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namely a form without the augment, in contrast to Myc. *a-pe-do-ke* /apedōke/ (cf. alphabetic Gk. *apédōke*), i.e., a form with the augment), but also in Homeric Greek (e.g. *éphē* instead of *pháto* '(s)he stated') (Duhoux 1987).

Finally, it has also been argued that a sociolinguistic reason may be the key factor behind the progressive disappearance of the dual from Ancient Greek (Lasso de la Vega 1968:222–223).

In general, sociolinguistic explanations like the ones above seem more plausible when a purely linguistic explanation appears to fail. Nonetheless, over the past few years sociolinguistics has undoubtedly made some important contributions, with novel and interesting points of view, to the interpretation of a number of linguistic phenomena in Ancient Greek.

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Movable Consonants

The term "movable consonant" refers to a set of lexically-specified → consonants (*n, s, k*) that alternate with zero under certain conditions at the edge of a word. In the linguistics literature, they are more often known as "latent segments" (e.g. Hansson 2005); Devine and Stephens (1994:252) also use the term "antihiatric consonant". Of the three movable consonants, *nu*, which was termed *nu ephelkustikón* ('attracted, suffixed') by ancient grammarians, has by far the highest token and type frequency, and will be the focus of this article (see generally Smyth 1956 §§134–137, 399; Devine and Stephens 1994:251–253, 289, with further bibliography). The origin of movable *nu* is not yet clear, but see Kuryłowicz (1972). The phenomenon may be compared to French liaison or to *r*-sandhi in various types of English.

There are two sets of conditioning criteria to distinguish. The first defines the word-forms that exhibit the alternation. The appearance of movable *nu* is subject to the following morphological and lexical restrictions:

- Words ending in the sequence *-si* (nominal inflection, verbal inflection, *eikosi* 'twenty')
- 3 sg. verb forms ending in *-e*
- The 3 sg. form of 'be,' *estí*
- Pluperfect forms in *-ei* (including the historically 3 sg. pluperfect *éiei* 'went'). By contrast, movable *nu* is never found after present indicative forms in *-ei*, an ending that results from → contraction of a sequence **ee*

The second specifies the prosodic environment in which the movable segment will surface (→ Prosody). Canonically, movable *nu* surfaces:

- before → vowels
- at the end of a → clause
- and at the end of a line in meter (→ Metrics)

The term “pre-pausal” is often used for the latter environments; it may be possible to define it more precisely as the right edge of an → intonational phrase.

The usage of movable *nu* is far more complex than this simple distributional statement would suggest, however. For one, manuscript evidence and inscriptional evidence do not always coincide; see for instance the ‘Hundred Years Alliance’ of 420 BCE, which is attested at Thuc. 5.47.8–12 and *IG I³ 83* (for the latter, see Tod 1933). In addition to its appearance before vowels and pre-pausally, movable *nu* can also found before consonants, although less consistently; the motivation for this may in some cases be visual/graphic. The token frequency of movable *nu* in Attic inscriptions increases over time; Devine and Stephens (1994:252) list further distributional facts. For studies of movable *nu* in inscriptions, see Maassen (1881), Sommer (1907), Henry (1967), and Threatte (1996:385–386).

The distribution of movable *nu* furthermore differs between prose and poetry. In prose, for instance, forms that license movable *nu*, with the exception of *estí* ‘is,’ are not subject to elision (so Smyth 1956:§73, but note that Devine and Stephens 1994:252–253 describe elision of the final vowel of verbal forms as “less common”). In verse, however, this is more common: compare e.g. Eur. *Alc.* 434 *téthnēken ant’ emoû* and 527 *téthnēkh’ ho méllōn* (final *kh’* here being the result of the deletion of a word-final *e*, with aspiration triggered by the following *ho*). In poetry, movable *nu* can be used before a consonant-initial word to create a heavy syllable “by position” (e.g. Eur. *Ion* 802) (→ Syllable Weight). It sometimes fails to appear (graphically at least) when it would be metrically necessary (e.g. *CEG* 342), and also surfaces where it is metrically impossible (e.g. *CEG* 407). In such cases we may be dealing with a nasalized vowel, as opposed to a CV sequence, but such a hypothesis requires further investigation.

Lastly, there is a usage difference across dialects. While movable *nu* has broad dialectal

support after the dative plural *-si* suffix, its appearance in other environments is primarily an Attic-Ionic phenomenon.

As for movable *sigma* (→ Movable *s*) and *kappa*, these are of far more restricted distribution. The former occurs after the → adverb *hoútō(s)* and the latter with the negative *ou(k)*. Both occur canonically before vowel-initial words. New philological and linguistic work on this topic is required.

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DAVID GOLDSTEIN

Movable *s*

The phonotactics of → root structure of → Indo-European allows roots of the shape *sCV*, e.g. PIE **spek-/ *spók-* ‘to see, watch’, as in Lat. *speciō* ‘I look at’, Av. *spasüeiti* ‘(s)he/it looks at’, Skt. causative *spāśáyate* ‘(s)he/it shows’, OHG *spehōn* ‘watcher’ (cf. Eng. *spy*) and Gk. *sképtomai* ‘I see, think’ and *skopéō* ‘I see’ (with *sp-k > sk-p* by → metathesis). Some roots of this shape seem to offer two sets of derivatives (→ Derivational Morphology) in the various languages, some with the initial *s-* and others without it. Thus from the above root we also have the *s*-less form in Skt. *pāśyati*