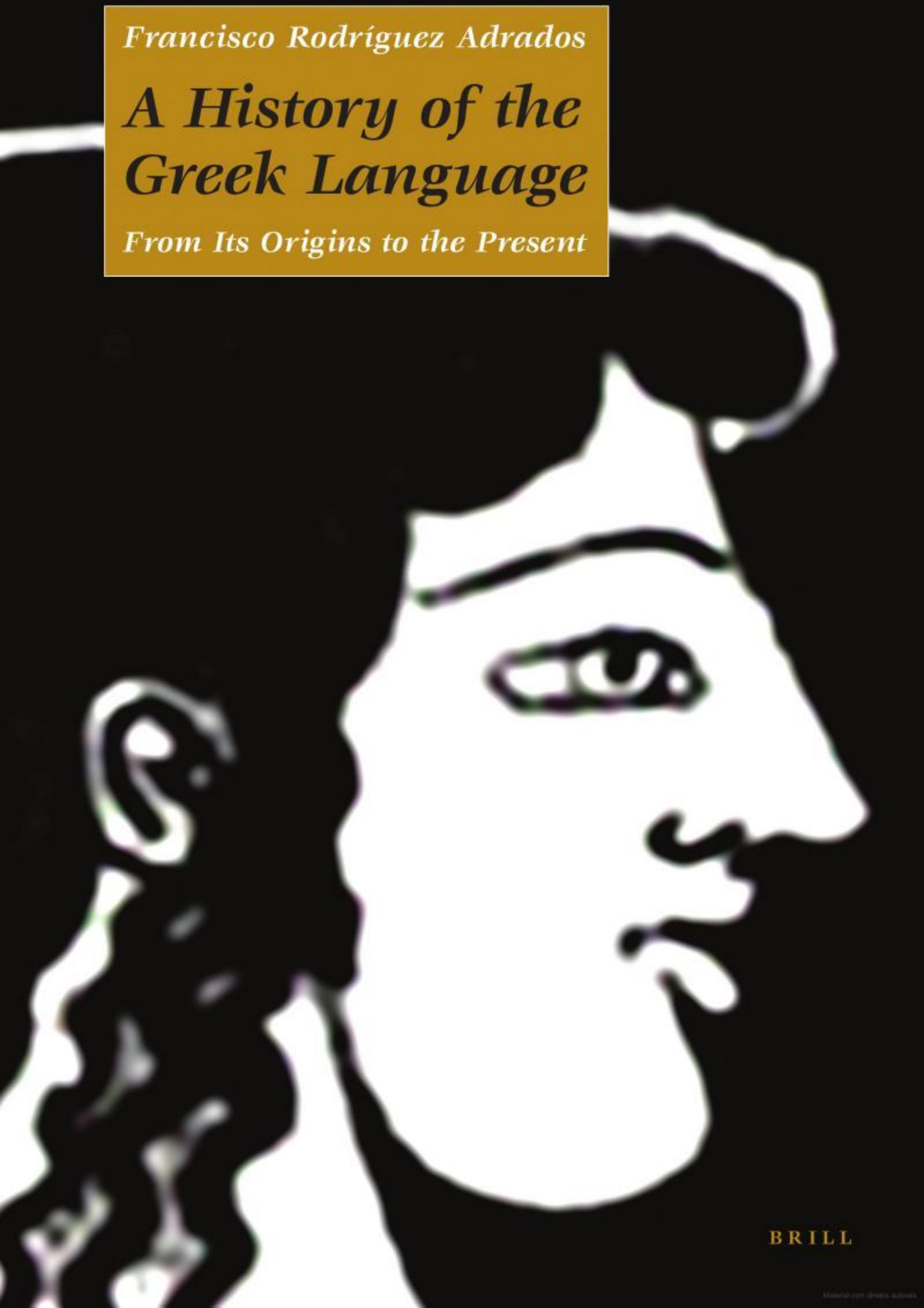
Francisco Rodríguez Adrados

A History of the Greek Language

From Its Origins to the Present



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PART TWO

FROM KOINE TO THE PRESENT

PROLOGUE

A History of Greek

Greek and Chinese are the only languages still known to us after three thousand five hundred years that are still spoken today. They are not the only languages of culture that have been spoken and written for many centuries – some of which are still in use today, others dead, such as Sumerian, Egyptian, Hebrew or Arabic – but they do have a longer history and have had a greater influence. There is no doubt that, if judged by the influence it has had on all of the European languages, and continues to have today on all languages, Greek can be regarded as the most important language in the world. The direct or indirect influence of its alphabet, lexicon, syntax and literature has been and is immense.

This must be taken into account when embarking on a new history of the Greek language, after those of Meillet, Hoffman, Palmer, Hiersche and Horrocks and Christidis (ed.), among others, and a copious bibliography. Greek arrived in Greece and other parts in the second and first millennia before Christ and spread with Alexander's conquests, although its expansion was soon curbed by the resurgence of conquered peoples and, much later, by invaders such as the Slavs, Arabs and Turks.

Earlier, when the Romans had conquered the East, Greek continued to be spoken there. Indeed, from the second century BC it had a great influence on Latin and consequently, directly or through Latin, on practically every other language. This was a long process, as a result of which today many of our languages can be seen as a kind of semi-Greek or crypto-Greek (as I have noted on other occasions).

Today, Greek is a living language in Greece, but it also has a second life: its alphabet, lexicon, syntax and literary genres can be traced in all languages. In a sense, it is through these new forms, or avatars, as the Indians would say, that Greek has survived.

A new history of Greek must take these matters into account. Indeed, in dealing with Greek in Ancient Greece and Hellenistic Greece, it must highlight the literary, cultural and social factors which have conditioned the Greek language and in turn are expressed by it.

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and the *koine* continued in this same path. There was again a 'Common Greek', the base for all subsequent languages of culture.

Curiously, the power which imposed its political hegemony, Macedonia, played a decisive role in the diffusion of Attic. The political unity did not last, but when it died out, the linguistic unity continued. This is essentially the history, albeit in a very abbreviated form.

Yet the history does not quite end there. The new split was different: that of educated, literary or traditional Greek as opposed to popular or spoken Greek. It is known to us from the Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine periods. Both strains continue to this day and are referred to respectively as the 'pure' (καθαρεύουσα) language and the 'popular' (δημοτική) language. At some point (from around the end of the Middle Ages perhaps, it is not known exactly), the 'popular' language began to split into dialects. A new and final unification occurred, based on the popular language spoken in Athens, after Greek independence. This saw the emergence of a new κοινή.

There are many varieties of the Greek language, and the study of their history is fascinating: from their Indo-European origins to Common Greek, and, subsequently, to the small regional dialects and the literary and scientific languages. Sometimes these languages need to be reconstructed, other times they can be studied in a more or less complete form. In any case, the task of interpreting their origins is not always easy. Indeed, at a particular point in time, all of these Greek languages shared common features, such as the Homerisms and Ionicisms of the literary languages, and, later, the elements from Attic and the scientific and intellectual languages as a whole.

Is a History of Greek Possible?

The history of the splits and unifications in the Greek language is a rather curious one. It is a story of the expansion of the territory in which Greek was spoken, and then its reduction, of political defeats and linguistic triumphs. Today, Greek forms the basis of a practically international language of culture.

There are many conflicting theories regarding the Indo-European origins of Greek, Common Greek and its dialectal fragmentation, as well as Mycenaean and the Homeric language. These topics cannot be ignored, yet the main emphasis in this study will be placed on

the literary languages, the socio-linguistic levels and the influence of Greek on other languages.

I will then attempt to describe the eventful journey of the Greek language through the ages: its influence on so many other languages, its role as the language of the Eastern Roman empire and later the Byzantine empire (as the language of the Church and State), and finally as the language of the newly independent Greece.

The influence and very existence of the Greek, within and without Greece, is fundamentally due to the cultural role that it has played. I cannot emphasise this enough. Other languages may have also served as vehicles of culture (some of which I have already cited), but Greek was the language that most transcended its own limits, along with the whole culture associated with it. Its acceptance at the court of Macedonia was of great cultural significance. It would later become the second language of educated Romans, and it was used by King Ashoka of India, the khans of Bulgaria and the kings of Meroe in Ethiopia. To be sure, Berosus, Manetho, Josephus and Fabius Pictor, among others, preferred to write in Greek rather than in their own languages.

Greek was often translated into other languages and vice versa. Its presence can be traced in the evolution of these languages, their literatures and cultures. Indeed, almost from the start, its alphabet enabled many agraphic languages to be written for the very first time, and it was later adapted to write even more languages, from Latin to the Slavic languages.

There is also the important theme of the unity of Greek, from its beginnings to the present day. Greek has no doubt evolved, but if we compare the different 'Greeks', from Mycenaean and Homeric to the 'common' Greek of today, there are not so many differences after all. The vocalic system has been simplified (quantities, diphthongs and musical accents are gone), the consonantal system has evolved slightly, and morphology has been reduced: there has been a loss of the dual, dative, optative and infinitive, a fossilisation of the participle, a reduction of verbal inflection to two stems, the development of periphrastic forms, and some formal variations. But the fundamental categories and the essence of the lexicon remain the same.

It is possible to write a history of Greek from its beginnings to the present, whereas it would not be possible, for instance, to write a history dealing with Latin and Spanish. In the history of Latin

there is a strong differentiation with respect to chronology and geography, while in Greek, a fundamental unity has prevailed in both of these aspects. This was because of the supremacy of the educated language, defended by ancient tradition and by the Church and State of Byzantium, while in the West it was Latin that prevailed, and later became fragmented.

This is the history that I will attempt to recount: an internal history of Greek and an external history regarding its relation to other languages. It is a very complex history, across so many centuries and so many 'Greeks'. I will expound my arguments in what I hope will be a coherent and accessible narrative, based, of course, on my own ideas, some of which I have presented in other publications. But this expository phase will occasionally be complemented with erudite notes in small print, providing information regarding the matter in question and the hypotheses put forward against it, as well as a bibliography.

It is not easy to write a history of Greek. To begin with, the earliest written records are nearly always documentary texts in the different dialects, ranging from Mycenaean of the thirteenth century BC to the various other dialects dating from the eighth and seventh centuries BC. Sometimes they are also literary texts, which have been handed down to us in Hellenistic and Roman papyri as well as in Byzantine manuscripts, and whose language or languages are in a problematic relation to the epigraphic dialects. These texts evolve and respond to various socio-linguistic levels: the lower levels being badly documented. How does one go about filling in the gaps and connecting all of this with an Indo-European origin and the later tradition? I believe that the main lines can be traced.

The Present Book

The justification for writing this book is clear from the above discussion: to trace the history of the totality of the Greek language and its influence on other languages. The histories of Greek, already mentioned, which we have today stop at Hellenistic and Roman *koine*, if not earlier. Indeed, Horrock's new history deals with archaic and classical Greek in a very summary way and only goes into depth in the phase from *koine* to the present. Ancient Greek is treated as if it was a mere precedent, and this is reflected in the book's cover

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PART ONE

FROM INDO-EUROPEAN TO ATTIC

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Note that, in the historic period, Indo-European invasions continued from Central Asia to the South: Kassites (in Babylonia, fifteenth century BC), Cymmerians (Asia Minor, seventh century BC), Kushans (India, first century BC), Parthians (Iran, second century AD), and to the west (Scythians). Also, in Europe, the movement of Indo-European peoples (Slavic, Germanic and Celtic) to the west and south occurred in the midst of the historic period.

Thus, there is every indication that the Indo-Europeans left from the plains of Central Asia. The linguistic, archaeological and historical evidence coincide. The same thing applies to other invasions of Asian nomads, from the Huns to the Turks, Mongols, and others.

6. Today we tend to accept the hypothesis that postulates the plains to the east of the Ural mountains, as opposed to the plains to the north of the Black Sea, as the point of departure. The north of the Black Sea, where there are so many traces of Indo-Europeans, was merely an intermediate stage or temporary settlement. The horde that would introduce the Greeks, Thraco-Phrygians and Armenians into Europe came from this area, once it had separated from the group carrying Indo-Iranian to the east and later to the south. (See also § 25.)

Diverse theories

7. For a more elaborate discussion, with a bibliography, see M. Gimbutas's thesis on the successive Indo-European invasions, starting from Central Asia and crossing along the north of the Black Sea, in F. R. Adrados 1979a and 1998a. These papers also contain a linguistic argumentation on the migration wave that arrived in Greece around the year 2000 BC. Other works by M. Gimbutas, such as those of 1974 and 1989, describe the culture of the 'old Europe', known through discoveries such as those of Cucuteni, Starčevo and Vinča, among others: a neolithic, agrarian civilisation, with skills in ceramics as well as copper. See also F. Villar 1996a, p. 73 ff. on this culture and the Indo-European occupation. Further on in this book, linguistic arguments in support of this view of the Indo-European invasions will be presented.

Of course, the culture of the 'old Europe' of the Balkans is closely related to the neolithic cultures of Greece (Dimini, Sesklo, Lerna), Cyprus (Khirokitia), the Aegean islands, Crete (the base of Minoan civilisation) and Asia Minor (Çatal Hüyük). All of these cultures, in the Balkans and in Greece, had a strong influence on Greek culture: for instance, in the decorative arts and its representations of divinities, from phallic to animal (the bull in particular), including the naked goddess of fertility. They also influenced the Greek lexicon, which contains many non-Indo-European elements (or, in any event,

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of warriors. We have knowledge of their religion, with the god of day, **Dyēus*, their sacrifices and libations, and their oral, epic and lyric poetry.

15. After Kuhn, this line of enquiry was followed by A. Pictet, 1859–63. O. Schrader and A. Nehring codified this science in their *Reallexicon* 1917–1929. See also later V. Pisani, *Paleontologia Linguistica*, Caligari 1938, G. Devoto 1962, the volume *Paleontologia Linguistica* (Brescia 1977), in addition to E. Campanile 1990a and 1990b, p. 27 ff., F. Villar 1996a, p. 107 ff., and Th. V. Gamkrelidze–V. V. Ivanov 1995, p. 413 ff. On the Indo-European epic, see Campanile (cit.) and Adrados 1992c and the bibliography cited there (among others, H. M. Chadwick 1967, the same and N. K. Chadwick 1968, C. M. Bowra 1952, J. de Vries 1963, M. Durante 1966, K. Von See, ed., 1978, R. Schmitt 1967, R. Finnegan 1977).

16. The Greek language inherited most of the vocabulary that reflects this culture. For example, the name for fortified city (πόλις); social and familial organisation (γένος 'family', πότις 'lord, husband', πότνια 'of the husband, wife', πατήρ 'father' and various other family names); names for house (δόμος), the home (ἑστία) and crafts related to working with mud, wood, clothing, textiles, etc. (τεῖχος, τέκτων, ἐσθής, etc.); verbs such as 'to cook' (πέσσω), 'to plough' (ἀρόω, cf. ἄροτρον 'plough'), 'to spin' (νέω), 'to milk' (ἀμέλγω). Also, the names for the god of the sky (Ζεύς), domestic animals (ταῦρος, βοῦς, σῦς, ὄις, κύων, etc.), 'barley' (ζειαί), honey (μέλι), and the names for mediums of transport and of war (ἵππος 'horse', κύκλος 'wheel', ὄχος 'chariots'), etc.

17. Several observations should be made. Some Indo-European words that entered Greek – for instance, the word for 'bull' cited earlier, the word for 'lion' λέων), 'wine' (οἶνος), perhaps even the word for 'horse' – are probably 'old words' which both IE and Greek adopted from the Middle East as a result of cultural factors; there are parallels with non-Indo-European languages (Sumerian, Kartvelian, Semitic, etc.), cf. Th. V. Gamkrelidze–V. V. Ivanov, cit. These are considered to be Indo-European words, from the point of view of Greek.

However, when cultural circumstances change, some words survive, but with a change in meaning. Thus, the ἀρχιτέκτων can build in stone as well as wood, the τεῖχος does not have to be made of mud, the χαλκεύς 'bronze-smith' becomes a 'smith', the φρατήρ is now 'member of the phratry' and the 'brother from the same mother' (ἀδελφός) becomes simply 'brother'. If **bhāgós* was once 'beech', as it is thought, there was a change in meaning when it became φηγός 'oak, ilex'. Χόρτος became simply a 'vegetable garden' and lost all relation to 'patio, court', etc.

Yet, IE should not be regarded as a unity. Culturally speaking, it seems clear that although the domestication of the horse and the use of the heavy chariot for transport are very old, the light war chariot pulled by two horses was probably a recent introduction, from towards the mid-second millennium – the same applies to the word for riding. However, in IE, certain

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sional lack of the distinction of the same and the ind. (in Gr., Germ., etc.), and so on.

There are even archaisms which Anatolian had lost (the distinction of nominal stems in *-*o* and *-*ā*, 1st sg. in *-*ō* without desinence, etc.). The choices are also notable: N. pl. in *-*ōs* and not in *-*es*, 1st. sg. mid. in **(m)ai* and not in *-*a*, etc.

22. However, this is insufficient when it comes to establishing the genealogy of Greek: considering it a descendant of IE III is not an innovation on the traditional arguments that simply considered it a descendant of IE. We have only pointed out that this IE III corresponds to a recent phase of IE.

So, the task is to specify from which area of this IE III Greek descends. By referring to the previous ideas of, for example, R. Birwé 1956, and by anticipating the most recent discussions, such as that by Th. V. Gamkrelidze–V. V. Ivanov 1995, p. 347 ff., in the previously cited works I proposed the existence of an IE dialect that forms the base of Gr., I.-I., and Arm. (also, certainly of Thraco-Phrygian). I chose to call this dialect IE IIIA or Indo-Greek, the one which has been discussed. Cf. M. Meier-Brügger 1992, p. 65 f.

Faced with this dialect, languages that have been dated more recently, or more to the W., i.e. those of Europe (Balt., Slav., Germ., Lat., Ital., Celt.) and the E. (Toc.), would represent an IE IIIB, which is something fundamentally new: the most important innovation would be the reduction of the verbal system to two stems (apart from the fut.), the impf., aor. and perf. merging in the second.

This is the fundamental division: the old division into *centum*/*satəm* languages corresponds to a more recent phonetic phenomenon which intersects with the IE IIIA/B split and other characteristics. Another B innovation is the frequent use of verbal stems in *-*ē* and -*ā*. Yet the presence of archaic features within group B is not excluded (for example, the desinence *-*r* in Lat., Ital., Celt. and Toc.; the lack of the act./mid. opposition, of the subj. and perf. in Balt. and Slav., the occasional monothematism (as in *moli*, 2nd–3rd sg. pret.) in Slav., etc.

Of course, the existence of archaisms in particular groups is not excluded: apart from those already mentioned, B also preserves semithematic verbal inflection, while A preserves better the sense of the root and the derivation of stems from this root (in this way, various aorists may correspond to a single present and vice versa). A also preserves the opposition of the present and imperfect which

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CHAPTER TWO

GREEK AT THE DOORS OF GREECE

1. More specifications on Greek

25. I would like to stress the relationship between Greek and the Indo-European languages. We have already pointed out that the Indo-Greek group or IE IIIA, whether in its entirety or in a certain language in particular, often displays similarities with the group IIIB languages: whether in archaisms, innovations or choices. I would now like to highlight this phenomenon, focusing on the Greek language.

Sometimes Greek preserves archaisms that were lost in I.–I.: generally, in connection with other languages (this is not surprising, given that an archaism may emerge anywhere). For instance, there is declension into five cases (also in Germ. and Celt.); athematic inflection of denominatives and deverbatives in the 3rd pers. pl. -ᾱσι, -ησι (also in Lat., Germ., etc., but in Gr. only in Aeolic); possibly, the lack of the personal G. **mene* (in phonetics, the character *centum)*. However, sometimes it is I.–I. which displays an archaism that was lost to Greek, which innovates alone or with other languages: we find monothematic inflection of denominatives and deverbatives, one infinitive per verb which is not assigned to the stems, the lack of verbal stems with the long vowel *-ē̄* or **-ā̄*, etc.

Here is a short list of the forms which the innovations or choices of Greek, together with other languages, may take: the dual, the N. pl. in **-oi* and verbal stems in **-ē̄* and **-ā̄*, as cited previously; compound verbal stems (with -θη, with other variants in Lat., Ital., Germ., Sla., Balt., e.g. Lat. *amabam*, etc.); G. pl. in **-āsōm* (in Gr. and Lat.); the gentilitious adjective in *-os* (as an archaism in Gr., and also present in Lat.), etc. In addition, in phonetics, the vocalisation of **<r, *l>* with *o*, as in Lat. (but in Gr., only in Aeolic); and the vocalic prothesis before a sonant (only in Arm.).

26. Given that the horde from which Greek would emerge was in the vanguard of all the hordes that travelled along the northern coast of the Black Sea and penetrated Europe through the south of the Carpathian mountains, it is not surprising that, on occasion, Greek

should have come into contact with the rearguard of the northern horde of IE IIIB—corresponding to the Slavic, Baltic, and even Germanic and Latin peoples (which in turn came into contact with the Italic and Celtic peoples).

Of course, all of this implies, firstly, that the future Greek dialects could preserve archaisms or introduce innovations of their own accord, thereby distinguishing themselves from I.–I. They could also come into contact, at various points (certainly at a relatively recent point in time) with the northern hordes.

In other words, the unity of IE IIIA was not absolute, and one of its branches could evolve at different points in time. Indeed, even this branch was not absolutely unified, undergoing internal splits in its contacts with the northern and western dialects. Internally, a process of breaking away or differentiation, which would later advance within Greece, had certainly begun, besides the evolutions that affected the whole Greek dialect.

27. For more details, see various of my publications, especially (among other earlier works) 'Sánscrito e Indoeuropeo' (1975a), 'La dialectología griega' (1984a) and 'Las lenguas eslavas en el contexto de las lenguas indoeuropeas' (1980b), collected in Adrados 1988a; see also 'De la Dialectología griega de 1952 a la Dialectología griega de 1995' (Madrid, 1998b).

2. Common Greek (CG)

28. Common Greek flourished shortly before the year 2000 BC in an area of northern Greece. This was a Greek dialect which did not display an absolute unity and contained its own archaisms and innovations and choices, linking it, at certain points, to other Indo-European dialects. This dialect contained various lines of fracture, but it also had its own exclusive innovations, which I must discuss.

It was normal to speak of 'common languages' during a period in which the image of the 'genealogical tree' (*Stammbaumtheorie*) was dominant as regards the evolution of languages. Then came the 'theory of the waves' (*Wellentheorie*), which brought expansive waves of diverse innovations to our attention, with a tendency to converge on a central nucleus, but to organise into 'bundles of isoglosses' on the limits: now one could not speak of common intermediate languages. A struggle against these was launched in the scientific literature. Furthermore, with the arrival of anti-migrationism and the idea that

languages are created through the convergence of various other languages (for Greek, see V. Pisani and Th. V. Gamkrelidze), the theory of common intermediate languages tended to be abandoned.

Faced with this idea, on a number of occasions (most recently in Adrados 1998a) I have defended the view that Common Greek and the other 'common languages' did in fact exist. Of course, not as absolutely closed and uniform dialects, but as lax units, related to a particular region, and other surrounding regions, in which there was an incipient internal fragmentation. In fact, there is no such thing as an absolutely uniform dialect: why should we expect there to be such, in a preliterate period with a merely tribal political organisation? Many of us had already long anticipated the ideas of M. Bile–C. Brixhe–R. Hodot 1984 regarding the lack of total unity in dialects.

The most curious thing, as far as Greek is concerned, is the progressively increasing popularity of the idea that its dialectal fragmentation took place exclusively within Greece. This is perhaps an understandable (though terribly excessive) reaction to the ideas held by Kretschmer, Tovar and myself regarding the origin of Greek dialects outside of Greece.

29. However, in various works (especially 1976a and b, 1984a), which culminate in my book of 1998b, I have always defended the theory of a Common Greek: fundamentally unitary, but with budding differentiation. This is in no way incompatible with the later origin of certain dialectal characteristics.

The idea of a convergence of dialects (Pisani, Gamkrelidze) in the creation of Greek is just as ludicrous as the idea of Mycenaean as the convergence of dialects (Georgiev) or Chadwick's idea that there was only ever one Greek migration: the Dorian peoples would be seen as submitted subjects to the Mycenaeans, and at some point revolting against them.

It is evident that the peoples who brought the Doric dialects to Greece towards the year 1200 BC formed a part of Common Greek: there is no reason to dispute this traditional view. Doric is essentially an archaic form of Greek that has not received the innovations and choices peculiar to East Greek, which penetrated Greece at an earlier date and from which the other dialects descend. It is likely that many of these innovations and choices would have already been present, *in statu nascendi*, in Common Greek, for example those that join Aeolic with the western Indo-European dialects, IIIB, as we have seen.

3. Essential characteristics of common Greek

30. Here, I will summarise the opinions regarding Common Greek which have been presented in previous publications already cited. I will start with the essential characteristics and continue with the internal variants that they no doubt entailed. Naturally, I will not look at those common characteristics of Greek that emerged later as a product of internal evolution, such as the creation of the article.

I have placed Greek within Indo-European and, more specifically, within IIIA. But it is now essential to present its fundamental characteristics, which are no doubt present in Common Greek, in a schematic way. These characteristics are present in the most ancient dialects, recent innovations not taken into account. They are also the result of the evolution of Greek as a literary language.

31. Greek preserved the musical accent of IE and its system of five short and five long vowels. In archaic times, **i* and **u* could have the semi-vocalic forms of **y*, **w*, which were later lost; whereas the vocalic forms of the sonants were lost (although there is a view, which I do not hold, that <*r> were preserved in Homer and Mycenaean). The laws of Osthoff and Grassmann had been fulfilled. The three laryngeals in a vocalic position had become vocalised as ε, α, o (in certain different contexts).

32. For the supposed preservation of <*r> in Homer and Mycenaean, cf., among other bibliography, Heubeck 1972; against this preservation, see J. J. Moralejo 1973b and my 'Mycenaean . . .' (Adrados 1976a, compiled in Adrados 1988a, cf. p. 450). For the dating of vocalisation in CG, cf. my work Adrados 1976b, p. 260 ff., and my statements about this vocalisation in my article of 1958 (followed by many others). Cf. also A. Bernabé 1977.

33. With regard to the consonants, it is important to note that in Common Greek the aspirated voiced consonants had become aspirated voiceless consonants, and that the labiovelars, judging by Mycenaean, were still preserved: thus Common Greek had three series of plosives (voiceless, aspirated voiceless and unaspirated voiced), with four points of articulation: labial, dental, guttural and labiovelar. But the appendix of the laryngeals was lost in certain contexts.

The *s* was preserved in groups and final position, but it became aspirated *h* in initial and intervocalic position (lexical borrowings and the evolution of certain groups later enabled the later acceptance of *s* in these positions). Yet, it is possible that certain later evolutions,

such as that of *-ti> -si* and that of certain groups with *s* and *y*, had already begun. In other words, the phonological system looked like this:

Vowels:	ă, ĕ, ŏ, ĭ, ŭ, ā, ē, ī, ō, ū
Sonants:	y, w, r, l, m, n
Consonants:	b, p, ph
	d, t, th
	g, k, kh
	g^w, k^w, k^wh
Sibilants:	s
Aspirates:	h

34. Morphology displayed the following characteristics, sometimes in combination with other languages: **-s* in the N. masc. sg. of the stems in **-ā*; **-i* N. pl. of the nouns in **-e/o* and *-ā*; G. pl. in **-som* of these same stems in **-ā*; the D. pl. in **-si* (not **-su*) of the athematic nouns; declension into five cases and three numbers; the development and frequent use of stems in **-eu* and the limited representation of those in **-ē* and **-ō*; the convergence of the suffixes **-tero* and **-yos* in the comparative, and the creation of **-tato* in the superlative; the inflection of the pl. of personal pronouns on **-sme* and **us-sme*; the opposition of the pronouns ὅδε/οὗτος/ἐκεῖνος; the preservation of athematic – and the lack of semi-thematic – inflection of verbs; the suffixes *-sa-* in the aor., *-k-* in the perfect and the integration of **-ē* and **-thē-* in the pas. aor.; the loss of the desinence **-r*; the assignment of an infinitive to each stem and voice; etc.

One must also point out the existence of doublets, some of which have already been mentioned.

It should be stressed that Greek maintained the common characteristics of Indo-Greek, along with its own evolutions, such as: in general, the preservation of the significance of the root and the morphological use of accent and alternation; in the noun, the opposition (though not always) of masc. and fem. stems, and in the adjective of the positive, comparative and superlative; in the verb, the opposition of the four stems of the pres., aor., perf. and fut., and their association, in most cases, with the subj. and opt. moods and the participles (also, as mentioned, the infinitives); the quadrangular system of the desinences in the four stems, maintaining the middle ones having a passive value, although the passive is complemented with special forms (Greek, not Indian) in the aor. and fut.; and the system of three aspects.

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CHAPTER THREE

FROM COMMON GREEK TO THE DIALECTS OF THE SECOND MILLENNIUM

1. Variants within common Greek

36. A language, especially one that is spoken by nomadic tribes lacking a centralised organisation or written culture, is never absolutely uniform. I believe that, despite trends in the current bibliography, variants were already present in Common Greek. Indeed, it was in Common Greek that some of the characteristics of the later East Greek, which descended into Greece towards the year 2000, began to disseminate. These characteristics appear in Homer, Mycenaean and the later dialects (or at least some of them): for instance, *-si* for *-ti*, οι, αι in the pl. pronoun, σύ, εισί, -(σ)αν, etc. See § 69.

Yet, there is still the serious problem of whether these 'pan-oriental' characteristics were diffused in a part of CG outside Greece, or only in East Greek (EG) inside Greece, before the Dorians blocked communications; or perhaps only in a restricted part of EG inside or outside Greece.

Then there is the existence of archaisms in CG, although these could have been displaced within it, in any location. There is also the presence of doublets, from among which there was a tendency to choose: often, no doubt, within CG, other times in Greece, where the doublet was preserved in certain dialects while in others it was a choice.

37. But certain archaisms from some or all of the dialects of East Greek clearly come from Common Greek or part of it: Hom. Ζῆν, ἔφθιτο, δάμνα (with parallels in Lesb. and Myc.), τοί (also in Dor. and part of Aeol.), case in *-phi* or -φι (Myc., Hom., Thes.), G. in -οιο (Hom., Myc., traces in Thes.), patronymics in -ιος (Hom., Myc., Aeol.), desinence in -το(ι) (Myc., Arc.). In addition, there are archaisms in which the Mycenaean is accompanied, or not, by other dialects: the preservation of *-w-*, sometimes of *-y-* and of *-h-* descending from **-s-*. Indeed, these phonemes existed in CG and continued to exist in EG, whether inside or outside of Greece.

The archaisms did not establish the distinction, for they were also (at some point) present in the part that would become West Greek (WG). But their presence enabled innovations in a particular part of CG or in the later dialects.

It is clear that doublets, from among which the dialects would choose, existed in CG and certainly in the EG within Greece. It is difficult to distinguish between the two cases. They often represent an old and a new form that coexisted for a certain period (μετά/πεδά/ἐν/ἐνς, δάμνα/thematic forms) or various attempts to find something to mark a new category (ἄν/κε/κα, αἰ/εἰ/ἠ, μιν/νιν, -ναι/-μεν, etc.). They could also represent divergent analogical generalisations (aorists in -σ- and -ξ-, etc.) or phonetic results arising from different contexts, striving to become generalised (αρ/ορ); or even simple hesitations within IE (D. sg. *-*ei*/*-*i*, 2nd sg. *-*es*/*-*eis*). This was to be expected, see Adrados 1952 and 1998b.

These doublets were subsequently distributed within EG and WG (-μεν/μες, -σα-/-ξα- desinences in the verb), or within different dialects of EG, some accompanied at times by WG: the vocalisation αρ (Ion.-Att. and Dor.) /ορ (Aeol., Arc.-Cyp., Hom. and Myc. with fluctuations); athematic verbs (Myc., Aeol., at times Hom.) and thematic verbs (elsewhere, but also in Hom.), in the deverbatives; D. sg. *-*ei* (Myc., traces in Hom.) /*-*i* (other dialects); G. sg. -οιο/-οο (Hom. and elsewhere) /*-*os* (identical to N., in Myc. and Cyp.); the pronouns μιν (Hom., Ion.) /νιν (Dor.), verbal desinences -ες (Cyp., Dor.) /-εις (other dialects); infinitive in -ναι (Hom., Ion.-At., Arc.-Cyp.) /-μεν (Hom., Aeol., Dor.); the conjunctions εἰ (Ion.-At., Arc.) /αἰ (Aeol., Dor.) /ἠ (Cyp., written Boeot. αἰ); the particle ἄν (Ion., Arc., Hom.) /κεν (Aeol.) /κα (only in Dor.); the preposition ἐν + Ac. (Arc.-Cyp., Thes., Boeot.) / + D. (other dialects); etc.

Sometimes, archaisms are only found in Myc.: the preservation of the groups *-pm-*, *-tm-*, of the pronoun *to-to*, etc. Or, we find only archaic doublets (or doublets consisting of an archaic form and a recent form, corresponding to the other dialects): *-or-* / *-ar-* (vocalisations of <*-*r̥*-); the prepositions *o-pi* / *e-pi*, *me-ta* / *pe-da*; thematic and athematic verbal forms; D. sg. *-e (<-ei)* / *-*i*; etc. Archaic forms may also be present in Myc. and other dialects: πτ- / π- (in Myc., Hom., Arc.-Cyp.). Sometimes, we find correspondences between Aeolic and the non-Greek dialects (the timbre of vocalisations, the athematic forms of deverbatives and denominatives).

38. In other words, both CG and EG contained certain fluctuations that would spread to the whole or part of EG. Also, both WG and EG (or part of it) would have to choose between these fluctuations, although it is difficult to give an exact date of when this occurred.

Moreover, as mentioned above (§ 36), some innovations in EG could have already taken place in CG, anticipating a future division between the two dialects. Those innovations in particular that appear in all or most of the EG dialects, which were separated by large intransitable Dorian wedges in archaic times, must come from an earlier period: either from CG or, at least, EG in Greece before the arrival of the Dorians (eg., the evolution of *-ti* > *-si*; the N. pl. of the demonstrative οἱ, αἱ; the personal σύ, etc.). Thus, at the most, it can be said that the diffusion of these innovations had already begun in CG.

Certainly, CG would have shown innovatory tendencies and lines of fracture in those places where a differentiation of dialectal areas was commencing between the later EG and WG (certain isoglosses did not coincide with this limit) or between the later EG dialects. With respect to these isoglosses, in many cases it is impossible to determine the extent to which they correspond to CG or EG, and to trace the dialects which began to differentiate themselves, and which in any case only became defined in Greece after the arrival of the Dorians, with the help of new innovations.

39. This is but a summary of the doctrine presented in Adrados 1976a and b, 1984a, 1998a and b (also 1990a on G. = N. in Myc. and Cyp. thematics and 1990b on the system of five cases in Myc., as well as in Gr. in general). Cf. also M. Meier–Brügger 1992, p. 67, on the differences in CG.

For my views on all this and its precedents, see my two works of 1998 already referred to, as well as the prologue to the reedition in 1997 of my book of 1952, *La Dialectología griega como fuente para el estudio de las migraciones indoeuropeas en Grecia*. In these works, I refer to the stance attributing all dialectal differentiation to the period after the Dorian invasion in Greece; it derives from the well-known works of W. Porzig 1954 and E. Risch 1955. I do not believe that this in any way prevents us from proposing the start of differentiation in CG and EG (inside or outside Greece), despite the criticism of the view that a dialectal fragmentation had occurred outside Greece (cf., among others, A. López Eire 1989a). It is typical that, for instance, J. L. García Ramón 1975, for example, considers Aeolic to be post-Mycenaean: in my opinion, on the other hand, it became defined at this time, but some features are of an earlier date. The methodological issues and, more specifically, the concepts of innovation and choice, are studied carefully in Adrados 1952 and 1998b.

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previously (although perhaps somewhat earlier). This ushered in the so-called Mycenaean period, of which more is known from 1620 BC onwards, which concluded with the Dorian invasion, from 1200 BC onwards. It is contemporaneous with or rather posterior to the destruction of cities and cultures throughout the East, from Ugarit to Greece itself as well as Crete. Only in Egypt was this invasion of the so-called 'Sea Peoples' successfully contained, due to Merneptah's efforts.

From the year 2000 BC onwards, Greece, by will of the Greeks, was assimilated into the Indo-European culture of the *kurgans*, with its tumuli tombs, maces and stone axes, ochre burials, and many other things. According to Sakellaríou, Balkanic populations related to the culture of 'old Europe' also entered with the Indo-European Greeks.

This is the moment in which the great Mycenaean kingdoms of Greece were created: above all, Mycenae, Thebes, Athens, Pylos and Knossos. It is unclear whether other Mycenaean settlements, such as those of Orchomenoi in Boeotia, Iolcos in Thessaly or Tiryns in Argolis consituted independent political units.

42. Nevertheless, at the outset, the military, economic and cultural dominion of Greece was in the hands of the Minoans of Crete, who exerted great influence on Mycenaean culture. Thera and Athens itself were, no doubt, what Sakellaríou refers to as 'satelite cultures'. Minoan remains have been found in Thera, and in ancient myth Athens figures as a vasall of Minos, the mythical king of Crete. However, the situation on this island changed after the earthquakes of around 1550 and the volcanic eruption of Thera of the same date. It was a terrible explosion, worse than that of the Krakatoa: the resulting wave or *tsunami* devastated the entire Aegean littoral.

The Mycenaeans on the continent came to possess the Cretan palaces and created a new culture, adapting, for example, Minoan script (Linear A, derived in turn from a hieroglyphic script) to the needs of the Greeks: in this way, Linear B was created. This was the great climax of power for the Mycenaeans: in Crete, with its centre in Knossos, and in Greece in the kingdoms mentioned, whose archives used this script of Cretan origin. There is evidence of Cretan influence in Pylos 150 years before the destruction of the palaces, and it can also be found on islands such as Cyprus and Rhodes. In addition, cultural elements from the East, which had influenced Crete, were also present among the Mycenaeans.

43. This is the phenomenon of Mycenaean expansion, the first Greek expansion. It also reached Cyrpus, as I have stated, where the Mycenaeans settled around 1400. Here, a Cypro-Minoan script had been created in the sixteenth century, similar to the Linear A of Crete and other islands, for an indigenous language known as Eteocyprian. Its use was continued in Amathus, where the indigenous population took refuge from the Mycenaeans and, subsequently, from the Dorians: it was maintained until the fourth century. Classical Cyprian syllabic script is derived from this script, and it is used for writing Greek from the eleventh to the third century BC.

A multitude of Mycenaean remains which date from the same period has been discovered in Cyprus and Rhodes; particularly in the cemeteries of Camirus and Ialysos, but let us remember the presence of a Rhodian hero in the *Iliad*; Tlepolemus.

We have knowledge of Mycenaean expansion in the whole of the Levant, where there is not only evidence of trade, but also of fixed trade settlements, especially in Miletus. Thus, apart from trade, there were also settlements and military campaigns. The royal correspondence of the Hittites and Ugarit attest to relations between the Ahhiyawa or Achaeans and the kingdoms of Asia, which sometimes asked them for help or made agreements with them. All this occurred during the reign of the Hittite king Suppiluliumas (1380–1340), then under Mursilis II and his son Muwatallis (1306–1282) and under Tuthaliyas IV (1250–1220).

The Achaean princes, whose names are given on occasion (for example, Attarasiyas, or Atreus), carried out expeditions of pillage and were sometimes allied with the dissident kingdoms of the coast of Asia, such as Arzawa, in the southeastern limit of Asia Minor: this occurred during the decline of Hittite imperial power in the peripheral region along the shoreline.

Another expansion extended to the whole Mediterranean, including the Iberian peninsula, by means of trade and the establishment of *emporia*, such as that of Thapsus in Sicily.

44. On the arrival of the Greeks and Mycenaean expansion, see in addition to the bibliography previously cited, works by N. G. L. Hammond 1986b, p. 19 ff.; F. Schachermeyr 1980; M. Sakellariou 1980; F. Villar 1995, p. 289 ff.; J.-P. Olivier 1996. These works are also useful in relation to the great catastrophe of around 1200, the invasion of the 'Sea Peoples', which decimated the Mycenaean kingdoms (see also § 47), and in relation to the arrival of the Dorians. On the Ahhiyawa, cf. L. R. Palmer 1980, p. 67.

On Cyprus, see F. R. Willets 1988 and V. Karageorghis 1991, p. 76 ff. The royal correspondence of Egypt and the Hittites with the king of Alasia (Cyprus) refers to armed attacks from the continental peoples, cf. V. Karageorghis 1991, p. 82. On the Cyprian scripts, which include the Eteocyprian language (Cypro-Minoan script, from the sixteenth century), Greek (later Greek, from the eleventh century), cf. R. Schmitt 1977, p. 15 ff., Th. G Palaima 1991, Cl. Baurain 1991, M. Meier-Brügger 1992, p. 52 ff., A. Sacconi 1991: although it contains elements of the Cretan Linear A, Cypro-Minoan may proceed from Syria and especially Ugarit, where evidence of this has been found. On Crete, cf. C. Davaras 1976. On Cretan scripts see, in general, C. Brixhe 1991a and J.-P. Olivier 1996 (who identifies inscriptions which are dated earlier and later than the bulk of these, in the thirteenth century); on the Phaestus disk (Cretan hieroglyphics), see Y. Duhoux 1977; for Eteocretan, see Y. Duhoux 1982.

On Rhodes, cf. Ch. Karoussos 1973. On Asia, apart from Fernández-Galiano 1984, J. Boardman 1973, p. 41 ff., and the excellent revision of the later bibliography by V. Alonso Troncoso 1994. Also, E. Akurgal 1985, p. 206 ff.; and my article Adrados 1992b. With regard to the West, I have provided a bibliography in my article 'Navegaciones del siglo VIII, navegaciones micénicas y navegaciones en la *Odisea*' (1998c).

45. The forced expansive movement would certainly have had linguistic implications, so that Greek would have been spoken and understood in these settlements. In Crete and Cyprus we can trace its expansion from the end of the second millennium, as in Greece itself, although in Homer, as we shall see, traces of non-Greek populations remain.

Greek was certainly spoken in Miletus and other parts, where the Greek dialects became established again in the eleventh century, during the Mycenaean period. Indeed, we are told in the *Illiad* (VI 168 ff.) how Prœtus, king of Ephyra in Argolis, sent the hero Bellerophon to the king of the Lycians with a letter containing instrucions to kill the messenger. This letter is described as a dyptich of tablets (made of wood, no doubt) containing Mycenaean signs in Greek, and it is significant that the king of Lycia had no problems understanding it. Also, there do not appear to have been any linguistic difficulties among the Ahhiyawa and the Eastern princes or among Greeks and Trojans.

For this period, there is archaeological evidence of the diffusion of Mycenaean ceramics throughout the Mediterranean, even in Spain, in the Guadalquivir valley; other Greek cultural influences are also attested, along with, inversely, the Asiatic influence in Greece. But there is no data on Greek outside of Greece itself, except for the

Mycenaean tablets of Knossos and traces of second-millennium Greek in the epic that flourished along the Asian coasts in the beginning of the first millennium.

Greek in the second millennium

46. Our knowledge of Greek during the second millennium is scarce for a number of reasons. On the one hand, there was an oral poetic tradition which was recorded in writing only much later, in the eighth century, mixed with several adventitious and recent elements, and greatly altered, so that it is difficult to isolate the linguistic elements of the second millennium. Linear B could serve somewhat as a complement, but it was only used in the palaces, where it had an administrative function, apart from the marks on oil jars and such like; as we shall see, it was a standardised language, with hardly any differences. These inscriptions provide only partial evidence of second-millennium Greek. Moreover, their interpretation is often difficult and controversial due to the fact that the writing adapted badly to the Greek language, and due to our deficient understanding of the cultural context. In contrast, the tablets, evidently organised after the model of the eastern palaces and their archives, do not contain literary texts as those of the palaces did. The tablets were not baked, and were only preserved because of the fire that destroyed the palaces at some point during the end of the thirteenth century.

As far as we know, it was only in Cyprus that this script produced something approximating a close derivative. The hypothesis attributing the origin of the Iberian semi-alphabet to a syllabary related to that of this script, is almost forgotten today. Even if it were true, it cannot be denied that the later Greek alphabetic script had a very strong influence. The strong influence of the Greek language outside of Greece cannot be detected until the later period. It is not even easy to provide an image of second-millennium Greek in Greece.

Finally, when it comes to reconstructing second-millennium Greek, the conclusions obtained from the comparative study of dialects from the first millennium are not entirely reliable. However, I will refer to them to some extent. But the situation is as follows: the language or languages spoken in the second millennium were not written down. The sung or recited language of the *aoidoi* was written down much later and was much altered; the written language was reserved for very limited administrative purposes and possibly was not spoken.

47. It is important first to establish the historical background before dealing with the linguistic issue in more detail. I would like to emphasise the implications of the pillage, destruction and migrations caused by the 'Sea Peoples'. They brought a series of warrior peoples to Egypt around 1200 BC which are cited in Egyptian texts: the names are often interpreted as referring to the Lycians, Sardinians, Danaans, Dardanians, Cilicians, Tyrsenians, Achaeans and Philistines, among others. To the west they brought the Sardinians and, I believe, the Etruscans, who in my view are an Indo-European people from Asia Minor, and perhaps also the Elymi, who settled in Sicily.

After the last Greek offensive in Asia, that of the Trojan War, the Sea Peoples brought about the destruction of the Mycenaean cities in Greece itself, and in Crete and Cyprus they interrupted, for an indefinite period, trade and relations with the West: this is the so-called dark age. But that is not all: this vast commotion is linked with the destruction of Hattusas (today Bogazkoi) and the entire Hittite empire, which is attributed to the Phrygians: thus, there were great movements of peoples. Perhaps one of these peoples, also Indo-European, were the Armenians.

However, Ugarit and other cities of Asia were also destroyed, such as Mersin, Tarsus and Sidon, and the Philistines advanced, occupying the area which still today is named after them: Palestine. As we anticipated and shall soon see, the fall of the Mycenaean kingdoms is related to the Dorian invasion, which in turn is related to the emigration of different Greek populations to Asia Minor, Cyprus and Rhodes.

48. See, in general, works such as those previously cited by Hammond (p. 51 ff.) and Villar (p. 296 ff.), along with specialised bibliography such as T. B. L. Webster 1958, p. 136 ff., H. Stubbings 1975, Ch. G. Starr 1964, M. Marazzi 1985, the book *Traffici micenei* . . . (ed. By M. Marazzi and others, 1986), a colloquium in the French School of Rome (AA. VV. 1995), etc. On Etruscan as an Anatolian language transported into Italy (in opposition to the thesis of M. Pallottino and others attributing to it an indigenous origin in Italy), cf. Adrados 1989c, 1994c and 2005. On the Elymi, see R. Ambrosini 1983 (among other publications) and St. di Vido 1997.

49. Although syllabic script died out, the Cyprian syllabary, destined to record the Greek language, survived from the eleventh to the third centuries. Apart from this, there would be no other way of recording Greek in writing until the ninth or eighth century, this time with the aid of the alphabet, or alphabets rather, created from

Phœnecian, which is often related to the cuneiforme Ugaritic alphabet, which inherited a syllabic script. Thus, this detour had to be accepted, for in Greece there was no continuous evolution from the syllabary to the alphabet, as there had been earlier in Asia; not even in Cyprus, which, however, created the new syllabary for the local Greek dialect, based on the previous one, related to Minoan Linear A (which in turn inherited the hieroglyphic writing).

So, the Greeks had to adopt foreign systems of writing twice. But they did manage to perfect the alphabet, making it a vehicle of their literature and exporting it to many different peoples, who, modifying it, created their own alphabets and learned to write. This is how the Greeks contributed in this particular context. I shall return to this later.

50. On the history of these syllabaries, cf. J. Chadwick 1962, p. 17 ff. On Ugarit, cf. J. L. Cunchillos–J. A. Zamora 1995, p. 15 ff.; A. Curtis 1985, p. 27 ff. The fifteenth century is usually accepted as the date of the Cretan tablets in Linear B (all from Knossos). L. R. Palmer has fixed this date later, in the thirteenth century, the date of those from Greece, but this has received little acceptance; the fourteenth century has also been proposed. For J.-P. Olivier there are many possible dates, as has been mentioned. I refer to the origin of the alphabet in §§ 100 ff.
Cf. J. Maluquer de Motes 1968, and J. de Hoz 1969 on the cited hypothesis regarding Iberian script. See in this same article, hypotheses regarding the influence of the eastern syllabaries on other Mediterranean scripts.

51. The Mycenaean syllabary throws some light on second-millennium Greek, but it only allows for a limited understanding of the facts already discussed regarding its standardisation and its solely bureaucratic use. Literature was oral: it was recorded in writing only from the eighth century onwards, after the introduction of the alphabet. But it is debated to what extent this new epic and lyric inherited the language of the Mycenaean period and to what extent it innovated. Thus, the reconstruction of second-millennium Greek (or Greek dialects) is a difficult task, which involves combining data from Mycenaean, Homer (eliminating the later elements) and extrapolations from the Greek dialects of the first millennium.

52. On Homer and Mycenae cf., among others, T. B. L. Webster 1958, C. Brillante 1986 and J. Chadwick 1990; on Mycenaean culture in general, J. T. Hooker 197, J. Chadwick 1976, O. Dickinson 1977 and 1995, W. Taylour 1983; etc. On possible Mycenaean traces in lyric, C. Trümpy 1986 and C. Brillante 1987. On the reconstruction of second-millennium Greek, see §§ 68 ff.

The arrival of the Dorians

53. Before attempting this reconstruction, we must examine the events of the end of the second millennium – the arrival of the Dorians – as well as the linguistic scene which the Greeks encountered in Greece and which must have had an effect on their language.

The period of instability – in which palaces strengthened their fortifications and, as recorded on the *o-ka* tablets of Pylos, military units were deployed on the coast (events which are simultaneous with those in Ugarit and the campaigns of Ramses II and Merneptah in Egypt) – ended, as stated earlier, with the destruction and abandonment of the palaces, which were at some point occupied by the Dorians.

The arrival of the Dorians is mentioned by the ancient historians, especially Herodotus I 56, and also in the myth of the return of the Heraclides, or sons of Heracles. For a long time, nobody has doubted the fact that the Dorian invasion was the cause behind the destruction of Mycenaean culture, and this is still the most widely held view. However, it is suggested that, once the Mycenaean palaces had been destroyed by the invasions of the 'Sea Peoples' and their society had been disrupted, the Greeks who had remained behind in Macedonia and Albania, the Dorians, would in turn have found it easier to realise their own incursions of pillage.

But it would not be so easy for them, given that the same legend refers to resistance in different parts. Indeed, all the sources insist that the Dorians did not succeed in conquering Attica, where numerous refugees had settled, or the islands of the Aegean and other places.

54. The same geography allows us to see how the Dorians came from the N. and W., and were stopped in Attica and the islands; they surrounded the Peloponnese, unable to penetrate its centre, Arcadia, but being able to break the connection between the dialect of the latter and that of Cyprus, whose Mycenaean population evidently departed from the coast of the Peloponnese before the arrival of the Dorians. In any light, the Dorian conquest of Melos, Crete, Rhodes, Cos and the coast of Asia Minor around Halicarnassus and Cnidus took place later on. Historic tradition and archaeological data support this.

We must accept the fact that Attica – 'the most ancient land of Ionia', according to Solon (4.2), a region which had prospered and

developed after the fall of Mycenae, as demonstrated by its remarkable geometric ceramics – took in a considerable number of refugees. The Ionic colonies of Asia, dated usually in the eleventh century, were founded from here. In the same way, new waves of Mycenaeans moved to Cyprus from the Peloponnese before the Dorians occupied its shores: there is a bronze brooch from the eleventh century with a Greek inscription in the Cyprian syllabary which reads *O-pe-le-ta-o* '(I am) of Opheltes'. In addition, Lesbos was colonised from the continent, as stated by Thucydides III 2.3.

55. In conclusion, we must embrace the fact that the Dorians and the related people known as 'Dorians from the N. W.', descended from the N., taking advantage of the collapse of the Mycenaean kingdoms: they were, in effect, Greeks who had remained behind after the invasion, and led a pastoral existence in the mountains. They had an archaic Greek dialect, which had remained immune from the innovations of 'East Greek' which had entered Greece from the year 2000 and from which Mycenaean, the language of Homer, and the different dialects emerged. This dialect coincides with these as far as archaisms are concerned, but not as regards innovations.

Yet, there were no vacant lands in Greece, so the Dorians had to superimpose themselves onto the ancient Greek settlements, substituting their dialects – although traces of these remained at times, especially in Crete – or creating mixed dialects in Boeotia and Thessaly. By stepping in and driving wedges between the old dialects, some of which had been transported to the other side of the sea, the Dorians contributed to the isolation of the settlements and, in short, to dialectal differentiation, which is not attested (perhaps for a simple lack of data) in either Mycenaean or the Achaean epic of the poets. Many years must have passed before the unifying tendencies re-emerged.

56. As we know, on the basis of a well-known work by J. Chadwick 1973 (see also Chadwick 1985), a kind of scepticism has taken root in the academic world and for some time it has been trendy to deny the Dorian invasion. The Dorians are seen as a subjected people who rebelled against their Mycenaean masters, and Doric is regarded as a type of Mycenaean. Elsewhere (Adrados 1998b), supported by other studies, I have made a complete refutation of this hypothesis. Cf. also J. J. Moralejo 1977 and P. G. van Soesbergen 1981 (the 'Dorian invasion' is seen as a secondary migration of a straggler part of the Greek migration). We have precise historical and archaeological data whereas Chadwick's linguistic arguments are

insignificant. Cf. among others A. López Eire 1984a R. A. Crossland 1985 and J. Méndez Dosuna 1985, p. 299 ff. See D. Musti 1985b on the way in which the arrival of the Dorians should be conceived. On the archaeological aspect of this matter, see F. Schachermeyr 1980, p. 240 ff., who links the Dorians to the ceramics of the 'circle of Buboshti' in Macedonia and distinguishes them from the Dorians of the N. W., who are placed further to the west. On the Ionic settlement in Attica, cf. the same author, p. 374 ff. On pre-Dorian (Achaean) remnants in Cretan Doric, cf. Y. Duhoux 1988.

3. Greek and the non-Greek languages in the second Millennium

57. So, we see that the Greeks were established in Greece starting from the year 2000. From the first millennium onwards, when we are provided with evidence for establishing these events, Greece itself is completely Hellenised. However, there are very many non-Greek elements in its toponymy and lexicon.

Indeed, a series of Greek authors preserved the memory of non-Greek settlements of archaic date: they even indicate that non-Greek languages were still spoken in certain parts, especially in the periphery of Greece. The information is collected in P. Kretschmer 1946, p. 146 ff., and O. Hoffmann 1973, p. 25 ff. Homer refers to the Pelasgians in Argolis, Thessaly and Crete (*Iliad* II 681 ff., 843 ff.; *Odyssey* XIX 179 ff.), and the memory of the Pelasgians of the heroic period persisted. Herodotus I 56 refers to the Pelasgians as the first settlers of Greece in Thessaly, Attica and Arcadia, cf. also I 146, VII 94 s., VIII 44; he refers to traces of them in Placia and Scylace, near the Propontis. But Thucydides IV 109 also refers to the Tyrsenians of Athens and Lemnos, which Herodotus calls Pelasgians (VI 136 S.); he also mentions the Tyrsenians or Etruscans who moved from Lydia to Italy (I 94); nevertheless, Thucydides IV 109 distinguishes Pelasgian from Tyrsenian in the Athos peninsula. This is confirmed by the well-known Lemnos inscription, written in a language that is very close to Etruscan.

So, the Greeks would have been found in Greece together with these Pelasgians or Etruscans, who, with some exceptions, later only survived in marginal territories.

58. There are written accounts of Asian settlements in Greece in archaic times. Herodotus I 171, Strabo VII 322, 374, XIII 611,

Pausanias III 1, 1, VI 2, 4 and the historian Callisthenes (*FrGH* 124 *F* 25) write of the Pelasgian occupation of central Greece, Messenia, Leucas, Euboea and the Cyclades, as well as almost the whole of Ionia. Sometimes their name is considered to be synonymous with that of the Carians (of which there are still linguistic traces in Asia), or else they are seen as part of this group or as their vassals. In any case, Thucydides I 8 attests that the ancient tombs of Delos were of a Carian type; and Callisthenes mentions a Carian emigration to Greece.

These neolithic settlements must have left a mark on the Greek language, something which I shall address further on (§§ 62 ff.).

59. Besides this, there is archaeological evidence in neolithic Greece of settlements of a northern or 'European' origin, in Sesklo and Dimini (nude female figurines, certain kinds of ceramics including those with stripes, spiral and wavy line designs): see P. Kretschmer 1946, p. 151 ff., among others. There is also evidence of settlements of Asian origin (city planning and fortifications similar to those of Troy I and II, ceramics that make use of a varnish known as 'Urfirnis', the nude goddesses of Cycladic art).

It is interesting to note that in the peripheral regions we still come across non-Greek settlements in the historic period, living more or less in peace with the Greeks. Aside from the information provided by historians and the previously mentioned Lemnos inscription it suffices to recall the Cypro-Minoan script that from the sixteenth century onwards recorded an indigenous language; it continued to do so until the fourth century among an indigenous population that had sought refuge in Amathus from the new Mycenaean invasions at the end of the Trojan War (the myth mentions Teucer, founder of Salamis) and from the Dorians, who had arrived in the twelfth century and who did not succeed in imposing their language. The oldest Greek inscription – dating from the eleventh century, as previously mentioned – is written in a new syllabic script and in the Cyprian dialect, which is related to Arcadian.

Crete must also be mentioned, where the Mycenaeans and then the Dorians arrived: an island with a highly civilised pre-Greek population, as shown by the hieroglyphic and Linear A scripts. The *Odyssey* XIX 176 refers to the Eteo-Cretans: their language continued to be spoken until the third century BC in Praisos and Dreros, and from a certain point it began to be written in the Greek alphabet.

Also, we must not forget Asia, where one need only read Homer to appreciate just how many different peoples were embroiled in the turmoil of the Trojan War. But there is no record, in the second millennium, of the languages spoken by the peoples on the Asian coast, although there is evidence relating to Hittite and Luwian; only from the first millennium do we have knowledge of Thracian, Phrygian, Lycian, Carian, Neo-Hittite, etc.

60. We can be certain of the following: at the close of the second millennium, with the collapse of the Mycenaean kingdoms and the Dorian invasion, Greek dominated Greece itself, but it only partially occupied the outer region, in Cyprus, Crete and Lemnos, and it was certainly in a minority in Asia and other parts which had been reached by the Mycenaean expansion. In the N. it was limited by Illyrian and Thracian, in Asia by Phrygian. These were Indo-European peoples who had arrived in the Balkans at a later date, but who may at times have been dragged along by the Greeks: Thucydides II 29 and Strabo IX 25 refer to the Thracians and Phrygians.

Some problems are presented by Macedonian, which was implanted in a territory where the Greeks had settled before entering Greece. It was Hellenised and began to disappear from the fourth century BC. However, there is still some doubt as to whether it was an Indo-European language distinct from Greek, perhaps of the Indo-Greek group (such as Thracian or Phrygian), or whether it was a Greek dialect that was left behind.

Macedonian is only known to us through a few glosses that display certain characteristics, the principal being the conversion of voiced aspirated to unaspirated voiced, in contrast to the Greek aspirated voiceless (δάνος for θάνατος), as seen in Illyrian, Phrygian or Slavic, among other languages. Other characteristics coincide with the Greek dialects or with Illyrian or Phrygian. Furthermore, certain names, such as Parmenon or Berenice, are Greek, the latter having an altered pronunciation.

From this point on, it is generally believed that we are dealing with a language that is different from Greek. In fact, the Greeks considered the Macedonians to be barbaric, cf. Demosthenes IX 31. Yet ultimately, in the context of the debate about the Hellenism of Macedonia, Greek scholars have claimed the Hellenicity of its ancient language. Macedonian would be a Greek dialect that was left behind, a branch that stands in opposition to the language that advanced

towards Greece and gave rise to the first dialects considered to be Greek. It is difficult to come to a clear decision on this matter, given the scarcity of information available to us.

61. On Macedonian, after O. Hoffman 1906 see E. Schwyzer–A. Debrunner (1st ed.) 1939, p. 69 ff. The new pro-Hellenic position is presented by authors such as N. J. Kalleris 1954, B. Dasakalakis 1960, L. A. Giundin 1987, A. Panayotis 1992 and J. K. Probonas 1992. The interesting investigations of A. G. Tsopanakis 1993, which look for a Macedonian lexicon in Walachian dialects of Macedonia, do not resolve the problem. In any case, it is clear that the Greek that spread towards the S. left an empty space for this other language – a 'retarded' Greek or a different Indo-European language – to occupy, which only became Hellenised from the fourth century onwards.

Pre-Greek elements adopted by Greek

62. The fact is that most of the toponymy of Greece and the islands, not to mention the coast of Asia Minor, is not actually Greek. The same applies to part of the Greek lexicon, which sometimes displays the same kind of suffixation as the toponymy, and sometimes displays phonemes in positions that originally were not allowed in Greek.

A good part of these pre-Greek toponyms find parallels in Asia Minor. Let us examine them from various perspectives.

a) *Suffixation*. Nouns in -ηνός, -ήνη (Ἀθάνα, Μυκῆναι, Πειράνα, Πριήνη, Μυτιλήνη, the Τυρσηνοί that emigrated to Italy); in -(σ)σός, -(τ)τός and its feminines and plurals (Λυκαβηττός, Κηφισσός, Λάρισσα, Παρνασσός, Ὑμηττός, etc.; in Crete Κνωσσός, Ἀμνι(σ)ός, Τυλισσός; in Asia Κολοσσαί, Τελμησσός, Μυκαλησσός, Τερμησσός, Ἁλικαρνασσός, Σαγαλασσός, Περγασή, Μύλασα, maybe Κορυκήσιον); in -νθός, -νθος (Κόρινθος, Πάρνης, -ηθος (Τίρυνς/-ινθος in Asia Ξάνθος)); -στός in Φαιστός is no doubt a variant; in -ανδα, -ινδα (perhaps related to the previous, only in Asia: Ἀλίνδα, Ἀλαβάνδα, Ἀρυκάνδα, Καλίνδα, Καρυάνδα, Λαβράνδα, Πίγινδα), also Ἄσπενδος; in -ρνα (Μύκαρνα in Aetolia; also in Asia: Σμύρνα; in Crete: Φαλασάρνα; in Cos: Ἀλασάρνα).

b) *Phonetics*. There are various cases of non-Greek phonetics: initial σ- (Σαγαλασσός, Σαλαμίς, Σάρδεις, Σίλλιον); the alternation of *spiritus lenis/asper* (but perhaps this has something to do with Greek transcription: Ἁλι/α-, Ἀλι/α-), the σ- and the lack thereof; the alternation of α/ι (examples previously cited),

ρ/λ (Τελμησσός/Τερμησσός), γ/κ, -σσ-/-σ-. This marks the start of a different phonetic system. It seems that certain suffixes previously took a κ- (Ἀρυ-κ-άνδα, Ἁλι-κ-αρν-ασσός, Κουρυ-κ-ήσιον): the transcription of a laryngeal?

c) *Derivation*. Sometimes we come across two derivatives from the same root or one derived from another: with the roots Ἁλι/α-, Ἀλι/α-, in Πέργη/Πέργαμον/Πέρινθος/Περγασή, Κολοσσαί/Κολοφών, Μυκάλη/Μυκαλησσός, Κόρινθος, Κορυκήσιον, Παρνασσός/Πάρνης/Παρνών, etc. Sometimes there seems to be an accumulation of suffixes: Ἁλικ-αρν-ασσός, Μυκ-άλη/Μυκ-αλη-σσός (maybe the κ is phonetic, as I have said).

d) *Morphology*. There are masc., fem., and n., sg. and pl. forms which display Greek morphology. This may be something new or may just be covering something old.

e) *Roots*. We can deduce the existence of various roots, some corresponding to Greek, no doubt as a result of borrowings (although sometimes a common Indo-European origin can be postulated). For example, Ἀλι- and variants, καρυ- (cf. Gr. κάρυα?), κορ- (cf. Gr. κόρυς?), λαβρ- (Gr. λάβρυς), παρν-, περγ- (the root of Gr. πύργος?), τερμ-/τελμ- (cf. Celtic *Termes?*), σιδ- (Gr. σίδη), σμυρ- (in Σμύρνη, cf. Gr. σμύρνα?), φάσ- (cf. Φάσις, Φάσηλις), χαλκ- (in Χαλκηδών, Ξαλκίς, cf. Gr. Χαλκός). In addition, there are toponyms common to Greece and Asia which are neither Greek nor appear to be Indo-European: Ὄλυμπος, Θῆβαι).

As noted above, the most striking thing is that these formations are analogous or identical to those of theonyms such as Ἀθάνα, the goddess, or common nouns such as κυπάρισσος, 'the cypress', ἀσάμινθος, 'the bath', βόλινθος, 'wild bull', ἐρέβινθος, 'chickpea', etc. One must look for etymologies, in whatever sense, which are parallel to non-Indo-European Greek words such as θάλαμος, 'the bedroom', μέγαρον, 'living-room', φάλασσα, 'the sea', religious or poetic terms such as διθύραμβος, ἴαμβος, θρίαμβος, λαβύρινθος, βάκχος, etc.

Sometimes we find common terms with non-Greek etymology and phonetics, such as σῖτος, 'grain, wheat', σίδηρος, 'iron', σίδη, 'pomegranate', βασιλεύς, 'king'; or simply with a non-Greek etymology, such as λήκυθος, 'a vessel', κιθάρα, 'zither' and theonyms such as Ἀπόλλων, Ἄρτεμις, Κυβήβη, etc.

63. There are evidently three possibilities: (i) that these words were adopted in the Balkans from the culture of 'old Europe'; (ii) that they were adopted in Greece itself or in Asia; (iii) that they were a result of the cultural influence of peoples from the ancient East. It is not necessary to propose a unitary solution. Cultural elements such as the bath or Mediterranean plants could come from Greece, or sometimes more specifically from Crete (λαβύρινθος, Δίκτυννα); 'iron' could come from Asia Minor, where it was introduced; the name of Apollo seems to come from Lydia, and Cybele from Phrygia. Remote etymology is another matter.

64. Three theories come to light when we see beyond the details. For the first theory, this vocabulary is Indo-European but with 'Pelasgian' phonetic alterations different to those of Greek: a different evolution of the sonants would explain, for example, τύμβος (Gr. τάφος), a consonantal mutation would explain the forms in -ινθος (from *-nt-*, in ἀσάμινθος, with the preservation of *-s-* at the same time and satemisation, cf. Gr. ἄκμων), φαλλός (of **bhel-*), ταμίας (of **dom-*, with the alteration of the vowel at the same time), etc. This explains σῦς beside ὗς, Γόρτυς of **ghṛdh*, **ghordh* (cf. OSlav. **gordŭ* 'city', Phryg. *Manegordum* and the city of Gordium). For the second theory the terms are considered to be Hittite-Luwian or Anatolian, having emigrated to Greece before the arrival of the Greeks. The third theory postulates a substratum of non-Indo-European terms. I will refrain from adopting any position here.

65. On the 'Pelasgian' hypothesis see, among others, V. Georgiev 1941, A. J. van Windekens 1952, W. Merlingen 1955; and further information and bibliography in R. Hiersche 1970, p. 33 ff., M. Meier-Brügger 1992, p. 69 f. On the hypothesis of Minoan, Luwian, and the rest, A. Heubeck 191, L. R. Palmer 1958, G. Huxley 1961. On Semitic borrowings in Greek, some of them very old, see § 66 and O. Masson 1967; on Egyptian borrowings, see J. L. Fournet 1989.

66. Nevertheless, at least part of this vocabulary was already incorporated into Greek in the second millennium BC. The Mycenaean vocabulary contains theonyms such as the names of Artemis, Athena, Dionysus and Ilitia (*e-re-u-ti-ja*); phytonyms such as *ku-pa-ro* and *ko-ri-ja-da-no* (κύπειρος and κορίανδρον), *ku-pa-ri-so* (in a toponym); cultural words such as *si-to*, *da-pu-ri-to*, *a-sa-mi-to* and *qa-si-re-u*, 'grain', 'labyrinth', 'bath', and 'king'. Also, of course, toponyms such as, among those

described, *a-mi-ni-so* (Amnisos) and *ko-no-so* (Knossos) in Crete; and anthroponyms such as *a-ki-re-u* (Achilles). Not to mention words from the Semitic, such as 'gold' (*ku-ru-so*) or 'tunic' (*ki-to*), or from Egyptian, such as 'elephant' (*e-re-pa-*), or the group of 'old travelling' words discussed earlier which, no doubt, already existed in IE before entering the Greek dialects in Greece.

Homer represents, in many cases, a testimony concordant with Mycenaean: with regard to toponyms, anthroponyms and common names. Recall, for example, ἀσάμινθος, βασιλεύς, κυπάρισσος, σῖτος, σίδηρος. Of course, there are certain Mycenaean terms which are lacking in Homer, and in turn certain terms which are lacking in Mycenaean, for example, ἐρέβινθος, θάλασσα, μέγαρον; and in both sources words are missing which appear much later (for example, διθύραμβος in Archilochus, seventh century). This does not mean that none of them already existed in the second millennium, whatever their path of entry may have been.

Thus, pre-Greek etymology is not always certain, cf. for example, for Αἴας and Αἰακός, A. G. Tsopanakis 1979.

67. It is certain that during this period Greek adopted a new vocabulary of different origins in order to give name to new cultural circumstances, new gods, plants, animals, products, and metals. But even the names of ancient institutions were replaced by new names, whether Indo-European or not (βασιλεύς 'king', φυλή 'tribe', χαλκός 'bronze'). And of course, with the introduction of a new political and cultural system, new words were introduced, generally by derivation from the Greek (ἐκκλησία, ἄρχων, ἔφορος, βουλή, etc.).

The Greek vocabulary was fundamentally Indo-European; most important of all, its methods of derivation and composition were Indo-European. The additions from this period and the periods before and after, taken from other languages, are important culturally but not structurally. Indeed, this subject has never been systematically studied. The great development of the Greek vocabulary took place much later.

The morphological and syntactical borrowings from this period were of even less importance, perhaps even of no importance. There was no great advance in this respect from Common Greek to the beginning of the great development of the beginning of the seventh century. It was only later that Greek made a giant leap, becoming the international model for all languages. Up to this point it was

merely another Indo-European language that had arrived in a territory dominated culturally by Crete and Asia, although it did have a well-developed morphology, as explained, which enabled future advances.

CHAPTER FOUR

GREEK IN THE SECOND MILLENNIUM

1. East Greek

68. East Greek is sometimes referred to as southern Greek, but however it is called it represents the Greek that entered Greece around the year 2000 and left its mark in the second millennium, in Mycenaean and whatever is archaic in Homer. It was also the base from which the great eastern dialects of the first millennium would spring, that is, Arcado-Cyprian, Ionic, and Aeolic. At one point, until the arrival of the Dorians, it occupied a continuous geographical area extending from the S. of Macedonia to Lacedaemon, as well as to Crete, Cyprus, Rhodes, and to other islands and certain parts of Asia.

As I have stated, today it is thought that the principal innovations of Greek are of a more recent date, the first millennium, as opposed to the old view in which the three principal dialects were thought to have come from outside of Greece. Thus, we have Ionic-Attic features which are only half or partially achieved in certain places, for example the conversion of ᾱ into η, contractions and metathesis of quantity, *u* > *ü*, the treatment of the groups of *-s-* and sonants and of *-ss-*, *-ts-*, *-ty-*, or the loss of the digamma, etc.; Aeolic characteristics such as those resulting from the groups of *s* and sonants mentioned above, the D. pl. in -εσσι, the part. perf. in -ντ-, etc. (we consider others to be archaisms or choices); and others from Arc.-Cyp., as for example innovations such as ἐν > ιν, -ο > -υ, assibilated labiovelar before ε, ι, ἀνα> ὀν or choices such as ὀνυ, ὀνι, ὀνε.

69. Despite this, I have insisted in my review of the book by García Ramón (Adrados 1979b) and elsewhere that other characteristics found in one or various of the dialects of the first millennium are really either innovations from the second millennium, or choices within doublets also from the second millennium: here and there, remnants of the archaic form or the form not chosen are often found. The presence of some of these characteristics in more than one dialect or in Mycenaean or Homer is a strong argument. Sometimes

only a few eastern dialects have maintained the archaism, or sometimes only one: Mycenaean, Homer, Cyprian, etc.

For instance, innovations like *-si*, but with traces of *-ti* (in Myc., Hom., Aeol., Pam.), or the 3rd secondary pl. in -(σ)αν (Ion.-At., Arc.-Cyp., Hom.), or even ἡμεῖς and ἦν and their uncontracted forms (Ion.-At., Hom.), or ἀπο > ἀπύ (Arc.-Cyp., Lesb., Pamph.), which go back to the second millennium. Indeed, also archaisms such as the patronymic -ιος (Aeol., Myc., Hom.) or forms of an old doublet: ἄν (but κε in Aeol. and Hom.), -αρ- (but -ορ- in Aeol., sometimes in Myc. and Hom., and a bit everywhere). Thus, as I mentioned previously, the three principal dialect groups became defined in the first millennium, in isolation, although many of their characteristics are of an earlier date.

Of course, some characteristics of EG go back much further, to CG: as in the oppositions mentioned, -μεν/-μες, -ξα-/-σα-, and no doubt many of the ones we have referred to, at least in their initial state. Other characteristics no doubt only go back to the period in which EG was in Greece: to be sure, its great diffusion and the political fragmentation of Greece into different kingdoms favoured dialectalisation.

70. It is difficult to establish exactly to what extent the first-millennium dialects were anticipated in CG or in EG. There are very different isoglosses which could be traced back to EG dialects, but which do not coincide. Further on, I will examine those of Myc. and Homer. However, there are also isoglosses linking Ion.-At. with Arc.-Cyp., and excluding Aeol. (-ναι, ἄν, εἰ, -(σ)αν, -τε etc.; but -αν is found in Aeol., and -τα is found in Attic); others link Arc.-Cyp. and Aeol., as shown by -ορ-, πέδα, ποτί, athematic verbs instead of the contracted ones, etc. On occasion, there is fragmentation: τέσσερες in Ion. and Arc. (but At. τέσσαρες seems to be analogical). Sometimes the correlation extends to Hom. or Myc., but it can also only affect one dialect (ξύν in At. and Myc., patronymic -ιος in Aeol., Myc., and Hom., -το(ι) in Myc. and Arc.-Cyp., -φι in Hom. and Thes., thematic G. sg. in *-o* in Myc. and Cyp., as I have proposed). There is ἐμίν in Dor. and Hom.; also, Pamphylian presents similarities with Myc. and Arc.-Cyp., cf. M. García Teijeiro 1984 and A. López Eire–A. Lillo 1982 and 1983. But what do we think about the previous extension of an archaism such as this, and of other monodialectal phenomena, such as the preservation of *-pm-*, *-tm-* in Myc., that of Ζῆν in Hom., that of the thematic G. *-o-ne* in Cyp.?

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I am not attempting a study of the Homeric language as it is represented in our manuscripts, but a study of its predecessor, the epic language of the second millennium. It coincides to a large extent with Mycenaean as to the archaisms (patronymics in -ιος, the form in -φι, the doublet αρ/ορ, etc.) and also with the archaisms that can be deduced from the study of the first-millennium dialects (τοί, τύ, etc.). However, it must be granted that, on occasion, this language (to the extent that it is known to us) has lost certain Mycenaean archaisms; or else has preserved doublets where Mycenaean had simplified in a different way. I have provided examples.

The Homeric language also had its own archaisms of the type Ζῆν, ἔφθιτο, τέλσον, etc. Sometimes, the lack of Mycenaean data allows us to establish a relation. But, on occasion, Mycenaean and Homeric archaism, or its choice, only spread to certain dialects: -εύς (-ēς in Arc.-Cyp.), μετά (except for a group with πεδά in Arc.- and Lesb.), etc.; or else Homer (or 'our' Homer?) chose in accordance with all the dialects, against Myc. (D. sg. in -ι, with exception) or against Myc. and Arc.-Cyp. (verbal des. -ται). At times, archaism is preserved in an isolated dialect, against the rest, including Hom. and Myc. (D. sg. in Cyp. *-o-ne*).

Mycenaean archaisms such as the preservation of the labiovelars or the preservation of *h* proceeding from *s* have been lost in the epic language: but perhaps this is just something peculiar to 'our' Homer, not that of the second millennium.

With regard to innovations, apart from those that are clearly from the first millennium, Homer shares some (which are not in Mycenaean) with the southern group: -(σ)αν in Ion-At.-Arc.-Cyp., concordance with Ion., At., and Arc. in the treatment of the groups of *-ss-*, *-ts-* and *-ty-*, etc. Homer also has some innovations of his own, but these are not significant enough to establish dialectal relations.

89. In short, the ancient background of Homer's language comes from a conservative dialect of the second millennium which is not exactly Mycenaean, for its archaisms are partly different. As far as its choices and innovations are concerned, sometimes it follows nearly all of non-Mycenaean EG, sometimes it follows the Ion.-At.-Arc.-Cyp. group (against Mycenaean). But it preserves doublets identical to those of Myc., which the different dialects, including Aeolic, have simplified (at times in a contrasting way).

We cannot establish the geographical base of this language, nor to what extent an older epic language was renovated afterwards by various additions. We can only claim that it was an archaic language closely related to Mycenaean and to the language that is sometimes at the base of the whole of first-millennium EG, sometimes at the base of just a part of it (that is, to the para-Mycenaean dialects). The only thing left for us to do is to attempt to set aside those elements that were added to the epic language in the first millennium in the course of its evolution.

Achaean epic, an archaic language, no doubt comes from a different geographic area than Myceaean, which comes from Crete. It has been proposed that variants in this language left traces in Hesiod and lyric, see §§ 151 f.

It was an area in which a peculiar dialect of EG began to take shape, which did not take part in the tendency to differentiate pre-Ionic from pre-Aeolic. But, because the archaic forms and the doublets of this dialect often coincide with those of the later dialects, Ionic and Aeolic – or, to be more exact, Asian Ionic and Aeolic – the epic admitted forms of these dialects secondarily. Here, the epic language continued to evolve.

Thus, we know the Greek of the second millennium, directly, through a dialect that was brought from Crete to the continent in the second millennium with an administrative purpose; and through a dialect brought from a certain place to Asia as a poetic language in the first millennium (but which, perhaps, had been developing in Asia since the Mycenaean period).

However, we can also to a certain extent reconstruct what would have been the spoken language of the period: the para-Mycenaean dialects.

4. Para-Mycenaean in the second millennium

90. Thus, we have a very incomplete knowledge of Greek in the second millennium. On the one hand, we can draw some conclusions from CG and EG as to how much in them is unified and fragmented. On the other hand, we have a direct knowledge of an administrative language, Mycenaean, which provides us with lacunae and problems, and a reconstructed epic language that we can deduce from the epic language of the first millennium. Both languages definitely have very concrete geographical origins.

These archaic languages are of very special and reduced uses, and their relation to the spoken languages – the archaic forms of eastern dialects, which I call para-Mycenaean – is difficult to establish in any concrete way. Evidently, throughout the whole of Greece there must have been a spoken language that was beginning to fragment, just as the political power was fragmenting: some information about this has already been provided.

I would like to highlight certain views. None of the previously mentioned innovatory characteristics of Ion.-At. is present in the second millennium: they appear later. The same applies to those of Aeol. or Arc.-Cyp. The innovations that are common to all of them come from EG, as we have seen. Also, there are some archaisms of Ion.-At. (the prepositions without apocope) or of Attic (ξύν, πόλει).

None of this tells us much. But the series of choices common to Ion.-At. and Arc.-Cyp. are important: we can recall the examples of εἰ, τέσσερες, -ναι, ἄν, -τε, -αρ-, εἴκοσι, etc. They evidently go back very far, before these dialects were entirely constituted. It seems that there was a linguistic territory with common characteristics that extended from Attica to the Peloponnesus, by way of the Corinthian isthmus. The fact that there was not always complete unity (archaisms in Attic or Cyprian or remnants of divergent choices) does not undermine this argument. But I do believe it is possible to speak of a first hint of Ionic-Attic and even Arcado-Cyprian and Aeolic before the end of the Mycenaean period.

91. Sometimes, a characteristic that in principle corresponds to the complex formed by the later Ionic-Attic and Arcado-Cyprian dialects extends beyond these frontiers and is found in an Aeolic dialect: μετά in Thes., -(σ)αν in Boeot., and I have already touched upon those of Lesbian. But the opposite is more frequent: coincidence between Arcadian-Cyprian (or one of the two dialects) and Aeolic as a whole or part of it, always as regards choices: the pronouns ὄνυ, ὄνε, ὄνι, the prepositions πεδά, ποτί, the pronominal element -σμε.

In short, some (innovatory) isoglosses of the first-millennium dialects reflect something that was peculiar to EG as a whole; some (choices, archaisms) excluded the territory that later became Aeolic; some reached it in part; and some excluded the dominion of the later Ionic-Attic.

It must be stressed that a great differentiation did not exist. There were no great dialectal innovations. Here and there, archaisms and choices survived which were also present in distant territories. Indeed,

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have entered by means of Homeric polymorphism. Sometimes, the polymorphism continues and both forms are accepted.

In the case of archaisms we are presented with, for example, the alternation between verbal forms with or without augment or of the G. in -οιο (rare, but present in the lyric); Lesbianisms, κεν alternating with ἄν, ἄμμες/ἡμεῖς, φαεννός/φαεινός, Μοῖσα and others. In the case of Ionicisms (although the term may be rather narrow), we are presented with ὅτε, ξεῖνος/ξένος. Pure Homerisms may substitute a Doric form, as in the case of -οιο or the name of the goddess Ἄρτεμις. But these are rare, just as the non-Homeric Ionicisms, as mentioned earlier.

Two things must be stressed with respect to φαεννός: first, that the graphia with geminate is not old and that the accent may or may not be so; second, that, nevertheless, this phonetic treatment has a wider diffusion in choral lyric than in Homer. In effect, it has eliminated certain Aeolicisms or archaisms (G. in -αο, -άων), but has widened the dominion of Aeolicism, on a base of Aeolicisms from Homer, including those which, as we have seen, were Doric or continental at the time.

170. This much is definite: a general and diminished Doric, justified by Homer or not incompatible with it in general, dominates the whole scene; the choral lyric certainly goes further than Homer in certain details, in others there is variation depending on the poets. Aeolicisms are also justified by Homer – when they are not, it is due to their presence in 'Doric' dialects – and they increase in number; Ionicisms are also justified in this way, but they hardly increase in number. This is the general definition of this language, a Doricising variant of the language of epos.

Yet, compounds, phraseology and syntax must be examined, as well as phonetics and morphology. Here, Homeric influence is considerable, although hexametric formulas do not often exactly fit. But there is a proliferation of new compound words, new phraseology and a daring syntax, full of interruptions and stylistic uses, with little subordination: cf. for example, M. Nöthiger 1971, p. 162 ff. and P. Hummel 1993. All this differs markedly from the Homeric language, as Hesiod also differed in part. It is believed that there are also traces here of an independent tradition, that of the oral type of choral lyric from continental Greece, most fully developed by our poets, culminating with Pindar.

It must be pointed out that, from what we can see, this language is more or less the same as popular choral lyric and ritual lyric. The former is known to us through quotations from later authors who have sometimes disfigured it; nevertheless, Doric ᾱ and other characteristics may be found in the song of the Elean women (*PMG* 871), in the old men's hymn to Aphrodite (*PMG* 872), in the hymn of the Chalcidians in honour of Cleomachus (*PMG* 873: together with λάχετ' without augment and a Hesiodic epithet of Eros, λυσιμελής), in the Locrian song of adultery in *PMG* 853 (there is both ᾱ and ἄμμ'), etc. Some of these passages are monodic.

However, there is obviously less regularisation: the Rhodian song of the swallow (*PMG* 848) repeatedly makes use of the 1st pl. in -μες.

Similarly, we find ritual lyric in engraved inscriptions in temples, to be sung by the faithful, in Delphi, Dion, Palaikastro, etc., from the fifth to the second century. These are 'editions', as it were, of the same texts, often accompanied by musical notation (in the treasury of the Athenians in Delphi). They take ᾱ, -οισι/ -οις/ -εσσι, -ους/ -ος, Ποσειδάν, παιάν/παιών, forms lacking augment such as γείνατο, etc., and always 1st pl. in -μεν and Homerisms such as ὦρσε, πόληος.

The evolution and variants of choral lyric language

171. The evolution of this language is recorded from Alcman to Bacchylides. It consisted in more Homerism, more Ionicism (but in Homeric terms, barring exceptions) and less Doricism (but while certain Doricisms from Alcman decrease in number, others increase with Homeric support); while Lesbian elements, in general, also increase. This is particularly well illustrated in M. Nöthiger's statistics, but also in the rest of the bibliography cited.

This evolution is often reflected in the doublets according to the statistics provided by M. Nöthiger: for example, the preference for εἰ after Stesichorus and Ibycus, for πρός increasingly, until Pindar, the progressive increase of the proportion in favour of -οις, the progressive tendency towards ὅτε; from Simonides onwards, there is almost only μετά, etc. Forms from Ionic and even Attic (including Boeotian) increase in number, but only when they are supported by Homer. From Alcman onwards, there is a reduction in Doricisms.

Ionic-Homeric variants increase in number from Simonides onwards, so that even -ναι enters; little of Doric is left in Simonides and Bacchylides (-α, -αν, ναν, ταν, rare -ξα-, and not much else), -εν and

-σι disappearing; and Pindar also inclines towards εἰ, πρός, -ους, κἄλός. However, earlier in Stesichorus, Doricisms from Alcman such as ϝ-, -τι and the Doric pronouns are absent (but some epic forms are present: -οιο, ὄχεσφιν, a hybrid ὡρανόθεν). So, there was an increase in pure Homerisms, which were hardly present in Alcman. At the end of the evolution, a few non-Homeric Ionicisms entered: G. -έων in Ibycus, οἰκεῦσι, ἵλεως, βορήϊος in Bacchylides. Some more Lesbisms also entered of the type ἐπαίνημι and of those with -οις- and -νν-.

The recent book by O. Poltera 1997 allows the study of the differences (which in any case are slight) between the choral poets. Simonides is closer to Pindar in language and phraseology, both being more 'Doric' and Homeric than Bacchylides. Simonides is more advanced than the latter, for example, in his use of κε and the G. sg. in -ου. Exceptionally, he introduces Ionic η (Ἀθηναίωι). Yet, the differences between the papyri and manuscript tradition as well as textual problems often make it difficult to reach any exact conclusions.

172. The process of leaving a minimum of Doricisms and increasing Homerisms and even Ionicisms has advanced the most in the choruses of tragedy, studied by Björk 1950. Ā is limited to a few traditional roots and suffixes; η is also present and there are hybrid forms (φήμα). Other Doric forms include G. in -ᾱ, -ᾱν and -ξα, τοί. Besides these, there are also Homeric forms (εἰν, ἐμέθεν, ἔβαν, -μεσθα, ἤλυθον, ἀρείων, verbals forms without augment), Homeric-Aeolic forms (ἄμμι, ἔμμεν) and Homeric-Ionic forms (ξεῖνος, δούρατος). In this way, we have a useful polymorphism (νᾱός/νεώς, ξένος/ξεῖνος, ἄμμι/ἁμῖν, -οιο/ου, etc.). Homeric vocabulary and phraseology is added.

Atticisms also entered, as they had earlier in Solon, and these are studied in my articles Adrados 1953a and 1957: -αισι, ἤν, δύνη, ὄπωπα, γῆρυς, phonetics that are archaic Attic and Homeric at the same time (-ρσ-, -σσ-), and an abundant archaic vocabulary. This tends to distinguish the sacred language of Attic choral song (which was more or less common, but also elevated), from the trimeters. Yet, there is a clear evolution in phonetics and morphology in an approximation to the common language. Nevertheless, the phraseology and new lexicon in poets such as Pindar and Aeschylus create an environment that is very distant from that of prose.

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at least one of them, Gorgias, who had arrived from Leontini, Sicily, in 427, broke with this habit and started to write in Attic. He did this precisely at a moment in which Attic was invading Ionic. He had the courage to break away, thereby opening the way for the Athenians and later for others. Indeed, the triumph of Attic in a world where it coexisted with Ionic marked the start of the creation of *koine*: Attic with certain Ionic or general variants of Greek.

193. The shift from hexametric poetry to prose (still avoided by philosophers such as Xenophanes, Empedocles and Parmenides) was not easy psychologically speaking: literature was strictly poetic. It was helpful, just as for the formation of the different poetic languages, that precisely these languages were full of Ionicisms: they were a mixture of Ionicisms and epicisms of various origins, sometimes also of Lesbianisms. Ionic prose continued this process to a certain extent, insofar as it continued to add epic elements to the Ionic elements, albeit in a more restricted way.

The relation between spoken Ionic and Ionic prose presents a real problem. To begin with, the former is hardly known to us. We know only the language of the inscriptions, which does not support the assertion by Herodotus I 42 that there were four dialects in Ionia: very small differences are found, particularly certain innovations in Chios and Erythrae, and other coincidences in Chios and Miletus. By contrast, in Herodotus, who is the most studied author, important sections of vocabulary are found which are lacking in the inscriptions. Indeed, in all these authors we find Homerisms, to a greater or lesser degree, as well as the development of a new paratactic syntax and stylistic features destined for success: alliterations and repetitions, a new word order, the historic present rejected by Homer, etc.

194. On the Ionic dialect of the inscriptions, see Ch. Favre 1914, A. López Eire 1984b, p. 340 ff. and K. Stüber 1996. On the language of Ionic prose in general, cf. above all E. Norden 1898, K. Deichgräber 1962, H. Haberle 1938 and S. Lilja 1968. On Herodotus, G. Steinger 1957, M. Untersteiner 1949, H. B. Rosén 1962, E. Lamberts 1967, I. Beck 1971 and D. G. Müller 1980. On the whole subject in general, R. Hiersche 1970, p. 198 ff., O. Hoffmann 1973, p. 168 ff., L. R. Palmer 1980, p. 142 ff.

The remarks of the ancient critics are not very coherent. The statement by Strabo I, 2, 6 that the most ancient prose only differs from poetry in its lack of metre is contradicted by Cicero, *De orat.* II 12, 53, and Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *De Thuc.* 23, who refer to its lack of ornament; Hermogenes,

De id. II 399 contrasts Hecataeus (who is 'pure and clear', and 'uses pure Ionic') and Herodotus, whom he calls 'mixed' and 'poetic'.

For the language and style of the older works of the *Corpus Hippocraticum*, cf. among others, P. Fabrini–A. Lanni 1979, A. López Eire 1984b and 1992, O. Wenskuns 1982 and A. López Férez 1987. As regards the creation of a scientific vocabulary and the actual structure of the treatise, I provide references in the chapter on the creation of the scientific language.

195. We find ourselves before a series of writers, the first of whom were active in the second half of the sixth century (Anaximander, Pherecydes of Syros, Acusilaus of Argos); at the turn of the sixth and fifth centuries (Hecataeus, Alcmaeon, Heraclitus); in the first half or middle of the fifth century (Charon of Lampsacus, Anaximenes, Herodotus); and finally, in the second half of the fifth century (Pherecydes of Athens, Democritus, Hellanicus, and the older writers of the *Corpus Hippocraticum*).

It should be observed that the Ionic writers who were active in Athens in the fifth century not only had Homer and lyric at their disposal, but also Attic tragedy and comedy; and those who were active at the end of the century, Attic prose. At any rate, from the period of the Persian wars, Attic was known to all of them. I have discussed this with respect to the Sophists.

Indeed, towards the mid-fifth century we find Atticisms in Ionic inscriptions, as well as Ionicisms in the Attic ones, cf. A. López Eire 1984b, p. 340 ff. This is the core of the matter, a century after Ionic prose had tried to impose itself in the sixth century, dispensing as far as possible with epic influence. Indeed, it was in the second half of the fifth century that it received a great universalist impulse, being already invaded by Attic elements. In the mid-fifth century, Athens dominated Greek politics and also, through theatre, Greek poetry.

Yet it is difficult, as I have stated, to make detailed judgements about the language of writers of whom we know so little. But let us begin with the older authors, who predate the moment in which Athens peaked.

196. No literal fragments have survived of the works of Thales, Pythagoras, Anaximander and Anaximenes, among others, and there are only minimal fragments of Alcmaeon. We are better served by Pherecydes of Syros, thanks to a papyrus of some fifteen lines, and Heraclitus, whose literal quotes are numerous (but almost invariably in the form of maxims); the same applies to Democritus, who is from

the Athenian age, but for whom there are serious problems of authenticity.

Let us deal with a previous problem regarding the Atticisms that appear in Ionic writers in the fifth century, such as Pherecydes of Athens and Hellanicus, but especially, as we shall see, Herodotus and Hippocrates. It is sometimes postulated that these Atticisms come from the later textual tradition, other times that they were already present in the original texts of these authors. The real answer is probably a mixture of the two: the later tradition multiplied the original Atticisms. When citations come from a variety of sources, as is frequently the case, we can clearly see the hesitation between Ionicism and Atticism.

It could be said that, at least until the Persian wars, these writers would have had a command of an Ionic without Atticisms, which would have gradually entered as the two dialects began to contaminate each other; and would have increased in the manuscript tradition, particularly in some of its later branches.

197. This problem aside, and before dealing with the central subject of epic forms, we should draw attention to two important characteristics of this prose:

(a) Philosophic prose, above all, has an abundance of abstracts (particularly in -ίη and substantivised neuters with or without an article). Many are semantic innovations or pure and simple creations based on common or, at times, epic language. This is a subject that must be considered separately, when we discuss the creation of the Greek scientific language (also in philosophical poetry). For the first time, a linguistic instrument had been created that was able to serve abstract thought. This included the creation of new compositional structures, most certainly that of the scientific treatise.

(b) There is a proliferation of a series of figures of speech, which were later continued in the first Attic prose, in order to compensate for the lack of dactylic rhythm and to elevate the level of the prose ('the style should be clear and solemn', σεμνός, according to Diogenes of Apolonia B1). E. Norden in 1898 already recognized this and subsequently it has been confirmed by all scholars.

These figures of speech are alliteration, repetition, word play, parallelism, chiasmus and paratactic constructions (the so-called λέξις εἰρομένη, although we have few examples outside of Herodotus). With all this, a narrative prose was created which was both clear and capable of establishing relations, and, also, expressive and capable of enhancing these elements.

To cite a few examples:

Alliterations and repetitions: Pherecyd. Syr. 1, ἐγένετο γῆ . . . γῆν γέρας; Heraclit. B 53, πόλεμος πάντων μὲν πατήρ ἐστί, πάντων δὲ βασιλεύς; Anaxag. B 12, γνώμην γε περὶ παντός πᾶσαν ἴσχει; Pherecyd Ath. 105, ἔθυε τῷ Ποσειδῶνι ὁ Πελίας, καὶ προεῖπε πᾶσι παρεῖναι, Hellanic. 54, ἄνω τῆς ἀκάνθου τοῦ ἄνθεος . . . αἰεὶ ἀνθέουσι.
Word play: Heraclit. B 25, μόροι γὰρ μέζονες μέζονας μοίρας λαγχάνουσι.
Parallelism: Heraclit. B 1, καὶ τοὺς μὲν θεοὺς ἔδειξε, τοὺς δὲ ἐλευθέρους; Anaxag. B 12, καὶ ἀποκρίνεται ἀπό γε τοῦ ἀραιοῦ τὸ πυκνὸν καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ψυχροῦ τὸ θερμόν.
Chiasmus: Anaxag. B 12, ἐπὶ δὲ πλέον περιχωρεῖ καὶ περιχωρήσει ἐπὶ πλέον.
Paratactic style: it combines the previous resources with clauses united by δέ, καί, γάρ, etc.; cf. for example, Hecat. 15, Heraclit 1, Democrit 191.

These figures of speech are rarest in Hecataeus and the logographers, and in Democritus. These authors went the furthest in their search for a style without adornment.

198. We still have to deal with the subject of epic's influence, which is derived from its penetration in all the literary languages and from the fact that both history and philosophy originate in Homer, Hesiod, and the rest of Hexametric poetry.

To begin with, we certainly come across hexametric remnants, although some are clearer than others and some may be accidental. For instance, those that appear in Hecataeus or Pherecydes of Athens. We also find, for example, in Heraclit. 1, καὶ ἐπέων καὶ ἔργων, εὖρος ποδὸς ἀνθρωπείου; 35, εὖ μάλα πολλῶν; Hellanic. 26, εὖ μάλα εἰδόμενοι; Pherecyd. Syr. 1, Ζὰς μὲν καὶ Χρόνος ἦσαν; etc.

But the lexicon and phraseology is of greater significance: frequently, the two go hand in hand, as in the start of the work by Hecataeus: Ἑκαταῖος Μιλήσιος ὧδε μυθεῖται (and in Demetr. *De eloc.* 2).

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