase in Plut. *Cic.* c. 14, 10 s. seems, indeed, to point to a Latin source, for we there read 'πραγμάτων καινῶν ἐφιεμένους.' But this is an evident translation of the well-known Latin idiom, 'rebus novis studere.' There is no parallel Greek passage, for the νεωτέρων πραγμάτων ἐπιθυμεῖν (ποιεῖν) to be found in Her. Lys. Thucyd. Isocr. is in no way analogous, though perhaps identical in thought, for the invariable use of the comparative constitutes the very essential difference between the two expressions. That the ὑπόμνημα of Cicero is not responsible for this Latinism is shown by Ep. ad Att. I. 19, 10.

These introductory remarks concerning the methodical lines, upon which source inquiries must proceed, if the results attained are to possess any validity at all, were deemed necessary (a fact which may possibly excuse their prolixity) for our present purpose. The tendency to rash inferences is the ever-present danger which can only be avoided by our approaching the subject "sine ira et studio," and by not allowing the "wish to be father to the thought." Our conclusions must be the outcome of cogent argumentation; and if the fragmentary state of our knowledge should at any point not yield any satisfactory results, if we can only, in the words of Cicero, "rivulos sectari fontes rerum non videre," then let us frankly say so, and not cover the weakness of our position (to wit, a recent paper on Plutarch's Cicero) by apodictic assertions and a profuse display of rhetorical pyrotechnics.

We have observed that Plutarch's acquaintance with Cicero's writings was probably not so extensive as some scholars would have us believe. But even if this were not so, it would still be perfectly self-evident, from the *vita* before us, that the great orator's works did not constitute Plutarch's only source of information. I do not propose to enter upon the treatment of these sources here,¹¹ but shall confine myself, for purposes of brevity no less than for the sake of clearness, to those portions of the Greek biography which deal with the personal and literary side of Cicero, as distinct from the political. I shall, therefore, not discuss Plutarch's alleged indebtedness to Livy, Sallust, or Asinius Pollio; for these writers, from the very nature of their histories, confined themselves to a more or less exhaustive narrative of Cicero's political activity, purely biographical detail being wholly beside the object they had in view. Nor, again, shall I inquire into the sources of Plutarch's account of the *death* of Cicero. For this tragic episode, appealing as it did so strongly to the minds of men, was very frequently depicted by historians and often chosen as a theme of discussion by rhetoricians.¹² The accounts possibly accessible to Plutarch were, consequently, so numerous that any attempt to determine his *fons primarius*, at least in the present fragmentary state of our knowledge, will necessarily be doomed to failure at the very outset.

Of the *monographical* literature on Cicero, so far as known to us,

¹¹ The author of this paper will shortly publish a critical edition of the Lives of Dem. and Cic., with a complete 'source commentary.'

¹² Cf. the famous VII. Suasoria of the elder Seneca.

which carefully recorded all purely biographical details, while in no way neglecting his political history, scholars have been well-nigh unanimous in assuming Tiro's *Life of Cicero*¹³ as constituting one of the chief sources of Plutarch. This biography was unquestionably of the very greatest authenticity, for not only was this life-long friend of the orator and the editor of his priceless correspondence in possession of absolutely all available material (cf. Gellius VI. (VII.) 3, 8), but he was also enabled to record many incidents derived from their original fountain, the living lips of Cicero himself, as is again attested by a passage in Gellius IV. 10, 5; cf. also XV. 6, 2.

There existed yet another biography of Cicero by a contemporary writer, which, strange to say, has never even been suggested as a possible source of Plutarch. I refer to the *vita Ciceronis* by *Cornelius Nepos*, a work which, if extant, cannot but have proved of the very greatest interest and value, for as the friend of Cicero and Pomponius Atticus, and himself possessed of a very profound knowledge of Roman history, he must have enjoyed most exceptional advantages and facilities for this task. For the solitary mention of this book, we are indebted to the following passage in Gellius *N. A.* XV. 28, 1, which must be quoted in full, as it will engage our attention again:

“Cornelius Nepos et rerum memoriae non indiligens et M. Ciceronis *ut qui maxime amicus familiaris* fuit. Atque is tamen in *librorum primo* quos de vita illius composuit erasse videtur cum eum scripsit tres et viginti annos natum primum causam iudicii publici egisse Sextumque Roscium parricidii reum defendisse. In qua re etiam *Fenestellam*¹⁴ erasse Pedianus Asconius (no doubt in his

¹³ This work is mentioned twice by Plutarch himself (ch. 41, 49), also by *Tacitus*, Dial. 17, and Gellius IV. 10. 5; and from *Asconius Pedianus* in *Milon*, p. 49, Or., we glean the additional information that in his *fourth* book Tyro had not yet advanced beyond the Clodian episode! This same writer was also the *reputed* author of a book, *de iocis Ciceronis*, to which Plutarch was possibly indebted for the numerous ‘bon-mots’ of the orator found in the *vita* (cf. *Quint.* VI. 3, 5, “utinam Tiro libertus eius aut *aliquis quisquis fuit qui tres hac de re libros edidit*, parcius dictorum numero indulisset.” Again, *Quint.* VIII. 6, 73, Ciceronis est in quodam ioculari libello). Also quoted, but as a genuine work, by *Macrob.* Saturn. II. 1, 12, and *Schol. Bob.* in Sest. p. 309, Or. Another collection of Cicero’s “facete dicta” was made by *C. Trebonius*, cf. Cic. ad fam. 15, 21, 1 sqq.

¹⁴ We know next to nothing of the works of this accurate writer (according to Hieronymus, he died 19 A.D., a septuagenarian. Cf. Teuffel, R. L. § 259). From the passages from Asconius, however, quoted by Gellius, and from four others still extant (in *Pis.* p. 1, in *Mil.* p. 32, in *tog. cand.* p. 85, 86), I should infer that F. had given a complete *chronological table* of Cicero’s writings (in the “*Annales*”?), perhaps with short exegetical notes; cf. Asconius in *Pis.* p. 5, Or.

lost commentary to that oration) animadvertit quod eum scripserit sexto vicesimo aetatis anno pro Sextio Roscio dixisse. Longior autem Nepotis quam Fencstellae error est nisi quis vult in animum inducere Nepotem studio amoris et amicitiae adductum amplificandae admirationis gratia quadriennium suppressisse ut M. Cicero orationem florentissimam dixisse pro Roscio admodum adulescens videretur."

This accusation of partiality was probably occasioned by the apologetic and eulogistic character of Nepos' narrative, a supposition confirmed by a fragment preserved in the so-called codex Gudianus 278 (Peter, *Fragm. hist. Rom.*, p. 223).¹⁵

It will have been observed that all the authors that have hitherto been thought of as possible sources of Plutarch's *Life of Cicero* were either contemporary with the orator or very nearly so. It seems not to have occurred to any one that there are passages in this very *Life* that clearly and unmistakably point to a later origin, passages that can never have emanated from *Tiro* or *Nepos* or any other contemporary writer possibly accessible to the Greek biographer; or, in other words, it can be shown that Plutarch also consulted some one or more *post-Augustan* authorities. Having shown this to be true, beyond possible refutation, we shall proceed to prove that one of these sources, if, indeed, there were more, was no other than *Suetonius Tranquillus* in his *vita Ciceronis*, which formed, as is well known, a part of his famous work, *De viris illustribus*.

In order, then, to prove the *first* proposition, that *among the sources of Plutarch's Cicero there was also a post-Augustan writer*, we take the closing paragraph of ch. 2, which reads as follows:

"καὶ τι καὶ ποιημάτων ἔτι παιδὸς αὐτοῦ διασώζεται Πόντιος Γλαῦκος, ἐν τετραμέτρῳ πεποιημένον. Προίων δὲ τῷ χρόνῳ καὶ ποικιλώτερον ἄπτομενος τῆς περὶ ταῦτα μούσης ἔδοξεν οὐ μόνον ῥήτωρ ἀλλὰ καὶ ποιητὴς ἄριστος εἶναι Ῥωμαίων. Ἡ μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τῇ ῥητορικῇ δόξα μέχρι νῦν διαμένει καίπερ οὐ μικρὰς γεγενημένης περὶ τοὺς λόγους καινοτομίας, τὴν δὲ ποιητικὴν αὐτοῦ, πολλῶν εὐφυνῶν ἐπιγενομένων παντάπασιν ἀκλεῆ καὶ ἄτιμον ἔρρειν συμβέβηκεν."

¹⁵ "Cornelius Nepos in libro de historicis Latinis de laude Ciceronis: non ignorare debes, unum hoc genus Latinarum litterarum adhuc non modo non respondere Graeciae sed omnino rude atque inchoatum morte Ciceronis relictum. Ille enim fuit unus, qui potuerit et etiam debuerit historiam digna voce pronuntiare, quippe qui oratoriam eloquentiam rudem a maioribus acceptam perpoliverit, philosophiam ante eum incomptam Latinam sua conformavit oratione (cf. Plut. Cic. 40). ex quo dubito interitu eius utrum res publica an historia magis doleat." — "Locuples ac divina natura quo maiorem sui pareret admirationem ponderatiora-

That this piece of literary criticism is not the intellectual property of the biographer, as far as its essential details are concerned, will not, I am persuaded, be seriously denied by any student of Plutarch. He was at best but an indifferent judge, even of Greek verse, and of Roman poetry he does not seem to have even the slightest acquaintance, no mention being made by him of any Latin poet, throughout all the voluminous writings that have come down to us.¹⁶

But if this criticism is not Plutarch's own, it can only be attributed to some other *post-Augustan* author for the following reasons: In the first place, we draw attention to the words *μέχρι νῦν διαμένει* and *ἔτι διασώζεται*, which clearly indicate some contemporary source consulted by the biographer. In the second place, the very contents of the passage under notice bear strong internal evidence of its *post-Augustan* origin, for the highly unfavorable verdict which is here passed upon the poetry of Cicero did not begin to be accepted till the second

que sua essent beneficia, neque uni omnia dare nec rursus cuiquam omnia voluit negare."

¹⁶ This may seem a rash statement to make in the face of the well-known mention of *Horace* in *Lucull.* ch. 39. This passage, however, is a most palpable interpolation; so palpable, in fact, that I am astounded at its never having been taken for such before. A juxtaposition of both passages will make this clear:

Στρατηγοῦ δέ ποτε φιλοτιμουμένου περί θέας καὶ χόρφ τινι κόσμον αἰτιουμένου πορφυρᾶς χλαμύδας ἀπεκρίνατο σκεφόμενος ἂν ἔχη, δώσειν, εἶτα μεθ' ἡμέραν ἠρώτησεν αὐτὸν ὀπίσσω δέοιτο, τοῦ δὲ ἕκατον ἀρκέσειν φήσαντος, ἐκέλευσε λαβεῖν δις τοσαύτας, εἰς ἃ καὶ Φλάκκος ὁ ποιητῆς ἐπιπεφώνηκεν ὡς οὐ νομίζει πλοῦτον οὐ μὴ τὰ παρορώμενα καὶ λανθάνοντα πλείονα τῶν φαινομένων ἔστί.

Hor. Epist. I. 6, 40 sqq.
chlamydas, Lucullus, ut aiunt
si posset centum scaenae praebere rogatus
'qui possum tot?' ait, tamen et quaero
et quot habebo,
mittam? post paulo scribit sibi milia quinque.
esse domi chlamydim, partem vel toleret omnis.
exilis domus est ubi non et multa supersunt
et dominum fallunt et prosunt furibus.

The two versions are widely different, that of Plutarch containing a number of details that could not possibly have been suggested by the passage in Horace, and the "*ἐπιφώνημα*" can only be made to correspond with the moral which the Latin poet gives to the story by the most liberal kind of interpretation. It is, moreover, very awkwardly and quite unexpectedly joined to the preceding. The anecdote is complete without it, as it is not given by Plutarch with any didactic purpose, as in the case of Horace. The words "*εἰς . . . ἔστί*" simply represent the marginal gloss of some ancient reader, which subsequently crept into the text.

half of the first century of our era, as will be seen from the following passages :

Seneca enc. controv. 3, praef. 8: Ciceronem eloquentia sua in carminibus destituit. *Seneca de ira* III. 37, 5: et Cicero si derideres carmina eius inimicus esset. Cf. also Gell. N. A. XII. 2 (*Seneca frag. 111, H.*). *Tacitus Dial. 21*: fecerunt enim et carmina et in bibliothecas retulerunt non melius quam Cicero sed felicius quia illos fecisse pauciores sciunt. *Quintil. XI. 1, 24*: in carminibus utinam pepercisset quae non desierunt carpere maligni. *Martial II. 89, 3*: Carmina quod scribis Musis et Apolline nullo | Laudari debes. Hoc Ciceronis habes. *Iuvenal X. 124*: ridenda poemata. Cf. also vs. 122. *Schol. Bob.*, p. 306 *Or.*¹⁷: Manifestum est amatorem poeticae rei Tullium fuisse quamvis ad oratoriam qua maxime praestitit non videatur in versibus par sui fuisse.

Now all these authors are not only post-Augustan, but practically contemporary. There is no instance of an earlier writer who spoke thus disparagingly of Cicero's poetical productions. This fact cannot be accidental. Again, we may safely assert that neither Nepos, nor Tiro, nor Varro would have handed down to posterity any such verdict, even if convinced of its truth. The only other author to whom we might be disposed to attribute a similar criticism is the impartial *Fenestella* (†19 A.D.); but unfortunately, even if this were not a mere supposition, there is not the slightest evidence or probability of any kind that Plutarch ever read any of his works, although he quotes him three times (cf. note 2).

Plutarch's indebtedness to some post-Augustan author having been thus demonstrated, we may now, resting on this firm foundation, proceed to show that Suetonius' *vita Ciceronis* constituted one of these sources.

To accomplish this object, we must briefly discuss the sources of *Hieronymus* and *Sextus Aurelius Victor*.

The former of these need not occupy us very long, for if there is one thing recognized by scholars as an irrefutable fact, it is, that the items concerning Roman literature, found in Hieronymus'¹⁸ additions to the *Chronicon* of Eusebius, are, up to a certain date, all taken from *Suetonius. Tranquillus, De viris illustribus*.

¹⁷ This scholiast, although a Christian of the fifth century, is here quoted, because he very largely *Asconii* "fontibus hortulos suos irrigavit." Cf. *Madwig, De Q. Asconio Pediano*, etc. Kopenhagen, 1828, p. 142.

¹⁸ Cf. his own preface, p. 3 Sch., and *Mommsen, Quellen der Chronik des H. Abh. der Sachs. Ges. d. W.* 1850 (I. p. 669 sqq.). For his historical notices, H. is chiefly indebted to Eutropius, whose principal source was Livy.

Under the name of *Sextus Aurelius Victor* (an historian living in the time of Theodosius about the middle of the fourth century) there have come down to us, among other writings, two works entitled *Caesares* and *De viris illustribus*.¹⁹ Without attaching too much importance to the *singular* coincidence in the titles of these works with those of *Suetonius*, which is in itself suggestive of interdependence, it may be sufficient to draw attention to the fact that the author of the *Caesares* demonstrably did draw very freely upon the *Caesares* of his great predecessor. The presumption, therefore, is that the *De viris illustribus* of Suetonius was also well known to Victor. But whatever may have been the sources of the *De viris illustribus*, a question which could not be discussed in this place without far transgressing the limits imposed upon this paper, I contend, that, at least, as far as the life of Cicero is concerned (which constitutes chap. 81 of his work), he is resting upon the shoulders of Suetonius' *vita Ciceronis*. For not only is there a remarkable family likeness between chap. 81²⁰ and the lives of some of the Roman poets that have been justly attributed to Suetonius, however diluted they may have been by subsequent accretions, but also because of certain parallelisms between Victor and Suetonius-Hieronimus.

1. *Hieron. Olymp.* 168, 3 (2).

Cicero Arpini nascitur matre Helvia,
patre equestris ordinis ex regis Volscorum genere.

Sext. Aurel. Vict. de vir. ill. 81.

M. Tullius genere Arpinas patre
equite Romano natus, genus a Tullo rege
duxit; cf. also *Sil. Ital.* VIII. 404 sqq.

¹⁹ I am perfectly well aware that the *De viris illustribus* has been assumed by many as having been falsely ascribed to this author, owing to its difference in style and treatment as compared with the *Caesares*. I do not, however, think that *Opitz* (*Quaest. de S. A. V., Acta soc. phil. Lips.* II. 2, p. 197-280) or *Wölfflin* (*Bursian, Jahresber.*, 1874, p. 790 sqq., also *Rh. Mus.* 29) or *Haupt* (*De auct. de vir. ill. libr. quaest. histor. Diss. Wurzb.* 1876) have proven their case, except to their own satisfaction, for not only does the *De viris illustribus* bear unmistakable traces of having been *thoroughly epitomized*, but we are not even certain but that the *Caesares* have been similarly dealt with, which, if true, would satisfactorily explain the difference in style and treatment detected by Wölfflin and others. H. Hildesheimer *De libro qui inscribitur de viris ill. etc.* Berlin Diss., 1880, has not been accessible to me.

²⁰ In its abundant use of participial constructions this chapter has perhaps retained a reflex of its original source, such constructions being very characteristic of Suetonius.

2. Hieron. Olymp. 175, 1.

Roscio contra Chrysogonum defenso Cicero Athenas secessit et inde post triennium Romam regressitur.

Sext. Aurel. Vict. de vir. ill. 81.

Adolescens Rosciano iudicio eloquentiam et libertatem suam adversus Sullanos ostendit ex quo veritus invidiam Athenas studiorum gratia petivit.

Hieron. Olymp. 184, 2²¹ = Aurel. Vict. 81 (Formiis).

To these passages may also be added : Sueton. p. 318, 4 R. (= Sext. Aurel. Vict. de vir. ill. 2) ; id. p. 319, 2 (= id. 3, 2) ; id. p. 320, 5 (= id. 5, 1, 7).

We see, therefore, that the notices concerning Cicero to be found in Hieronymus are *certainly* based upon Suetonius' *De viris illustribus*, while those in Victor's *vita* may, without temerity, be attributed to the *same source*.

Keeping these facts constantly in mind, we may now turn to the discussion of the *third* chapter in Plutarch's Biography, a narrative, by the way, so perfectly uniform in color and so perfectly coherent, that we must needs attribute the *entire* passage under notice to *one and the same source*.

Ἐν δὲ τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ (*i.e.* when "Σύλλας ἐκράτησε καὶ κατάστασιν τινα λαμβάνειν ἔδοξεν ἢ πόλις") Χρυσόγονος ἀπελευθερὸς Σύλλα προσαγγείλας τινὸς οὐσίαν ὡς ἐκ προγραφῆς ἀναιρεθέντος αὐτὸς ἐωνήσατο δισχιλίῳν δραχμῶν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Ῥώσκιος ὁ υἱὸς καὶ κληρονόμος τοῦ τεθνηκότος ἡγανάκτει καὶ τὴν οὐσίαν ἀπεδείκνυε πενήτηκοντα καὶ διακοσίῳν ταλάντων οὐσαν ἀξίαν, ὅτε Σύλλας ἐλεγχόμενος ἐχαλέπαινε καὶ δίκην πατροκτονίας ἐπῆγε τῷ Ῥωσκίῳ, τοῦ Χρυσογόνου κατασκευάσαντος, ἐβοήθει δ' οὐδεὶς, ἀλλ' ἀπετρέποντο τοῦ Σύλλα τὴν χαλεπότητα δεδοικότες, οὐτῶ δὴ δι' ἔρημίαν τοῦ μαιρακίου τῷ Κικέρωνι προσφυγόντος οἱ φίλοι συμπαρώρων, ὡς οὐκ ἂν αὐτῷ λαμπροτέραν αὐθις ἀρχὴν πρὸς δόξαν ἐτέραν οὐ δὲ καλλίω γενησομένην. Ἀναδεξάμενος οὖν τὴν συνηγορίαν καὶ κατορθώσας ἐθαυμάσθη, δεδιὼς δὲ τὸν Σύλλαν ἀπεδήμησεν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, διασπείρας λόγον, ὡς τοῦ σώματος αὐτῷ θεραπείας δεομένου.

This passage contains two *errors*. The first consists in the statement that the oration *pro Roscio Amerino* was the earliest speech of Cicero, whereas this distinction belongs to the *oratio pro Quintio*.^{21a} Now it so happens, that the single and solitary reference to Nepos

²¹ Hieron. Olym. 184, 4, "Cicero ut quibusdam placet interficitur in Caietis" is an interpolation; cf. *Mommsen*, *Hermes* XXIV. p. 399.

^{21a} Cf., however, *pro Quinto*. I. 4, "quod mihi *consuevit* in ceteris causis esse adiumento."

and Fenestella, as authorities on the life, or rather writings, of Cicero (in the passage of Gellius quoted above) was called forth by the existence of this very error. What then, it might be argued, could be more plausible than that Nepos (for Fenestella is out of the question) and not Suetonius, as we contend, was the source of Plutarch's information on this point. But this view, however plausible it may appear at first sight, must be altogether abandoned, because of the *second error* alluded to. "*Fearing the anger of Sulla, he left for Greece, giving out that the poor state of his health made his departure necessary.*"

This statement flatly contradicts the facts of history, for so far from leaving Rome out of any dread of Sulla, Cicero actually remained in the city almost a year and a half before taking his trip to Greece, delivering in the mean time at least two speeches, one for L. Varenus (cf. Drumann, V. p. 245) and another in behalf of a woman of Arretium (cf. *pro Caecina* 33, 97; and *ad Att.* I. 19, 4).

It must be perfectly evident that no such account can possibly have been found in Nepos; but if so, Plutarch's source for this chapter which, as I was careful to point out, is of a perfectly homogeneous character, must be sought elsewhere. Nor would Tiro or Varro or Fenestella, or any other writer of the time have been guilty of what is both an insult and a deliberate falsehood, even supposing all their writings to have been accessible to Plutarch, which they unquestionably were not. This calumny, in other words, and with it the entire passage, can only have proceeded from some post-Augustan writer, when a legendary halo had already formed about the historical individual, and many incidents in the great orator's life had become obscured by the lapse of time. This writer I contend was *Suetonius*.²² For singularly enough *both of the errors* just discussed reappear in *but two other authors besides Plutarch, and in only two*, and these are *Hieronimus* and *Sextus Aurelius Victor*. But inasmuch as the fountain, whence these writers drew this *rare* piece of

²² That we are doing no injustice to *Suetonius* in ascribing to him the passage under discussion is clearly shown by a most remarkable parallelism found in *Suet. Caes.* 4: "*Ceterum composita seditioni civili Cornelium Dolabellam consularem et triumphalem repetundarum postulavit; absolutoque Rhodum secedere statuit et ad declinandam invidiam et ut per otium et requiem Apollonio Moloni clarissimo tunc dicendi magistro operam daret.*" All the circumstances here afford a perfectly exact parallel to the narrative of Plutarch, and the motive given for the departure is as similar to the above as it is singularly false.

erroneous information was *Suetonius*, it "follows as the night the day" that he constituted the common source of all three. This conclusion, although irresistible, as it appears to me at least, receives additional emphatic confirmation from the fact that the statements under notice, apart from the circumstance that they are found but three times in all extant literature, are also demonstrably *erroneous*, it being well known how much safer a clue to the detection of literary interdependence is frequently afforded by *errors* found in common than by coincidences in matters of fact, the treatment of the same subject often leading to a similarity in its presentation.

In ch. I we seem to detect another instance, almost equally certain, of Plutarch's indebtedness to *Suetonius* :

Κικέρωνος δὲ τὴν μὲν μητέρα λέγουσιν Ἑλβίαν καὶ γεγονέναι καλῶς καὶ βεβιωκέναι, περὶ δὲ τοῦ πατρὸς οὐδὲν ἦν πυνθέσθαι μέτριον. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐν κναφείῳ^{22a} τινὶ καὶ γενέσθαι καὶ τραφῆναι τὸν ἄνδρα λέγουσιν, οἱ δ' εἰς Τύλλον Ἄττιον ἀνάγουσι τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ γένους βασιλεύσαντα λαμπρῶς ἐν Οὐλοόσκοις καὶ πολεμήσαντα Ῥωμαίοις οὐκ ἀδυνάτως κ.τ.λ.

The source of this passage cannot have been *Nepos* or *Tiro*, to the latter of whom it has been customary, by a sort of general consent, to relegate these purely biographical portions of Plutarch's *vita*. This is not only impossible on the face of its very contents, but is sufficiently indicated by the οἱ μὲν . . . οἱ δὲ. On the other hand, the passage under notice possesses the true *color Suetonianus*.²³

But even allowing this inference to be of too subjective a nature to compel conviction, all doubt as to its truth is again dispelled by two passages in *Hieronymus* and *Sextus Aurelius Victor*. I must quote them again for the purpose of comparison with the Greek cited above.

^{22a} This same reproach is made by *Calenus*, an inveterate enemy of *Cicero's* (cf. ad Att. XI. 8, 2, etc.), in a scurrilous speech put into his mouth by *Dio* 46, 4. The genuine oration, to which we may add the invectives of *Antony* as in all probability containing similar imputations, were undoubtedly known to *Suetonius*, whereas *Plutarch* unquestionably read neither.

²³ *H. T. Peck*, *Suetonius, Lives of the Caesars*, Holt & Co., New York, 1889, p. X.: "He can only accumulate with patient industry a vast number of details, and set them before us in a mass, leaving us to arrange and weigh and discriminate and judge as best we may. He is a gatherer of facts. . . . Nothing is too unpleasant, nothing too personal, to be left unrecorded. He pins a scandal and adds it to his collection, as a naturalist would a butterfly; but at the same time he does not dwell upon these matters."

Hieron. (i.e. *Suetonius*) Olym. 168, 3: *Cicero Arpius nascitur matre Helvia,*²⁴ *patre equestris ordinis ex rege Volscorum genere.*

Victor de vir. ill. 81 — *M. Tullius genere Arpinas patre equite Romano natus genus a Tullo*²⁵ *rege duxit.*

Plutarch's indebtedness to *Suetonius' Life of Cicero* having thus been demonstrated by the aid of Hieronymus and Sextus Aurelius Victor, we are now at liberty to look for additional evidence, corroborative of this indebtedness, and fortunately such passages are by no means lacking.

At the end of ch. 4 we are told that Apollonius on hearing Cicero, his pupil, declaim in Greek, cried out in despair that now eloquence too, the only glory that still remained to Greece, would be transferred by him to Rome.²⁶ The story is intrinsically improbable. It is nowhere alluded to by Cicero, certainly a very suspicious circumstance in his case, for he of all men would have been the least likely to have omitted to speak of it had it been true. Neither Valerius Maximus nor Gellius nor Macrobius nor any other writer of that stamp, in whose works we might reasonably expect to find so memorable an incident recorded, has any knowledge of it. There is, as a matter of fact, but *one other author* besides Plutarch who mentions it, and singularly enough his name is *Sextus Aurelius Victor*, in the *vita Ciceronis* so often quoted by me: "*Molonem Graecum rhetorem tum disertissimum habuit qui flesse dicitur quod per hunc Graecia eloquentiae laude privaretur.*"²⁷ Relying on the strength of the evidence already presented, we will not, I am confident, hesitate about designating *Suetonius* as the common source of *Plutarch* and *Victor* in this passage.

I have previously taken occasion to prove that in ch. 2, 22 sq., in which the poetry of Cicero is unfavorably criticised, Plutarch had

²⁴ The name of Cicero's mother is given only here and in Plut. She is never alluded to by Cicero, the solitary other reference being Q. Cicero Ep. ad Tironem (ad fam. XVI. 26, 2) "et matrem nostram sic olim facere memini."

²⁵ Cicero speaks of the antiquity of his family some three times: de leg. II. 1, 3; Brut. 16, 32; Tusc. I. 16, 38 (Servius Tullius).

²⁶ "Σὲ μὲν, ὦ Κικέρων, ἐπαινῶ καὶ θαυμάζω, τῆς δὲ Ἑλλάδος οἰκτεῖρω τὴν τύχην, ὄρων ἃ μόνα τῶν καλῶν ἡμῖν ὑπελείπετο καὶ ταῦτα Ῥωμαίοις διὰ σοῦ προσγεγόμενα, παιδεῖαν καὶ λόγον."

²⁷ It might be mentioned in passing that a very similar anecdote is related of *John Reuchlin* and *Argyropolus*, whose lectures on Thucydides the German scholar took occasion to attend while an ambassador to the court of Pope Alex. VI.; cf. *Raumer*, *Gesch. der Paedagogik*, I. p. 95.

recourse to some post-Augustan source. *The same is true* of ch. 40, 4-24, in which he treats of Cicero's great merits in enriching the Latin language by the coinage of new words, and then again reverts to his *poetical efforts*. I do not, however, contend for source-identity because of any belief that the later chapter bears any internal evidence of a post-Augustan origin, for it does not, but simply because there can be no possible doubt that ch. 40, *on the very face of its contents*, is derived from the same fountain as ch. 2; and as this is necessarily post-Augustan and non-Tironian,²⁸ it follows that ch. 40, 4-24, is so too. But of all post-Augustan writers possibly accessible to Plutarch, there is not one to whom passages of this literary character can with more justice be attributed than to Suetonius Tranquillus, whose predilection on this point is well attested by innumerable examples. Adding to this the positive evidence already presented of Plutarch's indebtedness to Suetonius, the inference just made as to the source of ch. 2, 22 and ch. 40, 4-24, will be well-nigh irresistible.

I have purposely reserved for the last the discussion of one other passage which is calculated to give additional confirmation, if such, indeed, be needed, to the argument which I have been advocating in this paper. In ch. 44 the biographer narrates a dream of Cicero's which is practically and substantially identical with Cicero's dream concerning Augustus, as recorded by *Suetonius* (Aug. c. 94). Neither writer mentions his authority, the commentators on Suetonius are silent in regard to it, and the scholars who have written on the sources of the Greek *vita* attribute such passages to Tiro, in want of anything better, a proceeding, by the way, as easy as it is gratuitous. And yet the original source of this anecdote can be determined with singular accuracy from a passage of *Tertullian de anima*, c. 46: "M. Tullius Cicero Augustum civilium turbinum cultorem *de somnio* narrat quod in *vita illius commentariis* conditum est." There is every probability that this dream was also related in Suetonius' *Life of Cicero*, which, if true, might well account for the succinct narrative of it in his *Life of Augustus*. But if so, the question at once suggests itself, whether the *ὑπομνήματα* of Augustus constituted the common source of both Plutarch and Suetonius, or whether the latter author is again to be looked upon as the source of the former. Though not disposed categorically to assert what can never be fully substantiated by proof,

²⁸ That ch. 40 is not dependent upon Tiro's work, as has been almost unanimously assumed by scholars, is plainly indicated by the *ὡς φασιν* (line 12) and the *λέγεται* (line 18 Sint).

I am nevertheless very much inclined to favor the second view; for, although Plutarch quotes these Memoirs five times in all (see the list above), there is but a very remote probability of his having ever read a single line of them, except at second hand, while Suetonius, on the contrary, is known to have made an extensive use of the emperor's autobiography.²⁹

With this I close my paper, which I am only sorry to say is not nearly so carefully elaborated as I would like to have made it, if more time and space had been allotted to me. But be this as it may, its object will be more than accomplished if the philological jury, into whose hands the case is now given, should decide that the arguments adduced to prove that Suetonius' *vita Ciceronis* constituted one of the sources of Plutarch's life of the great Roman orator are at least formidable enough to merit attention, if not absolutely convincing.³⁰

²⁹ Among other passages possibly taken from Suetonius might be mentioned c. 5, 29, 12 sq.; 41, 1, especially c. 24, and particularly some highly unfavorable criticisms of Cicero that are met with in Plutarch's life (omitting similar expressions in the narrative of the orator's political history, the sources of which were not discussed in this paper), for most of these are of so unfriendly a nature as to exclude Nepos, or Tiro as possible sources, their biographies being entirely eulogistic or apogetic.

³⁰ A possible chronological objection, which, if valid, would strike at the very root of my arguments, may be briefly discussed in a note, it being easily disposed of. Plutarch's *Life of Cicero* was written at a later date than his *Life of Sulla* (cf. Michaelis de ordine vitarum parall. Plutarchi, Berlin, 1875, Weber, p. 1-39). Now, the latter happily furnishes us with a "terminus post quem," for in ch. 21 Plutarch, describing the battle of Orchomenus, fought in 85 B.C., adds that many relics of the dead were found in the neighboring marshes, *σχεδόν ἐτῶν διακοσίων ἀπὸ τῆς μάχης ἐκελευς διαγεγονότων*. This brings us down to the year 115 A.D. (cf. Holden, Plutarch's Sulla, p. xxiv.). The *vita Ciceronis* was consequently composed later than this date.

Suetonius Tranquillus is generally supposed to have been born about 75 A.D.; he was appointed *magister epistolarum* to Hadrian, probably in 119. He was, therefore, at the time of the composition of Plutarch's Cicero, some forty years old. There is consequently nothing to prevent us from supposing that his work, *De viris illustribus*, or parts of it, had at that time long been published, there being absolutely no evidence to the contrary. Pliny the Younger, in a letter (V. 10) probably written in 105 A.D., begs S. to publish his *volumina*. The *Caesares* are undoubtedly his latest, as they are his maturest, work.

APPENDIX.

SEXTHI AURÉLII VICTORIS VITAE CICERONIS [EPITOME] (*de Viris Illustribus*, c. 81).

Marcus Tullius Cicero genere Arpinas, patre equite Romano natus genus a Tito Tatio rege duxit.¹ Adolescens Rosciano iudicio eloquentiam et libertatem suam adversus Sullanos ostendit ex quo veritus invidiam Athenas studiorum gratia petivit² ubi Antiochum Academicum philosophum studiose audivit.³ Inde eloquentiae gratia Asiam post Rhodum petiit⁴ ubi Molonem Graecum rhetorem tum disertissimum magistrum habuit qui flesse dicitur quod per hunc Graecia eloquentiae laude privaretur.⁵ Quaestor Siciliam habuit.⁶ Praetor Ciliciam latrocinii liberavit.⁷ Consul coniuratos capites punivit.⁸ Mox invidia P. Clodii⁹ instinctuque Caesaris¹⁰ et Pompeii quos dominationis suspectos eadem qua quondam Sullanos libertate perstrinxerat, sollicitatis Pisone et Gabinio coss. qui Macedoniam Syriamque provincias¹¹ in stipendium operae huius acceperant in exsilium¹² actus mox ipso referente Pompeio¹³ rediit eumque civili bello secutus est.¹⁴ Quo victo veniam a Caesare ultro accepit¹⁵ quo interfecto Augustum fovit.¹⁶ Antonium hostem indicavit.¹⁷ Et cum Triumviros se fecissent Caesar, Lepidus Antoniusque¹⁸ concordia non aliter visa est inter eos iungi posse nisi Tullius necaretur¹⁹ qui immisiss ab Antonio percussoribus²⁰ cum forte Formiis quiesceret imminens exitium corvi²¹ auspicio didicit et fugiens²² occisus est. Caput ad Antonium relatum.²²

¹ Cf. Plut. Cic. c. 1 S. Hieron. l.c.

² Plut. Cic. c. 3 Hieron. l.c.

³ Cic. c. 4, init.

⁴ Cic. c. 4, 24.

⁵ Cic. c. 4, 26.

⁶ Cic. c. 6.

⁷ Cic. c. 36, 14.

⁸ Cic. c. 10-23.

⁹ Cic. c. 28 sq.

¹⁰ Cic. c. 30, 30.

¹¹ Cic. c. 30, 25.

¹² Cic. c. 31 sq.

¹³ Cic. c. 33.

¹⁴ Cic. c. 37.

¹⁵ Cic. c. 39.

¹⁶ Cic. c. 40, 24.

¹⁷ Cic. c. 45, 30.

¹⁸ Cic. c. 46, 22.

¹⁹ Cic. c. 46, 26.

²⁰ Cic. c. 47, 48.

²¹ Cic. c. 47, etiam Val. Max. 19, 15

[“cum enim in villa Caietana esset corvus in conspectu eius hororum mansit.”]

²² Cic. c. 48, 49.

III. — *Sex-denoting Nouns in American Languages.*

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THE most cursory consideration of the things in nature teaches us the fact, that there are *living* and *lifeless* objects in the world around us, that is, beings which spontaneously show signs of inward life, and objects deprived of the signs of life or appearing to be so. To reach such a degree of mental apperception our race had to pass through a long period of training and experience, and among rude and primitive nations the human mind has not reached this stage of logical perfection; much less can this be said of the intelligence of the primordial man of many thousand years ago. The primordial man easily confounded *action, motion, variation, and change* with *life*, this being a natural consequence of the animism which then pervaded all human understanding. Man at that remote period also confounded cause and effect with sequence in time, and both errors were the fruitful agencies which produced that wonderful maze of religious ideas, myths, and superstitions which are now being published in the literature of folk-lore. Objects like the wind, lightning, dew, or fog could then be regarded as animate as well as pearls, precious stones, and flowers, although we would now laugh at the idea that there is life in them. But primeval ideas like these still survive in the *gender* of some languages, part of which are spoken by the most cultured nations.

But besides the above another distinction was received into the noun and other parts of speech. Man and the higher animals, as quadrupeds and birds, were known to be divided in two sexes, and an intimation of these was expressed in the grammatic forms of some languages. In the Aryan languages the majority of the lower animals and plants were also given a grammatic sex, but most other objects of nature were relegated into what is now called the neuter gender. In other languages, mainly of the agglutinative type, these were relegated into a large class of "inanimates." The large majority of all languages which are distinguishing gender in the noun, know of *two* genders only, and a number of tongues in all parts of the world know

nothing of any gender- or sex-distinction whatever,¹ some of these, as Neopersian, Lettish and English, having lost them in course of time.

The personal pronoun is that part of speech in which the masculine sex is *at first* distinguished from the feminine by separate words or grammatic signs. From the personal pronoun this distinction gradually invades the possessive, reflective, demonstrative, interrogative and relative pronoun. Sex may be made distinct in the pronoun of one, but not of another dialect of the same linguistic family, a fact which I have observed in the Kalapuya family of Northwestern Oregon. Sex-distinction also exists in the third persons of the pronouns in some Iroquois dialects, but not in the Cherokee language, which is related to them. In Iroquois dialects the distinction between *he* and *she* extends to persons only, not to any of the animals. In the Timucua, once spoken in the Floridian peninsula, *o*, *oqe* is *he*, *ya she*; but sex does not appear to be marked in any other manner in this language, which is so extremely rich in pronominal and verbal forms.

From the personal and possessive pronoun sex-distinction passes into the *verb*, which in agglutinative languages is nothing but a modified noun. In the verb sex-distinction is less frequent than in the pronoun. Of American languages some Iroquois dialects have it in the third persons of the singular, dual and plural of the pronoun only; in the eastern hemisphere the languages which present this feature most conspicuously are those of the Semitic stock.

Distinction of sex in the noun.

The noun proper or substantive and the adjective are the parts of speech in which sex-denoting affixes are most unfrequently met with. The majority of all tongues will resort to separate terms to indicate sex in human beings and animals, and place them in apposition to the noun either before or after it. In Maya dialects these sex-apposites have been ground down so as to represent mere prefixes; *ah-* designates the male, but in fact means *proprietor*, *possessor*; *ish-*, *sh-* represents the female sex, and originally referred to the reproduction of the species. Thus in the Maya of Yucatan *mehen* is *son*, *ish-mehen* *daughter*; Ah-Pech *man* called *Pech*, Ish-Pech *woman* called *Pech*. To designate the sex of animals, this language uses other

¹ To avoid misapprehension, I call henceforth *gender* the categories of the animate and inanimate, *sex* those of the masculine and feminine.

terms: shibil-coh *male puma*, shibil signifying *male*. The Quiché language, closely related to Maya, furnishes such examples as: Tzi-quin, nom. pr. masc. "Bird" — Sh-Tziquin, name of his wife; zu *flute*, ah-zu *musician*; achih-mun *male slave*, ishok-mun *female slave*, achih meaning *male* and ishok *woman*.

But this is agglutination only; affixes like these are not real, inseparable grammatic marks to designate sex, but only terms used in forming compound nouns, just as we say *she-fox* for *vixen*. However, we find in several not sex-denoting American languages instances of metaphoric appellations of inanimate things referring to sexual distinction. They show how deeply engrafted in the human mind is the tendency towards animism. Thus the Caddo name for Mississippi river is Báhat sássin *Mother of rivers*, for sássin means *mother* as well as *wife*, and the name shows that that river is here symbolized as the "receiver of many rivers." In the Maskoki languages *thumb* is "mother of fingers"; in Creek *ingi itchki*, in Chikasa *ilbak-ishke*, in Hitchiti *ilb-iki*, the literal rendering of all these terms being "of one's fingers their mother."

Sex-denoting affixes.

What seems to be a genuine sex-denoting affix to the noun appears in one of the South-American linguistic families of the northern part of that continent. This stock is commonly designated as *Carib*, but since this name has been used in an exceedingly vague and indistinct manner, it is preferable to call the dialects in which sex-denoting affixes have been studied, by their special names.

Copying from Fr. Müller, *Grundriss der Sprachwissenschaft*, II, p. 324, the dialects in which this feature is observed are the Arowak and the Goajira, sex being indicated in adjectives and participles as well as in substantives. In *Arowak* we have:

boy basabanti; *girl* basabantu.

little boy basabanti-kan; *little girl* basabantu-kan.

a good man üsati; *a good woman* üsatu.

loving (man) kansiti; *loving* (woman) kansitu.

dying (man) ahuduti; *dying* (woman) ahudutu.

child (male) elonti; *child* (female) elontu.

In the *Goajira* language, spoken north of the Gulf of Maracaibo, the -i of the masculine answers to a feminine in -e, as follows:

merchant oikari; fem. oikare.

fisherman apüshaxori; fem. apüshaxore.

good anashi ; fem. anase.

dead autushi ; fem. autuse.

little morsashi ; fem. morsase.

sorry, trist, maχuaintshi ; fem. maχuainre.

The language of the Kalinago or *Caribs of the West Indies* or Antillian islands is surviving upon a few islands only ; it is related to both dialects above mentioned, and shows the same sex-denoting suffixes as observed in Arowak (Müller, *ibid.* p. 339) :

a beautiful man iropoⁿti ; *a beautiful woman* irupatu.

beloved (man) kiⁿshiⁿti ; *beloved (woman)* kiⁿshiⁿtu.

murderer aparuti ; *murderess* aparutu.

I do not have the works of Father Breton before me, who is the chief authority upon this insular language ; but from the extracts in L. Adam, *Examen Grammatical*, p. 7 (1878), it appears that the personal and the possessive pronouns also differed according to the sex of the one speaking in the third person : *l-iem he does*, *t-iem she does* ; *l-aku his eye*, *t-aku her eye*. Moreover, the females among themselves spoke another language than the men, and though both languages were called *Caribbean*, Fr. Müller regards them as radically distinct from each other.¹

The *Taensa* people, the existence of which is recorded in the annals from 1680 to 1812, lived between Vicksburg and Natchez City on the west side of the Mississippi river, near the Tonikas, and about 1714 removed to Mobile Bay. The grammar, vocabulary and poetic collection of the Taensa language, which was published in Paris in 1882, has been attacked in regard to its authenticity, and since the arguments brought forward against it have not convinced many scientists,² I shall make mention of the curious system of sex-distinction which the grammar contains. This distinction occurs in the pronouns and in the substantive. The pronouns with sex-forms are *thou* wi, fem. wiâ ; *he* su, *she* suâ ; *ye* wig, fem. wiâg ; *they* sug, fem. suâg. The interrogative pronoun wekmâr, fem. wekmârâ *who?* the emphatic and expletive forms of the personal pronoun all bear the marks of sex-distinction. When a masculine form corresponds to a feminine substantive, the ending of the latter is -â ; and this in some instances passes over into the adjective when this is used attributively.

¹ Cf. also Ober, Fred. A., *Camps in the Caribbees*. Boston, 1880, pp. 100-103.

² Dr. D. G. Brinton, in *American Antiquarian*, 1885, pp. 108-113; 275, 276; A. S. Gatschet, in *Revue de Linguistique* of Paris, 1888, pp. 199-208, and several articles written by Lucien Adam and Julien Vinson.

The terminals -ao, -a-u indicate inanimate things, but nouns in -ao, -a-u are regarded as of the feminine sex.

Tonika.

The only sex-denoting language which I have had the opportunity to study on the spot is the Tonika or Túniχka of Eastern Louisiana, discovered by me in the autumn of 1886. It proved to be a language heretofore unknown to science, and by its strange peculiarities deserves to be carefully studied and compared with other languages, especially with those spoken in its nearest vicinity: the Ná'htchi, Shetimasha, Atákapa and the sundry dialects of the wide-stretching Maskóki family.

In the pronoun, verb and noun this southern tongue distinguishes two sexes, the masculine and feminine; inanimate things belong either to one or the other of the two, and abstract nouns are chiefly or exclusively of the feminine class. If an inanimate order ever existed, it has been merged into the above two, as in the modern Romance languages the neuter has merged into the masculine.

In the noun the *male sex* is made distinct in the singular by the prefix uk- (u-), or by the suffix -ku (-k^u, -χku, -χk, -k); in the plural by the prefix sik-, sig-, or by the suffixed pronoun sä'ⁿ, sä'ma, hé säma. The *female sex* has a distinguishing mark in the prefix tik- (tí'h-, tig-, ti-, t-) or in the suffix -ktchi (-χtchi, -χtch, -ktch, -kts, -'htchi, -tch, -ts) in the singular number, while in the plural it has sin, siⁿ, si, hé sin, hé sinma, placed either before or after the noun to which they belong.

All these affixes are either pronouns or of pronominal origin. They are frequently omitted where we expect to find them, and the masculine affixes much more so than those of the opposite sex.

A partial list of PRONOUNS is as follows:

héku, hék^u *this one, this*; fem. héktchi, hé'htch; pl. hé säⁿ; hé sin. héku and héktchi may also refer to inanimate things.

Personal pronoun:

1 sg. íma *I*; emphatic í'mataⁿ *myself*.

2 sg. ma *thou* (masc.) há'ma (fem.); emphatic mátaⁿ, há'mataⁿ.

3 sg. úwi *he*, tí'htchi *she*; emphatic úwitaⁿ, tí'htchitaⁿ.

- 1 pl. *ínima we*; emphatic *ínimataⁿ ourselves*.
 2 pl. *wínima ye* (masc.), *hínima* (fem.); emphatic *wínimataⁿ, hínimataⁿ*.
 3 pl. *säⁿma, säⁿ they* (masc.), *sínima, síⁿ* (fem.); emphatic *säⁿmataⁿ, fem. sínimataⁿ*.

Possessive pronoun :

lúk tongue, ta lúk the tongue, a tongue, tongue.

1 sg. *iluk my tongue.*

2 sg. *wiluk thy tongue, fem. híluk.*

3 sg. *úluk his tongue, fem. tiluk her tongue.*

1 pl. *íⁿluk our tongues.*

2 pl. *wíⁿluk your tongues, fem. híⁿluk.*

3 pl. *síluk their tongues, fem. síⁿluk.*

The word *ri house*, provided with possessive prefixes, runs as follows :

1 sg. *ígri my house*; 2 sg. *wígri, f. hígri*; 3 sg. *úgri, f. tígri*.

1 pl. *ihëri our house*; 2 pl. *wihëri, f. hihëri*; 3 pl. *stgri, f. sí'hri*.

When *ri house*, which is of the feminine gender, stands in the plural, it becomes *ri-sin houses*, lit. "house-these" or "house-they," and the "conjugation" proceeds as follows :

1 sg. *ígrisin or ta rí'htinsin my houses.*

2 sg. *wígrisin thy houses, fem. hígrisin.*

3 sg. *úgrisin his houses, tigrisin her houses.*

1 pl. *ihërisin our houses.*

2 pl. *wí'hrisin your houses, fem. hí'hërisin.*

3 pl. *sígrisin their houses, fem. sí'hrisin*; or *tá n'tchi sín sí'hri*, lit. "the-women-their-houses."

In following up a portion of the personal inflection of the *verb*, similar pronominal elements are found to occur.

Present tense of ságu TO EAT, declarative form :

1 sg. *ságukani I am eating.*

2 sg. *ságuki*; fem. *ságuka*.

3 sg. *sagúkúna, ságuku*; fem. *sagúkati*.

indef. *sagúkiti somebody is eating.*

1 du. *sagináⁿ we two are eating.*

2 du. *saguwínaⁿ*; fem. *saguhínaⁿ*.

3 du. *sagu-únaⁿ*; fem. *sagusínaⁿ*.

1 pl. ságitiⁿ and ságiti *we are eating*.

2 pl. sagúwiti; fem. sagúhiti.

3 pl. sagúkiti; fem. sagúsiti.

Although there is a dual in the verb, I have been unable to obtain a dual for the pronoun and substantive differing from the plural.

Now let us see how these different signs of sex are applied in the Tonika sentence: Let us consider them separately, beginning with the:

Masculine.

kuá túχkⁿ óshka tádashara *the claws of a little bird*; kuá being masc., túχku or túχkⁿ, túχk *little*, is of the same sex.

héku náχk *like this man, or like this thing*.

ikontéku lúpui wéran a-áχkinta *my father-he (ikonté-ku) died, while I was hunting*.

kán hari'a ta ríχku (or táχku, abbr.)? *how tall is this tree?*

táyani-shi-kⁿ ríχti míshti tá sá-tekⁿ ukpéri *the buffalo is stronger than the horse*; lit. "cattle-male-he strong more the horse-he him surpasses": uk- is the masc. object-particle of the singular, referring here to the horse.

tóni sik'háyi hihá-iχta lúp hót' ónta *The old people in this village are all dead*; lit. "people those-old in-there dead all are"; sik-being an instance of the masculine plural.

Feminine.

óka núχtchi tú *little girl*; lit. "child-woman-small"; tú *little* need not take the fem. ending (tú'htchi) here, for the sex is already pointed at by núχtchi.

táχkuri héktch imé'htini *this fence is mine (táχkuri fence)*.

tá yúnka'htch (or tá yúnka) títik ma-itóru ā'ra *a rope is crossing the creek*; lit. "the rope creek across is lying"; if yúnka was masc., the verb would be ū'ra.

rá-αχkini í'gatchik lúpiti'htch *I grew up when my mother was dead*.

í'gatchiktch tí'htch, Béluksi núχtchi, iknaχshā'ki *my mother, a Beluxi woman, brought me (here)*. In these two examples tí'htch is added reverentially to the term *my mother* (í'gatchi).

ta tíraktch írúkatí húriwi *the cloth (or sheet) floats in the wind*; lit. "the-she-cloth-she floats-she wind-in," *ira cloth* being preceded and followed by feminine affixes.

ta riχkéku (or tárkeku, táχkuk) hária tári'tch atápära *the tree is as tall as the house*; lit. "the tree tall the house-she equals."

táχkuk hária, tígri käh'a *the tree is lower than the house*; lit. "the tree tall, she-house is-not."

táχtchiksh tí'hkorak(i) *full moon*; lit. "luminary she-round."

lá-u táχtchiksh rikëhä, áχshukun táχtchiksh tikamishti *the moon is smaller than the sun*; lit. "night-luminary great-not, day-luminary her surpasses."

tá-ushi rómana míshtik, ta mákak tikpéri *water is heavier than oil*; lit. "water (for ta wí'hshi) heavy more, the oil her surpasses."

ta wishäna máχkina míshti hótu siⁿpéri *this lake is deeper than all others*; lit. "the lake deep more all them (fem.) surpasses."

yakanikáχtcha kí, láhoⁿ tuk yakanikáχtcha *if I come, I come early*. Láhoⁿ tuk "small morning" gives *no* indication of the feminine gender of láhon, láhoni.

ta héri'htchi tchúima *he seizes the canoe*.

táru hésin ra (or rata) *these nuts are hard*.

ta niriwä'ka sin *the cemeteries*.

hé sin hótu tíksa tchóhaki *she led all these dogs*; tíksa *female dog*, hé sin *these* (fem. pl.), hótu *all*.

The demonstrative particle *ta* preceding many of the nouns can best be understood when we regard it as an article corresponding in most cases to our definite article *the*, and indicative of the singular and plural number of both sexes.

These examples plainly show that there is a real sex-distinction in this language for animate beings as well as for inanimate things; that the pronoun *ku, k^u* is always placed *after* its noun, adjective, or pronoun to designate the masculine gender; that the more frequent *ti'h-, ti-, t-* is placed *before* it to designate the feminine, but when it appears in the shape of *tí'htch, -'htch, -ksh, -'tch* is *suffixed* to it; that in many instances the signs of either class are omitted altogether.

The point which we have to examine next is, what objects or categories of objects are assigned to the one or the other sex. For we find that the attribution of some sex to inanimate things must have started from the same mental activity which has assigned to the *sun* a male sex in the classic and a female in the Germanic languages, and to the *moon* just the reverse, although there is nothing male or female to be perceived in either of the two celestial bodies. It was the same energy of the mind which caused primitive men to produce myths by personifying the inanimate objects of nature observed

around them. The Tonika language is the more remarkable on this account, because it is the only language heretofore discovered in *America* which divides all objects of creation into two great sex-categories.

Of the *adjectives* the large majority appear to have a simple form, from which the masculine is derived by suffixing -ku, -χku, -kⁿ, the feminine by appending one of the aforementioned affixes. The adjective ní'hsara *young* forms neither of the two, as the sex is expressed by the noun accompanying this adjective or implied in it: óne ní'hsara *boy*, núχtchi ní'hsara *girl*; lit. "man young," "woman young."

We have the following instances :

tä ⁿ <i>great, large</i>	masc. tä'ku, tä'gu	fem. tä''htchi
tú <i>small, little</i>	túχku, túχk	túχkush
kóra ⁿ <i>round</i>	kóráku	kóráktch
méli <i>black</i>	méliku	méliktchi
míli <i>red</i>	míliku	míliktchi
rówa <i>white</i>	rówaku	rówaktchi
táχkir <i>smutty, dirty</i>	táχkirku	táχkirí'htch
máka ⁿ <i>fat</i>	makáχku	maká'htchi
ríχ'sa <i>spotted, dotted</i>	ríχ'saku	ríχ'satch

The sex of the substantive is not by any means always expressed in the adjective accompanying it, and this appears to be dictated either by the run of the sentence or be a matter of pure convenience. Thus we have tashkaráχponi (fem.) rówa *white stocking*, though t. is feminine; tíχshuma mákaⁿ *or* t. maká'htchi *fat meat*; tíχshuma sépi *lean meat*, instead of sépi'htch. Especially the sign of the masculine is frequently omitted.

Of the *Terms of relationship*, which correspond to each other in both sexes, many appear in this language with the sexual affixes appended, and are always connected with their possessive prefixes *my, his, her*, just like the parts of the human and animal body :

é'hkutuhuk *my son*, é'hkutuhuktch(i) *my daughter*.

éχkutu wálik *my step-son*, éχkutu wáliktch *my step-daughter*.

íχtchaku *my grandfather*, íχtchaktch *my grandmother*.

étuku mashíku *my father-in-law*, étuku mashí'htchi *my mother-in-law*. Thus in the formation of the degrees of relationship we perceive a close analogy with the sex-distinction in adjectives.

Terms designating *male persons*, their occupations, employments, generally show no affix designating sex, or if they do, it is -ku, -k^u. Terms descriptive of *women*, their occupations, etc., have either no affix, or t'^h-, -'htchi or some other of the above-mentioned feminine affixes.

Quadrupeds and *birds* (kúa) are of the masculine gender, unless the female sex is pointed out by a noun standing appositively. There is no word in the language corresponding exactly to our term animal, unless it should be contained in sáⁿ, which now means *dog*; sá tá^m *horse* would then be "large animal." Examples: yánish *cattle*, yánish káχshi *buffalo*, pā'ha sáⁿ *wolf*, tchúla *fox*, yá, í-a *deer*, yátāⁿ *elk*, lit. "large deer," núχki *beaver*, rushtáⁿ *rabbit*, rushtáⁿ tá^m *sheep*, lit. "large rabbit," iyushála *opossum* and *woodrat*, kíwa *weasel*, íyutá *hog*, mínu *cat*, híχku *mouse*; kúa tú *bird* (lit. "small bird"), kúa tú and túχku *humming-bird*, kúa míli *cardinal*, éla, ä'la *buzzard*, yé'hta táⁿ *turkey*, shími *pigeon*; but ä'χka *crow* is represented to be a feminine.

The *lower animals*, as amphibians, reptiles, fish, insects and mollusks, appear to be considered as of the masculine gender: kóχku *turtle*, kó'hsuki *crab*, ná-araⁿ *snake*, nā'raⁿ tá^m *rattlesnake*, viz. "snake large," níni *fish*, ä'ya *fly*, í-unari *salmon*, ómaχka *alligator*, sutáχshu *grasshopper*, shíriχka *ant*, lúpíran *chamaeleon*, námi *louse*, shíla pá'χka *bedbug*, lit. "fat beast," kē *bee*, kē mírka, míχ'ka *wasp*, kē wísta *honey*, takírka *mollusk*, úχshik *shell*. The generic term for all the smaller animals is shíla or shíla tú, which the French Créoles call "le petit bétail," and is of the male sex. The term for *frog*, udshéχka, is said to be feminine.

Plants, trees, bushes and *weeds* are of the masculine sex also, and ríχku *tree* and *wood* is masc. as well. The term for *plant*, tápa and tápaktch, is fem. and means "what grows" or "is planted"; tapákani *I plant*. Examples of plants, all masculine, are as follows: ríχku sánu *pacan-tree*, and sánu *pacan-nut*, ú'hshpa *white oak*, ríχku kíru *peach-tree*, ráyi *mulberry-tree*, yúgmoχku *herb, grass, weed*; erá, rá *tobacco*, yitá *batate, sweet potato*, shúlik ótaka *melon*, shúχka *pumpkin*.

Of *rocks, stones* and *minerals* the following are masculine: shíχka *stone, rock, flint-stone*; háχtchu *salt*, láχspi, lá'spi *metal, iron*, náχta *bluff on a river*, etc.

The *celestial bodies* and the divisions of *time* are considered feminine by these Indians, as is also háliktch, abbrev. háli, hál *earth*, and

its derivatives, perhaps because the personified Earth is regarded as the mother of all beings.

We mention the following instances: táχtchiksh, abbr. táχtchi "luminary" and *sun*; áχshukun t. *sun*, lit. "day-luminary"; lá-u t. *moon*, lit. "night-luminary"; táχtchi tipulá *star*; láhoni *morning*, te'hkalugéki *noon*, tohónagi *afternoon*, lá-aki, lá'ki *evening*, tíhika *summer* and *year*; tíhika tú *spring*, lit. "little summer"; táχsaba *winter*, táχsaba tú *autumn*, lit. "little winter"; rúina *heat*, yúpaχta *the cold*, alutápaⁿ *harvest* also belong to the feminine order. Among the derivatives and compounds of háli *earth* we have: halúpish *mud*, háli-sáman *brick*, lit. "earth baked"; halú'hta *sole*. But the term hal-ukíni *village, district*, lit. "placed upon the earth," is masculine.

The *points of the compass* are derivatives of verbs or nouns, and all of the feminine sex: táχsapash *north*, lit. "cold"; táχtchi píka-tish *east*, tíhikash *south*, lékatish *west*, lit. "loss (of the sun)."

Some other *objects of nature* are of the feminine order also: wi'hshi *water, liquid* becomes tá-ush(i) when the article ta is placed before it: tá-ush mili *river*, lit. "red water"; háχpushi *ashes*, onté-tish *milk*, tóra *ice*, toratíni *hoarfrost*, yáχku *vegetable poison*, shíχtika *venom*, télia and télia'htch *shadow* and *soul*, also *reflection on the water*. The term yí *pain, invisible sickness* is feminine, and hence all names of diseases are of the same gender: íni yí *toothache*, e'htiniyu yí *heart disease*, táshki-rúpa *diarrhœa*. Yúri *visible sickness* is of the same sex.

Abstract nouns are all considered as of the female sex, for they are feminine adjectives made into substantives: káχshi *true* and *truth, reality*; ríχki'htch *force, strength*, from ríχki *strong*; taχkiríχtchi *filth*, from táχkiríχ *dirty*; náka *war, battle* is masculine and appears to be considered as a concrete, not as an abstract noun.

The names for the *parts* of the human and animal *body* and of *plants* are about equally divided between the two sexes.

Of masculine nouns we have: íni *my tooth*, éruk *my neck*, í'hs-tuksuk *my eye*, irí'hshi *my nose*, ínishi *my breast*, e'htuka *my shoulder*, í'hkení *my hand*, i. lábu *my right hand*, lit. "good hand," eyumä'ra *my wrist*, hanímu *fist*, úyuⁿ *bowels*, ilákashi *my hair*, táχki *bone*, íshki *my posteriors*, é'hshka *my foot*, and ó'hshka *stalk* and *root of plant*, yúχtar *feather, plumage*, óχsa *tail* of animal, aχkatíni *pimple*.

Of feminine nouns there are: í'hkin tírwash *my finger-nail*, e'htiniyu *my heart*, é'hsini *my head*, itáχkishi *my skin* (and *bark* of plants),

óli'hka and ólika'htch *my liver*, tá-idsha *flesh, meat*, éyu and éyu'htch *my arm*, ópushka *lung*, tchára *toe*, túχsu *grain, seed*, rú *nut*.

Natural objects classed into the masculine order of inanimates are as follows: éshku *rain*, éshku rahíni *thunder*, tóa *snow*, hóχka *hole*, áyi, á-i *fire*, húri *wind*, ta húri ku *the wind blows*, apáru *sky* and *clear sky*; hí'hshuka *dew* appears to be of both sexes.

Manufactured objects are thought to belong to both sexes, but the number of those belonging to the feminine possibly prevails over that of the opposite sex.

Masculines are: hássä" *saw*, pólu'hki *bottle*, takáχti *key*, tira táruhi *clothes-brush*, tanáha" *back* (of chair), kún kúrini *drum*, lit. "noise to assemble," tchúhi *cushion, pillow*, áyi wotchúra *chimney*, héyutana *bed*, ta póχku *bed-cover*, kóti *lodgement*, wúχku *hat*, rí áwáhan *doorway*.

Feminines are: wishkatáhi *bow*, lit. "bow with cord"; róhina *book, paper, newspaper*, etc., from rówa *white*; íra *cloth, clothing, garment*, úshik *spoon*, skálayk *shilling*, from Span. escalino; láχspi ta éyu *beads*, hí'hturak tára" *spider-web*, yúnka and yúnka'htch *rope*, rí *house, lodge*, rí káhi *floor*, rí pókuni *roof, thatch*.

Readers perusing this long list of nouns will obviously notice that some of these terms have lost such endings as -i or -u, and that others have a long and an abbreviated form used simultaneously. There are whole categories of nouns which distinctly belong to one grammatic sex only, like the names for the points of the compass, all of which are feminine exclusively, and moreover end in -sh throughout. But outside of the terminals of sex, -ku and -ktchi, with their phonologic alterations, no suffix can be found which gives an indication of sex by itself, as we observe it, e.g. with Latin *-tas* and German *-heit*.

The problem now confronts us: do we have in the Tonika language a division of nouns into an animate or vitalistic and an inanimate or non-vitalistic class, or a real sex-division into male and female nouns? To this I reply:

Had the originators of the gender-system embodied in Tonika started from the purpose of separating the objects showing life from those of the inanimate world, they would not have placed animals, plants, minerals, many objects of nature and the body's organs into the same class. Neither would they have done this, if they desired to distinguish the noble from the ignoble (whatsoever this distinction may amount to in an Indian's mind), the active from the non-active, or the organic from the inorganic, a conception which could hardly

originate in minds untrained in natural science. That the feminine sex contains, or originally embraced, only such terms which describe objects hidden within others, or not on the surface, or enclosing other objects, and abstract ideas, is a theory agreeing with many terms of the list, but not with all the facts on hand, and has therefore to be discarded.

The best we can do in our present state of knowledge is to assume that the early Tonikas started from the two sexes observed among men and animals, and found in all the other objects of nature, and in abstract ideas, some fancied analogy to males and females, and thus classified their nouns.

IV. — *Metrical Observations on a Northumbrianized Version of the Old English Judith.*¹

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THE attempt to restore a poem to the dialect in which it was originally written, and from which it is supposed to have been afterwards transcribed, is not wholly unprecedented. R. Payne Knight undertook this for Homer in his *Carmina Homérica, Iliás et Odyssea*, 1820, and has been followed in our day by Fick (*Die homerische Odyssee*, 1883; *Die homerische Iliás*, 1886). A similar endeavor to reconstruct the original strophic form of *Béowulf* was made a few years ago by Möller (*Das Altenglische Volksepos in der ursprünglichen strophischen Form*, 1883). It is needless to specify the services which such a version, if properly made, is capable of rendering to scholarship. For our purpose it will be preferable to measure the results which, in the subjoined text, have been obtained on the basis of phonology and inflexion alone, by subjecting them to the independent test of prosody. The metrical laws of Old English have at length been made out with sufficient accuracy (Sievers, *Zur Rhythmik des Germanischen Alliterationsverses*, in Paul und Braune's *Beiträge*, Bd. X), and have been applied to our poem by Karl Luick (Paul und Braune's *Beiträge*, XI 470-492; cf. my new edition of *Judith*, pp. lv-lxxi). Assuming that these are well known, I will at once proceed to record the metrical observations on the Northumbrianized version of *Judith*, which may be easily verified by any student for himself.

1. In the vast majority of hemistichs the metre remains entirely unchanged.

2. The metrical necessity for the syncope of middle vowels in the cases established by Sievers (PB. X 459 ff.) is fully confirmed by many instances in our version. Thus, *éadgo*, 35^a; *módba*, 52^b;

¹ The text of the Northumbrian version accompanied this paper, but, to save space, is omitted here. It may be readily found by referring to the second revised and enlarged edition of the *Judith*, published by D. C. Heath & Co., Boston.

hálge, 56^b; hæðna, 98^b; hæðna, 110^a; hálga, 160^b; hæðnes, 179^a; hálga, 203^b.

3. In other instances the metre is rendered more regular by the substitution of vowels long by position for the short vowels of the manuscript; in other words, a proper iambic, trochaic, dactylic, or other rhythm, with a long vowel to bear the ictus, takes the place of a kind of logæedic rhythm, in which two short vowels stand, by resolution, in the place of the single long one. Thus, for example, snotra (snottra?), 55^a, becomes a trochee; beadw-, 175^b, becomes, instead of beadu-, the end of a foot anapæstic in its general character; nfol-, 113^a, becomes the long syllable of an anapæst; salwig-, 211^a, becomes a trochee; beadwe, 213^a, cwicra, 235^a, 324^a, -frætwad, 329^b, -feðra, 210^b, are all trochees. The loss of the final *e* in the first element of certain compounds has a similar effect: thus hyg-, 131^a, becomes a monosyllabic foot, and sig-, 295^a, the long syllable of an anapæst. In like manner, the first syllable of hępað, 303^b, in the ordinary version, must be considered as long by Sweet, who otherwise would naturally have emended it to hęre-, as phonological law has required in the Northumbrian version. Another example of hyg- is found in 303^a, where it forms the first syllable of a foot having the form $\angle \simeq \times$. Hypesæx, 328^a, is doubtful; perhaps hup- should remain.

4. The dropping of final *e* in the pronouns hir and ðær has a similar effect upon the metre. Feet are shortened, with advantage to the regularity of the metre, in 99^b, 123^b, 124^b, 130^b, 149^a, 149^b, 167^a, 175^b, 286^b, 327^a, 335^b, 341^b; in the anacrusis, 5^b. Hir appears to be sometimes long, and sometimes short; it is long in 5^b, 99^b, 335^b, short in 123^b, 130^b, 149^a, 175^a.

5. The change in the form of a verb converts a trochee to a cyclic dactyl in 9^a, 11^a, a first pæon to a dactyl in 278^a, and increases the number of unstressed syllables by one in the first foot of 117^b: ne ðorfeð hé hopiga nó, like Beów. 392 (PB. X 239), ðæt hé éower æðelu can, and Beów. 1213, héo fore ðæm werede spræc.

6. In 324^b and 325^b, an anapæst followed by an iambus becomes anapæst + anapæst, which is a common form (PB. X 240).

7. The substitution of plur. fiondas for fýnd does not seem to cause a transgression of metrical law. Thus, in 320^b, fiondas oferwunnen resembles the cases under 11 in PB. X 230, and stands or falls with them; fiondas sindon fuera, 195^b, would be admissible on the same terms, were it not that fuera is a trisyllable; but perhaps we should be justified in reading fura.

8. In one instance, double trochee changes to the type $\angle \times | \angle \simeq \times$: bord and brád swordas, 318^a. Whether scírméled swordas, 230^b, of the form $\angle \simeq \times | \angle \times$, can be allowed to stand, I leave for others to determine; it is found exceptionally in the first hemistich (PB. X 310), but apparently not in the second.

9. The rime is often unaffected by the phonetic changes undergone by both riming words. Thus hiorde : gestiorde is as good a rime as hyrde : gestýrde, 60; so néasa : forléasa, 63. In other cases the rime is actually improved, as in -ræste : -hlæste, 36; flég- : fég-, 47; swíra : swíma, 106. In line 2 the conversion of funde to fand destroys the rime, but of this we shall speak under a subsequent head.

10. Hiatus is more frequent, through the loss of final *n*, though this is a matter of no importance in Old English prosody. Examples occur in 15^b, 18^b, 42^b, 64^a, 114^b, 120^b, 154^a, 243^a, 348^a.

11. Alliteration is destroyed by the substitution of geéad for gegán in lines 140 and 219. Could Northumbrian poetry have had its peculiar form, differing from that of prose?

12. Metre is apparently destroyed in three cases, 132^b, 135^b, and 272^a. A stressed short syllable is inadmissible in ðqna and hère of the final foot, and similarly the first syllable of ðolende should be long. We may conceive of the latter as possible by means of secondary lengthening, but ðqna and hère can only be emended for metrical purposes in the manner actually adopted by the manuscript text. Hèrige could easily be restored in the Northumbrian version on the analogy of other forms (cf. l. 294), but ðanonne (ðanone, ðqnane) must have been coined for prosodical reasons. One is inclined to assume a similar coinage or adaptation in the case of funde (9, above). True, it is common in West Saxon prose (Cosijn, *Altwestsächsische Grammatik*, II § 84), yet its adoption may have been determined or influenced by poetic considerations in the first place. As it stands, this line is hopelessly unmetrical, and could not be restored except by replacing funde.

V. — *Notes on the Vocalism of Late West Saxon.*

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THE phonological study of Ælfric's Homilies, recently made by my friend and pupil, Mr. Frank Fischer, has rendered it somewhat easier to survey the vocalism of the most important of Late West Saxon authors. As this paper has not been fully published at the date of the present writing (it is included in No. 2, Vol. IV of the Publications of the Modern Language Association), a synopsis of the chief results of the investigation may be welcome. This synopsis will accordingly be presented in the most summary form, with references, whenever necessary, to the Sievers-Cook Old English Grammar, second edition.

1. Where EWS. sometimes has *a* before *l* + cons., Ælfric always has the breaking *ea*.

2. Where EWS. fluctuates between *a* and *o* before nasals (Gr. 65), Ælfric always has *a*.

3. The umlaut variation in the past participle of certain strong verbs (Gr. 50. 2) is not found in Ælfric. In these cases the vowel is always *a*.

4. Echthipsis of *g*, with lengthening of the preceding vowel, takes place wherever possible before *d*, *ð*, and *n* (Gr. 214. 3 and Note 3).

5. Palatal *g* shows a similar tendency toward vocalization and disappearance in such forms as *dæig*-, *læig*-, *mæig*-, *mæigð*-, *cæig*-, *mæig*-, *mæið*-, *æig*-, *weig*-, *seigð*-.
:

6. In Ælfric there are no *ie*, *ie*, *io*, *io*, *æ*, *æ*.

7. In 25 words of the Homilies, Vol. 1, *i* occurs for *y*, the *i*-umlaut of *u*, chiefly before palatals and nasal combinations. In 9 stems *i* occurs for *y*, the *i*-umlaut of *ú*.

8. EWS. *ie* (from various sources) is represented in Ælfric now by *i*, now by *y*, with a decided preponderance in favor of *y*. Exceptional are *cwelm*- 72. 11, *eltsta* 24. 7, *gerela* 296. 4, *gest*- 30. 14, *-welm* 382. 13.

9. EWS. *ie* is similarly represented by *i* and *y*, with a like preponderance in favor of *y*. Exceptions are few in favor of *é*, 6 in all.

10. Palatal umlaut is common, but that by a preceding palatal has been noted only in the word *scép*, for *scéap*.

11. The influence of *w* upon following *eo*, *io* is noticeable, producing *u*, *y*.

12. *U*-umlaut fails to occur in *metod*, *werod*.

13. Secondary lengthening of all the vowels is frequent, if Thorpe's edition is to be trusted.

14. Peculiar or exceptional forms are : *næcednysse* 392. 8; *lichomlice* 142. 7, *dæghwomlice* 408. 6, *ungesome* 478. 25, *womm* 236. 31; *ardlice* 78. 19; *galdrum* 474. 21; *gewarnast* 6. 28; *ymesene* 418. 22; *embe* 36. 10, *ymbrene* (for *-ryne*) 102. 27; *fir* 132. 25; *hréaw* 380. 34; *sinu* (*sina*) 236. 21; *cynnestran* 352. 27, *understynt* 158. 35; *bewýpð* 84. 29; *wælhreaw* 606. 1; always *hraðe*, never *hræðe*. Besides, there is a large number of more or less completely Anglicized Latin words, of which *aspide* 486. 35, *Chaldeisc* 570. 10, *manna* 76. 16, *cherubim* 10. 14, *Ebreisc* 24. 11, *Perścisc* 518. 17, *Medas* 454. 12, *Judeisc* 48. 19, *cyrographum* 300. 5 are not found in the index to Pogatscher's *Lautlehre der Griechischen, Lateinischen und Romanischen Lehnworte im Altenglischen* (Strassburg and London, 1888).

Many other interesting particulars, together with the full proof of the statements here made, may be found in the monograph itself, which is therefore heartily recommended to professional students of Old English.

APPENDIX.



- I. PROCEEDINGS OF TWENTY-FIRST ANNUAL SESSION,
EASTON, PA., 1889.
- II. TREASURER'S REPORT (p. iv).
- III. LIST OF OFFICERS AND MEMBERS (p. xlix).
- IV. CONSTITUTION OF THE ASSOCIATION (p. lxi).
- V. PUBLICATIONS OF THE ASSOCIATION (p. lxiii).
- VI. INDICES TO VOLS. I-XX.

MEMBERS IN ATTENDANCE AT THE TWENTY-FIRST
ANNUAL SESSION (EASTON).

Herbert L. Baker, Detroit, Mich.
Isbon T. Beckwith, Trinity College, Hartford, Conn.
P. M. Biklé, Pennsylvania College, Gettysburg, Pa.
Edward B. Clapp, Illinois College, Jacksonville, Ill.
Manuel J. Drennan, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.
L. H. Elwell, Amherst College, Amherst, Mass.
A. Gudeman, New York, N. Y.
Isaac H. Hall, Metropolitan Museum, New York, N. Y.
Samuel Hart, Trinity College, Hartford, Conn.
Edward W. Hopkins, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa.
Theodore W. Hunt, College of New Jersey, Princeton, N. J.
George B. Hussey, College of New Jersey, Princeton, N. J.
Edmund Morris Hyde, Lehigh University, So. Bethlehem, Pa.
John B. Kieffer, Lancaster, Pa.
Charles S. Knox, St. Paul's School, Concord, N. H.
Francis A. March, Lafayette College, Easton, Pa.
Francis A. March, Jr., Lafayette College, Easton, Pa.
Samuel A. Martin, Lincoln University, Pa.
W. B. Owen, Lafayette College, Easton, Pa.
James M. Paton, Middlebury College, Middlebury, Vt.
Tracy Peck, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.
Edward E. Phillips, Marietta College, Marietta, O.
Thomas R. Price, Columbia College, New York, N. Y.
Sylvester Primer, Friends' School, Providence, R. I.
Julius Sachs, New York, N. Y.
W. S. Scarborough, Wilberforce University, Wilberforce, O.
C. P. G. Scott, New York, N. Y.
Thomas D. Seymour, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.
William D. Shipman, Buchtel College, Akron, O.
M. S. Slaughter, Iowa College, Grinnell, Iowa.
Clement Lawrence Smith, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.
Herbert Weir Smyth, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa.
Edward Snyder, University of Illinois, Champaign, Ill.
J. R. S. Sterrett, University of Texas, Austin, Tex.
Edward F. Stewart, Easton, Pa.
Morris H. Stratton, Salem, N. J.
Andrew F. West, College of New Jersey, Princeton, N. J.
John Henry Wright, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

[Total, 38.]

AMERICAN PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION.

EASTON, PA., Tuesday, July 9, 1889.

THE Twenty-First Annual Session was called to order at 4 P.M., in Room 5, Pardee Hall, Lafayette College, by Professor Thomas D. Seymour, of Yale University, New Haven, Conn., President of the Association.

The Secretary, Professor John H. Wright, presented the following report of the Executive Committee : —

a. The Committee had elected as members of the Association :¹—

Charles W. Bain, Portsmouth, Va.

Herbert L. Baker, Detroit, Mich.

Charles W. Ballard, New York, N. Y.

P. M. Biklé, Professor in Pennsylvania College, Gettysburg, Pa.

Edward Capps, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.

James C. Egbert, Instructor in Columbia College, New York, N. Y.

Edwin W. Fay, Fellow of Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

Abraham L. Fuller, Instructor in Adelbert College, Cleveland, O.

George P. Garrison, Professor of English, Austin, Tex.

A. Gudeman, Ph. D., New York, N. Y.

J. Leslie Hall, Professor of English, William and Mary College, Williamsburg, Va.

Benjamin F. Harding, Belmont School, Cambridge, Mass.

Lawrence C. Hull, Lawrenceville School, Lawrenceville, N. J.

John B. Kieffer, Professor in Franklin and Marshall College, Lancaster, Pa.

Charles Sigourney Knox, St. Paul's School, Concord, N. H.

Clifford H. Moore, Oakland, Cal.

Charles A. Moore, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.

Ransom Norton, Houlton, Me.

Rev. Endicott Peabody, Groton School, Groton, Mass.

Edwin M. Pickop, High School, Hartford, Conn.

George Rodeman, Ph. D., Cambridge, Mass.

T. F. Sanford, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.

Henry A. Scribner, Plainfield, N. J.

Albert H. Smyth, Philadelphia, Pa.

¹ In this list are included the names of all persons elected to membership at the Twenty-First Annual Session of the Association. The addresses given are, as far as can be, those of the autumn of 1889.

F. C. Sumichrast, Assistant Professor of French, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

Fitz Gerald Tisdall, Professor of Greek, College of the City of New York, N. Y.

H. C. Tolman, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.

J. W. H. Walden, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

Hamilton Wallace, Principal Public High School, Tulare, Cal.

Sarah E. Wright, Augusta Seminary, Staunton, Va.

A. C. Zenos, Professor in Hartford Theological Seminary, Hartford, Conn.

b. The Proceedings of the Twentieth Annual Session (Amherst) were to be issued in the course of the meeting; the Transactions for the same year (Vol. XIX.) would be issued in a few weeks.

c. The Committee had voted to give copies of the Transactions of the Association to the Smithsonian Institution and to the American School of Athens, as well as to the institutions named on pp. 1, li., of the Proceedings for 1888.

Professor Wright presented also his report as Treasurer of the Association for the year ending July 6, 1889. The summary of accounts for 1888-89 is as follows:—

RECEIPTS.

Balance on hand, July 7, 1888	\$487.19
Fees, assessments, and arrears paid in	\$918.25
Sales of Transactions and of Reprints	216.59
Total receipts for the year	<u>1134.84</u>
	\$1622.03

EXPENDITURES.

For Transactions (Vol. XVIII.) and Proceedings for 1887: composition, printing, distribution	\$760.41
For postages, stationary, job printing, clerk hire	75.00
Interest on borrowed money (\$200) with partial payment (\$12.20 + \$50)	62.20
Total expenditures for the year	\$897.61
Balance on hand, July 6, 1889	<u>724.42</u>
	\$1622.03

The Association owes the Treasurer \$200, the debt of \$250 of July 7, 1889, having been reduced by the payment of \$50, Nov. 1, 1888.

The Chair appointed as Committee to audit the Treasurer's report, Messrs. Isaac H. Hall and H. W. Smyth.

At 4.20 P.M. the reading of papers was begun. At this time there were about thirty persons present; at the subsequent meetings the number averaged forty-five.

1. Notes on Andocides, by Professor W. S. Scarborough, of Wilberforce University, Wilberforce, O.

The Mss. and editions of Andocides now extant are the same as those of the orator Antiphon with the omission of the Oxford (N) which makes no mention of this orator. Or as Blass¹ puts it:—

“Andocidis codices eosdem fere atque Antiphontis habemus praeterquam quod Oxoniensis N ope in hoc oratore destituti sumus.”

Both of these orators have come down to us together, and the defects and corruptions which they have in common indicate that they are derived from a common archetype. The bibliographical observations made in respect to the one are almost equally applicable to the other.

It is generally conceded that the Crippsianus (A) is the most accurate, and therefore the best Ms. that we have of Andocides. Bekker used this as the basis of his text. He also collated the Laurentian (B), the Marcian (L), and a Breslau copy. Then he further examined the Ambrosian (P) and the Burneian (M). As to the Ambrosian (Q) and in respect to its bearing upon the Andocidean orations, vide Blass, etc. (Teubner). Baiter, Bekker, Blass, and Sauppe have, perhaps, given us the best texts; while Meier, Hirschigg, Kirchoff, Vater, Stephen, Reiske, Dobson, Sluiter, Dobree, Valckenaer, Bergk, Klotz, Maetzner, and others have thrown much light upon various points in the text.

Immanuel Bekker has done especial service to scholars by his remarkably clear and complete recension of the Andocidean orations. Aldus gave us the first complete edition, though full of errors. Bekker, Dobree, and Schiller followed with others in emending and correcting the Aldine edition. The Zurich edition was represented by Baiter and Sauppe who were not less vigilant than others of their contemporaries in their efforts to furnish a faultless text. I regard the edition of Blass the most available text that we have. It is certainly one of the best recensions of that orator to be found in the libraries of Europe, aside perhaps from a few orthographical forms observed here and there, which are probably foreign to the age of Andocides. Blass uses σφίζω with ι subscript and defends it with the remark: “Scribere dum esse in vulgus notum est contra ἐσώθην σωτηρία.” Curtius, in his *Das Verbum der Grieschischen Sprache seinem Baue nach dargestellt*, discusses with numerous examples the two forms σφίζω, σώζω, and seems to favor the latter. In the *Etymologicum Magnum* I observe the following: “Ἄλλ’ ἢ παράδοσις ἔχει τὸ ι. τὸ δὲ σφίζω, ὅτε μὲν γίνεται ἀπὸ τοῦ σῶος σωίζω ὡς λέπος λεπίζω καὶ κατὰ συναίρεσιν σφίζω ἔχει τὸ ι. ἦνίκα δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ σάος σάδζω καὶ κράσει σώζω, οὐκ ἔχει προσγεγραμμένον τὸ ι (p. 741. 25).—That is to say that σώζω has the ι subscript when derived from σῶος and that σωίζω becomes by synæresis (συναίρεσις) σφίζω, just as λεπίζω is from λέπος; further, that σάδζω is derived from σάος and does not take the iota, but becomes by crasis (κράσις) σώζω. Neither this nor the explanation of Buttman² is conclusive, though the appearance of the ι subscript form is fully established by Attic inscriptions of an early date—and yet I am of the opinion that σώζω is more classic than σφίζω. Dr. Smyth, however, calls my attention to the fact that σώζω does not appear upon Attic inscriptions till after 100 B.C.

¹ Preface to his Ed. (Teubner), p. iii.

² Ausführliche Griechische Sprachlehre, II. 295.

The style of Andocides is peculiar. Aside from the frequent repetition of the same thought there is a loose connection of sentences; the tendency to change abruptly his construction, by the introduction of new clauses and then to resume his narrative with δὲ οὗτος, or οὗτος δὲ (vide *Myst.* I, 2, 27, 56, 57, 58, 59, 70-73, 80-81, 137-139, 140-145, etc., etc.; *De Red.* 3, etc.; *De Pace* 5, 34, etc., etc.) Blass, in his edition, uses εἵνεκα for ἔνεκα. εἵνεκα is a form not generally found in the tragic poets, nor in the best Attic prose, though it occurs in Plato, also in Demosthenes, and in the Antiphonic Tetral., B, β, 10. Wecklein and Weil admit the form in their editions of Æschylus, vide Wackernagel, *K. Z.* XXVIII, 109 ff. It is not allowable in the tragic poets, nor is it admissible in the best Attic prose. Between μὴ θέλοντας and μὴ θέλουσας, Greek usage compels us to adopt the shorter form, though Baiter and Sauppe write the longer. "ἐθέλω is found upon all Attic inscriptions till the year 300 B.C.; after 200 B.C. θέλω comes to light." — Blass has bracketed the dative after κελεύω (vide *Myst.* II). A similar construction appears in § 40 (*Myst.*). The dative is never thus used in the best Attic prose. — Again I note the use of an enclitic form of the pronoun after the preposition, as in the phrase πρὸς με (λέγει πρὸς με Χαρμίδης). This is certainly contrary to the general rule as the following examples will show: ἐπ' ἐμοί, *Xen. Oecon.* VII. 14; κατ' ἐμέ, *Id.* II. 9; παρ' ἐμοί, *Id.* XI. 9; περὶ ἐμοῦ, *Id.* II. 15; ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ, *Id.* VII. 3. For other examples, vide *Dem. Cor.*, *Hdt.*, etc. — In the phrase τότε δὴ προσίων Ἀνσίστρατον we have an unusual example of a *personal object* after προσίεσθαι. Cf. *Xen. Mem.* I. 2, 47.

Another queer construction is found in the use of τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ for τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον — the dative for the modal acc.; vide *Aristoph.*, *Plato*, etc. There are many other debatable forms found in some of the editions of the Andocidean orations — some interpolations, others a part of the original narrative. Andocides was largely inclined to the use of circumlocutions and ambiguities, and there is need of caution on the part of critics in their attempt to separate the genuine from the spurious. As to the Κατ' Ἀλκιβιάδου, whether Andocides was the author or not, there is much discussion. Yet the similarity of style, the numerous periods ending in anacolutha, etc., etc., aside from the historical inaccuracies, would indicate that he was the author of the oration against Alcibiades.

Remarks were made by Messrs. E. W. Hopkins, T. D. Seymour, J. H. Wright, and H. W. Smyth.

2. Maximus Planudes: his Life and Works, by Dr. A. Gudeman, of New York, N.Y.

The all but universally accepted verdict of condemnation which has been passed upon Byzantine scholarship, however just it may be found to have been in numerous instances, has undoubtedly been the chief cause of blinding the eyes of philologists to the distinguished merits of at least one of the scholars of that time, the monk Maximus Planudes. This verdict reached, as it demonstrably was, upon altogether insufficient evidence and upon sweeping generalizations, due in a great measure, to a lack of historical perspective, naturally not only precluded any accurate criticism, but decidedly discouraged renewed impartial investigations.

The ambitious aim of this paper, of which the following is but a very short abstract,¹ is to replace traditional prejudices and errors by facts; to give an accurate and detailed account of Planudes' life, and by a complete critical survey of his writings, to pave the way for a juster appreciation of this monk's services to classical philology.

Right at the very outset of our inquiry, we must enter upon a detailed discussion of the traditional data in Planudes' life which, though singularly erroneous, have nevertheless been accepted, without question, as true, for the last three hundred years; his ἀκμή being generally assigned to the year 1353 (I know not on what grounds), and the date of his diplomatic mission to Venice to the year 1327. The original source of this piece of chronological information seems to have been *Raphael Maffeus Volaterra's* (1451-1521) *Commentarii Urbani*, lib. XVII.² The data just given subsequently passed into Lambecius' Catalogue of the library of Vienna and into Fabricius' famous *Bibliotheca Graeca*, and from this time on were never called into question, until in 1877 Maximilian Treu conclusively proved them wrong.³ But Treu's discovery remaining practically unknown, whether we ascribe this fact to the strange vitality so characteristic of error, or to the inaccessibility of his little pamphlet, the author of this paper thought himself justified in again taking up Treu's convincing arguments in his thesis,⁴ adding such corroborative evidence as the then still unpublished letters of Planudes happily supplied him with.⁵

This short abstract will, of course, not admit of more than the very briefest review of the arguments, by which the traditional chronology has been shown to be altogether untenable.

There is an epigram extant (p. 65, of my dissertation) composed by one *Gregorius*.⁶ It consists of twenty-two rather uncouth hexameter and pentameter verses, and deeply deplores the death of Maximus Planudes, as an irretrievable loss to his country. His works, some of which the writer enumerates, are pronounced to be of so great a value, as to entitle their lamented author to a glorious immortality. The "poem" does not add anything to our previous knowledge of Planudes, with the very important exception of the seventh line, which reads as follows:—

Πέμπτην ἑξανύων ἑτέων δεκάδ' ἔσθ' ἄκρα μούσης

We are here told, on the unimpeachable testimony of an intimate friend, that Planudes did not much exceed the age of fifty. With this fact we combine another.

¹ The entire paper will be published in the *American Journal of Philology*.

² It is true, Volaterra asks his readers to consult Bessarion for the data given by him. I have, however, been unable to find the slightest trace of the statement referred to in the published works of the famous cardinal, although he speaks of Planudes repeatedly.

³ Cf. M. Treu *Gymnasial Prog. Waldenburg*, i/Schl. 1877 ("Zu Plutarch's *Moralia*").

⁴ A. Gudeman *De Heroidum Ovidii codice Planudeo*, Berolini, 1888, Calvary & Co. (p. 67 sqq.).

⁵ The letters, one hundred and twenty-two in number, have now been published by Treu in successive programmes of the Friedrichs Gymnasium of Breslau; cf. especially the programme of 1889, p. 183 sqq.

⁶ Perhaps identical with the friend addressed in Planudes' 25, 26, and 27 letters.

There is preserved in the library of Venice a manuscript in Planudes' own handwriting, containing the Gospel of St. John, from the subscription of which we learn of its being completed in September, 1302. Now assuming the traditional chronology which assigns his *floruit* to the year 1353 to be correct, Planudes must have been about two years old at the time, when he finished the copy of the Gospel of St. John, an example of precocity, surely as unprecedented as it is absurd!

Nor does the year 1327, given as the date of the embassy, fare any better, for it can be conclusively proven from a passage in Pachymeres and from Planudes' own correspondence (cf. p. 69 sqq. of my dissertation) that he left for Venice in the company of Leon Orphanotrophos in the winter of 1296, being then, to use Pachymeres' own words, an *ἀνὴρ ἐλλόγιμος καὶ συνετός*. Combining all these facts, we arrive at the following chronological data: Planudes was born about 1250-1260, and was sent as an ambassador to the Venetian Republic in 1296. He copied the Gospel of St. John in *September, 1302*, and having not much exceeded the age of fifty, he cannot well have died later than 1310, though possibly earlier.

Planudes was born in Nicomedia, as he tells us himself in the prooemium to his "Encomium in sanctum megalomartyrem Diomedem."¹ He left his native town at an early age for Constantinople, for in Ep. 112, 40, he describes a triumphal procession,² commemorating a great victory over the Persians which occurred in 1282. On taking orders, he discarded his baptismal name Manuel for that of Maximus.³ He soon became involved in the ecclesiastical controversies between the Greek and Latin churches, concerning the momentous question of the emanation of the Holy Ghost, and it was in support of the shrewd ecclesiastical policy of Michael Palaeologus that he probably translated St. Augustin's *De trinitate*, but on the accession to the throne of Andronicus II., who completely reversed his father's policy, Planudes returned to the orthodox Greek faith, whether on compulsion or not is not clear, by writing four syllogisms (still extant), "de processione Spiriti Sancti contra Latinos." His correspondence shows him to have been on intimate terms with the emperor himself as well as with most of the highest officials of the empire. Omitting minor biographical details, I proceed to enumerate some of the more important of Planudes' works,⁴ having to content myself in this place with a mere skeleton outline of the subjects treated of.

1. *Anthologia Planudea.*

Its critical value. To be judged solely by the standard of scholarship of the period.

2. *Ms. copy of the works of Plutarch.* Cf. Ep. 106.

"Ἐμὲ δ' ἔδοξε τὰ τοῦ Πλουτάρχου γράψαι βιβλία· πανύ γὰρ ὄσθα τὸν ἄνδρα φιλῶ· δεῖ τοίνυν ἔχειν μεμβράνας."

¹ Cf. Boissonade ad Ovidii *Metam.*, pag. XII. and Treu l.c. (1889), p. 191.

² "ὄν καὶ αὐτὸς ὀφθαλμοῖς ἰδεξάμην, περιφανέστατον τῶν πρόποτε ἀδομένων θριάμβων." This letter, together with about twenty-six others, is addressed to the famous General Philanthropenus.

³ On this custom, cf. Treu, l.c. p. 189. The forty-seven verses composed by him "In laudem Ptolomaei" must therefore have been written prior to this time, for the twenty-seventh line reads as follows: ὅς ῥα Μανουὴλ οὐνομ' ἔχων λέγομ' ἦδὲ Πλανούδης.

⁴ Planudes' theological works were not discussed in this paper.

3. *Life of Aesop* attributed to Planudes. Cf. Bentley Dissert. on Epist. of Phalaris, etc., p. 578 W.
Proof of its spuriousness, from its matter and its style.
4. *Rhetorical and grammatical treatises.*
Especially the Prolegomena to Hermogenes (Rhet. Gr. vol. 5. W.). Their value. Compared to other works of a similar nature.
5. *His mathematical treatises.*
The *Ψηφοφoρiα κατ' Ἰνδoυς*, etc. Planudes' services to mathematics hitherto overlooked. An attempt to do him justice. Cf. Ep. 35, 46, 67, 100 sqq. et saepius.
6. *His correspondence* (122 Epistles—not edited by himself. Earliest, written about 1282; latest, 1299 (1300?). His personal character.
7. *Translations of Latin into Greek.*
A review of Greek translations from Latin authors before Planudes (Zenobius' Sallust [cf. Suidas], Capito's and Paeanius' Eutropius). Reasons why the Greeks so seldom translated Latin authors into their own tongue. Planudes, the first to do this to any extent, thus opening a new field in Greek literature. The originality and importance of this step hitherto not recognized.
 - a. *Boethii De consolatione philosophiae.*
Planudes' masterpiece. Proof that it was written before 1295.
 - b. *Caesaris de Bello Gallico, VII books.*
Next in order of merit. Its value for purposes of text criticism. Formerly attributed to Theodorus Gaza, together with the Somnium Scipionis. A conjecture concerning the possible cause of these works being attributed to Gaza.
 - c. *Ciceronis Somnium Scipionis.*
The Saturnalia of Macrobius not translated by Planudes. Error of Bentley, Fabricius, etc.
 - d. *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, lib. III. (de memoria).
 - e. *Disticha Catonis.*
Probably his earliest effort as a translator. Compared with Scaliger's Greek version of the same.
 - f. *Metamorphoses of Ovid.*
A work of no critical value, but one involving much time and labor.
 - h. *Heroides of Ovid.*
Its great critical value. Cf. A. Gudeman, De Heroïdum Ovidii codice Planudeo, 1888, Calvary & Co., Berlin (90 pp.).
 - i. *Translations falsely attributed to Planudes.*
Boethii De dialectis, Boethii Commentaria in Topica Ciceronis, Augustinus De civitate dei, etc.
8. *Works known to have been written by Planudes, though no longer extant*, Περὶ μουσικῆς (cf. Ep. 64, 25) and others.
9. *Excerpta Dionis, Comparatio hiemis et veris, Medical treatises, etc.*

Scientific character of Planudes. Great learning, indefatigable industry, astounding versatility, and an undying devotion to classical studies. Not an original thinker. His scholarship compared with that of his contemporaries of a superior kind.

The paper closes with a plea for the reversal of the unfavorable judgment which scholars have so long and so unanimously passed upon the life-work of this diligent and learned Byzantine monk.

The Chair appointed as Committee to Nominate Officers for 1889-90, Messrs. I. T. Beckwith, L. H. Elwell, and E. W. Hopkins.

The Committee to propose Time and Place for the next meeting was also appointed: Messrs. T. Peck, J. Sachs, and J. M. Paton.

At 6 P.M. the Association adjourned to meet at 8 o'clock.

EASTON, PA., July 9, 1889.

EVENING SESSION.

The Association with many residents of Easton assembled in the Auditorium of Pardee Hall at 8 P.M.

The programme of papers for the remainder of the session, as arranged by the Executive Committee, was then read by the Secretary.

Rev. James H. Mason Knox, President of Lafayette College, welcomed the Association to Easton in an appropriate address.

The audience then listened to the annual address of the President of the Association.

3. Philological Study in America, by Professor Thomas D. Seymour, of Yale University, New Haven, Conn.

After congratulating the Association on the auspicious opening of its twenty-first annual meeting, and mentioning briefly the names and services of the prominent philologists who have died during the past year, the speaker gave a survey of the work of the Association and of the course and development of philological study in this country.

This Association has amply justified its existence. The value of its work is not to be measured by its volumes of Transactions and Proceedings, nor by the formal discussions at its meetings. Not a few new and true philological principles have been enunciated and explained before this body. Excellent philological work has been stimulated by the audience which this Association offers. But, after all, the main service of the society is that which the name *Association* implies. Few have departed from these gatherings without the impulse to broader and deeper research. No other science is so far removed as philology from the work and thought of the ordinary man. No other men of science have so much need as ourselves of association and union.

This Association was founded on a comprehensive plan, and some of its difficulties and dangers have arisen from its comprehensiveness. Its founders hoped that it could be divided into sections, and seven different departments were named, but the numbers actually present at its meetings have not justified such a division.

The true Alexandrine idea of philology was adopted at the first, — embracing literary criticism and archaeological illustration, as well as linguistic science. The Association includes also paedagogy in the broadest sense, though not in technicalities. The condition of philological study in this country requires that most of us should direct our efforts to the presentation of philological facts and principles to our classes quite as much as to the discovery of new philological truths. The first duty of most is to teach well, — *i.e.* to know their subject, and to set it forth in an accurate, intelligible, attractive, and impressive form, avoiding unnecessary matter and insoluble problems. But the second commandment, which is like unto the first, is to pursue philological study for its own sake. It is a blessing to our science in America that the few who are most conspicuous for their attainments and discoveries, are also conspicuous for their paedagogical skill, and are brilliant examples to the rest of us.

The course of philology in America has changed greatly during these last twenty years. When this Association was founded, Professor Whitney was almost alone in delving in the mine of Sanscrit, Professor March and Professor Child had few companions in their work in English philology, the security from control of our leader in the study of the Indian languages was almost a common jest, the very idea of a comparative Semitic Philology was hardly formed, while the Teutonic and Romance Philologies were seeking for recognition.

Twenty years ago, the tendency of philology in America was distinctly towards linguistics. The pendulum swung too far, perhaps, in that direction. The present tendency seems possibly too far away from linguistics, and toward art and archaeology. The same change is seen in the classical instruction of our country. Less attention is paid to the analysis of words, and their relation as cognate or derived. Far more is taught of ancient life and culture. The results of recent archaeological study are presented to our classes. Some of us, indeed, seem in imminent danger of making Greek philology a branch of political science. Etymology and linguistics at one time threatened to claim the sole right to the name of philology, but now a large proportion of classical philologists are turning to the study of inscriptions, vases, and sculpture, as illustrative of ancient life and literature. A multitude of hidden facts will be drawn from the literature itself. This is all well. The study of classical philology must be made as interesting and animated as possible, and the connection of our own life and civilization with that of the ancient Greeks and Romans is so close as to make the acquaintance with this at first hand of high value to every educated man. But classical philology must not become classical archaeology.

If any one desires comfort for the present, and encouragement for the future, of philological study in this country, let him survey the progress of this science in America during the past century. Philology is not an old science here. Our forefathers were too busy in founding a free nation to give much room to literature and art, whether of their own or ancient times. For the first century and more of her existence, Harvard College required for admission no knowledge of Greek beyond the inflexion of nouns and verbs, and in 1800 only about as much Greek was read in college as is now read in the best "fitting-schools." No Greek but the New Testament seems to have been studied in the regular course at Yale College until after the beginning of the nineteenth century. Latin studies were in a somewhat better plight than Greek, since Latin was the scholastic language. The text-books

used in the study of the classics were weak and barren, affording little help to the beginner and none to the more advanced student. The best college libraries had no decent collection of even the classical texts. The Yale library had long possessed a copy of Stephens's Greek Thesaurus (as the gift of Sir Isaac Newton), and copies of the works of Plato and the Platonists (as the gift of Bishop Berkeley), but in 1800 had no copy of Aeschylus and no Greek orators but Demosthenes and Aeschines. Very few even of the old "variorum" editions seem to have found their way to this country in the eighteenth century. The first great change in the teaching of languages at Yale College was due to the election in 1805 of James Luce Kingsley to the chair of Hebrew, Greek, and Latin. (As if the duties of this office were insufficient, Professor Kingsley gave instruction also in Church History.) Mr. Kingsley was not a great scholar according to modern standards, but he was an elegant latinist with a strong and keen linguistic sense, and soon broadened the classical course.

Just before 1820, three young Americans whose names are very familiar in other connections, studied philology in Germany, — Edward Everett, George Ticknor, and George Bancroft. Of these, two were drawn aside into political and historical studies, while Ticknor devoted himself to Spanish literature. Everett gave little instruction and seems to have had slight influence on Greek study, except what was due to his translation of Buttman's smaller grammar, and his edition of Jacobs' Greek Reader. Bancroft translated Heeren's *Researches on Ancient Greece*.

Only three or four years after the return of Everett, Ticknor, and Bancroft, Theodore Dwight Woolsey went to Europe and spent three years in the study of Greek. On his return, he was elected to the chair of Greek in Yale College, and entered upon the duties of his professorship in 1831. For twenty years (including the first five of his presidency of the college) he devoted the powers of his great mind to the service of philology. He soon broadened and deepened the course of Greek instruction at Yale and exerted a strong influence on classical teaching elsewhere. His influence has been fitly compared to that of Erasmus at Rotterdam. The editions of Greek works which he prepared and modestly designated as "for the use of American colleges," were admirable when compared with similar English, French, or German editions of that time, and opened a new field for American scholarship.

Certainly, during the first half of this century, no one else was so clearly the leader of philological study in this country as Woolsey, whose mortal remains were laid to rest only four days ago. He secured the best classical library in America, and was thoroughly possessed of the best English and German methods of his time. His mind was thoroughly scientific by nature, besides being acute and virile. If he too had not been drawn away from philology in the strength of his manhood, we may be sure that the world would know Woolsey as a philologist, as it now knows him as an administrator and publicist.

During the lifetime of this Association, the growing importance of the younger departments of our science has secured for them an honored place where they existed before only by sufferance or as ornamental studies. The advance of the old natural sciences, on the other hand, and the development of others of which nothing was known a few years ago, have crowded hard upon the traditional studies of our colleges. But in our larger institutions, many studies are now made optional

or elective, and a student who desires to pursue philological courses can give more time to this pursuit, and can make considerable attainments while still an undergraduate. This has led philological teachers to offer more advanced courses and a larger variety. Dozens do now what only a remarkable individual here and there attempted thirty years ago.

Simply to register the most important philological books of the last twenty years would be a considerable task. The student of to-day would feel helpless without the works of these last years.

In our own land, besides the yearly volume of Transactions of this Association, our sister association publishes Modern Language Notes, the American Journal of Philology has reached its tenth volume, and the American Journal of Archaeology its fifth volume; Hebraica represents with credit and energy Semitic Studies; the Classical Review has been introduced into the midst of us; the Universities of Cornell, Nebraska, and Texas (the oldest of which is hardly older than this Association) have published valuable Philological Studies; the American Institute of Archaeology has published accounts of its explorations in Mexico and its excavations in Asia Minor; while the American School of Classical Studies at Athens (may we call it the *filia pulchrior* of the Institute of Archaeology?) has published four volumes of Papers.

No one here would think or allow that any branch of philology is effete; that its growth is checked and its powers exhausted; that only a scanty gleanings of facts and principles remains for us and our successors. We all feel that the fresh strength of any department of our science is sure to bring new vigor to all the rest. The tie which binds us is stronger than it seems. We have much in common, and we all may profit by union. Let us trust that the growth of the future will be as rapid and as sound as that of the past, and that we may always find a rallying point for learning and for free discussion in the meetings of this Association.

At the close of the address, the Association adjourned to 9 A.M. Wednesday.

EASTON, PA., July 10, 1889.

The Association was called to order at 9.15 A.M. by Professor T. D. Seymour, the President.

The Association was invited, on behalf of the Committee on Entertainment, to make at 3.30 P.M. an excursion to Paxinosa Inn, where dinner would be served and a reception held in the evening.

The invitation was accepted, and it was determined to adjourn at 12 M. and to hold a second session from 1.30 P.M. to 3.30 P.M.

The reading of communications was then resumed.

4. The Meter of Milton's Paradise Lost, by Professor Francis A. March, of Lafayette College, Easton, Pa.

The first book of Paradise Lost is perhaps the most perfect production of metrical art. A complete digest of its meter will give a good idea of Milton's blank verse.

Each verse is made up of five feet of equal times. It is also made up of two or more great divisions or sections. Milton himself lays stress, as a part of musical delight, upon having "the sense variously drawn out from one verse into another," i.e. on the management of the verse caesura.

He has seven familiar places for the caesura: after each foot but the last, and in the midl of the second, third, and fourth. Two often occur in the same verse. In the whole book their number is as follows:—

First foot.		Second foot.		Third foot.		Fourth foot.		Fifth foot.
Midl.	End.	Midl.	End.	Midl.	End.	Midl.	End.	Midl.
4	35	77	161	166	196	108	33	5

It is by tracing the movement of the caesura from verse to verse that its musical effect is obtained. The curv is a veritabl line of beuty; the point of division sways with the movement of the thought like the index on the power gage of the dynamo as the cars move up and down the slopes of an electric road.

I. The prevailing foot is an IAMBUS, two syllabl with rising accent, the first syllabl being unaccented, the second syllabl having more stress and length than the first. In the first book of Paradise Lost ther ar 798 lines, 3990 feet. Of these, 2586 ar pure iamblcs.

The distribution by hundreds is as follows:—

Lines.	First foot.	Second foot.	Third foot.	Fourth foot.	Fifth foot.	Sum.
1-101 . . .	56	69	61	59	76 =	321
101-201 . . .	56	61	57	67	77 =	318
201-301 . . .	57	57	58	69	78 =	319
301-401 . . .	47	58	56	65	69 =	295
401-501 . . .	64	56	63	64	78 =	325
501-601 . . .	55	80	64	65	71 =	335
601-701 . . .	52	75	76	70	69 =	342
701-798 . . .	55	68	62	68	78 =	331

Total 2586

Only sixty-six lines ar holey pure iamblcs. Five pairs of like lines ar found: 452-3, 496-7, 538-9, 555-6, 617-8. A duzen other pairs differ only in the caesuras. Sumwhat more than one-third of the feet ar variations for harmony. See *Proceedings*, XIV, xi.

II. Of these many ar falling feet, the most common being the TROCHEE, — two syllabl, of which the first is accented and longer, the second unaccented.

The feet of this kind, arranged in their order by hundred lines, ar as follows:—

Lines.	First foot.	Second foot.	Third foot.	Fourth foot.	Fifth foot.	Sum.
1-101 . . .	14	1	3	3	0 =	21
101-201 . . .	13	1	3	1	0 =	18
201-301 . . .	23	1	4	7	0 =	35
301-401 . . .	22	2	2	2	0 =	28
401-501 . . .	12	0	5	2	0 =	19
501-601 . . .	23	0	4	2	0 =	29
601-701 . . .	22	0	2	4	0 =	28
701-798 . . .	15	1	3	1	0 =	20

The reason for so large a proportion being in the first place is twofold, metrical and historical; first, that after the voice has entered upon the regular series of iambic, rising cadences, it is not easy to change to a falling cadence; second, that the early English, Anglo-Saxon poetry prevailingly begins its verses with trochees, because the accent is prevailingly on the first syllabl of every word.

In blank verse the falling first foot is useful to mark the beginning of verses, or sections.

The other place in which feet of this kind ar found is after the caesura, at the beginning of the second section. All the exampls in this book ar in these places.

It may be noticed that the metrical reason wil allow a trochee to follow another trochee. And sections having repeated trochees of this kind ar found in other parts of Milton and in Shakespeare.

III. Another peculiar variation is the PYRRHIC, or two unaccented syllabls, the time of the foot being eked out by a rest.

The most frequent and characteristic is divided by the verse caesura, but a pyrrhic may begin or end either section.

It is a slightly rising foot, except when beginning a section.

4. With loss of Ed | en || till | one greater man
5. Restore | us || and | regain the blissful seat.

The first syllabl of the pyrrhic seems like a redundant close of the first section, the second syllabl like an anacrusis of the second section; the caesura fills out the time of the foot; as if this pentameter was a development of the old tetrameter.

Another pyrrhic occurs when two unaccented syllabls ar found in a polysyllabl with a rest of conformation.

100. *And to the fierce contention brought along*
101. *Innumerable force of spirits armed.*

The pyrrhics, arranged by the hundred lines, ar in number as follows: —

Lines.	First foot.	Second foot.	Third foot.	Fourth foot.	Fifth foot.	Sum.
1-101 . . .	2	12	20	11	2	= 47
101-201 . . .	1	10	18	11	3	= 43
201-301 . . .	1	8	13	4	3	= 29
301-401 . . .	6	11	20	18	3	= 48
401-501 . . .	1	15	17	12	3	= 48
501-601 . . .	1	7	12	12	2	= 34
601-701 . . .	1	7	8	7	0	= 23
701-798 . . .	4	8	15	5	5	= 36
	<u>16</u>	<u>78</u>	<u>123</u>	<u>70</u>	<u>21</u>	= 318

The third foot has the most caesuras, and therefore the most pyrrhics.

IV. The most common variation is the SPONDEE or quasi-spondee, a foot of two syllabls, both having stress, and dividing the time nearly equally.

This usually is a rising foot, having slightly more stress on the second syllabl, making the simplest variation of the pure iambus. The following table shows the places and the times of its occurrence: —

Lines.	First foot.	Second foot.	Third foot.	Fourth foot.	Fifth foot.	Sum.
1-101 . . .	23	14	9	15	16	= 77
101-201 . . .	24	19	12	15	12	= 82
201-301 . . .	25	17	12	16	13	= 73
301-401 . . .	22	27	11	18	17	= 95
401-501 . . .	16	15	7	18	12	= 68
501-601 . . .	17	6	8	14	20	= 62
601-701 . . .	21	14	10	15	23	= 83
701-798 . . .	20	17	11	17	10	= 75
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	158	129	80	128	123	= 618

The first foot is the one of easy variation.

The third foot contains the most frequent caesura, and therefore the least frequent spondee, since the two long syllabls fil the time. The spondee is frequently and naturally used as a foot of transition from the trochee to the iambus. As ther ar almost no trochees in the second place, ther ar no transition spondees in the third.

V. Another common variation is the ANAPEST, or two unaccented syllabls followed by an accented. The unaccented ar mostly syllabic consonants or glides.

6. Sing, heavenly *Muse*.

11. And *Silva's brook*.

15. Above the *Ao|nian Mount*.

366. Through God's high suffrance, for the trial of *man*.

Lines.	First foot.	Second foot.	Third foot.	Fourth foot.	Fifth foot.	Sum.
1-101 . . .	1	4	6	10	5	= 26
101-201 . . .	0	7	6	6	4	= 23
201-301 . . .	1	5	7	3	6	= 22
301-401 . . .	2	1	9	7	11	= 36
401-501 . . .	1	13	7	7	6	= 34
501-601 . . .	2	6	8	4	7	= 27
601-701 . . .	0	2	4	3	7	= 16
701-798 . . .	1	4	6	6	4	= 21
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	8	42	53	46	50	199

VI. Feet of three unaccented syllabls mostly rising ar found with the rests.

1. Of man's first disobedience || and the fruit.

118. Since through experience | of this great event.

Of these ther ar in the book 22 feet.

First foot.	Second foot.	Third foot.	Fourth foot.	Fifth foot.
0	8	10	5	2

156. Fallen cherub, to be weak is *miserable*.

VII. Ther ar a few FALLING SPONDAIC feet, 21 in all.

First foot.	Second foot.	Third foot.	Fourth foot.	Fifth foot.
16	0	2	3	0

They ar found in the same places as trochees, in the first foot of a section.

21. *Dove-like* sat'st brooding.

VIII. Ther ar also 12 DACTYLS.

87. *Myriads*, though bright.

280. *Groveling* and prostrate.

312. Abject and lost lay these, *covering* the floor.

They also as falling feet ar found at the beginning of sections.

IX. For falling pyrrhics, see III, above.

X. Twelv feet hav an unaccented close.

38. Of rebel angels ; by whose aid aspiring.

There ar no unmetrical lines.

Pássages wer analyzed to point out their harmony and expressivness.

Remarks were made by Messrs. T. D. Seymour and T. W. Hunt.

5. The Text of Richard de Bury's *Philobiblon*, by Professor Andrew F. West, of Princeton College, Princeton, N. J.

THE TEXT OF THE PHILOBIBLON OF RICHARD DE BURY.

FINISHED JAN. 24, 1345.

I. The Received Text of the Printed Editions.

Cologne, 1473.

 Spires, 1483.

Paris, 1500.

 Oxford, 1599.

Frankfort, 1610.

Frankfort, 1614.

Leipsic, 1674.

Helmstadt, 1703.

London, 1832.

Paris, 1856.

Albany, 1861.

London, 1888 (Morley's reprint).

Of these the Cologne, 1473, Spires, 1483 and Oxford, 1599, go back to manuscript sources.

II. The True Text as found in the Manuscripts.

1. Number of known extant Mss. is thirty-five. Apparently eight more lost or at present untraceable. Probably a number more of inferior Mss. in German libraries.

2. Classification of Mss. into two main kinds;—the *standard English tradition* and the *later German variants*.

3. The *standard English tradition* in over two-thirds of the Mss., including every Ms. known or suspected to be earlier than 1450, and none after 1460.

They may be classified according to the following general division.

COMPLETE TEXT { Prologue with collected list of chapter titles following and twenty chapters, each headed with a title separately, — colophon also?

(1) A B C D with sixteen others.

A = Ms. R. 8, F. xiv. in British Museum, date 1380.

B = Ms. Digby 147, Bodleian Library, date 1370.

C = Ms. 15168 in National Library, Paris, date 1440.

D = Ms. 3352c in National Library, Paris, date 1430.

INCOMPLETE TEXT — in three manuscripts.

Magdalen Ms. (VI. 164), Oxford, date about 1400, — lacks prologue and end of XIXth chapter.

St. John's Ms. (CLXXII), Oxford, date about 1400, — lacks last half of chapter IX, all of chapter X, and opening of chapter XI.

Brussels 11465, date early XVth century, — lacks collected chapter titles at end of prologue and separate titles at head of each chapter.

The headings, chapter titles, colophon and body of the text in the English tradition. Full form of the colophon (an integral part of the original text) is

Explicit Philobiblon domini Ricardi de Aungervile,

cognominati de Bury, quondam Episcopi Dunelmensis.

Completus est autem tractatus iste in manerio nostro de Aukelande xxiiij die Januarii

anno Domini millesimo trecentesimo quadragesimo quarto,

aetatis nostrae quinquagesimo octavo praecise completo,

pontificatus vero nostri anno undecimo finiente,

ad laudem Dei feliciter et Amen.

4. The *later German variants* are at least seven in number. None earlier than 1450–60, and running on to 1492.

Copied in Germany.

The main variations are twofold.

(1) The chapter titles mainly or wholly changed. Due to what?

(2) The body of the text altered at pleasure, wherever unintelligible to scribe. Perhaps 1500 variations from the early English Ms., out of, say, 9000 words in the treatise.

The effect of this is of course to alter and obscure the meaning of the author, to debase his style.

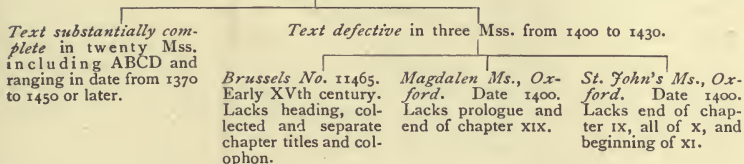
5. From the German variants comes the received text of the Philobiblon, as seen in *editio princeps* Cologne 1473 and all the editions derived from it. From an arbitrarily altered poor English Ms. comes the Spires Ed. of 1483. From an uncritical examination of six English Mss. comes the Oxford Ed. of 1599. The English Mss. contain the true text. Two only certainly of XIVth century (A and B).

6. Mr. Thomas's Edition (London, 1888). The Grolier Club's Edition (1889, New York).

APPENDIX TO ABSTRACT.

General View of the Manuscripts of the Philobiblon.

I. THE ENGLISH TRADITION preserves the true text in twenty-three Mss. ranging in date from 1370 to 1450 or later.



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II. THE GERMAN VARIANTS, containing a corrupted text, without headings or with new headings, lacking collected chapter titles and colophons, and with new separate chapter titles. Not improbably originating from some incomplete Ms. of the English tradition (like Brussels 11465). Found in seven Mss. dating from 1450 to 1491. The *editio princeps* and printed texts derived from it come from this source.

III. UNCLASSIFIED MSS., five in number—
Two at Munich, one each at Venice, Bamberg, and Brussels (No. 3725).

IV. LOST OR UNTRACEABLE MSS.—
Apparently eight in number.

6. Open Questions in English Philology, by Professor Theodore W. Hunt, of the College of New Jersey, Princeton, N. J.

After calling attention to the origin and history of the scientific study of English, and to the relation of settled to unsettled questions in philology, Professor Hunt invited the Association to consider some of the most important open questions in English philology. A brief abstract of the points stated and discussed is as follows:—

1. The question of English philological Nomenclature, with special reference to the use of the terms *Saxon, Anglo-Saxon, Anglo-Norman, Semi-Saxon*. It was held that we should adopt the one term *English* as applicable to all the different periods of the language.

2. The question of English philological Method among the possible methods open to the student, such as the comparative, etymological, and literary. Here it was urged that some one of these should be prominent, while emphasis was laid upon the literary side of linguistics as being more important than that conceded to it by general criticism.

3. The question of the relation of British English to American English. It was the object of the discussion, in this connection, to show the points of difference and of resemblance between these two branches or forms of English, and especially to press the principle of their substantial unity and co-operative growth. The true relation of English dialects to what are called provincialisms was here shown, while it was argued that the term *dialect* meant in England much more than it means in this country.

4. The question of the *native* English element in our Modern English vocabulary. The extreme and untenable theories on this subject were briefly stated, and

English scholars were warned against the tendency unduly to eliminate the native element in favor of foreign influence. Special notice was taken of the attempt to estimate far too highly the Celtic and Scandinavian influence in English.

5. The question of English Lexicography was then discussed, with primary reference to its rightful province. The encyclopedic tendency was noticed as the prevailing tendency in modern lexical work. Against this, ground was taken on the principle that it was far exceeding its rightful limits.

In conclusion, the paper made reference to the new and scholarly interest evinced in all departments of English philology, particularly, in its older periods and forms, and urged the importance of magnifying the intellectual and ethical elements in language above the merely verbal.

Remarks were made by Messrs. J. Sachs, F. A. March, and A. F. West.

7. Differentiation of the Uses of *shall* and *will*, by Professor George P. Garrison, of the University of Texas.

I take it that *shall* originally expressed a *present* necessity or obligation, and *will* a *present* volition or desire. It was very natural, however, to associate with these ideas of necessity and volition that of a subsequent result; and, as the use of *shall* and *will* as auxiliaries grew, they became auxiliaries for the future in so far as they carried this associated idea and kept less of their original meaning. Thus it came about that *shall go*, for example, signified: (1) a present necessity or obligation to go, and (2) a future result in the act of going. Similarly, *will go* signified: (1) a present desire or volition to go, and (2) a future result in the act of going.

But these ideas were not allowed to develop evenly. The Anglo-Saxon and his English descendant has always been domineering, inclined to magnify the importance of his own will and to regard lightly that of others. Under the influence of this quality, when he used *shall* with the first person he obscured the idea of necessity, because it was unpalatable to him, and dwelling upon the result made a pure future. But in the second and third persons he was willing enough for *shall* to imply necessity, especially if he were the agent that imposed it. He so used it, and in these two persons *shall* remained present. In using *will*, the same characteristic led him to make prominent the idea of volition in the first person and to obscure it in the second and third. Thus *will* has become mostly present in the first person, and future in the second and third.

Remarks were made by Messrs. F. A. March and T. D. Seymour.

At 12 M. the Association adjourned to meet at 1.30 P. M.

EASTON, PA., July 10, 1889.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

The Association was called to order at 1.30 P. M. by the President.

8. On the Interpretation of Aristoph. Ach. 849, by Frank W. Nicolson, Esq., Instructor in Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

The words *μῆ μαχαίρα* in this line are commonly understood to refer to the razor. The aim of this paper is to show that a form of shears is meant, and that the reference is to clipping and not shaving.

Another name for the *μία μάχαιρα* was *ψαλῖς* (cf. Pollux X. 140 and Photius' definition; cf. also Pollux II. 32, where the correct reading is not *διπλῆ*, but *μῆ*, as given by Mss. C. and V.). The words *μάχαιρα* and *μαχαίρις* do not, as generally supposed, relate to the razor, but to various forms of shears. (Cf. Arist. Frag. II. Thesm. and Lucian, Adv. Ind. 29, where these are mentioned respectively as distinct from the *ξυρόν*.) This is proved also by the order of the words in the two lists of barbers' implements given by Pollux (X. 140 and II. 32).

The shears used by the Greek barber were of two forms. The *διπλῆ μάχαιρα* resembled the form most common in modern days, consisting of two pieces of metal fastened together by a rivet in the middle. A representation is to be found in a terra-cotta from Tanagra (*vide Arch. Ztg.* XXXII. taf. 14). The *μία μάχαιρα* or *ψαλῖς*, on the other hand, was formed from a single piece of elastic metal bent in the middle and having the two edges sharpened. It is represented in a Pompeian wall-painting (*vide Abh. der Sächs. Gesell. der Wiss.* V. plate VI. 5). The word *ψαλῖς* means a vault or arch, and as applied to this form of shears no doubt refers to the curved or rounded end made by bending the metal on itself.

The *μία μάχαιρα* seems to have resembled in shape the old-fashioned sheep-shears still used in some parts of this country. There is evidence that it was employed by the ancients in sheep-shearing (cf. Hesychius' definition of *μάχαιραι*: οἷς ἀποκείρεται τὰ πρόβατα; cf. also Galen, quoted by Steph. in his Thesaurus, s.v. *κείρω*: κείρεσθαι τὰ πρόβατα ὑπὸ τῶν ψαλίδων). Lucian, Pisc. 46, proposes as a punishment for a false philosopher: ἀποκείρω τὸν πρόγωνα ἐν χροῦ πάνυ τραγοκουρικῆ μαχαίρα. These goat-shears were probably the same in form as the *ψαλῖς*, or sheep-shears, and a similar punishment to that proposed by Lucian may be here alluded to by Aristophanes.

That shears (*μάχαιραι κουρίδες*) served the double purpose of shearing sheep and clipping men's hair appears from a fragment of Cratinus, Dion. II. The *ψαλῖς* was particularly fitted for shearing sheep, since it could be operated by one hand, leaving the other free to manage the animal being sheared. Finally, the words of Phrynicius, 319, seem to favor this interpretation: τὸ μὲν γὰρ (*i.e.* *καρῆναι*, as opposed to *κείρασθαι*) ἐπὶ προβάτων τιθέασι καὶ ἐπὶ ἀτίμου κουρᾶς.

9. The Dramatic Features of Winter's Tale, by Professor Thomas R. Price, of Columbia College, New York, N. Y.

This play, which belongs to the last stage of Shakspeare's dramatic method, is not, as commonly conceived, a violation of the laws of dramatic construction, but an ingenious experiment in the application of those laws. It is constructed on the plan of the *diptych*, a form of art in which two compositions, each in itself complete, are merged into a composition of a higher kind, which comprehends them both. For this purpose, the drama divides itself into two (2) distinct parts, a tragedy of (28) twenty-eight scenes, ending at III. 3, 58, and a comedy of (22) twenty-two scenes, stretching from that point to the end. To carry on these two movements, the characters are divided into (3) three groups, one group of (9) nine characters that belong altogether to the tragedy, one group of (12) twelve

characters that belong altogether to the comedy, and one group of (7) seven characters that belong in common to the tragedy and to the comedy.

Of these two parts, each, according to the law of construction, is complete in itself. The tragedy has a *protasis* of 8 stages, an *epitasis* of 5 stages, a well-marked *climax* in II. 3, a *catabasis* of 5 stages, and a *catastrophe* of 3 stages. The comedy has a short *protasis* of only 3 stages, because many of the comedy-characters are known to us already from the tragedy. It has an *epitasis* of 5 stages, a well-marked *climax* in IV. 4, a *catabasis* of 10 stages, and a *catastrophe* of 2 stages. The only irregularity is the immense length of the comic *catabasis*: and this double length, 10 stages instead of 5, comes from the necessity of merging at this point the two movements into one catastrophe.

Thus Shakspeare, at the end of his career, worked out in the *Winter's Tale*, as a bold experiment in dramatic construction, the fusion of two distinct passions and of two distinct actions into a new form of romantic drama.

Remarks were made by Professor F. A. March.

10. Roman Elements in English Law, by Herbert L. Baker, Esq., of Detroit, Mich.

It is now a well-recognized fact that English law contains a very considerable Roman element.

The presence of this element presents a difficult problem in English legal history for the reasons that (1) Roman law was never recognized by the common law courts as having any authority in England, and (2) it has long been the accepted theory that the English common law is indigenous customary law deriving its sanction from immemorial usage—a theory which necessarily excludes foreign elements. The subject seems to have been hitherto discussed from a legal standpoint only and by means of comparisons instituted between rules existing in English and Roman law respectively. Such method of treatment assumes that the Roman element came in in the form of positive rules, and it is adapted to reaching only such part of it as came in thus, which part, there is reason to think, is but a small fraction of the whole. It is proposed here to view the subject from a philological standpoint. The fact that Roman law as such was excluded by English national policy and prejudice affords a hint that much the greater part of the Roman element must have effected its entrance in some form more subtle than that of positive rules. While Roman law as such was excluded, Roman legal thought, which may be regarded as Roman law held in solution, might and did enter into English thought unhindered and on practically an equal footing with other branches of ancient learning. If we can trace the Roman element as it exists in legal thought, it is evident that we shall thus arrive at a juster estimate of its character and extent than by a comparison of positive rules. A means of thus tracing the Roman element is afforded by the composite character of our language. English law has borrowed freely from Roman legal terminology; the words thus borrowed are capable of identification; wherever one of these words expresses thought which has never been expressed by a native word, it may justly be inferred that the thought also was borrowed, at least to the extent of the meaning attached to the word when it was adopted into English speech. The words belonging to our

legal terminology, as given in a standard law dictionary, number 1738. Of these 1363 are of Latin origin, and 375 are of other origin, mostly Anglo-Saxon. Very few, if any, of these Latin words have complete equivalents in words of native origin. It follows, therefore, that more than four-fifths of our elementary legal thought has been borrowed from the Romans. This general deduction must, like all such, be taken *cum grano salis*. Some allowance should doubtless be made for lost words and meanings of words, and for an affectation of Latinity on the part of lawyers and others. With such allowances, the conclusion is in the main justifiable, because none of the ideas represented by those words were ever communicated by one English-speaking person to another until it was done through the medium of the foreign word; and in order to render the idea thus communicable, both speaker and hearer must have learned the word and its meaning from the Romans.

For a complete acquaintance with the Roman element and its nature, a study in detail of individual words and their history is requisite. Some general idea may, however, be gained by a grouping of words according to subjects, and a comparison of the native and Roman elements as thus exhibited. The proportion of native and Roman words pertaining to some of the principal branches of the law are as follows: (1) *Public Law: Organic, International, etc.*, native words, 20; Roman, 135. (2) *Public Law: Criminal*, native words, 10; Roman, 54. (3) *The Law of Procedure*, native words, 7; Roman, 123. (4) *The Law of Property*, native words, 49; Roman, 171. (5) *The Law of Contract*, native words, 14; Roman, 112. Of the remaining 1043 words not embraced in either of the foregoing groups, 889 of the more important give 229 words of native and 660 of Roman origin. An examination of these groups discloses the fact that the Roman words, as compared with the native, are almost invariably expressive of ideas belonging to a more advanced and settled political society and shows in a striking manner in how great a degree the English state and its laws were developed upon intellectual lines marked out by the Romans. Thus in the first group (Organic Law) the native element gives us "baron," "barrister," "earl," "gerefa," "king," "queen," "lord," "sheriff," "thane," "borough," "hundred," "woodmote," "folkgemote," "shiregemote," "witanagemote," while the Roman element gives us "constable," "coroner," "surrogate," "attorney," "solicitor," "magistrate," "judge," "chancellor," "court," "county," "district," "municipality," "statute," "legislation," "Congress," "Parliament," "exchequer," "revenue," "sovereignty," "constitution," "government," "state," "nation," "society."

2. In the second group (Criminal Law) the words descriptive of offences against property are, (1) native, "blackmail," and "theft," (2) Roman, "arson," "burglary," "champerty," "embezzlement," "embracery," "forgery," "larceny," "maintenance," "piracy," "robbery." And the words pertaining to the administration of criminal law are almost wholly Roman, the native words being only "guilt" and "outlaw," as against twenty-eight Roman words, such as "arrest," "capital," "conviction," "crime," "defence," "indictment," "innocent," "penalty," "perjury," "prosecution," "punishment," "reward," "sentence."

3. The legal ideas contained in the law of procedure are expressed almost wholly in Roman words. The seven native words are "forswear," "oath," "set-off," "speaking," "wager," "battel." In contrast with these there are 123 Roman words with well-defined technical meanings, most of which are now in constant use.

4. In the law of property the native words are in greater proportion, but are of the same relative character. They are usually designative of material things; *e.g.*, "building," "dwelling," "farm," "homestead," "house," "land," "thing," while the Roman words usually designate more abstract conceptions, such as are involved in apprehending and defining the relations subsisting between persons in reference to material things; *e.g.*, "adverse," "common," "descent," "dower," "entail," "estate," "heir," "hereditament," "lease," "mortgage," "real," "rent," "seisin," "tenure," "title."

5. In the law of contract the same relative characteristics are exhibited, with a much larger proportion of Roman words. The native words are "bearer," "bond," "borrow," "bottomry," "breach," "drawer," "holder," "loan," "maker," "sale," "seller," "settlement," "sight," "warehouse." In contrast with these are 112 Roman words, such, for example, as "agreement," "bailment," "charter," "condition," "consent," "consideration," "contract," "covenant," "damages," "debt," "default," "due," "interest," "note," "obligation," "partner," "pledge," "principal," "promise," "special," "surety," "warranty," etc.

6. Of the unclassified words the following are examples of the more important: native, "free," "gift," "law," "mistake," "owner"; Roman, "custom," "duty," "general," "injury," "judicial," "juridical," "jurisprudence," "jury," "justice," "moral," "principal."

The position taken in this paper must not be understood too broadly. It is not asserted that prior to the adoption of any given Roman word the Anglo-Saxons had *nothing* of what afterwards came to be designated by that word. On the contrary, they had the *rudiments*, actually or potentially, of *all* that they afterwards acquired both with and without the aid of Roman ideas. The position here is that, by a kind of educational process, they gradually grew into and possessed themselves of these portions of the intellectual world which the Romans had created, and that the Roman words which they at the same time adopted, constitute an important record of the process by which Roman thought was thus taken up and assimilated. Thus, for example, as to the word "judge": some of the functions of judgeship were of course exercised among them before the borrowing of the word "judex" (such functions in more or less rudimentary form being exercised in all stages of organized society); but those functions were as yet but rudely conceived, and were bound up with, and were undifferentiated in thought from, legislative and executive functions. The introduction of the word "judex" to designate an officer charged only with judicial functions marks the beginning of that process of dividing up and distributing sovereign power which has led to the present well-established and familiar threefold division of sovereign power into Legislative, Executive, and Judicial.

So also the words "state," "nation," and "government" indicate, not that the Anglo-Saxons had nothing of what afterwards came to be designated by these words, but that they had not yet reached the stage of political development which would enable them to evolve the distinct and separate conception of a "state," a "nation," or an impersonal "government," and to produce the institutions properly corresponding to such conceptions.

Viewed thus as a part of our intellectual inheritance derived from ancient learning, the Roman element is seen to be very large, and at the same time it ceases to present an insoluble enigma. Its presence in English law can from this

standpoint be accounted for, but not without some modification of the theory above adverted to. For this reason amongst others a thorough study of this subject promises to be productive of important practical results, by leading to a critical examination of that theory *de novo* and thereby to a truer understanding of the essential nature of our law.

11. An Unstable Idiom in English, by Dr. C. P. G. Scott, of New York, N. Y.

At 3.30 P. M. the members of the Association and their friends, escorted by thirty gentlemen of Easton, of the Committee on Entertainment, proceeded in carriages to Paxinosa Inn, where a large part of the afternoon and evening was pleasantly spent in the grounds and on the piazzas of the hotel. Before dinner an address was made by William Hackett, Jr., Esq., Chairman of the Committee on Entertainment, to which President Seymour responded, and grace was said by President Knox.

At 7.45 P. M. the Association was called to order in the parlors of the Inn, and listened to communications from two of the members.

12. The Pronunciation near Fredericksburg, Va., by Professor Sylvester Primer, of the College of Charleston, Charleston, S. C.

Prof. Edward A. Freeman, writing or speaking to a friend in regard to a young American who was going to the University of Jena in order to study Anglo-Saxon, remarked: "Why does he not go to Orange County, Va., instead of to Jena? They speak very good West Saxon in Orange County." This statement may serve as an introduction to my remarks on the pronunciation of Fredericksburg, Va. For Stafford, Spottsylvania, and Orange counties have about the same pronunciation, and have preserved to a remarkable degree the older English sounds brought over in the 17th century by the early settlers of this region.

This section of the country was the earliest settled. Stafford first appears as a county in 1666. Among the early names of the county are Scott, Moncure, Houseman, Mercer, Donithan, Tyler, Montjoy, Strother, Fitzhugh, Deyton, Daniel, Traverse, Cooke. Their descendants still live in various parts of the country. Spottsylvania was founded in 1720. Some of the prominent names are Taliafero, Thornton, Lewis, Carter, Washington, Herndon, Ficklin. Orange County was formed later, dating from 1734. The principal families of Orange in colonial times are the Barbours, Bells, Burtons, Campbells, Caves, Chews, Conways, Daniels, Madisons, Moores, Ruckers, Shepherds, Taylors, Taliaferos, Whites, Thomases, and Waughs, whose descendants are still living.

As early as 1675 there was a fort on the present site of Fredericksburg, but it was not incorporated till 1727. Among the prominent names we find Robinson, Willis, Smith, Taliaferro, Beverly, Waller, Clowder, Mercer, Weedon, Lewis, Washington, Littleplace, Forsyth, Conway, Fitzhugh, Moncure, Carter, Lee, many of which are still prominent in and about Fredericksburg. In Fredericksburg

itself descendants of Carter Braxton, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, are still living. A comparison of the earlier names with those of the present inhabitants shows that the present families represent almost exclusively the earlier families. Intermixture from without has not been great, foreigners have rarely sought homes here, and immigration from other states has been limited.

The early settlers were men of education. They studied at Cambridge, Oxford, Dublin, and Edinburgh, and at Temple Bar. Professional men were all educated in England. For the poor almost no provision was made. Sir William Berkeley in his day rejoiced that there was not a free school or printing-press in Virginia, and hoped it might be so for a hundred years to come. The rich had private tutors at their own houses, the poor remained ignorant. There were no libraries of any account. The sons of the rich were sent to England for their education up to the time of the Revolution. "The College of William and Mary, from the year 1700 and onward, did something toward educating a small portion of the youth of Virginia, and that was all until Hampden Sidney, at a much later period, was established." However poor the school system of the colony and young state was, the education of the superior class has ever been a matter of pride. Virginia has produced more great men than any other state, and the intellectual life has ranked high. She has won for herself the proud title of the "Mother of Presidents."

The English of the 17th century, with proper regard to that of the 16th and 18th centuries, forms the basis of the comparison of Fredericksburg's present pronunciation. Three extracts from early documents of Virginia with the approximate pronunciation of that day are given, and the pronunciation of the present traced back to that. The first is taken from The First Assembly of Virginia, held July 30, 1619. The second is from A Briefe Declaration of the Plantation of Virginia. The third is from Captain Smith's True Relation.

The tabular view of the Virginia Sounds at this period will be best understood in connection with the extracts in the full article; it would be impossible to give either here in this brief extract. A few of the more prominent peculiarities of the Fredericksburg pronunciation are given to show the tenor of the article.

The sound (i). The word "tester" is here pronounced (tiister) as in Charleston, S. C. In Latin words like *simultaneous*, etc., the *i* is generally pronounced (əi, səi-məl-tee-ni-əs), rarely (i). In words like *Palestine* the sound fluctuates between (əi) and (ii), but inclines mostly to the latter. *Ef* for *if* is sometimes heard. For *mill*, *hill*, I heard in two instances (mil, Hiiil) quite distinctly, but am not sure that it was not an individual rather than general pronunciation. The word *car* is here pronounced (yiiir) by the vulgar.

The long and short *e* differ but slightly from the accepted pronunciation elsewhere. The shades between this and the next sound (æ) show a diversity of sounds in words that generally have the sound (æ) and in Charleston, S. C., have (ee). Words like *here*, *pare*, *pair*, *ture*, *bear*, etc., which in Charleston generally have the sound (æ) or (ææ), are divided in Fredericksburg between (ii), (æ) and (EE). The sound (EE) is somewhat common in many of these words, but not so common as the Charleston (ee). In some the sound is short (E). There is the same fluctuation between (agEn) and (ageen), (agEnst) and (ageenst) as is found everywhere. The Latin prefix *pre-* has the two sounds (ii) and (e) in

words like *predicessor* (prii-di-sesi, or pred-i-sesr). The word *here* sometimes has a peculiar pronunciation. It is often pronounced (ʼjɪr). The sound *e* and *a* exchange in *yes* and *well* (pr. yas, wal); *e* also exchanges with *i* in *yesterday*, *yes*, *yet*, *get*, *kettle*, etc. (pr. yis, yit, etc.).

The long sound of (ææ) is heard in *calm*, *psalm*, *balm*, etc. (pr. kææm, sææm, bææm, etc.). But the ordinary pronunciation is also heard (kaam, saam, baam). The words *ask*, *demand*, are also divided between the sound (ææ) and (aa) (ææsk or aask). Compare also (pææs or paas), and we even hear (paas or pas). *Passable* and *Possible* are said to be indistinguishable in their pronunciation by many. Words in *au*, like *gaunt*, *daunt*, etc., have three grades, (ææ), (aa), and (AA). These different pronunciations here mentioned are all found among the cultured, and is said to be traditional in families. As they all go back to the 17th century, they were probably brought over here and handed down from father to son.

There are one or two peculiarities under the *a*-sound. Among the vulgar the words *there*, *where*, are pronounced (dhar, whar). The genuine *a*-sound is heard in various words that have in other localities the (æ) or (e) sound. *Mayor* sounded to me as spoken by one person (maa-r). *Stairs* are often called (staars) by the illiterate, *bears* (baars), etc.

The A-sound is heard in *dog* and *God* (dag, Gad, and even daag, GAAd). But the ɔ-sound may also be heard in these words (dɔg, Gɔd, and dɔɔg, Gɔɔd). The words *not*, *God*, *gaud*, form a rising scale. *Not* is short, *God* is longer, and *gaud* is longest (ɔ, A, AA), and we generally find *dog* and *God* running through the whole scale in the same locality. In Fredericksburg I have heard (dɔg, Gɔd, dag, Gad, daag, GAAd). The word *pond* varies in its pronunciation in different sections of the country. All three sounds can be found in Charleston, S. C. (pɔnd, pAnd, pAAnd). The careless often pronounce it just like the word *poned*; the elegant pronunciation is the middle sound of our series (pAnd); many pronounce it (pɔnd). In Fredericksburg the first and second (pɔnd, pAnd) are heard, never the third. The word *hog* (generally Hɔg, or Hɔɔg) is often pronounced (HAg or HAag) in Fredericksburg.

The *o*-sound has one or two peculiarities. The word *poor* almost always has the long sound of *o* and drops its *r* (poo). For the dropping of the *r* see under *r* in the consonants. The two pronunciations of *progress*, *process*, (prɔɔgres, proogres, prɔɔses, prooses) prevail here. The preposition *to* often has the older pronunciation of (*too*), as in the time of Chaucer and Shakespeare, now becoming obsolete.

The long *u* appears to have more of the *i*-Vorschlag in certain words than ordinarily, making it almost a distinct syllable. I am almost inclined to think that it is rather a (y)-Vorschlag. Thus *due* (*dew*), *do*, *too*, etc., sound to me (dü-u, tü-u, or dy-u, ty-u), with the accent on the (ü or y). Some, however, regularly pronounce these words (diu², tiu²) where the ² denotes a prolonged vanish. The word *put* (also in a less degree *could*, *would*, *should*) shows the same peculiarity as in Charleston, S. C. It is frequently pronounced (pæt, rarely kæt, wad, shæt). More probably the peculiar sound of *could*, *would*, *should* is the same as that heard in *prove*, *move*, and others. The sound here is to me a diphthong beginning with an (y) and ending with (u), thus (pry-uv, my-uv; perhaps ky-ud, etc.). The two sounds follow each other very rapidly, and it is difficult to

detect the two shades of sound of the first and second components of the diphthong. The word *spoon* has the same sound (spy-un), but see under diphthongs. The *u*-sound in *fruit* appears to me to be quite peculiar. As near as I can make out it sounds nearly like the double French *u*, thus (fry-yt); the word appears to be dissyllabic, though the last syllable may be only the prolonged vanish. I have also noticed this same sound in people from the middle and upper part of the state of South Carolina. It has puzzled me very much. This sound may be the (yy), or the (yyw), or the (yy) with a labial modification. I hardly consider it the (iu). All these shades of sound have been handed down from the 17th century.

The diphthongs show quite a number of peculiarities. Jones (1701) says that *ai* has the sound of *a* in some words. Ellis thinks the two sounds indicated by Jones were (ee) and (ee), and though *ai* was sounded *a* by some people, it was not considered best. Jones gives quite a long list, among which we notice the word *stair* (pronounced *staar* by some), already mentioned. Here belongs also *bear*, an animal, pronounced (baar) by some. We have noticed the pronunciation of *due*, *do*, etc. This leads us to consider the diphthong *eu*, which Ellis says the Americans pronounce (iu) rather than (iu), and even (eu) remains here in some parts. I believe it possible to hear all three in America. In Fredericksburg I am inclined to think (iu) or even (üu) is the prevailing pronunciation. Some prolong it so that I heard (nieu), (dieu), etc. The (au) becomes (æu) in *house* (Hæus), where it is short. In *town* it is long (tææun). In *out* it is very short (æut). Thus we have very short in (*out*, *about*, *south*, etc), short (in *house*, etc.), and long (in *town*, *cow*, etc.). The (ou) is heard in Fredericksburg, but not in *house*. There it is more often heard in *boat*, and similar words. As near as I could make out, I heard the sound (bout) in the pronunciation of *boat* almost always. Frequently I thought I detected the sound (baut), but the (A) was very short. The pronunciation of *spoon*, *could*, *point*, *shook*, *good* (almost gyüd), has been mentioned.

There is little to be said of the consonants. The (*h*) often suffixes a (j) and becomes a breathing, as (jeer) for *here* (Hür). The exchange of *w* for *v*, as *provok*, *vocation*, for *provoke*, *vocation*, is no oftener heard here than elsewhere. In the combination *wh* both letters are sounded. The *r* is at all events an evanescent sound and difficult to detect. In Fredericksburg it disappears in words like *more*, *door*, *floor*, *war*. And yet its influence is felt. Professor March told me that he explained this peculiar pronunciation of the final *r* after vowels as an attempt to pronounce the *r* by assuming the *r* position after the enunciation of the vowel and then stopping just before the real enunciation of the *r*. This appears to me to be the true explanation. Indicating the preparation for the *r* by (') this peculiar pronunciation may be expressed (*moo'*, *doo'*, *floo'*, *wa'*).

The usual dropping of the *g* in *ing* is heard here as elsewhere. The consonants *g* and *k* insert the (j) after them. Thus *cart*, *garden*, *girl*, etc., are pronounced (kjart, gjardn, etc.). Even *school* seems to fall under this rubric and becomes sometimes (skjuul).

The accent of the word *idea* has changed here to the antepenult (idea).

The above is only a beginning of studies of the pronunciation of Fredericksburg, and I hope hereafter to continue them. Any suggestions, corrections, or information will be gladly received.

Remarks were made by Messrs. A. F. West, T. R. Price, and F. A. March.

13. Some Syriac Legends, by Professor Isaac H. Hall, of the Metropolitan Museum, Central Park, New York, N. Y.

This was intended as an informal communication rather than a regular paper, and in fact was a mere talk. The legends spoken of were (1) The Legend of Romulus and Remus and the founding of Rome, and (2) a collection of legends in a manuscript recently received from Urmî in Persia, which are extant in a few manuscripts in Karshûn, but not heretofore found in Syriac. These were: A Colloquy of Moses with the Lord on Mount Sinai; The Letter of Holy Sunday that fell from Heaven upon the Hands of Athanasius Patriarch of Rome, being the Third Letter [of its sort]; and The Narrative of Arsenius King of Egypt, and how our Lord raised him to life (containing an account of man's experiences at and after death, with a description of Gehenna).

Since the legends in the Urmî manuscript need the Syriac text for proper appreciation, they will be published elsewhere; and no abstract of them is fairly called for here. The legend of Romulus and Remus seems to be of interest to the Association, however, and a translation of it is therefore given here. The original is to be found in a Nitrian manuscript written A.D. 837 (Brit. Mus. Addit. 12152, fol. 194 ff.). The text is printed in Paul de Lagarde's *Analecta Syriaca* (pp. 201-205), a work of which 115 copies were issued. A partial translation is to be found in B. Harris Cowper's *Syriac Miscellanies*, a work now quite scarce. It is a fragment from the Roman History of Diocles, and bears probable marks of translation from the Greek.

As the legend is quite closely connected with the preceding one of the settlement of Syria, Cilicia, and Phœnicia, it seems best to give the whole together. A distorted form of that portion which treats of Hercules and the Tyrian purple occurs also in a much later composition called the "Cave of Treasures," of which at least one manuscript exists in New York, and which Bezold has published in German and Syriac under the title of *Die Schatzhöhle* (Leipzig, 1883, 1888). In the "Cave of Treasures," however, Hiram King of Tyre replaces Punicus, and Hercules is suppressed—perhaps as a character not altogether in place in a strictly religious composition.

The following is the translation:—

THE WRITING OF DIOCLES THE WISE.

Now after the division of tongues in the days of Peleg there was [born] a certain man of the sons of Japhet, who was called Ag'ûr (or, Ig'ûr). This one went up from the east and came and dwelt on the sea-shore, and built a city and called its name Ge'ûr, which in the Syriac tongue is called Tyre (Şûr). And there were [born] to him three sons, Syrus (Sûrôs) his first born, and Cilicus (Qûliqôs) his second, and Punicus (Pûniqôs) his third. And Ag'ûr their father was king in Tyre 13 years. And when he died he divided the land to his sons; to Punicus he gave Phœnicia (Pûntqâ, or Pûntqi), and to Cilicus he gave Cilicia (Qûltyâ, or Qûltyâ), and to Syrus he gave Syria (Sûriyâ).

And in the time of Punicus was [born] Hercules (Heraqlîs, or Harqlîs), a man

wise and mighty in valor. For when this hero was commanding¹ upon the sea-shore of Tyre, he saw a certain shepherd's dog capture a shell-fish of the sea, that is called *conchylium*, and eat of it, so that the dog's mouth was stained with the blood of the shell-fish. And Hercules called to him the shepherd of the flock, and told him about the dog; and forthwith the shepherd brought wool, and with it wiped out the mouth of the dog, and of the wool the shepherd made himself a crown and put it upon his head. Then when the sun shone upon it, Hercules saw the crown of wool, that it was very splendid, and he was astonished at its beauty; and he took the crown from the shepherd. But the next day Hercules took the shepherd and the dog, and went out to the sea-shore. And the dog, as he was walking along, saw a shell-fish, and the dog ran and caught it; but Hercules snatched the shell-fish from his mouth, and let the shepherd go to his flock. And Hercules walked every day upon the sea-shore, and as soon as one of those shell-fish came out from the sea, he ran quickly and caught it. So he gathered 30 of them, and he boiled them over a fire, and dyed white wool with their blood. And he gave it to a certain woman, and she made of it for him a garment, and he took that clothing and brought it in to Punicus the king of Tyre, who, when he saw it, wondered at its beauty, and commanded that no one except himself should wear it, but the king (or, the one acting as king) only. And moreover, he gave to Hercules authority to be commander in his place, and wrote that he was the father of the kingdom [*i.e.* prime minister]. And it was this Hercules that showed the dyeing of all manner of beautiful colors; and how, moreover, pearls go up from the sea he showed and taught to men.

In those days there was [born] a man in the country of the west, whose name was Rômtyâ (or Rômtyâ or Rômtyâ, = Ῥωμαῖος); and the man was a mighty hero. Now in his days there was in the island of Cilicia a certain virgin beautiful in appearance, who had been made priestess in the temple (*ναὸς*) of the god Aris (Ἄρης). And when Rômtyâ saw [her], he lusted after her, and he went in unto her, and she conceived from him. And when she perceived that she had conceived from him, she was in great fear, and kept herself close, in order that the priests of the god Aris should not detect it and kill her. And when she had borne two twins [*sic* — idiomatic], their father took them and gave them to a certain woman, who reared them. And when the boys were grown up and become men, their father gave them names; to the one Romulus (Rômullôs, Rômillôs, or Rômellôs), and to the other Remus (Rômôs). And they built the city Rome (Rômâ or Rômî) and . . .² it, and all their subjects³ they called Romans (Rômâyê = Ῥωμαῖοι) after the name of their father; and for this reason the sons of Rome are called Romans. And, moreover, they built the capitol (qâpitôlôn), which interpreted is, the Head of the city; and it is one of the wonders of the whole earth [*lit.* one out of the wonders that are in the whole earth]. And they brought a great image that had been in Helûdûs (or Helôdôs, possibly Ἑλλάδος, genitive),⁴

¹ A rather difficult word; probably the imported παραγγέλλω, in a peculiar reflexive participial form. "On a tour of inspection and improvement" is perhaps the meaning.

² Part of word obliterated. Probably "ruled as kings in" is to be supplied.

³ This is the right rendering if I guess rightly how to supply the obliterated place preceding. Otherwise, "workmen" or "cultivators."

⁴ If this conjecture is correct, then the rendering of the clause is "that had been in [the land] of Hellas."

and raised and set it above the top of the capitol, and it was a great wonder, whose like has not been on the earth. And they built the great *dimôstôn* (*δημόσιον*) that is in Athens (*Athnîs*, = *Athēnis*, 'Athēnais'), and the philosophers called it the *dimôstôn* of wisdom (*sôphîâ*).

Now then there arose a quarrel between the two brothers, and Romulus (*Armîllôs*, *Armellôs*, or *Armullôs*, = *ὁ Ῥώμολος*) rose up and slew his brother Remus. And straightway the city began to quake; and when the sons of Rome saw that their city was quaking, they feared with great fear, and all its inhabitants sought to flee out of it. And when Romulus saw that the sons of Rome were in commotion at the temple (*vads*) of the goddess *Pûthinayâ* (or *Pûthinîâ*, or *Pûthinyâ* — or perhaps better, of the Pythian goddess), he asked of her that she would reveal to him for what cause the city was quaking. And she answered him, "Because you have slain your brother the city is quaking and mourning; because he built it with you. And there will be no cessation from the earthquake until it [*i.e.* the city] sees your brother sitting with you upon the throne of the kingdom, and commanding and writing and proclaiming with you as formerly."

Now when this saying was heard throughout the city, they assembled to stone Romulus with stones, because he had slain his brother. But he fled from them and went up to Athens. And when the philosopher Punitus (*Pûnitôs*, *Pônîtôs*) heard of him, he went and listened to the words of Romulus, and promised him that if he would write for him Athens as a free city [*i.e.* daughter of freemen, or of nobles], so that no king of the Romans should have authority over her, he would go to Rome and restore tranquillity to the sons of the city and to his powers. And he made a covenant with him that he would do that for him. And Punitus went to Rome and spoke with them, and said to them, "If ye will receive your king in peace, this earthquake will cease forthwith from your city, so that it shall not again quake. But if ye do not receive him your whole city will perish." And forthwith all the sons of Rome assembled and went up after their king to Athens. And when they had arrived [there], and had come [back] and reached Rome (*Rômî*), the whole city went out to receive him; and they answered and said to him, "If it be that you know that by your entrance into the city the quaking will cease from it, come, enter in glory and honor, and sit on the throne of your kingdom. But if the earthquake will not cease from us, do not enter." But he promised them, "This earthquake will cease from the city."

And the same philosopher made an image of gold after the likeness of his brother, and seated it with him upon the throne of his kingdom. And he commanded them that whatever was done or written should be as if from the mouth of the two. And they did so, and forthwith the earthquake ceased from the city. Thus by the wisdom of this man that earthquake ceased, and the inhabitants with their king were tranquillized. And thenceforward the Romans fixed that it should be the custom to write and command, saying [*i.e.* in the form], "We command." And Athens received freedom from that time on, that no king should have authority over her to do in her anything by force. And this same Armellus (Romulus) instituted an equestrian display (*ippîqton*, a corruption of *ἵππικόν*) for [the] amusement [of the people], and he instituted the *martius*, and he was the first to institute the *veneti*¹ and the *prasini*¹; for because he was afraid of the sons . . .²

¹ An anachronistic reference to colors worn in the hippodrome.

² A word or more defaced. Perhaps "of Rome, that they" is to be supplied.

would kill him as he had killed his brother, he established before him two men that hated each other, one from the *veneti* and one from the *prasini*; for, said he, "If it be that the *veneti* plot against me, the *prasini* will make it known to me; and if the *prasini* plot against me, the *veneti* will make it known to me" . . .¹ two men before . . .¹ of the city as if for amusement. And he clothed the one of the *veneti* in clothing of the sea, and the other in clothing of the *prasini*, which was like the grass of the earth. And he said, "If indeed this one conquers that is clothed like the *veneti*, the sea will be quieted, and the barbarians will not invade and obtain authority in the islands of the sea; as regards them that dwell in the sea, these will take the victory, and those that dwell on the dry [land] will be conquered. But if, again, he that is clothed like the *prasini* conquers, they that dwell on the dry [land] will conquer, and subdue those that dwell in the seas." And forthwith as these two men advanced to contend one with the other, those that dwelt in the sea prayed that the [one of the] *veneti* might win, but those that dwelt on the dry [land], that the [one of the] *prasini* might win. And from that time even until now there have been these two divisions of the kingdom of the Romans, of the *veneti* and the *prasini*. And Armellus (Romulus) instituted the *brumalia*, because he was a man that loved instruction, and that loved amusement, and that loved the youth; and he commanded that in the days of winter men should be calling one upon another, and that many should assemble, assembling with one, and should eat and drink and enjoy themselves. And he commanded that the letters of the alphabet should be coming in one after another, and every one of them should be called in its day. And they called them [*i.e.* those days] *brumalia*, which is, interpreted in the Greek language, "Let us eat and drink off others," that is *gratis*. And there was . . .² a grade of nobility at Rome, and he gave to the nobles the great honor of a throne and authority, that they should command and be obeyed. And he ordained that there should be *qûblarê* (cubi[cu]larii?) in the kingdom of the Romans, that is, that they should be servants in the kingdom. And he sent to Athens and brought thence the philosophers GLSOS (or GLSUS, Gelasus, Glesus, or -sys?) and LThROS (or -US, Lathrus, Lathyrus, Lathrys, etc.?), and made them an organ, that they might be delighted with beautiful sounds. And Armellus (Romulus) instituted the *katâ-dromôn*, and commanded that when the sons of Rome were assembled at the capitol the boys should go down by a rope from the top of the capitol to the bottom, sitting on a wheel and offering a crown to the kingdom, just as if a heroic crown were going down to [the place] of Nimrod, and that the kings should be givers of gifts to those little boys when they returned to come up again. And again he ordained that the Romans should take turns, that in order that they might be supported all the winter, so in the summer they should be going forth to war against their enemies. And he ordained and established *veredi* (*i.e.* post-couriers or post-horses), to serve as relays and bring news to the kings from the armies. And the day in which the Romans went out to war and called it *martius*,³ also interpreted victory . . .⁴ and . . .⁴ great marvels and various deeds and excellent laws and upright commands he executed and established in Rome

¹ Words defaced.

² A word or more defaced.

³ Perhaps the month of March (Martius) is meant.

⁴ Some words defaced.

(Rômi). Among all the Romans there was no man like him excelling in all knowledge and wisdom, nor so honored by those that have understanding. And in his intellect he was so rich that whosoever saw him and spoke with him was discovered, the bad from the good and the false from the true . . .

At 9 P. M. the Association adjourned to meet at 8.30 A. M., Thursday.

EASTON, PA., Thursday, July 11, 1889.

MORNING SESSION.

Professor Seymour, the President, called the Association to order at 8.30 A. M.

The report of the Committee to nominate Officers was presented by L. H. Elwell, Esq., and adopted. In accordance with the recommendations of the Committee, the following gentlemen were elected officers of the Association for 1889-90 :—

President, Professor Charles R. Lanman, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

Vice-Presidents, Dr. Julius Sachs, New York, N. Y., and Professor John H. Wright, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

Secretary and Curator, Dr. Herbert Weir Smyth, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa.

Treasurer, Dr. Herbert Weir Smyth.

Additional members of the *Executive Committee*,—

Professor Martin L. D'Ooge, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.

Professor Basil L. Gildersleeve, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

Professor Francis A. March, Lafayette College, Easton, Pa.

Professor Bernadotte Perrin, Adelbert College, Cleveland, O.

Professor William D. Whitney, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.

The Committee appointed to propose Time and Place for the next meeting reported, through Professor Peck, that invitations had been received to hold the meeting in 1890 at Norwich, Conn., Northampton, Mass., and Princeton, N. J. The Committee recommended that the Twenty-Second Annual Meeting be held on the second Tuesday in July, 1890, at Norwich, Conn.

The report was accepted and adopted.

On motion, the matter of effecting a union of meetings between the Modern Language Association and the Association was referred to the Executive Committee to report at the Norwich meeting.

The report of the Committee to audit the Treasurer's Accounts was presented by Dr. H. W. Smyth, to the effect that the accounts, with the accompanying vouchers, had been examined and found correct.

14. John Reuchlin and the *Epistolae obscurorum virorum*, by Morris H. Stratton, Esq., of Salem, N. J.

The object of this paper was to call attention again to the fact that the great contest between the monks of Cologne and John Reuchlin was really an attempt to smother classical literature in its cradle.

The facts and dates given were taken from the printed "Case" of the trial at Rome, of the appeal of Hoogstraten, the Inquisitor at Cologne, from the judgment of the Bishop of Spire — which appeal was decided in favor of Reuchlin in 1516 — and from the letters of Pirkheimer, Erasmus, and others, printed in Van der Hardt's *Historia Litteraria Reformationis*. Luther's letters to Reuchlin, also printed by Van der Hardt, fully and frankly acknowledge how much the Reformer owed to the Scholar who had preceded him.

The *Epistolae obscurorum virorum* were quoted to show that the first attack of the mendicant monks — in which they were fatally worsted and the back of the Inquisition was broken — was against the revival of classical literature as such. These letters are, of course, a satire, but the well-known facts as to the reception of them — even by their unconscious victims — prove that they were thoroughly verisimilar if not true.

Reuchlin and Erasmus opened the doors to the study of the Testaments in the original tongues, but that they were opposed as scholars and not as disseminators of a wider knowledge of the Bible was illustrated, *inter alia*, by the fact that among the hundreds of editions of the Bible in modern tongues issued in the Fifteenth Century, a very fine folio Bible, in the local German, with illustrations, was published in Cologne, between 1470 and 1475, without objection from Hoogstraten, and that Koburger published a superb illustrated Bible at Nuremberg, known as the *ninth* German Bible, in 1483 — the year in which Luther was born.

Reference was made to the great services of Ulrich von Hutten, one of the editors of the *Epistolae*, and the author of the "*Triumphus Capnionis*." Sir Wm. Hamilton defends Hutten's authorship of the *Triumphus* — and from this the fact that he was one of the three editors of the *Epistolae* — with great learning and ability in an article on the *Epistolae* and their authorship, in the *Edinburgh Review* of March, 1831; and Van der Hardt assumes it as unquestioned that Hutten wrote the *Triumphus*. This savage satire is referred to, however, by Henry Charles Lea, in his *History of the Inquisition* — Vol. II. pp. 424-25 — as written by Eleutherius Bizenus, Hutten's *nom de plume*.

The inaccurate and misleading account of Reuchlin and of his contest with the monks, in the work referred to, was given as one of the reasons for writing this paper.

Professor Francis A. March, as Chairman of the Committee on the Reform of English Spelling, reported that no action had been taken during the last year. The manual dictionary with amended spellings has not yet been made.

A report was made April 8, 1889, by the Commission on Amended Orthography authorized by the Legislature of Pennsylvania. The Commission asked aid from the American Philosophical Society, Super-

intendents of Education, and others, and the printed report contains, as appendixes, elaborate arguments in favor of reform by a committee of the American Philosophical Society, and by Hon. W. T. Harris, U. S. Commissioner of Education, with various statistics.

The practical recommendation of the Commission is as follows : —

The Commission would call attention to the fact that many words are spelt in two ways in our dictionaries, and that it is therefore necessary for a choice to be made between the different spellings. We find “honor” and “honour,” “traveler” and “traveller,” “comptroller” and “controller,” and hundreds of such pairs. In these words one way of spelling is better than the other on grounds of reason, simpler, more economical, more truthful to sound etymology and scientific law.

The Commission respectfully submits that the regulation of the orthography of the public documents is of sufficient importance to call for legislative action, and recommends that the public printer be instructed, whenever variant spellings of a word are found in the current dictionaries, to use in the public documents the simpler form which accords with the amended spelling recommended by the joint action of the American Philological Association and the English Philological Society.

FRANCIS A. MARCH,
 THOMAS CHASE,
 H. L. WAYLAND,
 ARTHUR BIDDLE,
 JAS. W. WALK,
 SAMUEL A. BOYLE.

Professor W. D. Whitney, in the preface to the *Century Dictionary*, May 1st, 1889, takes similar ground : “The language is struggling toward a more consistent and phonetic spelling, and it is proper, in disputed and doubtful cases, to cast the influence of the dictionary in favor of this movement, both by its own usage in the body of the text, and at the head of articles by the order of forms, or the selection of the form under which the word shall be treated.”

The report was accepted, and the Committee appointed in 1875 was continued for another year. It now consists of Messrs. March (Chairman), Child, Lounsbury, Price, Trumbull, and Whitney.

15. A Northumbrianized Judith Text, with Commentary, by Professor Albert S. Cook, of Yale University, New Haven, Conn. ; read by Professor F. A. March.

16. Stressed Vowels in Ælfric’s Homilies (late West Saxon), by Professor Albert S. Cook, of Yale University, New Haven, Conn. ; read by Professor F. A. March.

On motion of Professor A. F. West, a resolution was adopted as follows : —

The American Philological Association desires to place on record, before finally adjourning, the hearty expression of its thanks to the President and Faculty of Lafayette College for the use of the various college buildings, to the Local Committee of Arrangements and its Chairman, Professor Owen (of Lafayette), to the Committee of the gentlemen of Easton for the very pleasant excursion taken under their guidance to Paxinosa, and to the newspapers of Easton for their full and accurate reports of the proceedings of the Association.

17. The Study of English in Preparation for College, by Professor Francis A. March, of Lafayette College, Easton, Pa.

Accurate knowledge of the mother tongue is fundamental to all valuable thinking. It is to be obtained by studying classic English authors substantially in the same way that Greek is studied in good schools: that is to say, by studying each word etymologically and in its connection so as to comprehend its meaning, and by studying each clause and sentence in its connection so as to repeat the train of thought of the author. This study should be recognized as different from reading literature for pleasure or for esthetic or bibliographic culture. The paper discusses the desirability of a general agreement among the colleges upon some two or three English books of moderate size for the entrance examinations, to be put on the same footing as the *Anabasis* and *Iliad* in Greek. Franklin's *Autobiography* and two books of *Paradise Lost* were suggested. If they were generally adopted, editions would be prepared for study of the right sort by the most accomplished professors, and a tradition of good teaching of them would soon be established in the fitting schools.

Remarks were made by Messrs. W. D. Shipman, T. Peck, J. Sachs, T. R. Price, and F. A. March.

18. The Relation of the Greek Optative to the Subjunctive and the other Moods, by Professor William W. Goodwin, of Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.; read by Professor J. H. Wright.

This paper has appeared in the new (1890) edition, of Professor Goodwin's *Greek Moods and Tenses*, Appendix I.

19. A New Source in Plutarch's Life of Cicero, by Dr. A. Gudeman, of New York, N. Y.

After some introductory remarks on the method to be followed in investigations of this nature, on the inherent difficulties to be encountered, on Plutarch's mode of work and on the degree of proficiency in Latin which we may safely assume him to have attained, the lecturer briefly reviews the authors usually regarded as the chief sources of the Greek life. The investigations hitherto made have, however, been almost entirely confined to ascertaining the sources of Plutarch's narrative of Cicero's *political history*, and, in consequence, but slight attention was paid to the "Quellen" of those portions of the *vita* which deal more particularly with the personal and literary side of the great orator. Tiro's voluminous life of his patron was generally supposed to have furnished Plutarch with the bulk of his purely biographical material, while Cicero's autobiographical

writings, as well as Augustus' memoirs, were considered as secondary sources.¹ All the writers, however, that have been suggested as the original sources of Plutarch's narrative were either contemporary with Cicero or nearly so. That the Greek historian may also have consulted much later authorities has not, as far as I am aware, ever been hinted at. It is the object of this paper to show: 1. That Plutarch actually made use of *one*, or, if you will, several *post-Augustan* writers. 2. That one of these post-Augustan sources is no other than *Suetonius Tranquillus' Life of Cicero*, which formed a part of his famous work *De viris illustribus*.

The first of these propositions is conclusively demonstrated by ch. 2 of the *Life*, containing a criticism of Cicero's poetical abilities.² The beginning of ch. 40, and a few other passages, also point to a post-Augustan source.

The proof for the second thesis is furnished by ch. III, 11 sqq. This passage contains two *misstatements* of such a nature as to exclude Tiro, Nepos, Fenestella, etc., as their possible authors. We can only attribute them to a writer remote enough in point of time to render the error excusable. Who can this be? The identical error is fortunately found in *two* other authors, and in *only two*, besides Plutarch, and their names are *Hieronimus* and *Sextus Aurelius Victor*. Now, one of the sources of Hieronimus (as has never been denied) and of Victor's *De viris illustribus* (as can be shown) is Suetonius' work of the same name. The erroneous statements in question, therefore, not being met with elsewhere, and remembering how much safer a clue to inter-dependence of authors is afforded by coincidences of palpable errors than by concurrences in well-known facts, it follows that Suetonius is the common source of Plutarch, Aurelius Victor, and Hieronimus.

This new source having once been discovered, we are at liberty to look for other statements whose origin we had been hitherto unable to determine with any degree of probability. A number of such passages having a genuine color Suetonianus, ch. 2, quoted above, being among these, is accordingly pointed out as being very probably derived from Suetonius' *vita*; and taken altogether, they certainly possess all the argumentative validity of strong cumulative evidence.

The paper concludes by the author's disposing of a possible *chronological* objection to Suetonius as a source of Plutarch, by showing that the *vita Ciceronis* was written later than 115 A.D., this year being the *terminus post quem* of the composition of the *Life of Sulla* (cf. ch. 21), which in its turn preceded Plutarch's *vitae of Demosthenes and Cicero*, as Michaelis has convincingly proven. Suetonius' work must have been in the hands of the public long before this time, the author being then past the age of forty.

20. On the Use of Verbs of Saying in the Platonic Dialogues, by Dr. George B. Hussey, of the College of New Jersey, Princeton, N. J.³

This paper points out the various forms of verbs of saying used by Plato, and passes on to show that some of them belong exclusively to the later periods of his literary activity. The fact that almost all Plato's writings are in the form of dialogues suffices of itself to explain his frequent use of verbs of saying. Thus the *Protagoras* has 565 instances of them, and the *Phaedrus* over 320. Some of these

¹ Strange to say, it has never occurred to any one that Plutarch might possibly be indebted to Nepos' *Life of Cicero* (mentioned by Gellius XV, 28, 1) for some details. But cf. *Transactions*, Vol. XX. ² For the proof itself I refer to *Transac.* Vol. XX.

³ Published in full in *Am. Journ. Philol.* Vol. X.

verbs may depend for their use entirely on the external features of the dialogue. In the indirect dialogues — those where the argument is related to persons not present at it — the phrases ἦ δ' ὅς, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, ἔφην, ἔφη make up the greater part of the verbs of saying.

If such verbs as belong to the narrative of the indirect dialogues are set aside, the remaining instances exhibit much more variety of form. They serve chiefly to introduce quotations of all sorts. So proverbs are usually introduced by τὸ λεγόμενον, myths and traditions by λέγεται, and opinions of poets and philosophers by λέγει, φησί, or some other form in the active third person. Another use of these verbs of saying (and the one to which attention is especially called) occurs where one of the speakers quotes an earlier part of the dialogue he is engaged in, or even a preceding dialogue. When the statement referred to is near at hand or is quite prominent, a present tense, as λέγεις, φησί, may be used in citing it, but when more distant a past tense ἔλεγον, ἐρρήθη, τὰ λεχθέντα is more frequent. It is among citations consisting of past passive forms that the gradual extension of use can be best observed. Some of them seem to be known only to Plato's later style, and by means of them the dialogues can be arranged in the following series, which probably corresponds somewhat closely with the order in which they were composed: —

	I.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.
	Total References.	Per cent of ἐρρήθη and ῥηθείς.	Cases of ἐρρήθη and ῥηθείς.	Cases of ἐλέχθη and λεχθείς.	Cases of προερρήθη, προεῖπονται, and their Participles.	Cases of λεχθείς and λεχθεῖσα as an Adjective.	Cases of the Perfect Passive of λέγω.
Apology	7	..	..	..	..	..	..
Crito	11	..	..	..	..	..	..
Euthyphro.	10	..	..	..	..	..	..
Protagoras.	26	..	..	..	..	..	..
Euthydemus	29	..	..	..	..	..	..
Laches	17	..	..	..	..	..	..
Charmides	18	..	..	1	..	..	..
Meno	16	..	..	1	..	..	..
Lysis	13	..	..	1	..	..	..
Parmenides	16	..	..	1	..	..	..
Cratylus	34	..	..	1	1	..	..
Hippias II	13	..	..	2	2	..	..
Republic (bks. I-V)	109	1.8	2	2	3	..	..
Gorgias.	76	2.6	2	0	0	..	..
Phaedo.	40	5.0	2	1	4	..	..
Symposium	29	6.9	2	1	1	..	..
Phaedrus	39	10.2	4	4	0	..	..
Republic (bks. VI-X)	80	8.7	7	3	9	..	..
Theaetetus	47	10.6	5	1	0	..	..
Sophist	65	9.2	6	7	1	1	..
Philebus	93	10.7	10	9	4	2	..
Timaeus	39	20.4	8	6	1	1	2
Politicus	88	26.1	23	11	2	5	1
Laws	324	11.1	36	26	5	10	3

	DITTENBERGER.	SCHANZ.
	Crito.	Apology.
	Euthyphro.	Euthyphro.
	Protagoras.	Gorgias.
	Charmides.	Laches.
	Laches.	Lysis.
I.	Hippias II.	Protagoras.
	Euthydemus.	Symposium.
	Meno.	Phaedo.
	Gorgias.	Phaedrus.
	Cratylus.	Cratylus.
	Phaedo.	Euthydemus.
	Symposium.	Theaetetus.
	Lysis.	epublic.
	Phaedrus.	Sophist.
	Republic.	Philebus.
	Theaetetus.	Politicus.
II.	Parmenides.	Timaeus.
	Philebus.	Laws.
	Sophist.	
	Politicus.	
	Laws.	

In determining the frequency of any form of citation in such different dialogues as the Gorgias and Timaeus the total number of references is a much fairer measure than the number of pages covered by each dialogue. These totals are shown in the first column of the table. They are made up solely of references to statements of persons engaged in the discussion, and are, besides, limited to past tenses of the indicative and to past participles of the verbs λέγω, ἐρῶ, εἶπον, and φημί. The tenses of the infinitive and imperative are omitted, as when used in a past tense they are not always references to a preceding passage. The second column shows what percentage of these citations is formed by ἐρρήθη and its participle ῥηθείς, and the third gives the absolute number of these special forms. The fourth column shows the cases of ἐλέχθη and λεχθείς when used as citations; and the next does the same for προερρήθη, προείρηται, and their participles. A peculiar and harsh construction of λεχθείς, as an adjective qualifying a noun of masculine or feminine gender, is shown in the sixth column. Cases of the rare perfect passive of λέγω are given in the last column. Some of these, however, are imperatives, and it should be remarked that the last two columns are not restricted to citations, but include all instances of the forms mentioned.

It will be seen that the first six dialogues do not show any of the forms given in the table. They can, therefore, only be put into a group by themselves; while their relations to one another within it have to be left undetermined. The next few dialogues in the series owe their position to the fact that they begin to show instances of ἐλέχθη. Then, when ἐρρήθη begins, it is chosen as a criterion; and finally the λεχθείς-construction, shown in the sixth column, becomes the test-word. Thus the early stages of each usage are considered to be most important, as it is then that the employment of the special word is most a matter of conscious effort. The columns containing προερρήθη and λέλεκται have, in general, a tendency to confirm the evidence of the others; but, except for this, are not of so much importance in fixing the order of the dialogues. The most natural explanation of these new forms of citation that appear in the later dialogues, but do not exclude

earlier words used for the same purpose, is that they were introduced for the sake of variety.

Dittenberger in *Hermes*, XVI, 321, and Schanz in the same periodical, XXI, 439, have already used a similar method of arranging the dialogues by means of changes in the use of words. Certain phrases containing $\mu\eta\nu$ were used for this purpose by Dittenberger, and, except for the position of the *Lysis* and *Parmenides*, the present list agrees very closely with his results. According to his investigations the *Lysis* ought to be placed near the *Phaedrus* and the *Parmenides* near the *Philebus*. Their fluctuating position would thus seem to be another proof that they are not genuine Platonic dialogues.

21. The Quality of Sanskrit *a-kāra*, by Professor Edward W. Hopkins, of Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa.; read by L. H. Elwell, Esq.

It seems to me time to put the formal question: Do we mean what we write when we transcribe the Sanskrit vowel usually rendered *a* by this symbol? As we know that there was a period in which the language had short \check{o} and \check{e} (of whatever source), and find neither of these represented in the alphabet; as we know also that there was a period when a single vowel sound represented all that was left of \check{a} , \check{e} , \check{o} , we may for convenience' sake divide the growth of the whole language into two periods, Early and Late, approximately the time of the *Rig Veda* and of *Pāṇini* respectively.

For the early period we have (see Bloomfield in the third volume of the *Am. Journ.*), already given, the fact that short \check{e} and \check{o} existed. To the late period no such vowels were known. It is important to bear in mind that the alphabet arises between the two periods here designated.

One of the short vowels of the earlier period is \check{o} , said to be developed from 'a's. As this \check{o} , however, corresponds to the short *o* of related languages in *os*, it is evident that its apparent derivation from *as* assumes (what is in this case not yet proved) that we have here ('a's) a real *a*, and not a letter subsequently to develop into 'a'. The assumption of Oldenberg, that we have here $as = \bar{o} = au$, with a vanishing semivowel after the vowel, is based on examples that prove only the felt want of some sign to express the lost consonant which can have been nothing but *s*. The peculiar examples of 'a's = *ay* given Hymnen s. 457 show only a half-remembered consonant expressed, by analogy, by the semivowel; for there can be absolutely no historical sense in *apay isya*, *abhibhūyamānaya iva*, etc. In *Indrō 'bravīt* from *indrōs* + vowel 'a' we have a result to be compared with *Indrō nāma*; the *s* lost before sonant and the following vowel absorbed in one case (compare the accent); in the other the *s* dropped before sonant, but the consciousness of the two consonants producing length of the preceding vowel. For until we know that in this example of 'a'-*kāra* we are dealing with a pure 'a' it is right to assume the vowel sound indicated, even were it probable that 'a'*sdhi* would remain contracted as *ēdhi*, while 'a'*sti* is *asti* ($\check{e}sdhi$ becomes $\bar{e}dhi$, hence for *asti* read $\check{e}sti$). Because the later alphabet gives us *s'a'd* we assume *sad* and take *sēd* to be contracted from *sasād* rather than $s\check{e}s\check{e}d$, though this alphabet on which we rest our belief does not really give us *sad*, as I shall now show, but *s* + doubtful vowel + *d* (I am aware that the primitive origin of *sēd*, etc., is called in question by Bar-

tholomae, but the example will serve as an illustration of our present transcription). Were it not for a future alphabet which writes \check{e} , \check{o} , \check{a} , in their further development with one sign (this which we write *a* and which I will call *akar*), we should not think of assuming that the \check{e} , \check{o} , \check{a} , of the Veda were all one sound as they actually become later. For if we prove \check{o} from 'a's and see no alphabetical distinction between \check{o} and \bar{o} , we may conclude that the alphabet is responsible for slurring other sounds also. It is then of the highest importance to know what *akar* is in the Sanskrit alphabet of the late period. Moreover, we are entitled to look to the neighboring dialects and see whether our alphabet is not later than the forms they give. In Pali our *akar* is represented by both \check{e} and \check{o} , and it is no explanation to say that this is the result of a later closed pronunciation of *a* (see Ind. Stud. iv. 119). Our ending of the plural verb *m'a's* is represented by *mū*; the instrumental *rāj'a'bhis* by *ūbhi*, or *ēbhi*; *dharm'a's*, by *dhammō*; *pitṛā*, by *pitārā* or *pitunā*; *j'a'y'a'ti* by *jeti*, etc. If we turn to Zend we find also, near as it stands to Sanskrit compared with other tongues, Sanskrit *akar* represented by \check{e} as well as by \check{a} ; the nominatives, as in Pali, *aspo*, *mano*; possibly the diphthong *oi* for *ai* (*toi*). It would be extraordinary to have Zend and Pali agree rather with Greek than with Sanskrit in giving *o* as the nom. sg. in *aspo*, etc. We write *a* for *akar* because the later alphabet demands — not *a* — but one vowel in all cases. What then is this vowel of the later period? Different vowels passed into one sound as in Greece. Three reasons show that in the second or late period this vowel was not an *a*. First, the oral tradition, that tradition which made the early Sanskrit scholars write not *Manu* but *Menu*, etc.; second, this traditional pronunciation is upheld by Pāṇini, at whose time we may loosely set the uniform stage, who says distinctly that the sound which he treats as open *a* is in reality a closed *a*. Now a closed *a* cannot be transcribed by *a*, but rather by \check{o} or \check{u} if we would render its quality correctly, and not violate truth by adherence to Pāṇini's self-confessed inaccuracy. Third, the Greek inscriptions show clearly that tradition and Pāṇini's confession bear witness to truth, for here we find that *akar*, far from being transcribed as a pure *a*, is rendered by Greek *o*, by ϵ , or even by ι and υ , as well as by α (see Weber's collection Ind. Ant. ii. 143 ff.). Now if we find the norm of a pure *a* earlier than Pāṇini (Vāj. Pr.), we may assume a chronological better than geographical difference, especially as the close *a* (\bar{o} , \bar{u}) seems to be found in various districts.

In this second period (to the beginning of which the alphabet must be referred) we find but one sign for the earlier \check{a} , \check{e} , \check{o} , and this sign is not really an *a*, but an \check{o} or \check{u} . What right have we, therefore, to insist on a pure *a* being the universal representative of this *akar* for the earlier period? Undoubtedly *akar* often represents a pure *a* because its later function embraces a pure *a* in a plurality of cases (as in words whose vowels = *a*, *aj*, etc.); but on the other hand, it often does not, as far as we can see; nor is there any reason to think so except given by this same alphabet. The separate existence of \check{a} , \check{e} , \check{o} , ceased before this alphabet began, becoming the "mid-back narrow *a*," i.e. *o* in come, *u* in but. In transcribing *akar* by *a* we therefore fail to give rightly the sound of the second period, and ignore the fact that in the early period it would have been divided (had an alphabet existed) into \check{e} , \check{o} , \check{a} , which three vowels occur, but could of course leave no trace except by inference. Our norm for the early period must necessarily be doubtful in cases where no light is given from without. But where

a comparison of Zend, Pali, and Greek show *o* against an assumed Sanskrit 'a's, we ought certainly to make a distinction that is based on comparative forms and upheld by native texts; writing instead of *as*, *ōs*: and we should probably not be wrong if we extended this distinct pronunciation into other cases where *ō* or *ēs* can be predicated from native dialects in conjunction with Zend, itself nothing but an Aryan dialect a little further removed. But to keep on writing Sanskrit *a* = *a*, *ε*, *o*, is certainly incorrect both for the early and the late period. In one case 'a' does not fill the requirements; in the other it contradicts a pronunciation that is proved to have been different. We might as well write *εi* = *i* in Greek because it came to be pronounced so in the course of centuries.

22. The Phonology of the Ionic Dialect, by Dr. Herbert Weir Smyth, of Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa.

Though the Ionic dialect contains so generous a wealth of linguistic phenomena and stands in such intimate relations with the history of Hellenic thought, investigators have not yet taken possession of that precious legacy of opportunity bequeathed by Ahrens to his successors. A few scattered treatises dealing with Ionic is the total output of the half-century following upon the publication of the *De Graecae linguae dialectis*.

This paper gave a brief abstract of the results of a somewhat detailed examination of the vowel and the consonantal system of Ionic from the advent of the elegy to the period of the Sophistic Renaissance.

As to the field surveyed, so far as the inscriptions are concerned, I have endeavored to utilize every form pertinent to a knowledge of Ionic phonology. Whenever it was necessary to compare the date of any phonetic change in Ionic with the date of a similar change in Attic, I have drawn the latter dialect into the range of vision. Of the lyric poets, especial attention has been devoted to those of Ionic birth (Archilochos, Simonides Amorginus, Hipponax, Ananios, Kallinos, Mimnermos, Xenophanes, and Phokylides); and I have treated in detail the dialect of Tyrtaios, Solon, and Theognis: Tyrtaios, a Lakonian by adoption, but a representative of the early Ionic elegy; Solon, in order to test the question how far his Muse is Ionic, how far Old-Attic; and Theognis, that we may obtain a complete survey of the language of the elegy down to the end of the sixth century. Herodotos I have examined with special reference to the interrelation of the Mss., and trust that but few points have been overlooked, though I am but too well aware how difficult it is to reach completeness in so wide a field. For the language of the philosophers, Anaxagoras of Klazomenai, Diogenes of Apollonia, Melissos of Samos, Herakleitos of Ephesos, have been investigated; and for the older medical dialect, those writings of Hippokrates which are least open to the suspicion of spuriousness. Of the pseudo-Ionists, Aretaios' *Αἰτιαί*, Arrian's *Ἰνδική*, and Lukian's *Syrian Goddess* and *Astronomy*¹ are easily our chief sources; but I have placed under contribution the fragments of Abydenos' Assyrian History, Eusebios, and Eusebios Myndios, that we may realize the more vividly how persistent has been the influence exercised upon later prose by the Ionic dialect. The testimony of Gregory of Corinth has been adduced throughout.

¹ Even if the *Astronomy* should not prove to be the genuine work of Lukian, it is still invaluable as a testimony to the character of the pseudo-Ionism of the age of Hadrian.

From the point of view of the dialectologist, the history of Hellenic speech falls into four divisions:—

Period of primitive Greek.

Period of the life of single dialects.

Period of the contest of the Attic *κοινή* with the Doric *κοινή*.

Period of the existence of a universal *κοινή*.

Within the confines of the second period, Ionic is, broadly speaking, the dialect of the literary world from the eighth century until it was driven from its commanding position by Attic. Taken as a whole, Ionic presents in its structure a uniformity far more consistent than that possessed by Doric. It is upon the evidence of the inscriptions alone that we are enabled to assert the existence of subdivisions, which mark the course of Ionic emigration from the mainland of Greece. These sub-dialects are: I. Ionic of Eubœia and colonies. II. Ionic of the Kyklades. III. Ionic of Asia Minor and of the adjacent islands and their colonies.

I. WESTERN IONIC is the dialect of Eubœia and colonies (Chalkis, Kyme, Olynthos, Amphipolis, Eretria, Oropos, Styra). It still possesses the rough breathing; names derived from *κλέος* terminate in *-κλέης*, not in *-κλής*; the genitive of proper names whose second component part is an *-ι* stem, ends in *-ιδος*, not in *-ιος*. These peculiarities and certain others (*ει < ηι*, *οι < ωι*, and cases of *ττ* for *σσ*) testify to what an extent the political supremacy of Athens has succeeded in coloring the speech of the rear-guard of Ionism. When Western Ionic differs from the Ionic of the other divisions, it differs by its preference for Attic forms, save in its possession of rhotacism, found nowhere else upon Ionic territory, and whose ultimate provenance is still a matter of dispute. Another point of isolation is that Western Ionic alone produced no literature. Whatever artistic capacity the Eubœians possessed tended in the direction of the manufacture of vases.

II. ISLAND IONIC has *-κλής*, not *-κλέης*; *-ιος*, not *-ιδος*. Retaining the rough breathing, which is well attested in the case of the Parian Archilochos, Island Ionic thus forms a bridge between Western and Eastern Ionic. Up to the present time, no mint-marks of local difference can be observed in the speech of the various islands, and the sole ground for a separation into two sections, (1) Naxos, Keos; (2) Delos, Paros, Siphnos, is a difference in the writing of *η* = I.E. $\bar{\eta}$ and *η* = I.E. $\bar{\alpha}$. But at best this palæographic distinction, which seems to betoken a difference in pronunciation, does not hold good for all time, having been retained a century longer by the first group than by the second.

III. The chief characteristic of EASTERN IONIC is the displacement of the rough breathing at a very early period. The inscriptions speak with no uncertain voice against the existence of the *spiritus asper* save in compounds; and literature confirms this testimony to a considerable extent. Asiatic Ionic, like that of the Kyklades, has *-κλής* and *-ιος*.

There doubtless existed sub-dialects of Eastern Ionic, but the accuracy of the Herodotean division is not yet attested by the monuments under our control.

The language of the inscriptions alone is not an absolute criterion of the genuineness of an Ionic form unless the inscription is older than 400 B.C. and contains no trace of what is specifically Attic. When the language of the inscriptions, with this limitation, agrees with that of the poets, we have the surest criterion of the

Ionic character of the form in question that is possible under the circumstances; and against this evidence the fluctuating orthography of Herodotean and Hippokratæan Mss. can make no stand.

As in the domain of thought, so in that of language, the elegy occupies a different field from iambic poetry. Upon the dividing line of the frequency of adoption of Homeric forms, we may separate Theognis from the earlier elegists. In its possession of legacies from the earliest Ionic period, and in its use of Homeric Aiolisms, the dialect of the Megarian poet stands in closer touch with the language of the epic period than does the idiom of any of his predecessors of the elegiac guild.

Now there is a wide chasm between the Aiolisms of the earlier elegy and the adventitious Aiolisms of Chios. The latter are distinctively prose forms, the former are only such as had been consecrated to use by the epos. Here we must clearly grasp two facts: (1) that an elegiac poet could adopt only Homeric Aiolisms, and (2) that no elegiac poet, not of Ionic birth, could borrow from a genuine Ionian, forms that are specifically Ionic. Solon has his Atticisms, Tyrtaos and Theognis their Dorisms, but they may not use forms that are specifically Ionic. Our inscriptions show that what is not Homeric in the elegy is drawn from the soil whence the elegy sprang; and that the forms taken from the living speech of the poet's time are few in comparison to those found in iambic poetry.

If the language of the iambographers has but little love for archaic Ionisms, it has still less for Aiolisms. The language of Archilochos, Simonides of Amorgos, and Hipponax, is, with due allowance for the perverse influence of copyists who had the Attic norm in their mind's eye, practically the same as that of the inscriptions.

In great part the language of Herodotos is supported by that of the inscriptions, and much of what is genuine Ionic in Herodotos is also Attic. Many forms which occur nowhere else outside of Herodotos find an easy explanation in the laws of Greek morphology. Of the remaining forms, aside from the out-and-out barbarisms, one part was obsolescent, another, and the larger part, obsolete, at the time the genius of the Ionic race created literary prose.

In the course of the following investigation my primary purpose has been to let the facts themselves show how great is the difference existing between what is certainly Ionic of the fifth century and what is ordinarily proclaimed as Ionic of the fifth century upon the authority of Herodotean Mss. While I do not deny that Herodotos may have adopted forms that are specifically Homeric in passages that are strongly tinged with an epic tone, nevertheless my survey of the evidence has led me to the conclusion that the original text of Herodotos was written in the dialect of his time, while the bulk of the variations from that dialect is due to a *μεταχαρακτηρισμός*, which I would place about the first century of our era.

In the history of Greek literature *μεταχαρακτηρισμός* proceeded on two lines: either in the direction of Atticizing the dialect texts, a fact vouched for by Galen as usual in his time, or in the direction of the substitution of dialect forms in the light of contemporaneous dialectological theories. The text of Alkman, of Korinna, and, to a lesser extent, that of Pindar, bear witness to the activity of the *μεταγραφόμενοι* in the latter direction.

The writers of the Hadriatic age who imitated Herodotos and Hippokrates have received the full shock of this wave of speculation as regards Ionic. But

from the point of view of higher criticism, the "pseudo-Ionisms" of Lukian and Aretaios are on a different footing from the same forms in Stein's or Holder's text of Herodotos. In the one case they are the result of genuine imitation; in the other, these forms never existed in Herodotos.

A further estrangement from genuine Ionic was produced by the occasional insertion of such hyper-Ionic formation into the texts of these Ionists as are not found save in some Mss. of Herodotos.

One of the causes of this *μεταχαρακτηρισμός* was the inability of the dialectologists to distinguish between the Ionic of the Homeric period and the Ionic of the fifth century. It was all Ionic Greek to these sciolists. The cardinal error of the *μεταγραψάμενοι* was the foisting of uncontracted forms upon Herodotos. This was caused by inability to distinguish between those vocalic combinations that normally remained uncontracted and those which by the fifth century had suffered contraction, and by their failing to recognize that *εο* and *εω*, even if written in the uncontracted form, had frequently become diphthongal as early as the seventh century. Evidence is adduced that this *μεταχαρακτηρισμός* has not affected alike all the early writers in Ionic, and that upon the authority of good Mss. the original form may very often be reinstated.

23. The Enchantment of "Grammar," by Dr. C. P. G. Scott, of New York, N. Y.

In the absence of the author, the following paper was read by title:—

24. Sex-Denoting Nouns in American Languages, by Albert S. Gatschet, Esq., of the United States Bureau of Ethnology, Washington, D. C.

When primitive populations attempt to form grammatic distinctions of the objects which they see around themselves, they usually classify them into objects of the animate and objects of the inanimate order. Whether this distinction is made by adding a syllable or retrenching one, there is probably no language on the face of the earth that does not show some trace of this obvious and antique classification. It appears to have manifested itself at first in the pronominal parts of speech and from there spread into the verb and the noun. The various phases and aspects of this classifying process are also known to students of American languages as rational and irrational, noble and ignoble, arrhenic and metarrhenic, etc., as far as the noun is concerned, and are of great psychologic interest; the Algonkin dialects of the United States and Canada exhibit this distinction in a very obvious manner.

But besides the above, a distinction of sex was made in some languages, which either embraced all the objects of the animal creation or only the more important ones, viz.: persons, quadrupeds, and birds, the other animates being not distinguished for sex and relegated to the inanimate class. Abstract nouns adopted either the feminine or the inanimate gender.

The personal pronoun, especially the third person, is that part of speech where sex is *first* marked by separate grammatic signs, and from there it works its way

into the other pronouns. Sex may be denoted in *one* dialect of a linguistic family and not be distinguished in the others, as I have observed in the Kalapuya of Oregon. It exists in the pronoun of the third person in some Iroquois dialects, but not in the Cherokee, which is a cognate language. Even in Iroquois dialects it extends to persons only, not to animals. A beginning of sex-distinction is found in the pronoun of the Selish and Chinook dialects, in Yuchi and in Timucua, where *o, oqe* is *he, ya: she*. The large majority of American languages knows nothing of any such pronominal distinction; we do not find it in the Shoshonian, Algonkin, Maskoki, Kechua, and Tupi languages.

Sex-distinction is scarcer still in the *verb* of American languages than in the pronoun, though it could have easily made its way into this part of speech, wherever there is a real personal inflection or incorporation of the object into the verb. Something of the sort is observed in the verb of Chinook, at least in Klakamas, which is an Upper Chinook dialect I had the opportunity to study.

The *substantive* has resisted more than other parts of speech the adoption of formative affixes designating sex, and in most American languages such are wanting. In Maya dialects the appositions "male" and "female" have been ground down so as to represent mere prefixes, *ah-* for the male, *ish-, sh-*, for the female. A beginning of personification of inanimate objects in regard to sex is found in a few Indian terms. Thus, *Mississippi river* is called in Caddo: *Báhat-sássin*, the "Mother of rivers"; and *thumb* is in all the Maskoki dialects "of one's fingers their mother"; in Chicasa, *ílbak íshke*.

In the eastern hemisphere two stocks serve as examples of a well-developed system of sex-distinction: the Aryan and the Semito-Hamitic. In the former we find a large variety of modifications in this line, one of these being the total extinction of the neuter gender, which formerly represented the inanimate class, by the masculine and feminine in some of the *modern* dialects. In America sex-distinction in the noun has been found to occur only in two families, the Carib and the Tunica; but when a more profound study of all the American tongues will have been achieved, it may turn up in other languages also.

In the Carib family, the real seat of which is in South America, sex-denoting affixes have been studied in the Arowak, the Goajiro, and the Kalinago of the West Indies or Antillian islands. From Fr. Müller, *Grundriss* (vol. II), I quote the following instances of sex-inflection:

<i>Arowak:</i>	<i>basabanti boy,</i>	<i>basabantu, girl.</i>
	<i>kansiti loving (man),</i>	<i>kansitu loving (woman).</i>
	<i>elonti male child,</i>	<i>elontu female child.</i>
<i>Goajiro:</i>	<i>anashi good,</i>	fem. <i>anase.</i>
	<i>oikari merchant,</i>	fem. <i>okare.</i>
	<i>maɣuaíntchi sorry,</i>	fem. <i>maɣuaínre.</i>
<i>Kalinago:</i>	<i>aparuti murderer,</i>	fem. <i>aparutu.</i>
	<i>kiⁿshiⁿti beloved,</i>	fem. <i>kiⁿshiⁿtu.</i>

These examples prove that the sex-suffixes extend over the adjective and participle, as well as over the substantive.

Sex-suffixes appear also in the *Taensa* language of Louisiana; but since this language is subject to some doubts of genuineness in the form as we have it now,

we have to remit the discussion over its sex-character to some future day. It is at all events a curious fact, that sex-suffixes appear here *in such close vicinity* to the Tunica, another language of Eastern Louisiana, *both* showing them in the *second* as well as in the *third* persons of the personal and possessive pronoun.

The *Tunica* or Tunixka, discovered by me in the autumn of 1886, proved to represent a family heretofore unknown to science, and on account of its strange peculiarities deserves to be carefully studied and compared with other languages, especially with those once spoken in its immediate neighborhood, as Nā'htchi, Maskóki, Atákapa, and Shetimásha.

The masculine and feminine are the only genders existing in Tunica, for all inanimate objects belong to one of these two, and abstract nouns are of the feminine gender.

In nouns the masculine is marked in the singular by a prefix uk-, u-, or by a suffix -ku, -χku; the feminine by a prefix tik-, tí'h-, ti-, t-, or by a suffix -χtchi, -ktchi, -'htchi, -'htch, -tch, -ts. In the plural, the masculine nouns are made distinct by a prefix sik-, sig-, the feminine by sin-, síⁿ-, sí-; these plural affixes appear also, but in rare instances only, as suffixes. These affixes are often dropped, but the feminine less frequently than the masculine affixes.

That these affixes are of a pronominal character and that some appear also as independent personal pronouns, may be gathered from the following table of pronouns:

íma I, ímataⁿ myself.
 ma thou (masc.), há'ma (fem.).
 úwi he, tí'htchi she; emphatic: úwitaⁿ himself, etc.
 ínima we, ínimataⁿ ourselves.
 wínima ye (masc.), hínima (fem.).
 sá'ⁿma, sá'ⁿ they (masc.), sínima, síⁿ they (fem.).

The possessive pronouns are prefixed to the noun, and most of them are abbreviations from the above through retrenchment of -ma.

In the verb, the subject-pronoun is incorporated into its stem as a suffix of one or two syllables, which largely differs from the personal pronoun as quoted above.

In the sentence these suffixes appear as follows:—

kuá túχku óshka tádshara *the claws of a little bird*. Kuá *bird* being masculine, túχku or túχk, from tú *small*, assumes the suffix of that gender.

tóni sik'háyi *old people*, lit. "people — those — old."

tá riχkéku háriá tá ri'tch atapá'ra *the tree is as tall as the house*, lit. "the tree — he tall the house — her equals." Tá is the article *the*, which is unchangeable as in English; riχku means *tree*, ri *house*.

táχtchiksh tí'hkorak *full moon*, lit. "luminary she — round"; kóra meaning *round*.

As instances of the changes which adjectives are undergoing when subjected to the sex-denoting process and accompanied by their substantives, we offer the following:—

tá' ⁿ <i>great, large,</i>	masc. tá'ku, tá'gu,	fem. tá'htchi.
méli <i>black,</i>	méliku, méliχku,	méliktchi.
rówa <i>white,</i>	rówaku,	rówaktch(i).
máka ⁿ <i>fat,</i>	makáχku,	maká'htchi.
táχkir <i>smutty,</i>	táχkirku,	táχkiri'htch.

Substantives standing alone or accompanied by adjectives, numerals, participles, etc., do not always assume the prefix or suffix of their particular gender; there are special laws or rules presiding over this.

Masculines are all the nouns designating male persons, male relationships, male occupations; all animals, the higher and the lower, unless they are specially pointed out as of the female sex; all plants, trees, bushes, and weeds. Thus we have: óni *man*, kútuhuk *son*, íχtchaku *my grandfather*, kíwa *weasel*, híχku *mouse*, shími *pigeon*, ná-araⁿ *snake*, níni *fish*, takírka *mollusk*, ríχku *tree*, ráyi *mulberry tree*, tápa *plant*.

Feminines are all the nouns designating female persons, occupations, and relationships, the celestial bodies, seasons and natural phenomena, the earth and its parts, the parts of the compass, the names of diseases and the abstract nouns. Examples: núχtchi *woman*, éχkutu wálikitch *my stepdaughter*, táχtchi *sun*, táχsaba *winter*, tíhikash *south*, íni yi *toothache*, káχshi *truth*.

About equally divided between both genders are the substantives which designate the parts and limbs of the human and animal body and of plants, and the objects of manufacture; it is difficult to decide which is the principle assigning these nouns to the one or the other category. Thus hássäⁿ *saw*, tchúhi *pillow*, wáχku *hat*, éruk *my neck*, úyuⁿ *bowels*, are masculines, while to the opposite gender belong nouns like: rí *house*, *lodge*, róhina *book*, *paper*, yúnka *rope*, ópushka *lung*, táχkishi *skin* and *bark* of plants.

I conclude this article with the remark that no language has ever been discovered upon the western continent which thus individualizes all the animate beings and inanimate objects as to sex, and does it with such a poetic, creative power, as Tunica.

The Association adjourned at 12.30 P. M.

The Secretary desires to state that all contributions of new words, of which a list was published in Vol. XIX. pp. 80-82, should be arranged upon the lines laid down by the sub-committee which edits the material furnished, viz.: all new words should be accompanied by the names of their authors so far as known, the place of their occurrence (page, etc.), the date of the issue of the book or journal in which they are contained, and the context of the sentence so far as is necessary to elucidate the meaning of the word. Communications may be addressed to the Secretary.

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George Bendelari, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.
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Louis Bevier, Rutgers College, New Brunswick, N. J.
P. M. Biklé, Pennsylvania College, Gettysburg, Pa.
George H. Bingham, Pinkerton Academy, Derry, N. H.
E. C. Bissell, Theological Seminary, Hartford, Conn. (10 Garden St.).
Maurice Bloomfield, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.
C. W. E. Body, Trinity College, Toronto, Ont.
Charles Frederic Bradley, Garret Biblical Institute, Evanston, Ill.
H. C. G. Brandt, Hamilton College, Clinton, N. Y.
F. P. Brent, Onancock, Va.

¹ This list has been corrected up to Feb. 1, 1890; permanent addresses are given, as far as may be. Names where the residence is left blank are either of members who are in Europe, or of those whose addresses are not known to the Secretary.

- Fisk P. Brewer, Grinnell, Ia.
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Le Baron R. Briggs, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.
James W. Bright, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.
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Walter H. Buell, Scranton, Pa. (243 Jefferson Ave.).
Sylvester Burnham, Madison University, Hamilton, N. Y.
Henry F. Burton, Univ. of Rochester, Rochester, N. Y. (63 East Ave.).
Henry A. Buttz, Drew Theological Seminary, Madison, N. J.
Edward Capps, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.
William H. Carpenter, Columbia College, New York, N. Y.
Franklin Carter, Williams College, Williamstown, Mass.
Clarence F. Castle, Bucknell University, Lewisburg, Pa.
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Hermann Collitz, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa.
William T. Colville, Kenyon College, Gambier, O.
Richard S. Colwell, Denison University, Granville, O.
David Y. Comstock, Phillips Academy, Andover, Mass.
Albert S. Cook, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.
J. Randolph Coolidge, Jr., Chestnut Hill, Mass.
Oscar H. Cooper, Austin, Tex.
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Sanford L. Cutler, Hatfield Academy, Hatfield, Mass.
C. T. Davis, Packer Institute, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Schele De Vere, University of Virginia, Albemarle Co., Va.
Francis B. Denio, Bangor Theological Seminary, Bangor, Me.

- Martin L. D'Ooge, Michigan University, Ann Arbor, Mich.
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 George Rodemann, Cambridge, Mass.
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 Henry Schliemann, Athens, Greece.
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 William J. Seelye, Parsons College, Fairfield, Ia.
 Jotham B. Sewall, Thayer Academy, South Braintree, Mass.
 Thomas D. Seymour, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. (112 College St.)
 Charles C. Shackford, Brookline, Mass. (4 Walnut Terrace).
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 Joseph Alden Shaw, Highland Military Academy, Worcester, Mass.
 Edward S. Sheldon, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.
 James P. Sheraton, Wycliffe College, Toronto, Ont.
 William D. Shipman, Bachtel College, Akron, O.
 Paul Shorey, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa.
 Henry A. Short, Columbia College, New York, N. Y.
 Helen W. Shute, Smith College, Northampton, Mass.
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 Clement Lawrence Smith, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.
 Frank Webster Smith, State Normal School, Westfield, Mass.
 Josiah R. Smith, Ohio State University, Columbus, O.
 Richard M. Smith, Randolph-Macon College, Ashland, Va.
 Albert H. Smyth, Philadelphia, Pa.
 Herbert Weir Smyth, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa.
 Edward Snyder, University of Illinois, Champaign, Ill.
 George C. S. Southworth, Salem, O.
 Edward H. Spieker, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.
 Jonathan Y. Stanton, Bates College, Lewiston, Me.

- M. Wilson Sterling, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kans.
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Hamilton Wallace, Public High School, Tulare, Cal.
Benjamin B. Warfield, Princeton Theological Seminary, Princeton, N. J.
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Minton Warren, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.
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James R. Wheeler, University of Vermont, Burlington, Vt.
Andrew C. White, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.
Horatio Stevens White, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.
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William Dwight Whitney, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.
 Mills Whittlesey, Lawrenceville School, Lawrenceville, N. J.
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 Henry Wood, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.
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 Frank E. Woodruff, Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Me.
 Charles Baker Wright, Middlebury College, Middlebury, Vt.
 Henry P. Wright, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. (128 York St.).
 John Henry Wright, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (14 Avon St.).
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[Number of foreign Institutions, 36.]

[Total, (356 + 58 + 36 + 1 =) 451.]

CONSTITUTION
OF THE
AMERICAN PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION.

ARTICLE I.—NAME AND OBJECT.

1. This Society shall be known as "The American Philological Association."
2. Its object shall be the advancement and diffusion of philological knowledge.

ARTICLE II.—OFFICERS.

1. The officers shall be a President, two Vice-Presidents, a Secretary and Curator, and a Treasurer.
2. There shall be an Executive Committee of ten, composed of the above officers and five other members of the Association.
3. All the above officers shall be elected at the last session of each annual meeting.

ARTICLE III.—MEETINGS.

1. There shall be an annual meeting of the Association in the city of New York, or at such other place as at a preceding annual meeting shall be determined upon.
2. At the annual meeting, the Executive Committee shall present an annual report of the progress of the Association.
3. The general arrangements of the proceedings of the annual meeting shall be directed by the Executive Committee.
4. Special meetings may be held at the call of the Executive Committee, when and where they may decide.

ARTICLE IV. — MEMBERS.

1. Any lover of philological studies may become a member of the Association by a vote of the Executive Committee and the payment of five dollars as initiation fee, which initiation fee shall be considered the first regular annual fee.

2. There shall be an annual fee of three dollars from each member, failure in payment of which for two years shall *ipso facto* cause the membership to cease.

3. Any person may become a life member of the Association by the payment of fifty dollars to its treasury, and by vote of the Executive Committee.

ARTICLE V. — SUNDRIES.

1. All papers intended to be read before the Association must be submitted to the Executive Committee before reading, and their decision regarding such papers shall be final.

2. Publications of the Association, of whatever kind, shall be made only under the authorization of the Executive Committee.

ARTICLE VI. — AMENDMENTS.

Amendments to this Constitution may be made by a vote of two-thirds of those present at any regular meeting subsequent to that in which they have been proposed.

PUBLICATIONS OF THE ASSOCIATION.

THE annually published "Proceedings" of the American Philological Association contain an account of the doings at the annual meeting, brief abstracts of the papers read, reports upon the progress of the Association, and lists of its officers and members.

The annually published "Transactions" give the full text of such articles as the Executive Committee decides to publish. The Proceedings are bound with them as an Appendix.

The following tables show the authors and contents of the first eighteen volumes of Transactions: —

1869-1870. — Volume I.

- Hadley, J.: On the nature and theory of the Greek accent.
Whitney, W. D.: On the nature and designation of the accent in Sanskrit.
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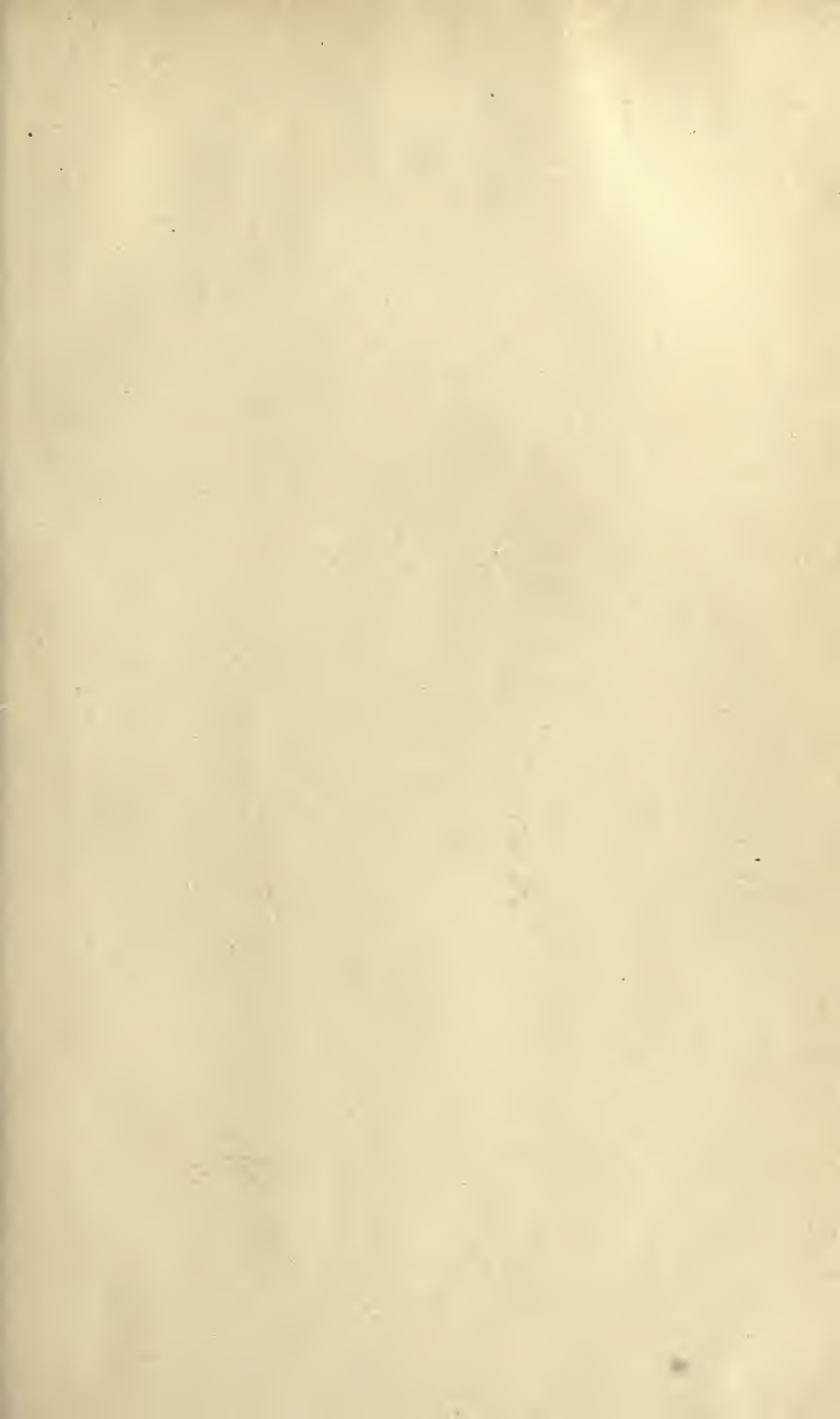
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