

A HISTORY OF
ANCIENT GREEK

From the Beginnings to Late Antiquity

Edited for the Centre for the Greek Language
by

A.-F. CHRISTIDIS

with the assistance of

MARIA ARAPOPOULOU

MARIA CHRITI

SBD-FFLCH-USP



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8 The Aeolic dialects

J. MÉNDEZ DOSUNA

The Aeolic group has three members: Lesbian, the dialect spoken on the island of Lesbos and in a narrow strip along the north-west coast of Asia Minor (Aeolis, Troad), Thessalian, and Boeotian.

For the ancients "Aeolic" was virtually synonymous with Lesbian, more specifically with Sappho's and Alcaeus' literary Lesbian. But this idea is to be rejected. Lesbian was strongly infused with Ionic elements (see below). Moreover, the poets borrowed heavily from Homer (see also III.9). Boeotian was influenced by the neighboring western dialects. Thessaly must have been the ancestral land of both Lesbians and Boeotians, and the Thessalian dialect seems to remain most truly Aeolic.

Compared with the other Greek dialectal groups, Aeolic is remarkable for its internal diversity. There can be little doubt that the Aeolic dialects developed most of their dialectal features at a relatively late date, well after the Lesbians and Boeotians had departed for their historical sites in the sub-Mycenaean period or in the early Dark Ages (see also II.16, III.1). However, García Ramón (1975) may be overstating his point that all Aeolic features are post-Mycenaean, i.e., that Aeolic split from the rest of Greek at a post-Mycenaean date. Aeolic dialects share a number of exclusive innovations that can be confidently traced back to a Proto-Aeolic contemporary with the Mycenaean tablets.

As already indicated, Lesbian was the only Aeolic vernacular to achieve a real literary status (see also VII.A.1, VII.A.2). As late as AD 130 Julia Balbilla, a Roman attendant at the court of Emperor Hadrian, composed four epigrams in Lesbian, and had them inscribed on the left foot and ankle of the Colossus of Memnon in Egypt. Her dialect is demonstrably artificial, but it attests to the popularity enjoyed by Lesbian melic poetry throughout antiquity. Interestingly, some of the most distinctive spellings found in Sappho's and Alcaeus' texts as edited by Hellenistic scholars (ζά for διά, <ΣΔ> for <Ζ>, maybe περρ' αὔτων/Att. περι αὐτῶν) made their way into the epigraphical vernacular in the Roman period

(first-second centuries AD). But, if Cassio (1986) is right, the dialect of this period is not as artificial as is generally supposed.

Boeotian – with an admixture of conventional epic and lyric elements – was cultivated by Corinna of Tanagra, an author of narrative poems on mythical subjects (φεοῖα; see also VII.A.2). Her chronology remains a conundrum for Greek scholars. Some late sources place Corinna in the fifth century BC. But the orthography of the fragments preserved in Egyptian papyri is similar to that of the inscriptions of the latter part of the third century BC.

For Athenians, Boeotians were the epitome of coarseness. Understandably, their dialect was a stereotyped object of derision for Attic comic poets. Evidence is provided by a few fragments by Eubulus and Strattis, and especially by the speech of the Theban merchant in Aristophanes' *Acharnians* (860–954; see Verbaarschot 1988; Colvin 1995, 1999).

During the archaic period, alphabets of the "red" type (Φ = [ph], Ψ [k^h], X = [ks]) were used in Thessaly and Boeotia. The script used in Lesbos and the Aeolis was "blue" (Φ = [p^h], X = [k^h], Ψ = [ps]); see also II.17).

The (partly exclusive) features common to the three dialects are not many (García Ramón 1975, 1987; Blümel 1982, and Brixhe et al. 1985, 284–303 for a comprehensive survey of recent literature on the Aeolic dialects):

- Labio-velars evolved into labials before front vowels: cf. Thess. ἀππεισάτου, Boeot. ποταποισάτου/Att. (προσ)αποτεισάτω; Boeot. Πειλεμάχῳ/Att. Τηλεμάχου; Thess. πέμπτε/Att. πέντε; Thess., Boeot. πέτταρα, Lesb. πέσυρα (Balbilla, second century AD) or πέσυρα (Hesychius, fifth century AD); Thess. πέτροτος, Boeot. πέτρατος/Att. τέτατος. Some data (loanwords?) with unexpected τ are surprising: the connective τε is general; the indefinite pronoun is τις in Lesbian, Boeotian, and the Thessalian of Thessaliotis and Hestiaeotis (Pelasgiotis has τις, which is also irregular: from ου κ^w is > οὔ τις?); Lesbian has ἀπότεισαι (Cyne, third century BC; a loanword from Koine); Boeotian has πέντε.
- Syllabic sonorants (especially */r/) tend to develop an o-vowel: Lesb. στρόταγος (inscr.), δέκοτος (Balbilla), μόλθακος (Alcaeus), ἀμβρότην/Att. στρατηγός, δέκατος, μαλακός, ἀμαρτεῖν; Thess. βρόχους, πέτροτον, ἔνοτον, δέκοτον/Att. βραχύς, τέτατον, ἔνατον, δέκατον; Boeot. στροτός, βροχύς/Att. στρατός, βραχύς.

- Occasionally /i/ > /e/ after /r/: Lesb. Δαμοκρέτω, τέρτος (grammarians, for *τρέτος)/Att. Δημοκρίτου, τρίτος; Thess. κρηνένεμεν, τρίτον, ἀπελευθεροσθές/Att. κρίνειν, τρίτον, ἀπελευθερισθείς; Boeot. Διοκρένες/Att. Διοκρίνης.
- Athematic dative plural in -εσοι: Lesb. [χρη]μάτεσοι, [βασ]ιλήεσοι, πολίεσοι, πάντεσοι/Att. χρήμασι, βασιλευσί, πόλεσι, πάσι; Thess. κατοικέντεσοι, χρεμιάτεσοι (also χρέμασιν, Thessaliois, fifth century BC)/Att. κατοικοῦσι, χρήμασι; Boeot. ἀνδρεσοι, παριόντεσοι/Att. ἀνδράσι, παροῦσι.
- Perfect participle active in -ων, -οντος (fem. Thess. -ονσα, Lesb. -οισα, Boeot. -ωσα): Lesb. γεγόνοντα, κατεστακόντων, ἐστάκοισαν/Att. γεγονότα, καθεστηκότων, ἐστηκυῖαν; Thess. ἐπεστάκοντα, ἐνοικοδομεικόντεσοι/Att. ἐφεστηκότα, ἐνοικοδομηκόσι; Boeot. Ἔφυκονομειόντων, ἀπειλοθειόντες/Att. ὤκονομηκότων, ἀπεληλυθότες. All other dialects have -ώς, -ότος. Both types are secondary. The original formative *-wōs, *-wohos still survives in Mycenaean (see also III.2; cf. also the Attic feminine -ῶια (< *-usih₂)).
- A remarkable archaism is the use of the patronymic adjective (well attested in Mycenaean and in Homer; see also III.2): Lesb. Μέλαγχρος Πιθώνειος/Att. Μέλαγχρος τοῦ Πίθωνος; Thess. Ἄρχιππος Καλλιφούντειος, Ἐνπεδόκλεια Φιλοδαμεία/Att. Ἄρχιππος Καλλιφώντος, Ἐμπεδόκλεια Φιλοδήμου; Boeot. Ἄντιγένεις Νικίης, Νίκων Σωστράτιος/Att. Ἄντιγένης Νικίον, Νίκων Σωστράτου. In Thessalian and Boeotian the use of the adjective yielded to the construction with the genitive of the father's name in the course of the third century BC. In Lesbian both constructions coexist since the earliest inscriptions.
- Possibly (the evidence is relatively late), first plural active -μεν: Lesb. χαλάσσομεν (Alcaeus), ἐπάσχομεν, πεπ[όνθ]αμεν (Sappho); Thess. ἐπινοείσομεν (third century BC), ἐκρίναμεν (second century BC)/Att. ἐπινοήσομεν, ἐκρίναμεν; Boeot. ἀπέδομεν, [ἀ]πεστείλαμεν (third century BC).
- ἴα = μία.

Thessalian and Lesbian share some features to the exclusion of Boeotian.

- Geminate sonorants instead of vowel lengthening in the clusters *-Ls-, *-Ns-, *-sL-, *-sN-, *-ln-, *-lj-, *-Nj-: Lesb., Thess. στάλλα, ἐκρίνα, ἔμεινα; Lesb. σελάννα/Att. στήλη, ἐκρίνα, ἔμεινα; Lesb. σελήνη; Lesb. ἔμμι, ἄμμε, μῆννος, Thess. ἐμί, ἀμμέ, μεινός/Att.

εἰμί, ἡμᾶς, μῆνος; Lesb. φθέρω/Att. φθείρω; Thess. κρηνένεμεν, ἐκρίναμεν/Att. κρίνειν, ἐκρίναμεν; cf. also Lesb. ναῦος (< *ναῦφος; Lac. ναῖον = Att. νεῶν).

- Athematic forms in the present of contract verbs: Lesb. κάλημι (Sappho), εὐεργετέντεσοι, ὁμολογήμενα/Ion. καλέω, εὐεργετέσοι, ὁμολογούμενα; Thess. (Pelasgiotis, Hestiaeotis) εὐεργετές, στραταγέντος, κοινανείντου/Ion. εὐεργετέων, στραταγέντος, κοινωνέοντων. Long /e:/ in κοινανείντου is difficult to explain (see Morpurgo Davies 1987 for a tentative solution).
- ὄν- for ἀν-/Att. ἀνα-: Lesb. ὀνέθεκε, Thess. ὀνεθείκαεν/Att. ἀνέθηκε, ἀνέθεσαν. The variant ἀν- is also attested in both dialects.
- ἀπύ for ἀπό.
- The modal particle is κε (κεν occurs in literary Lesb., κα in the Thessalian of Hestiaeotis).

It is quite possible that most of these features were present in Proto-Aeolic. Boeotian and, in some cases, western Thessalian lost them to their Doric analogues.

Characteristics common to Lesbian and Boeotian are:

- Non-etymological [-ss-] -σσ- in the future and aorist of verb stems ending in a short vowel: Lesb. ὀμόσαντας, καλεσσάτωσαν (with the ending -τωσαν borrowed from the Koine), Boeot. σουνκαλέσαντες. Double [-ss-] -σσ- is expected only in verb stems ending in -s- or in a dental stop: cf. Lesb. συντελέσαντα, χαρίσονται, Boeot. ἐπιτελέσσωντι.
- πεδά for μετά.

Thessalian and Boeotian agree on the following points:

- Retention of /ti/: Thess. ἴκατι, Boeot. (F)ίκατι/Lesb. εἴκοσι.
- Extension of the athematic infinitive suffix -μεν to thematic verbs in Boeotian and in Thessalian (Pelasgiotis): Thess. (Pelag.) ὑπαρχέμεν, πρασσέμεν/Att. ὑπάρχειν, πράττειν; Boeot. παρεχέμεν, ἀκοντιδόμεν/Att. παρέχειν, ἀκοντίζειν.
- Third plural endings -νθαι (Boeot. -νθη, -νθειν in Larissa), -νθο, -νθω, and -νθι (in Thessalian only in Larissa) with a θ borrowed from the middle endings -μεθα, -σθε, -σθων (cf. García Ramón 1993, 129–30): Thess. ὑπάρχονθι/Dor. ὑπάρχοντι; Boeot. διδάξονθι, ἀποδεδόανθι/Dor. διδάξοντι, Att. ἀποδεδόκασι; Thess. ἐπαγγέλονθαι, βέλλουνθαι/Att. ἐπαγγείλονται, βούλωνται; Boeot.

βείλωνθη, ἐστρωτεύαθη/Att. βούλωνται, ἐστράτευνται; Thess. ἐγένονθο/Att. ἐγένοντο; Boeot. ἀπεγράψανθο, ἐποίησανθο/Att. ἀπεγράψαντο, ἐποίησαντο; ἔνθω, δαμώνθω/Att. ἔστων, ζημούντων. Note Boeot. ἀντίθεντι, πάθωντι (with -ντι due to prophylactic dissimilation triggered by θ in the verb root?)/Att. ἀνατιθέασαι, πάθωσι.

- γίνυμαι (after the verbs in -νυμαι) for γίγνομαι: Thess. γινύειται, γινυμέναν/Att. γίγνηται, γιγνομένην; Boeot. γίνυτι, γίνουσθη/Att. γίγνεται, γίγνεσθαι.
- ἐν + acc.: Thess. ἐν στάλλας, Boeot. ἐν στάλαν/Att. εἰς στήλην.

Other features of Lesbian are (for details see Hodot 1990):

- Recessive accentuation: cf. πόταμος, βασιλεύς, λεῦκος, Ἀχίλλης, Ζεὺς, etc./Att. ποταμός, βασιλεὺς, λευκός, Ἀχιλλεύς, Ζεύς.
- Secondary [ns] -νσ- and word-final [ns] -νς- evolved into -ισ-, -ις-: ταῖς ἱερείαις, τοῖς στρατάγοις, γράφωσι, δείχθεις (<EI> = [ei])/Att. τὰς ἱερεῖας, τοὺς στρατηγούς, γράφωσι, δειχθεῖς (<EI> = [e:]). Cf. also εἰκοστος (probably from *-κονστος).
- Secondary long mid-vowels (resulting from contractions) merged with primary *ē, *ō: δειγῆν, κῆνω, δάμω/Att. ἀνοίγειν, ἐκείνου, δήμου.
- Loss of [i] <ι> in primary word-final long diphthongs (fifth–fourth centuries BC): τῷ Νικαίῳ, ἐνδεύῃ/Att. τῷ Νικαίῳ, ἐνδέῃ. Later on (third century BC) [i] <ι> is ignored in secondary long diphthongs as well: θέλωσι, τύχωσι (hardly borrowings from the Koine).
- Consonant + ιῆ (secondary jod) > Consonant + εῖ. Most of the examples occur in the Lesbian poets: Περγάμω (Alc.)/Att. Πριάμω, περιέχουσα/Att. περιέχουσα. There are also two instances in the inscriptions: Ἀγερανίω μῆννος (= Ἀγριανίου μείνος) (Eresus, late fourth century BC) and περρ' αὐτῶν/Att. περὶ αὐτῶν (Cyme, first century BC).
- The spelling <ΣΔ> for word-internal <Ζ>, regular in the poets, occurs in a late inscription (Cyme, first century AD): προσονυμάδεσθαι/Att. προσονομάζεσθαι beside δογματίζοντος, ἀρμόξισαν/Att. ἀρμόττουσαν. Otherwise the spelling <Ζ> (once <ΣΖ>) is all but general in the inscriptions. The only exception is δικάτδεσθαι (rather than δικάτζεσθαι)/Att. δικάζεσθαι in a third-century inscription from an unidentified place in the Aeolis.
- As already indicated, ζά for διά, usual in the poets, fails to occur in the inscriptions before the third century AD: ζά τῶν παιδῶν.

- The infinitive of athematic monosyllabic verb stems (also in compound verbs) ends in -μεναι: ἔμμεναι, παρῆμμεναι, δόμεναι, θέμεναι/Att. εἶναι, δοῦναι, θεῖναι. The present infinitive of contract verbs, which otherwise follow the athematic inflection, has a thematic ending: παρκάλην, ἐπαίλην, στεφάνων, ἔαν/Att. παρακαλεῖν, ἐπαίνειν, στεφανοῦν, ἔαν. The type was analogically extended to polysyllabic athematic stems: infinitive present ἐκτίθην, δίδων, ὀμνῦν, κέρναν (?)/Att. ἐκτιθέναι, διδόναι, ὀμνύναι, κεραννύναι; intransitive infinitive aorist πρόσταν, ἐπιμελήθην/Att. προστιῆναι, ἐπιμεληθῆναι; infinitive perfect τε[θ]νάκην/Att. τεθνάνα.
- Imperatives in -ντον, -σθων (analogical on third secondary -ντο?): φέροντον, ἐπιμέλεσθον/Att. φερόντων, ἐπιμελέσθων.
- Temporal adverbs in -τα: ὄτα, πότα/Att. ὄτε, πότε.

Lesbian evolved in close contact with Ionic (see now Moralejo 1996). This can be deduced from a number of common isoglosses:

- Assibilation of τι: εἴκοσι, πρὸς, ὀκτωκόσιοι, γράφωσι/Att. ὀκτακόσιοι, γράφωσι.
- Lack of h-: κατεστακόντων/Att. καθεστηκόντων.
- The vocalism of ἴρος/Att. ἱρός, Dor. ἱαρός: Lesb. ἴρηας, ἴρα/Att. ἱερέας, ἱερά.
- Nominative plural of the definite article οἱ, αἱ (but these forms are not so significant since they occur in the Thessalian of Pelasgiotis as well): οἱ βασιλῆες/Att. οἱ βασιλεῖς.
- Dative plural in -οισι, -αῖσι (τοῖς, ταῖς with “short” endings are regular in the article): τοῖς θεοῖσι, τοῖς πολίταισι/Att. τοῖς θεοῖς, τοῖς πολίταις.

Thessalian as a whole is characterized by the following phenomena (see also García Ramón 1987):

- Retention of [ns] -νσ-: ἀπελευθερεσθένσα, ἱερετεύονσα/Att. ἀπελευθερεσθειῖσα, Koine ἱερατεύουσα. In word-final [ns] -νς the nasal was lost with no vowel lengthening: ἀπελευθερεσθές, τὸς ταμίας/Att. ἀπελευθερεσθεὺς, τοὺς ταμίας.
- Long mid-vowels (< Proto-Gk. *ē and *ō and contractions) were high; so much so that, after the introduction of the Ionic alphabet, they were usually spelt <EI> and <OY>: ὀνέθεικε, μεί, χούρα, τοῦν χροσίμουν, τοῦν ἄλλουν/Att. ἀνέθηκε, μή, χώρα, τῶν χροσίμων, τῶν ἄλλων.

- $\bar{\alpha}o$ and $\bar{\alpha}w$ frequently remain uncontracted: Ὀρέσταιο, Πειθόλαιο, πολιτάουν/Ion. Ὀρέστω, Πειθόλω, πολιτέων. When contracted (third century onwards), the outcome is [a:] $\bar{\alpha}$: τοῦν πολιτᾶν.
- Apocope of prepositions is more widespread than in any other dialect: ἄν (ὄν), πάρ, πέρ, κάτ, πότ, ἄπ, ἔπ, ὕπ: ὄνγραψεν, ποδέξατο, πέρ γενεᾶς, κάτ παντός, ἔτ τοῖ, ὕτ τᾶς πόλιος/Att. ἀναγράψαι, προσδέξασθαι, περὶ γενεᾶς, κατὰ παντός, ἐπὶ τοῦ, ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως.
- Alveolars were geminated by a secondary jod: πόλλιος, ἐννιαυτόν, ἰδιάν (also ἰτιάνα), ἐκλεισοῖα, ἐξεικάττιοι/Ion. πόλιος, Att. ἐννιαυτόν, ἰδιάν, ἐκκλησία, ἐξακόσιοι. The jod could be absorbed into an /r/ or an /s/: κῦρρον, ἀργυροῖ, γυμνασσαρχείσαντα, δαμοσσᾶν/Att. κύριον, ἀργυρίου, γυμνασιαρχήσαντα, δημοσίαν; cf. also τρακάδι, δεξιᾶς/Att. τριακάδι, δεξιᾶς after the clusters *tr, *ks.
- Unstressed /i/ disappeared in Λαρισῆσσιοι > Λασσαῖοι and in ἀριστο- > ἄ(σ)στο-: Ἀστοκράταις, ἀστερᾶς/Att. ἀριστερᾶς.
- Assimilation in some consonant clusters: οἱ πτολίαρχοι, ὄττου, τὸν ἔδδομον, τοῖ ὀδδοῖ/Att. οἱ πτολίαρχοι, ὄχτώ, τὸν ἔβδομον, τοῦ ὀγδόου.
- In some places (Pherae, Larissa, Matropolis, etc.), εα, εο, εου become ια, ιο, ιου (fourth century BC onwards): Κλιάνδρες, θιός, Κλιδοαμεία, γενιοῦν/Att. Κλιάνδρος, θεός, Κλεοδημεία, γενῶν; less frequently εο > ευ (third century BC) in Larissa, Almiros, Phalanna, etc.: Κλευμάχου/Κλεο-.
- The [i] element ceased to be pronounced in long diphthongs (fifth century BC onwards): ἐν ταγᾶ κέν ἀταγία (cf. Att. ἐν ταγεία). The outcomes -ει (< -οι) in Matropolis (third century BC) and -οι in Cierium (second century BC) are probably due to the influence of North-West Greek: Matropolis, ἐν τῆ λυμένι/Att. ἐν τῷ λυμένι = ἐν τῇ ἄγορᾷ; Cierium, Μαᾶρκοι Λευκίου Περπένναι Ρουμαῖοι (dative singular).
- For *dj, *gj the outcome /dd/ occurs in a fifth-century inscription from Thetonium: ἐξανακαδέν/Att. ἐξαναγκάζειν. Otherwise we have <Z> or <ZΔ>: Ζώπυρος, δικαζδέτου/Att. δικαζέτω.
- A similar variability is observed for the outcomes of *t^(h)j, *k^(h)j, and *t^ʷ: πρᾶσμέν, ἡμισ[σ]ον/Att. πρᾶττειν, ἡμισο, but Πετθαλός/Att. Θεσσαλός, πέτταρες/Att. τέτταρες.
- Nominative plural of the article οἱ, αἱ in Pelasgiotis: κοῖ συνδαυνοφόροι (= καὶ οἱ συνδαυνοφόροι). We lack relevant data for the other districts.

- -ξ- in the futures and aorists of verbs in -ζω (-δδω): ἐργάξαιτο, ψαφισαμένης/Att. εἰργάσαιτο, ψηφισαμένης.
- μά (related to Att. μέν) with the meaning of δέ.

Even though the epigraphical material for some districts is rather scanty, there is substantial evidence that Thessalian was geographically non-uniform:

- In Pelasgiotis (Larissa, Atrax, Crannon, Scotussa) thematic genitives have the ending -οιο (later -οι): πολέμοιο, τοῖ [δά]μοιο, Φιλίπποιο τοῖ βασιλείοιο/Att. πολέμου, τοῦ δήμου, Φιλίππου τοῦ βασιλέως; -ου is regular in Thessaliotis (Cierium, Thetonium) and Hestiaeotis (Matropolis): Thessal. Φιλονίκιο, Βελφραῖο; Hest. Κλιάνδρου.
- The ending of thematic infinitives is -έμεν in Pelasgiotis, but Thessaliotis has the usual type in -έν (-εῖν): ἐξανακαδέν, ἔχεν/Att. ἐξαναγκάζειν, ἔχειν.
- εῶ verbs are inflected athematically in Pelasgiotis and Hestiaeotis, but thematically in Thessaliotis: ηυλορέοντος, [στραταγ]έοντος.
- The demonstrative ὄνε (= οὔτος) is found in Pelasgiotis (some forms show double inflection): τόνε, τοίνεος, τούννεον (cf. Att. τόδε, τοῦδε, Lesb. τώνδεον). An avatar of οὔτος is found in Hestiaeotis: ἐς τύτουν, ἐν τύτει/Att. ἐκ τούτων, ἐν τούτοις.
- The indefinite pronoun assumes the form κας in Pelasgiotis (Larissa) and Perrhaebia (Phalanna); cf. also διέκι/Att. διότι. The type τις occurs in Thessaliotis and Hestiaeotis. The expected outcome *πας (see above) is simply unattested.
- <EI> stands for <AI> in Pelasgiotis (especially in Larissa): ἐψήφισται, βέλλεται, ἔσσεσθαι, πεπεῖσθαι, ὄνγραψεν/Att. ἐψήφισται, βούληται, ἔσσεσθαι, πεπεῖσθαι, ἀναγράψαι (according to García Ramón 1993, 125–34, -αι > /e:/ + -n borrowed from other infinitive endings; del Barrio (1995) thinks that the whole phenomenon depends on analogical leveling).
- The vocalism of Hestiaeotis is bizarre: <EI> for <E> in εἵντεσο, κοιναεῖντων/Att. οὔσι, κοινωνούντων; <A> for expected <EI> (< *e) in μά, μαδέμνα/Att. μή, μηδένα; <A> for <AI> in ποδέξατο/Att. προσδέξασθαι; <OY> for <Y> (/u:/) in Σπουράγου and, possibly, <Y> for <OY> in τύτουν, τύτει/Att. τούτων, τούτοις; <E> (and <EI>) for <O> (<OI>) in word-final syllable after alveolars and /i/ ([j]): τέν πάντα χρόνεν, τύτει, Μένουνες, Κλιάνδρες, δικαστειροεῖς/Att. τὸν πάντα χρόνον, τούτοις, Μένωνος, Κλιάνδρος, δικαστηρίοις.

- The modal particle is *κα* in Hestiaeotis (*κε* in Pelasgiotis).

Owing to its geographical position, Boeotian was largely exposed to the influence of western dialects. This is perceptible in the following features:

- *ιαρός* (the vocalism *ieo-* attested in two inscriptions of the fifth and fourth centuries BC can hardly be attributed to the influence of the Koine).
- Nominative plural *τοί, ταί* (later *τύ, τή*); Lesb., Thess. (Pelasg.): *οί, αί*.
- *πρᾶτος*/Lesb. *πρῶτος*, Thess. *προῦτος*.
- Temporal adverbs in *-κα*: *πόκα, τόκα*/Att. *πότε, τότε*. Lesbian has *-τα*.
- Local adverbs in *-ει*: *αὔτεῖ* (later *αὔτι*)/Dor. *τουτεῖ* = Att. *ἐνταῦθα*.
- Modal particle *κα*/Att. *ἄν* and conditional conjunction *αἰ*/Att. *εἰ*. But unlike in the Doric dialects, the modal particle usually precedes the indefinite in conditional clauses: *αἰ κά τις*/Dor. *αἰ τίς κα*.

The idiosyncratic evolution of long vowels in Boeotian to a certain extent anticipates some developments of the Koine (Ruipérez 1956; Brixhe 1985). Unlike in other Greek regions (e.g., Attica), where standard orthography remained conventionally unaltered, Boeotians tried to adapt spelling to the successive changes in pronunciation. In all probability, early Boeotian had five long vowels: /i: e: a: o: u:/ and six diphthongs: /eῖ ai oi eu au ou/. Secondary long mid-vowels (resulting from first and second compensatory lengthening and contractions) had merged with primary **e* and **o*.

Monophthongizations altered this picture. The diphthong /eῖ/ evolved into a close long /e:/ . A special spelling *Ϝ* (so-called “half-H,” a simplified variant of <H>) occurs in a few inscriptions from Thespieae (late fifth century BC): *Ἐφομένης, Ἀντιγενιδάς*/Att. *Τεισιμένης, Ἀντιγενειδης* (for details Méndez Dosuna 1991–2). By the fifth century BC this /e:/ had already merged with /i:/ (spelt <I>): *ἐμβάσει* > *ἐμβάσι*, *ἐπεῖ* > *ἐπί*. The historical spelling <EI> is rare from ca. 400 onwards. Concurrently /ou/ became /u:/ via a stage /o:/ early in the fourth century BC. This allowed the spelling <OY> to be extended to /u:/ (see below). The spellings <AE>, <OE> attested in Tanagra and Plataea (sixth–fifth centuries BC), indicate that /ai/, /oi/ also tended to monophthongization: *φεραγένετος, τᾶε Δάματροι*/Att. *τῆ Δήμητρος, Χοερίδος, τῶε Καβίροι*/Att. *τῶ Καβίρω*. However, the contraction of /ae/ into a new

open /e:/ (written <H>) was completed only some years after the introduction of the Ionic alphabet: *κή, φήνειτη, ἦ, Ἰθανῆος, τῆ δραχμή*/Att. *καί, φαίνεται, αἰεῖ, Ἰθηνάιος*, Dor. *ται δραχμαί*. Concomitantly, the old /e:/ was raised to /e:/ (spelt <EI> in the Ionic alphabet): *μεινός, ἀνείω, Θειβῆος, παρμεῖναι, εἶμεν, βεῖλειτη*/Att. *μηνός, ἀνήω, Θεβαῖος, παραμεῖναι*; North-West Greek *εἶμεν, δεῖληται*/Att. *εῖναι, βούληται*. Abbreviated /e:i/ was another input for this new /e:/: cf. subj. *ἔχει*/Att. *ἔχη* vs. ind. *ἔχι*/Att. *ἔχει*.

Back vowels remain stable. Long /o:/ is spelt <Ω>: *Βοιωτῶν, βωλά, διδασκάλως, πολέμω*/Att. *βουλῆ, διδασκάλους, πολέμου*. Both /u/ and /u:/ retained their back articulation. All through the fourth century BC the traditional spelling <Y> progressively loses ground to innovative <OY> (originally /ou/) as a notation of long /u:/: *κούριος, χρουσίω*/Att. *κύριος, χρυσίου*. <Y> becomes rare after ca. 300. From ca. 250 onwards <OY> is used for short /u/ as well (at the same time <Y> begins to represent the outcome of /oi/): *τούχα, Διονουσοδώρω, ουίω*/Att. *τύχη, Διονουσοδώρου, υίου*. There are a few instances with <O> (mostly during the fourth century): *θοοσία*/Att. *θυσία*. After alveolars [t^h d n l s] <τ θ δ ν λ σ>, the spelling <IOY> occurs after ca. 200 (<I> probably reflects the palatalization of the consonant): *τιούχα, θιουγατέρα, διουνατόν, ὄνιουμα, Πολιουμεῖλω, Σιούνεις*/Att. *τύχη, θυγατέρα, δυνατόν, ὄνομα, Πολυμήλου, Σύνεις*.

The monophthongization of /oi/ was completed in the third century BC. The new spelling <Y> (representing /ø:/) is usual ca. 250 BC.: *Φυκίας, ἐπίλυπα, ἄλλυς*/Att. *οἰκίας, ἐπίλυπα, ἄλλοις*. The chronology is somewhat delayed in the case of the thematic dative singular -οι (<-οι, see below): -v appears ca. 250 and is not usual until ca. 200: *τοῖ δάμω*/Att. *τῶ δήμω*. A new spelling <EI> (representing /e:/) occurs in late manumissions from Lebadea, Coronea, and Chaeronea (Méndez Dosuna 1988; *pace* Vottéro 1995, who clings to the idea of an /i:/): *αὔτεῖς, [F]εικέταν, τεῖ βειλομένει, τῷ Δι τεῖ Βασιλεῖ κῆ τεῖ Τρεφωνίου*/Att. *αὐτοῖς, οἰκέτην, τῶ βουλομένω, τῶ Δι τῶ Βασιλεῖ καὶ τῶ Τροφωνίω*.

The long diphthongs [a:i] -αι and [ɔ:i] -οι underwent shortening: [a:i] > [ai] > [ɛ:] -αι > -η (fourth century BC), [ɔ:i] > [oi] -οι > -ου (fourth century BC) > [ø:] -v (ca. 250): cf. *αὐτοῖ* besides *αὐτοῖ, τοῖ δά[μοι]* (Thebes, ca. 350); *Διονύσω* (Orchomenus, late fourth century), and hypercorrect *στάμνοι χαλκίωι* (Corsiae, ca. 380)/Att. *Διονύσω, χαλκοῖ; ἐν τῆ στάλη, ἐν τοῖ κοινοῖ, τοῖ ταμίη, τοῖ δάμω*/Att. *ἐν τῆ στηλῆ, ἐν τῶ κοινῶ, τῶ ταμίᾳ, τῶ δήμω*. However, -η [ɛ:] > [ɛ:]

(cf. *πίε*/Att. *πίη*; fifth century BC) > [e:] (fourth century BC): *κατασκευασθείη*/Att. *κατασκευασθῆ*. Vottéro (1995) thinks that -οι is an old locative ending. Instances of -οι are attributed to external influence.

Other distinctive features of Boeotian (some of them exclusive) include:

- εα, εο, εω > ια, ιο, ιω (less frequently in south-western Boeotia: Thespieae, Thisbe, Plataea): *φέτια*, *νιανίσκως*, *ιώσας*, *Μνιασιγένιος*/Ion. *ἔτεα*, *νηνίσκου*, *εούσης*, *Μνησιγένης*; on the real nature of this change ([eo] > [eo] > [jo]), cf. Méndez Dosuna (1993).
- αο, αω, αο, αω remain uncontracted: *ταμίαιο*, *πολιτάων*, *Ἀριστόλαος*, *Δαμοφάντος*/Att. *ταμίον*, *πολιτῶν*, *-λεως*, *-φώντος*. Contraction is regular only in grammatical words: i.e., the genitive plural feminine of the article (*τῶν ὑπεραμεριάων*, *τῶν ἰωσάων*/Att. *τῶν ὑπερημεριῶν*, *τῶν οὐσῶν*) and the conjunction *ἄς* (< **ἄος*/Att. *ἔως*). Otherwise it is extremely rare: *Ἀριστόλας*, *Σωκλειδᾶ* (< **Σαφο-*).
- Word-internal F occurs in early inscriptions (seventh–sixth centuries BC): *καλφόν*, *ἐποίεσε*, *Γισφόδιφος*/Att. *καλόν*, *ἐποίησε*, *Ἰσόδικος*. Word-initial F- survives until ca. 200 BC: *φέργον*, *φίκατι*, *φυκία*, *φίδιον*/Att. *ἔργον*, *εἴκοσι*, *οἰκία*, *ἴδιον*.
- *h-* (aspiration) is written until ca. 350 BC.
- **ts*, **tʰj*, **kʰj*, and **ʰw* > *tt*: *ἐπεψαφίττατο*, *μέττος*, *φυλάττι*, *θάλαττα*, *πέτταρες*/Att. *ἐπεψηφίσατο*, *μέσος*, *φυλάττει*, *θάλαττα*, *τέτταρες*; **dj*, **gj*, **gʷj* and “irregular” **j-* > (δ)δ: *Δεύς*, *πεδδύ*, *ἀκοντιδέμεν*, *τραπέδδας*, *δώωνθι*, *μέδδονος*, *δυγόν*, *περιδδυγα*/Att. *Ζεύς*, *πεζοί*, *ἀκοντίζειν*, *τραπέζης*, *ζῶσι*, *μειζονος*, *ζυγόν*, *περίζυγα*. <Z> may stand for [zd]: *Θεόξωτος* = *Θεόδοτος*/Att. *Θεόδοτος*.
- *ἔξ* > *ἔσ-*, *ἔς* before a consonant (*ἔσγονοι*, *ἔς Θεοπίας*/Att. *ἔκγονοι*, *ἔκ Θεοπίας*) and *ἔσ-*, *ἔς* before a vowel: *ἔσσειμεν*, *ἔς Ὀπόεντος*/Att. *ἔξειναι*, *ἔξ Ὀποῦντος*.
- Nominatives in -α (-*ā* or old vocatives in -*ā?*): *πυθιονία*, *Ἀπολλωνίδα*.
- Exclusive to Boeotian are hypocoristics in -ει (< -η, originally a vocative), gen. -ιος (< -εος), often with an expressive geminate: *Κεφάλλε*, *Κεφάλλιος*, *Τυμόλλει*, *Θάλλει* (cf. Att. *Θάλης*, -ητος).
- Names in -*κλεις*/Att. -*κλῆς* have a genitive in -*κλειός* (< **κλέ(φ)εος*): *Μενεκλειός*/Att. *Μενεκλέους*, other dialects have *Μενεκλέος*.

- The inflection of οὔτος has invariable οὔ-: οὔτω, οὔταν, οὔτα/Att. *τούτον*, *ταύτην*, *ταῦτα*.
- In the perfect -κ- fails to occur outside the indicative singular: *ἀποδεδῶνθι*, *πεποιόντεσσι*, *φεφυκονομειόντων*, *κα[ταβε]βλειώσας*/Att. *ἀποδεδώκασι*, *πεποιηκόσι*, *ᾠκονομηκότων*, *καταβεληκνίας*.

The influence of North-West Greek is most perceptible in south-western Boeotia: a few athematic datives plural in -υς (North-West Greek -οις) occur in late inscriptions from Tanagra, Chaeronea, Corsiae, and Orchomenus: *ἡγῦς*, *ἐχόντους*/Att. *αἰξί*, *ἔχουσι* contrasting with normal datives in -εσσι. Futures and aorists of verbs in -δδω/Att. -ζω have -ξ- in Thespieae and Coronea: *ἐκομιξάμεθα*, *κατεσκευάξε*/Att. *ἐκομοσάμεθα*, *κατεσκευάσαε*; elsewhere -ττ- (< **-ts-*) prevails: *ἐπεψαφίττατο*/Att. *ἐπεψηφίσατο*.

Selected texts

[1] Lesbian. Decree concerning the return of exiles under King Alexander. Mytilene. Soon after 324 BC. Buck, no. 26; *IG* 12.2.6 and suppl. p. 3; *DGE* 620; Tod, no. 201. Ll. 33–9.

οἱ ἀγρέθεντες ἄνδρες φέροντον ἐπὶ τ[ὸν δᾶμον, ὁ δὲ δᾶμος ἀκο]ύσας, αἱ κε ἀγῆται συμφέρον | βολλευέτω. ³⁵ [αἱ δὲ κε ὁ δᾶμος ἀγῆται τὰ] ὁμολογήμενα πρὸς ἀλλήλοισ συμφέρον[τα, ψαφίσασθαι καὶ τοῖς κα]τελθόντεσσι ἐπὶ Σμηθίνα προτάνιος | [ᾧσα κε τοῖς λοιποῖσι ψαφ]ίσθη. αἱ δὲ κέ τι ἐνδεύη τῷ ψαφισματος, | [περὶ τοῦτω ἀ κρίσις ἔστω ἐπ]ὶ τῷ βόλλαι. κυρώθεντος δὲ τῷ ψαφισ[ματος ὑπὸ τῷ δάμω, σύμπαντα] τὸν δᾶμον ἐν τῷ εἰκοῖσται τῷ μῆνος ⁴⁰ [πεδὰ τῶν θυσιῶν εὔξασθαι] τοῖς θέοισι ἐπὶ σωτηρία καὶ εὐδα[μονίαι τῶν πολιτῶν πάντων] γένεσθαι τῶν δάλυσι τοῖς κατελ[θόντεσσι καὶ τοῖς πρόσθε] ἐν τῷ πόλι ἐόντεσσι τοι[ς δ]ὲ ἴρηας τ[οῖς] δαμοῖσις ἀπαντας καὶ ταῖς ἰερίαις δειρήν τ[οῖς] ναύοις καὶ | [τὸν δᾶμον πρὸς εὐχαν συνέλ]θην.

The commissioners shall submit [the agreements to the Assembly], and, once it has heard their report, the Assembly shall decide as it judges it more advantageous. If the Assembly endorses the agreements reached by the two parties, it shall decree for the exiles returning during the prytany of Smithinas whatever it may decree for the others. Should any omission be detected in the decree, the final decision concerning these matters shall rest with the council. Once the decree is ratified, the whole Assembly shall pray to the gods on the twentieth day of the month after the sacrifice that the settlement for the citizens returning from exile and those who had remained at home may turn out for the safety and prosperity of all the citizens. All the public priests and

priestesses shall throw open the temples and the people shall meet for prayer.
(Trans. J. Méndez Dosuna)

[2] Thessalian (Pelasgiotis). Decree in response to a letter of King Philip V. Larissa. Ca. 214 BC. Buck, no. 32; *IG* 9.2, 517; *DGE* 590. Ll. 15–21.

τοῖνεος γάρ συντελεσθέντος καὶ συμφενάντων πάν|των διέ τὰ φιλόφρουπα
πεπεῖσταιν ἄλλα τε πολλὰ τοῦν χρεῖσιμον ἔσοσθαι καὶ εὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ πόλι καὶ |
τὰν χούραν μᾶλλον ἐξεργασθῆσθαι· ἐψάφισται τὰ πολιτεία πρασομέν περ
τοῦννεουν κατ τὰ ὁ βα|ουλεύς ἔγραψε, καὶ τοῖς κατοικέντεσι πάρ ἄμμε
Πετθαλοῦν καὶ τοῦν ἄλλον Ἑλλάνουν δεδόσθαι τὰν πολι|τείαν καὶ αὐτοῖς καὶ
ἐσόντοις καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τίμα ὑπαρχέμεν αὐτοῖς πάντα ὅσαπερ Λασαίοις,
φυλάς ἐλομέ²⁰νοις ἐκάστου ποίας κε βέλλεται· τὸ μὰ ψάφισμα τότε κῆρρον
ἔμμεν κατ παντός χρόνοι καὶ τὸς ταμίας ἐσδο|μεν ὀνγράψαι αὐτὸ ἐν στάλλας
λαθίας δύο.

Once this plan is implemented and all may remain together thanks to the privileges granted, he [*sc.* King Philip V] is persuaded that there will be many other benefits both for himself and for the city [of Larissa], and that the land will be exploited to better advantage. The citizens have voted to handle these affairs in accordance with what the king wrote in his letter. Full citizenship shall be granted to the residents of our city coming from Thessaly and the rest of Greece, and they shall enjoy all the other rights pertaining to the citizens of Larissa. Each [of the new citizens] shall be able to choose the tribe to which he may wish to belong. This decree will be in force for ever more and the treasurers shall give it to be inscribed on two stelae of stone. (Trans. J. Méndez Dosuna)

[3] Thessalian (Thessaliotis). Decree in honor of a Corinthian. Thetionium. Fifth century BC. *IG* 9.2, 257; *DGE* 557; Buck, no. 35.

² Θετόνιοι ἔδδκαν Σοταίρωι τῶι Κορινθίωι καὶ τῶι καὶ γένει καὶ φ|ουκιάταις καὶ
χρέμασι ἀσυλ⁵αν κατέλειαν κῆ|φεργέταν ἐ|ποίησαν κῆν ταγὰ κῆν ἀταγ|ίαι. αἱ τις
ταῦτα παρβαῖνοι, τὸν ταγὸν τὸν ἐπεστάκοντα ἐ|ξανακάδεν. τὰ χρυσία καὶ τὰ
¹⁰ ἀργύρια τῆς Βεληφαῖο ἀπολ|όμενα ἔσσοε Ὀρέσταο Φερεκράτ¹εσ ἠυλορέοντος
Φιλονικό ἠυτος.

The Thetionians have granted immunity and exemption from all taxes to Sotairos of Corinth, to himself and his descendants, to his slaves, and to his property, and bestowed on him the title of benefactor both in war and peace. Should anyone contravene [this decision], the *tagos* [municipal official] in charge is to enforce it. [Sotairos] succeeded in recovering the ornaments of gold and silver that disappeared from the sanctuary of Delphian [Apollo],

when Orestas of Pherecrates, son of Philonikos, was *hyloros* [forest ranger]. (Trans. J. Méndez Dosuna)

Ll. 11–1 Φερεκράτῆς: a nominative in place of the expected genitive Φερεκράτεος.

[4] Thessalian (Hestiaeotis). Treaty of the Basaidai (Figure 53). Matropolis. Late third century BC. Helly 1970. Ll. 1–10.

Θιός· Τύχαν Ἀγαθάν. | Συνθείκα Βασαίδου τῆς εἵντεσο
τοῦν πε|τταροῦν γενίουν καὶ τὰς ταγὰς κοιναιν|τουν τὲν
πάντα χρόνεν καὶ αὐτεῖς καὶ τὰ γε⁵ναι τὰ ἐς τύτουν γινυμένα·
μὰ μὰ ἔστον πο|δέξαστα ποτ τὰν ἰσοτιμίαν μαδέμνα μα|δὲ
ταγὰν δοῖν ἔξου τὰς συγγενείας· αἱ μὰ | κά τις ἐν τότες μὰ ἐμ|μένα, ἀπόλαος
ἔστον | [ἀ]τ τὰς συγγενεί[ας] καὶ τάλαντεν ἀργύρ¹⁰[ου] ὀφλέτου [τ]εῖς
συγγενέσοι.

God. Good fortune. Covenant of those among the Basaidai belonging to the four clans that participate in the *taga* [the highest magistracy] in perpetuity. It will apply to themselves and to their future descendants. They shall admit nobody into equality of privileges. If anyone fails to comply with these provisions, let him be banished from his kin and pay a fine of a silver talent to his kinfolks. (Trans. J. Méndez Dosuna)

[5] Boeotian. Decree in honor of an Athenian instructor. Thespieae. Ca. 240 BC. Roesch 1971, 81–8; 1982, 307–54. Ll. 10–19.

Ἐπειδὲ νόμος ἐστὶ ἐν τοῖ κοῖνοι Βοιωτῶν τὰς πόλεις παρεχέμεν | διδασκάλως
οἵτινες διδάξονθι | τὸς τε παῖδας κῆ τὸς νιανίσκως | τοξευέμεν κῆ ἀκοντιδδέμεν
¹⁵ κῆ τὰδδεσθῆ συντάξις τὰς περὶ | τὸν πόλεμον, κῆ Σώστροτος φιλο|τίμως
ἐπιμεμέλειτῆ τῶν τε παίδων | κῆ τῶν νεανίσκων, ὑπαρχέμεν Σωσ|τράτοι το
φέργον πάρ τὰς πόλως ἄως ²⁰ κα βεῖλειτῆ, ἐπιμελομένοι τῶν τε παι|δων κῆ τῶν
νεανίσκων κῆ διδάσκον|τι καθὰ ὁ νόμος κέλετῆ· μισθὸν δ' εἴμεν αὐτοῖ τῶ
ἐνιαυτῶ πέτταρας | μνάς.

Since there is a law in the Boeotian Federation that the cities should provide teachers capable of instructing both children and young men in using the bow and the javelin and in arraying in battle order, and since Sostrotos has taken charge of both children and young men eagerly, the job shall be Sostrotos' by the city's will as long as he wishes, and he shall take charge of both children and young men and shall instruct them in compliance with the law. As payment he shall receive four minae annually. (Trans. J. Méndez Dosuna)

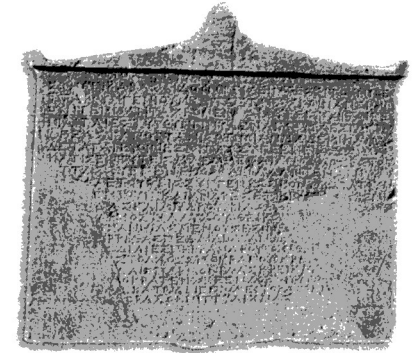


Figure 53 Treaty of the Basaidai. Matropolis, Thessaly. Third century BC

[6] Boeotian. Manumission. Chaeronea. Ca. 200 BC. Roesch and Fossey 1978, 126-7, no. 4, Fossey 1991, 121-36, *addenda*, 137-55; *SEG* XXVIII, 447. Ll. 1-17.

Θιός. Τιούχαν ἀγαθάν. Μναιγιέ|νιος ἄρχοντος, μινός Ἐρμαιώ, Με|νεκλεῖς
Διωνουσοδώρω κῆ Βιοττι[ις] | Μνάσωνος ἀντίθεντι τάν Φιδί[αν] ⁵ θρεπτάν
Παρθέναν ἰαράν τῆ Ἄρ[τά]|μιδι τῆ Ἐλιθίη, συνευδοκίοντος α[ῦ]|τεῖς κῆ τῶ οὐῖῶ
Μνάσωνος, παρμε[ι]νασαν ἀύσαντεῖς φέτια δέκα ἄω[ς] | κα ἄ ἄνθεσις
κουρωθείει· εἰ δέ τ[ι] ¹⁰ κα παθῶντι Μενεκλεῖς κῆ Βιοτ[τις] πρὸ τῶ παρμείνη
αὐτεῖς Παρ|θέναν τὸν γεγραμμένον χορό|νον, παρμεινάτω Παρθένα τὰ | ἐπύλυπα
φέτια παρ Τελίαν τ¹⁵ ἀν θιουγατέρα Μενεκλεῖος, | τάν ἄνθεσιν ποιούμενα διὰ τ[ῶ]
| συνεδρίῳ κατ τὸν νόμον.

God. Good Fortune. In the archonship of Mnasigenes, in the month of Dios, Menecleis, son of Dionysodoros, and Biottis, daughter of Mnason, consecrate Parthena their home-bred slave to Artemis Elithia, with the approval of their son Mnason, on condition that she will remain in service with them for a term of ten years till the moment when the consecration goes into effect. If anything happens to Menecleis and Biottis before Parthena has completed the stipulated period of her stay, she shall spend the remaining years with Telia, Menecleis' daughter, and she [sc. Telia] shall carry out the consecration through the council in compliance with the law. (Trans. J. Méndez Dosuna)

9 The language of Homer

G. HORROCKS

Introduction

The language of all early Greek poetry displays clear dialectal affiliations, with each genre exhibiting distinctive “markers” of the dialect group to which the spoken and official varieties of its region of origin belonged (see also VII.A.1, VII.A.2). At the same time, however, such literary dialects were systematically “distanced” from ordinary usage by their deliberately non-local character and the incorporation of archaizing and other elements of “poetic diction” modeled on the language of the earliest Greek literature of all, the monumental Homeric poems. It is the purpose of this chapter to examine the origins and character of this influential “epic” dialect in which they were composed.

In the form in which we have them, the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* probably date from the mid-to-late eighth century BC, but they are clearly the product of oral composition within the context of a centuries old tradition, and were probably even transmitted orally for a period before first being written down. Subsequently, because of the overwhelming prestige which these poems soon acquired, the language of epic poetry became a relatively fixed “literary dialect” with enormous influence on writers down into the Roman imperial period and beyond. However, the manuscript tradition on which modern editions depend goes back only to the Alexandrian editors of the second century BC, who applied contemporary spelling conventions rather inconsistently in their efforts to produce a metrical text on the basis of earlier manuscripts, many of which used archaic local alphabets that did not mark word division or double consonants, or distinguish between <ε> and <η> (and sometimes <ει>), or <ο> and <ω> (and sometimes <ου>).

In such circumstances, it is clearly futile to try to establish “Homer’s text,” but we can employ our knowledge of the early history of Greek, supplemented by standard methods of reconstruction and our knowledge of epic meter (comprising six dactylic/spondaic feet, the fifth