

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF ANCIENT GREEK LANGUAGE AND LINGUISTICS

Volume 1
A–F

General Editor
Georgios K. Giannakis

Associate Editors
Vit Bubenik
Emilio Crespo
Chris Golston
Alexandra Lianeri
Silvia Luraghi
Stephanos Matthaios



BRILL

LEIDEN • BOSTON
2014

Table of Contents

VOLUME ONE

Introduction	vii
List of Contributors	xi
Table of Contents Ordered by Thematic Category	xv
Transcription, Abbreviations, Bibliography	xxi
List of Illustrations	xxiii
Articles A–F	1

VOLUME TWO

Transcription, Abbreviations, Bibliography	vii
Articles G–O	1

VOLUME THREE

Transcription, Abbreviations, Bibliography	vii
Articles P–Z	1
Index	547

- Jurafsky, Dan. 1996. "Universal tendencies in the semantics of the diminutive", *Language* 72.3:533–578.
- Magni, Elisabetta. 2001. "I derivati valutativi in greco: semantica del diminutivo ed espressione delle relazioni di appartenenza". In: *Norma e variazione nel diasistema greco*, ed. by Carlo Consani and Luisa Mucciante, 221–243. Alessandria.
- Matisoff, James A. 1991. "The mother of all morphemes: augmentatives and diminutives in areal and universal perspectives". In: *Papers from the first annual meeting of the Southeast Asian Linguistics Society*, ed. by Martha Ratliff and Eric Schiller, 293–349. Tempe.
- Petersen, Walter. 1910. *Greek diminutives in -ION. A study in semantics*. Weimar.
- Scalise, Sergio et al. 1983. "Sulla nozione di Blocking in morfologia derivazionale", *L&S* 2:243–269.
- Stump, Gregory T. 1993. "How peculiar is evaluative morphology?", *Journal of Linguistics* 29:1–36.

NICOLA GRANDI

Diphthongization

Diphthongization is the process by which a monophthong becomes a → diphthong. There are two processes of diphthongization in Ancient Greek, both of which are diachronic (for a general discussion of the phenomenon, see Andersen 1972). The first results from the intervocalic loss of *w*, *y*, or *s*, which results in → hiatus, i.e., two adjacent → vowels in distinct syllables. They then fuse together to form one syllable, as illustrated by the word for 'child,' *páís* > *país* (see further Smyth 1956:§8D). Technically, this involves two monophthongs (*a*, *i*) becoming a diphthong (*ai*), but the term diphthongization is still used.

The second source of diphthongization in Greek is the second → compensatory lengthening, according to which the vowel in the sequence /*Vns*/ becomes a diphthong; it is thought to have taken place at some point in the late second or early first millennium BCE. This outcome is restricted to → Lesbian (see e.g. Voigt 1957, Blümel 1982) and → Elean; in → Attic, by contrast, the outcome is a lengthened monophthong. The diphthongization takes place in the feminine singular present active participle, e.g. *phéroisa* vs. *phérousa* < **phéronsa*; the third person plural active indicative singular morpheme *-oisi* < **-onsi* < **-onti* (Att.-Ion. *-ousi*); the accusative plural of the *o*- and *ā*-stem nouns, where we find *-ais* instead of *-ās*; and lexical items such as *paísa* 'all' < *pánsa* < **péh₂ntih₂* (cf. Att.-Ion. *pása*) and *moísa* 'muse' < **monsa* (Att.-Ion. *moúsa*).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Andersen, Henning. 1972. "Diphthongization", *Language* 48:11–50.
- Blümel, Wolfgang. 1982. *Die aiolischen Dialekte. Phonologie und Morphologie der inschriftlichen Texte aus generativer Sicht*. Göttingen.
- Smyth, Herbert W. 1956. *Greek grammar*. Cambridge, MA.
- Voigt, Eva-Maria. 1957. *Grammatik zu Sappho und Alkaios*. Berlin.
- Wyatt, William F. 1994. "Homeric loss of /w/ and vowels in contact", *Glotta* 72:119–150.

DAVID GOLDSTEIN

Diphthongs

A diphthong is a pair of → vowels that occupy the same → syllable. Thus two-syllable *diá* 'through' does not have a diphthong but one-syllable *país* 'child (nom.)' does. Classical Attic has an inventory of eleven diphthongs (see generally Allen 1987:79–88; for a diachronic overview see Rix 1992:46–49, 51–52):

"Short"		"Long"	
Diphthongs		Diphthongs	
/yi/ <υι>		/εi/ <ηι>	/ε:u/ <ηυ>
/oi/ <οι>	/εu/ <ευ>	/ɔ:i/ <ωι>	/ɔ:u/ <ωυ>
/ai/ <αι>	/au/ <αυ>	/a:i/ <αι>	/a:u/ <αυ>

Most of the inventory is comprised of falling diphthongs, so called because their sonority drops, e.g., from high-sonority /a/ to low sonority /i/; since the mouth closes somewhat during falling diphthongs, they are sometimes called closing diphthongs as well. The exception to this in Greek is /y(:)i/, which contains two high vowels; this diphthong only occurs pre-vocalically in Attic, pre-consonantal /y(:)i/ being lost prehistorically. Beginning in the sixth century, however, the sequence begins to monophthongize to /u:/, as witnessed by e.g. *huós* 'son' for *huiós* (see further Allen 1987:81 n.54). The /u/ diphthongs preserve a genuine back /u/ and not /y/ (Allen 1987:80). At some point the offglide of the back diphthongs (*au*, *eu*, *ēu*) becomes a fricative; thus Modern Greek /av/, /ev/, /iv/ (→ Developments in Medieval and Modern Greek). Allen (1987:81–83) suggests that pre-vocalic diphthongs were articulated with a geminate offglide, e.g. <οι ο> as [oyo].

The long diphthongs are in part inherited and in part the result of → contraction (see Sihler

1995:58–59 for both sources); the type-frequency of the back diphthongs is decidedly lower than that of their front counterparts. Pre-vocalically it is likely that such sequences are comprised of a long vowel plus a → glide; before a → consonant or a pause, however, they are believed to be true diphthongs. One presumes that long diphthongs bear two → moras just as long monophthongs do. The long diphthongs may, however, have differed from their “short” counterparts in the timing of the glide. (Vedic Sanskrit had long and short diphthongs, but in addition to the vowel quantity there was a difference in vowel quality.) The long diphthongs appear to monophthongize around 200 BCE (→ Monophthongization); in the latter half of the second century Dionysius Thrax reports that the glide was not pronounced.

At an earlier stage of the language, the inventory included the diphthongs /ei/ and /ou/. By the end of the fifth century, however, these were being monophthongized to /e:/ and /o:/ (see further Threatte 1980:299–323, 349–52 and → Vowels). By the mid-fourth century, /e:/ and /o:/ are consistently written <ει> and <ου>, regardless of whether they were historically diphthongs or not. Cases of <ει> and <ου> that result from vowel → contraction, e.g. *phílee* ‘he loves’ > *philé*: written <φιλῆι>, or from → compensatory lengthening, e.g. **món̄tya* ‘muse’ > *mō̄:sa* <μῶσα> are known as “spurious diphthongs”. The designation “spurious” is thus reserved for cases in which <ει> and <ου> do not result from earlier genuine diphthongs. Once monophthongization occurs, however, all cases of <ει> and <ου> are synchronically “spurious” (as they represent /e:/ and /o:/).

Word-final /ai/ and /oi/ generally count as short for the purposes of → accentuation (e.g. *moúsai*, *boúlomai*), except when they occur in an → optative verb form (e.g. *lúsai* ‘may he solve’, *bouleúoi* ‘he may consult’). The locative /oi/ suffix also counts as long, e.g. nominative plural *oíkoi* ‘houses’ vs. locative singular *oíkoι* ‘at home.’ In Doric the accentuation of diphthongs differs (→ Doric Accentuation). See further Allen (1987:124 n.23).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Allen, W. Sidney. 1987. *Vox Graeca: the pronunciation of Classical Greek*. 3rd ed. Cambridge.
 Lupaş, Liana. 1972. *Phonologie du grec attique*. The Hague.
 Rix, Helmut. 1992. *Historische Grammatik des Griechischen: Laut- und Formenlehre*. Darmstadt.
 Sihler, Andrew. 1995. *New comparative grammar of Greek and Latin*. Oxford – New York.

Threatte, Leslie. 1980. *The grammar of Attic inscriptions, Vol. 1: Phonology*. Berlin – New York.

DAVID GOLDSTEIN

Dipylon Vase Inscription

The so-called ‘Dipylon Vase Inscription’ is a short text (*graffito*, after firing) incised around the shoulder of a wine jug (*oenochoe*) from the Late Geometric period (ca. 740–730 BCE). The wine jug was found in Athens in 1871, in the area of the ancient *Kerameikos* cemetery, near the ancient *Dipylon Gate*. The inscription is deemed the oldest comprehensible Greek alphabetic text (cf. also ‘→ Nestor’s Cup’ from Ischia, Italy, which is slightly later) and is written in an unmistakably early form of the Greek alphabet. With the exception of one *sigma*, the text runs from right to left (*sinistrorsum*, *epi tà laiá*), as is often the case with many early Greek inscriptions, which obviously follow the Phoenician model (→ Alphabet, Origin of; → Local Scripts); in fact, some letters have a very archaic form (e.g. sidelong <A>) and show a considerable degree of resemblance to corresponding Phoenician letters (Guarducci 1967:136; Powell 1991:159–160). The text consists of 46–47 characters (no <H>, <Ω>, <OY> for long vowels, but supplemental <X> /kh/ already in place), without any indication of word boundaries or interpuncts; the first 35 letters form a hexameter (→ Metron; → Epic Meter), while the remaining correspond to the beginning of the highly fragmentary second verse of a probable *distichon* (→ Metrics) – unless one is willing to subscribe to a minority theory of two different ‘hands’, one ‘experienced’ (l. 1) and one ‘untutored’ (l. 2) (see Powell 1988:75–82).

The transcribed text runs as follows (classical orthography, brackets for *lacunae*):

*hòs nùn orkhēstôn pántōn atalótata paízei (-ēi)|
 totoðekalm̄in[...]*

‘Whoever of all the dancers (now) dances most elegantly, to him (will belong) this vase (?)’

The exact interpretation of the inscription is unclear because of the heavily truncated second line, which has given rise to numerous readings by scholars (see last paragraph). However, it is clear that the text marks the vessel as a prize in a dancing competition. The first line is a proper